2° Brit. 82 ☆ -2

Rapin

f9

RAPIN'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

STATUE OF HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE III.
ERECTED BY THE CORPORATION OF LONDON.
IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, GUILDHALL.

Published by J. Robins & Co. London, Jan. 1. 1818.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIODS.

BY

RAPIN DE THOYRAS.

NEWLY TRANSLATED, CORRECTED, AND REVISED; AND CONTINUED TO

THE PRESENT TIME:

WITH

ILLUSTRATIVE ANNOTATIONS, HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND STATISTICAL,

FROM PRIVATE COLLECTIONS, AND FROM PUBLIC RECORDS,

DEPOSITED IN THE

BRITISH MUSEUM, THE TOWER OF LONDON, &c.

PRESENTING A LUMINOUS EXPOSITION OF EVERY POLITICAL, MILITARY, AND COMMERCIAL EVENT,

RELATING TO THE

British Empire,

AND TO ITS COLONIAL POSSESSIONS IN

THE EAST AND WEST INDIES, AND ON THE CONTINENTS OF AFRICA AND AMERICA;

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION,

AND ITS CONSEQUENT WARS THROUGHOUT EUROPE;

ACCOUNTS OF VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES,

AND OF

THE PROGRESS OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE POLITE ARTS;

AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED

BRITISH LEGISLATORS, WARRIORS, POETS, DIVINES, AND OTHERS,

WHO HAVE RENDERED THEMSELVES CONSPICUOUS IN THE HISTORY OF THEIR COUNTRY.

BY HENRY ROBERTSON, LL. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

EMBELLISHED WITH A SERIES OF HIGHLY FINISHED

Portraits of the Sovereigns of England; Historical Pieces; Views; &c.

FROM THE WORKS OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ARTISTS OF THE ENGLISH SCHOOL:

With Ancient and Modern Maps of the Island of Great Britain; Charts of History, Chronology, Genealogy, &c. &c.

Albion Press:

PRINTED FOR J. AND J. CUNDEE, IVY LANE, PATERNOSTER-ROW, LONDON;

AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

RAPIN'S

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

JAMES THE FIRST.

BORN 1566.—DIED 1625.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XVIII.

THE REIGN OF JAMES I. COMPRISING A PERIOD OF TWENTY-TWO YEARS, AND THREE DAYS.

24. JAMES I.

A. D. 1603.] ELIZABETH had no sooner breathed her last, than the council met to consult about the measures that were to be taken in the present juncture. The Queen's will was immediately opened, and found to confirm what she had declared by word of mouth. The King of Scotland had therefore in his person a threefold right, which rendered his title indisputable; and the new King was proclaimed by the name of James I. six hours after the Queen's death.

Though the council had been careful to send the King the first news of his accession to the crown of England, Sir Robert Carey, the Lord Hunsdon's youngest son, found means to be before them.

Presently after Carey's arrival, came Sir Charles Percy, and Thomas Somerset, who, by order of the council of England, notified to him the Queen's death, and the council's diligence in proclaiming him. These were quickly followed by Sir Thomas Lake, who was sent by the council to inform him of the state and condition of the realm.

As soon as James knew that he was proclaimed, he dispatched Aston to acquaint the Privy-Counsellors, that he was preparing for his journey; and accordingly he left Scotland the 5th of April, eleven days after Elizabeth's death. He spent above a month in his journey from Edinburgh to London, where he arrived the 7th of May. He had no sooner entered England, but the people strove to demonstrate their respect by magnificent entertainments in all the towns he passed through. Such were their acclamations, their wishes for his prosperity, their praises and joy for his arrival, that an honest plain Scotchman could not forbear saying, "This people will spoil a gud King." The multitudes which flocked from all parts to see their new Sovereign, grew at last so troublesome to him, that he was forced to set bounds to their curiosity by a proclamation. This was surprising to the people, who did not understand that a little inconveniency should hinder the King from receiving the respects of his new subjects.

At York, most of the English Lords came and paid him their homage. Among these was Secretary Cecil, now considered as out of favour, because he had been Essex's sworn enemy. But great was the surprise, when the King received him with extraordinary marks of esteem. This gave occasion to suspect, he had taken care, beforehand, to gain his favour; and the King's behaviour to him afterwards confirmed the suspicion.

On the 3d of May the King came to Theobald's, Secretary Cecil's house, where he staid some days. Here the council came to pay their respects to him, and here passed what was most remarkable in his journey till his arrival at London. When he was about to leave Scotland, he sent Carey to tell the Privy-Counsellors, that his intention was to keep every man in his post. However, at his coming to Theobald's, he increased their number with several others, most of whom were Scots; his design being, as he more plainly showed afterwards, to make but one kingdom of England and Scotland. The new Scotch Counsellors were the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Mar, the Lord Hume, Sir George Hume, Lord Kinloss, and Sir James Elphinston his Secretary. He nominated also two English noblemen, the Lord Zouch, and Burleigh, Secretary Cecil's eldest brother. At the same time or presently after, he admitted into his council the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland, the Lords Thomas and Henry Howard, the one son, the other brother to the late Duke of Norfolk, of whom the former was a suspected, the latter a known, Papist; but upon the

King's arrival he had embraced the Protestant religion.*

From the King's arrival in England to his departure from Theobald's, he made about two hundred Knights, and some days after his coming to London, he made many more. As Elizabeth had been sparing in the distribution of honours, with which Sovereigns are wont to reward the merit and services of their subjects, her successor on the contrary, bestowed them with a liberal, or rather profuse, hand. Never had the like number of Knights, Barons, and Earls, been made in any former reign. This occasioned a satirical libel, intituled, "A Help for Weak Memories to retain the Names of the Nobility."† Besides the three Howards, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and High-Treasurer, was made Earl of Dorset; Sir Robert Cecil was at first created Baron of Essingdon, then Viscount Cranburne, and afterwards Earl of Salisbury; and Philip Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke's brother, was made Earl of Montgomery.‡ The Earl of Southampton who had been condemned to die, and the Earl of Essex's son, were restored to their estates and honours before the King reached London. But the Lords Grey, Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been enemies to the Earl of Essex, were very coldly received.

James, with good natural parts, had a great share of learning. He was able to form the plan of a good government, the general maxims whereof he perfectly knew. But his aversion to war, his weakness for his favourites, certain prejudices he had imbibed, wherein all that approached him helped to confirm him, ever hindered him from putting his theory into practice. He was persuaded, that the authority of Sovereigns over their subjects was unlimited, and that all monarchical governments ought to be absolute. Moreover, he was strongly prepossessed in favour of his own merit and capacity. As soon as his courtiers discovered his genius and character, they failed not to attack him in the most sensible part. That is, they took all occasions to applaud his wisdom, learning, parts, and to talk in the highest strain of the regal power. As this pleased him infinitely, so it was the best way to gain his favour. Hence arose several expressions little known in the former reigns, but which were common in this. The King was called the Solomon of the age, and styled his Sacred Majesty, and these flattering titles, which he greedily received, confirmed him in his prejudices. He had one amongst the rest which greatly influenced his whole administration. And that was, he believed he was come to the crown of England solely by hereditary right, and could not bear, it should be thought he was obliged to Queen Elizabeth, or that his title proceeded from any act of Parliament. This pretended hereditary right, with its consequences, was the fountain of the divisions which began in this reign, between the King and Parliament, and which continued during the three following reigns. This also gave birth to the Tory and Whig factions.

This Prince's choice of the ministers who were to manage the public affairs, greatly conduced to cherish his high conceit of his personal qualities, and of the regal authority. The first was Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury. He was a man of great genius, consummate prudence, vast capacity, and perfectly acquainted with the state and interest of the nation. The Earls of Suffolk and Northampton, the one Lord Chamberlain, the other Lord Keeper, were much inferior to the Earl of Salisbury in parts and ability. But it is pretended they were Papists in their hearts, and as the Catholic religion could not be restored in England but by an arbitrary power, they earnestly laboured to indulge the King in his notions concerning the regal authority. All the rest of the courtiers followed the same method, and emulously strove to gain the King's favour, by a blind submission to his will.

Shortly after the King's arrival at London, he sent a numerous train of Lords and Ladies into Scotland to attend the Queen and his children, who were ready to come to him. He had three children, namely, Henry, nine years old, Elizabeth, and Charles.§

Whilst the Queen was on her journey, the King remembered, he had complained to Elizabeth of Valentine Thomas, who had slandered her, and was now in prison. It is not known wherein this slander consisted; but whatever it was, about a month after the King's arrival, Thomas was ordered to be brought upon his trial, and received sentence of death for conspiring against Elizabeth, and some of her council.‖

About the same time, and before the Queen's arrival, the Marquis of Rosny came from the King of France, to congratulate the King upon his accession to the crown of England. The French King's chief aim was, to hinder James from being gained by the Spaniards, and to renew his defensive alliance with Elizabeth, in which the ambassador succeeded to his wish.

Count Aremberg, ambassador from the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella, sovereigns of the Low-Countries, had come to London, some time before, but was sick, or feigned to be so, all the while the Marquis of Rosny stayed in England. It was not till after the Marquis's departure, that he desired the King to send one of his privy-council to hear the occasion of his embassy. Cecil, whom the King chose, was strangely surprised to hear nothing from him but compliments. Probably, this ambassador was sent into England, only to observe what passed, and to sound the new King's intention concerning a peace between England and Spain. James had shown by his proceedings, that he was inclined to peace, since, without solicitation, he had revoked the letters of marque granted by Elizabeth, to several private persons. Some time after, Taxis came also to London from the King of Spain, and having congratulated the King upon his accession to the crown, desired commissioners might be appointed to treat with him of a peace. This negotiation, which was then only begun, ended at length in a treaty of peace, concluded the next year.¶

The plague, which began to break out in December, increasing at London during the hot weather, the King retired for some time to Wilton, the Earl of Pembroke's seat, near Salisbury.

Whilst the court was at Wilton, a conspiracy, or rather the project of a conspiracy, was discovered, the authors whereof were Lord Grey, Lord Cobham, Sir

---

* The King's gratitude to the Howard family, who for the sake of the Queen his mother, were in disgrace in the late reign, did not stop there. The Lord Thomas was made Earl of Suffolk, and then Lord-Treasurer; and the Lord Henry was created, some years after, Earl of Northampton. Moreover, Philip, Earl of Arundel, the late Duke of Norfolk's eldest son, having lost his title by his condemnation, though Elizabeth gave him his life, the King created his son Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey. Thus the King's regard for the Duke of Norfolk's family, plainly showed what he thought of Elizabeth's treatment of that Duke and his house. Upon all occasions he affected to show, it was only out of policy that he had, whilst she lived, concealed his aversion for the late Queen. The most notable mark he gave of it, was, that he neither went into mourning himself, nor would admit any person to his presence in a mourning-habit.

† James made so many Knights and Peers, particularly in the first years of his reign, that such a help was very necessary. It is pretended, that the current of honour was so stopped in Elizabeth's reign, that scarcely a county had Knights enough to make a jury.

‡ He also made Sir Robert Sidney, Baron of Penhurst; Sir William Knolles, Baron of Grayes; and Sir Edward Wotton, Baron of Marley. And afterwards, while preparations were making for his Coronation, which was performed the 25th of July, in the heat of a plague, he created Sir Thomas Egerton (Lord Chancellor) Baron of Ellesmere; Sir William Russel, Baron of Thornhaugh; Sir Henry Grey, Baron of Groby; Sir John Petre, Baron of Writtle; Sir John Harrington, Baron of Exeton; Sir Henry Danvers, Baron of Dantsey; Sir Thomas Gerard, Baron of Gerard-Bromley; Sir Robert Spenser, Baron of Worm-Leighton.

§ Henry was born February 19, 1593; Elizabeth, August 19, 1596; and Charles, November 19, 1600.

‖ About this time, Charles Lord Montjoy, returned out of Ireland, and brought with him Hugh O'Neal of Tyrone, or rather Tiroen (i. e. the land of Eugenius) being the name of an Irish county. The Lord Montjoy was honourably received, sworn of his Majesty's Privy-Council, and afterwards made Earl of Devonshire. Tiroen himself, who had been the cause of so much bloodshed, was pardoned, and proclamation made that he should be treated by all men with respect and honour.

¶ For the more solemn reception of Ambassadors, was at this time instituted a new officer, by the name of Master of the Ceremonies, with a salary of 200*l.* a year, of whom the first was Sir Lewis Lewkenor.

Walter Raleigh, George Brook, two priests Watson and Clark, and some others. The design was, to place on the throne Arabella Stewart, the King's cousin-german. To this end, the Lord Cobham was to treat with the Archduke at Brussels, and try to obtain six hundred thousand crowns, of which Raleigh was to have seventy thousand. Cobham was also to carry Arabella's letters to the Archduke, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, wherein she should promise to marry the person they should name, and to grant a full toleration to the Catholics. It was further agreed, that the Lord Grey should ask the King's leave to raise two thousand men for the service of Holland, and with these troops should seize his person.* The conspirators, being apprehended, were tried at Winchester, in November following, and condemned to die. Raleigh was found guilty upon the written evidence of one single witness, namely, the Lord Cobham, even without being confronted. Only George Brook however, the Lord Cobham's brother, and the two priests, were executed, the King having ordered the rest to be sent back to prison, but without giving them a pardon. The Lord Grey died soon after, and the Lord Cobham obtained his liberty, but was deprived of his estate, and died in great poverty and distress. Sir Walter Raleigh remained twelve years in the Tower, where he wrote a History of the World.

Not long after the discovery of this plot, the King and Queen were crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnity, on the 25th of July, St. James's day.†

The Papists could not believe, that a Prince, who had never expressed any hatred of them, should suddenly alter his mind, and chuse to tread in the steps of Elizabeth. The Puritans imagined, that James, having been educated in their religion, and professed it all his life, till his arrival in England, would be propitious to them. Both were deceived, but the last much more than the first. Of the Catholics, James hated only the Jesuits, and such as were too servilely attached to the court of Rome, and the prerogatives of the Pope. But he saw it would not be in his power to grant a full toleration to the other Catholics. Thus the Catholics, who had expected at least a full toleration of their religion, were much surprised, when, upon presenting a petition to the King on this occasion, they received for answer, that he thought himself obliged to support what he found established in the kingdom.

The Puritans presented also their petition, not only for a toleration, but moreover to pray the King that sundry articles of the church of England, with which they could not comply, might be reformed. The Bishops failed not strenuously to oppose this petition, and to intreat the King to leave religion as he found it at his accession to the crown, without any innovation. This was what the King fully intended. When he first came into the kingdom, he not only went over to the church of England, but even meant to force the Puritans to conform, and to be revenged on them for what the Presbyterian synods had made him suffer in Scotland. Besides, the government of the church by Presbyters too much resembled a common-wealth, to be agreeable to a Prince so strongly prepossessed in favour of monarchy. The government of the church of England was much more conformable to his principles.‡ Not to appear at first too partial, he appointed a conference between the two parties, wherein he would be moderator himself. He also published a proclamation, commanding both sides to be quiet, till matters were regulated as he should judge proper.§

The

* As Raleigh, Guy, and Cobham were commonly believed, after the Queen's death, to have opposed proclaiming the King, till conditions should be made with him; they were upon that account, extremely obnoxious to the court and ministry; and people were apt, at first, to suspect, that the plot was merely a contrivance of secretary Cecil, to get rid of his old confederates, now become his most inveterate enemies. But the confession, as well as trial, of the criminals, put the matter beyond doubt. And though no one could find any marks of a concerted enterprise, it appeared that men of furious and ambitious spirits, meeting frequently together, and believing all the world to be discontented like themselves, had entertained very criminal projects, and had even entered, some of them at least, into a correspondence with Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, in order to give disturbance to the new settlement.

† Immediately after the coronation, the King issued out a proclamation, expressly forbidding all persons, who had any business at court, to repair thither till winter, by reason of the plague which raged then exceedingly, and swept away above thirty thousand in London only.

‡ Wilson says, that the King thought if church power were in the hands of many, it would not be so easy to be managed, as when in the hands of one, who had dependence upon him, and with whom he might better grapple. And therefore the King would often say, No Bishop, no King.

§ The conference between some Bishops and Presbyterian ministers was held at Hampton-court, the 14th, 16th, and 18th of January 1604. The King let the ministers see immediately what they were to expect. He declared, "That, following the example of all Christian Princes, who usually began their reigns with the establishment of the church, he had now, at his entering upon the throne, assembled them for settling an uniform order in the same, for planting unity, removing dissentions, and reforming abuses, which were naturally incident to all politic bodies. And that he might not be misapprehended, and his designs in assembling them misconstrued, he further declared, that his meaning was not to make any innovation of the government established in the church, which he knew was approved by God, but to hear and examine the complaints that were made, and remove the occasion of them; therefore he desired the petitioners to begin, and to shew what were their grievances." Doctor Reynolds being the spokesman, reduced what he had to say to two heads, the first whereof related to the doctrine, and the second to the discipline of the church. As to the doctrine, he said, the articles of the church of England were in some places obscure, and in others defective. Then he mentioned the articles he spoke of, and desired the King they might be so explained as to leave no ambiguity, and that what was defective might be supplied. Whereupon a dispute was begun, wherein the King always replied, answering the ministers' arguments himself, one while with reasons, another while with authority and threats. The ministers, seeing the King become their adversary, chose to be silent, and feigned to be satisfied. The points they insisted upon were:

I. That sufficient care was not taken to plant good and learned pastors in the churches, to the great prejudice of the people.

II. That subscription was required to the Common Prayer Book, wherein they saw several things which their conscience would not suffer them to receive.

III. That the clergy were liable to the censures of lay-men, by means of the high commission.

IV. They objected against the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the surplice, with some other things which they looked upon as superstitious. There were warm disputes upon all these points, wherein the King took care to reply to the ministers himself, without giving the Bishops time to speak. The King's conduct was so agreeable to the Bishops and their friends, that the Lord Chancellor Egerton, unwilling to miss so fair an opportunity to flatter the King, said aloud, "He had often heard that the priesthood and royalty were united, but never saw it verified till now." Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, carried his flattery still farther, and said, "He verily believed the King spoke by the spirit of God." After this, the King dismissed the assembly, and ordered the Bishops and ministers to meet again, in three days, at the same place.

On the 18th of January, the day appointed by the King, the Bishops were called first into his presence, who delivered to him an explanation of the liturgy. Then the King questioned them about excommunication, the high commission, the oath ex officio, the subscription to the Common Prayer Book, and approving their answers, ordered the ministers to be called in, and the writing presented by the Bishops to be read before them. The ministers, believing it was in vain to make any reply, kept silence. However, the King, supposing they had nothing to object, and had reason to be satisfied with the condescension that was shown them, exhorted the Bishops to treat with lenity such as were of a contrary opinion, and commanded the ministers to preserve the unity of the church, and beware of obstinacy and disobedience. "Obedience and humility," added he, "are the marks of good and honest men, such I believe you to be; but it feareth me, that many of your sort are humourous, and too busy in the perverting of others. The exceptions taken against the Communion book, as I perceive, are matters of mere weakness, and they who are discreet will be gained with time, and by gentle persuasions; or if they be undiscreet, better it is to remove them, than to have the church troubled with their contentions. For the Bishops, I will answer, that it is not their purpose presently and out of hand, to enforce obedience, but by fatherly admonitions and conferences, to induce such as are disaffected. But if any be of an opposite and turbulent spirit, I will have them enforced to a conformity. Neither tell me, that the wearing of a surplice, or using the cross in baptism, will diminish the credit of ministers that have formerly disallowed the same; for that is just the Scottish argument, when any thing was concluded, that suited not with their humour, the only reason why they could not obey was, That it stood not with their credit to yield, having been so long of a contrary opinion. I will none of that, but that a time be limited by the Bishops of every diocese, to such, and they that will not yield, whatsoever they are, let them be removed; for we must not prefer the credit of a few private men to the general peace of the church."

In this manner passed the pretended conference; but it wrought not the conviction of the Puritans; and all the fruit the King reaped

A. D. 1604.] The 22d of February the King published a proclamation, commanding all Jesuits, and other priests having orders from any foreign power, to depart the kingdom.* This proclamation was so worded, that the King was extremely careful to show, he did not banish the Jesuits in hatred to the Catholic religion in general, but only on account of their attachment to the doctrine of the Pope's unlimited power over crowned heads.

The proclamation against the Jesuits was soon followed by another, enjoining the Puritans to conform to the worship of the established church.

As the Parliament was to meet the 19th of March, the King thought it necessary to gain the affection of his subjects, by suppressing some abuses introduced about the end of the late reign, tending to the oppression of the people. This he did by several proclamations against certain monopolies; against protections, frequently hindering the course of justice; against saltpetre men, who dug up people's houses, unless they were well fee'd; against the King's purveyors, who seized any man's horses and cart, under colour of employing them for the King, and then excused them for money. Among these proclamations, there was one not so acceptable to the people, namely, that against hunting, on very severe penalties to the offender.†

As the time of the Parliament's meeting approached, the King and Queen made their entry into London four days before, not having been able to do it sooner by reason of the plague. The King had need that day of all his patience, nothing being more disagreeable to him than the solemnities which drew a crowd of people about him.‡

The first public step which discovered the sentiments of James, was the calling of his first Parliament. Both in the writs and the proclamation, he took upon himself to describe what sort of representatives should be elected, not by way of exhortation, as the former Kings had done, but by way of command, and as conditions without which they should not be admitted into the House.§ This was directly striking at the Commons, whose privilege of deciding the validity of elections had never been questioned. He assumed a power not only to enjoin penalties on such as should offend against the statutes concerning elections, but also to enjoin them by a bare proclamation, the authority whereof he rendered equal to that of the laws.

The speech which the King made, on opening the Parliament, fully displayed his character, and proved him to possess more knowledge and better parts, than prudence, or just sense of decorum and propriety. In style and matter, it was equal to most performances of the age; but it was deficient in that majestic brevity, and reserve, which become a King, in his addresses to the great council of the nation. It candidly confessed, however, the too great facility with which his Majesty yielded to the solicitation of suitors: a fault which James promised to correct; but which adhered to, and distressed him, through the entire course of his reign. This speech was received with but little satisfaction by any party.

The first thing the Parliament did, was to prepare an act for acknowledging the King's title to the crown of England. James had not required it. On the contrary, in all appearance, by repeating several times in his speech, that he was undoubtedly King by birth-right, he designed to intimate, he did not want the Parliament's confirmation. But the two Houses did not, or seemed not to understand it, whether they resolved to preserve a privilege hitherto enjoyed, or feared such an omission might occasion troubles and rebellion. The King, on his part, thought it not prudent to refuse the act.

The principal affair for which the King had summoned the Parliament was, the union of the two kingdoms, though he pretended, his sole motive was to express his thankfulness to the English. He had so good an opinion of his eloquence, that he did not question the success of this affair, and the nomination of the commissioners for that purpose confirmed his belief. So, through impatience, or to engage the Parliament the sooner to unite the two kingdoms, he ordered himself to be proclaimed King of Great Britain, without staying for the Parliament's determination. Thenceforward he would hear no more of the distinction of the two kingdoms. St. Andrew's cross was quartered with St. George's in the flags, and by proclamation the Scotish coins were made current in England. This showed, the King did not doubt, the affair of the union would succeed to his wish. But he did not yet know the genius and character of the English. Such as had no share in his bounties, loudly murmured to see his Scotch attendants grown so rich in a very short space, that the English could not imitate their magnificence without ruining their estates. Several pasquils were daily made upon this occasion, not much to the advantage of the Scots, nor consequently to the design of the union of the two kingdoms.

There was also another thing which did not render the people favourable to the King. Immediately after the opening of the Parliament, the Commons examining, according to custom, the contested elections, there was a debate in the House, about the return of Sir Francis Goodwin, and Sir John Fortescue, for Knight of the shire, for the county of Bucks, and upon a full hearing, Sir Francis was declared duly elected. Three days after, the Lords sent a message to the Commons, that there might be a conference about Goodwin's election. The Commons, surprised at so extraordinary a message, answered, they did not think themselves obliged to give an account of their proceedings, and therefore could not grant the conference required. The Lords replied, the King having been acquainted with what had passed in Goodwin's case, thought himself engaged in honour to have the affair debated again, and had ordered them to confer with

by it, was to show them how much they were mistaken in depending upon his protection.

Whitgift was a mild and peaceable man, who would have been very glad to reclaim the Puritans by gentle methods, agreeable to the gospel, but he died quickly after, on the 29th of February. He was succeeded by Richard Bancroft, a prelate of a very different character, who, instead of dealing gently with the Puritans, never ceased incensing the King against them, and doing them all the mischief he could. The persecution, which these suffered whilst Bancroft was at the head of the clergy, induced many families to withdraw out of the kingdom, to enjoy elsewhere liberty of conscience, denied them at home. Bancroft is also accused of having been one of the most zealous to instil into the King the maxims of arbitrary power.

* In this proclamation, the King acknowledges himself personally much beholden to the Bishop of Rome, for his kind offices and private temporal carriage towards him in many things, and says, he is ready to requite the same towards him as a secular Prince.

† Shortly after, another appeared, appointing the 5th of August to be kept as a holy day. It was ordered, that every year on that day public thanks should be returned to God in all the churches, for the King's miraculous deliverance in the year 1600, from the conspiracy of the Gouries, who made an attempt upon his life. This new holy day was not universally liked. Besides that the occasion of it happened to the King before his accession to the crown of England, there were people as well in Scotland as England, who had the malice to affirm it was only a fiction to cover a real conspiracy of the King against the two Ruthvens or Gouries, who were killed on this occasion.

‡ The suburbs and city were one continued scene of pageantry. There were seven triumphal gates or arches erected in the streets through which he was to pass from the Tower to Whitehall. It seems, he endured this day's brunt pretty patiently, being sure he should never have such another. But afterwards (says Wilson) in his public appearances, the crowds of people made him so impatient, that he often dispersed them with frowns, not to say curses. His private recreations at home, and his hunting exercises abroad, both with the least disturbance, were his delights.

§ "Wee notifye by theis presentes, that all retornes and certificates of knightes, citizens and burgesses, oughte and are to be brought to the Chauncery, and there to be fyled of record; and if any shall be founde to be made contrarie to this proclamation, the same is to be rejected as unlawful and insufficient, and the citie or borough to be fyned for the same; and if it be founde that they have commytted any grotse or wilful default and contempt in their election, retorne or certificate, that then their liberties, according to the lawe, are to be seized into our handes as forfeited; and if any person take upon him the place of a knight, citizen, or burgess, not beinge duely elected retorned and sworne according to the lawes and statutes in that behalfe provided, and according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of this oure proclamation, then every person, soe offending, to be fyned and imprisoned for the same."

the Commons upon it. Whereupon, the Commons, by their speaker, gave their reasons to the King, why they could not admit of this innovation. But all they could obtain was, that instead of a conference with the Lords, the King commanded them to confer with the judges. This pleased them no more than the other. They set down their reasons in writing, and delivered them at the council chamber, to desire their Lordships to intercede for them to the King, not to violate their privileges. The answer was, the King absolutely commanded them to have a conference with the judges. The Commons were extremely surprised at so absolute an order. Meanwhile, fearing to be accused of too easily engaging in a quarrel with the King, they thought it more proper to yield, than stand out, fully bent however, to adhere to what had been determined in the case of the contested election. The King had engaged in a very nice affair, and probably, would not have come off with honour, had he not been disengaged by Goodwin's moderation. Sir Francis, chusing to forfeit his right, rather than occasion a quarrel between the King and the Commons, desired the House to order the county of Bucks to elect another Knight in his stead.

The Commons perceived by this affair, that the King's intention was to sound them, and that hereafter such incidents might frequently be revived. For which reason, on the 16th of June, addressing the King concerning certain grievances, they took occasion to represent their privileges, of which they supposed him not yet fully informed. This address so displeased the King, that on the 7th of July, he prorogued the Parliament to the 7th of February, to have time to think of means to humble the Commons.*

Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, was one of the first who attempted to go beyond the usual bounds, by causing things to depend on the King's will, which were undeniably within the Parliament's jurisdiction. He exhibited to the King and council twenty-five grievances of the clergy, which were desired to be reformed in granting prohibitions, that the King's courts might not have cognizance of what concerned these articles. It is said, his intention was to shew others the way to apply directly to the King, without regarding the Parliament or convocation. But the King was told, in case he granted the Archbishop's request, he would be engaged in inextricable difficulties, because the redressing of grievances had ever belonged to the Parliament. Whereupon, the King consulted the judges, who answered unanimously, he ought to refrain from deciding any thing concerning the Archbishop's request.

The conclusion of the peace with Spain soon followed the prorogation of the Parliament. Taxis having informed the King of Spain how the court of England stood affected, the constable of Castile was sent into the Low Countries, with orders to pass into England and conclude the peace. But the constable, being detained by some affairs in the Netherlands, conveyed his power to Taxis and Richardot. These two deputies being come to London, agreed upon a treaty, which was not however, signed till the 18th of August, after the arrival of the constable of Castile. Some say, this ambassador purchased the peace with large sums of money distributed among the King's ministers. However this be, the treaty with the King of Spain was double, there being one relating entirely to the commerce.†

The peace with Spain being concluded, the King was persuaded to grant a monopoly of the trade with Spain and Italy to a company of merchants, and to forbid all his subjects, except such as were authorized by this company, to traffic in those countries. But in the next session of the Parliament, the Commons, taking into consideration how destructive to trade such a monopoly was, represented so plainly to the King the ill consequences thereof, that the company's patent was revoked, and the trade with Spain and Italy declared free as before.

During the rest of the year 1604, nothing remarkable passed in England. The King led a peaceable life amidst the flatteries of his court, and very lavishly bestowed his favours on his minions; a species of liberality which bred great discontent in those who had no share in it.‡

The King made choice of his High Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, for ambassador extraordinary to Spain. The Earl departed in March 1605, with a numerous retinue, consisting, according to some, of no less than six hundred and fifty persons.§ At the same time, the Earl of Hertford was sent in embassy to Brussels. Whilst he was at sea, a Dutch man of war sailed by, and refusing to strike, the English Captain, Sir William Monson prepared to compel him, but the ambassador would not give him leave. This was the first indignity of that nature received by England from the Dutch, whose sovereignty was not yet so much as acknowledged by any potentate in Europe.‖

Whilst every thing seemed to procure King James a quiet and peaceable reign, the Devil, envying the happiness of the English, inspired some of his agents with one of the most horrible plots that ever was heard of. This was the gunpowder-treason-plot.

Whatever might be the ground of the hopes entertained by the Catholics, when they saw King James ascend the throne of England, it is certain they expected great things from him, and at least a full toleration, with liberty of publicly exercising their religion. Upon this toleration they built their hopes of restoring, by degrees, their religion in England. But the King's speech to the Parliament, discovered two things. The first, that this toleration, which till then had been hardly doubted, was not yet ready to come. The second, that though they should obtain it of the King, it would not be for such as acknowledged the Pope's authority in its utmost extent. These were the men however, that were most active and eager to re-establish their religion in the kingdom. They despised a bare liberty of conscience for the moderate Catholics, to which the King seemed to confine his favours. They believed it to be the King's intention to divide the Catholics, and make two sects, whereof one, renouncing

* There were several statutes made in this Parliament, amongst which was one against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits.

† "By the IVth article of the first treaty it was agreed, that neither the Kings of England nor Spain, should directly or *indirectly*, give aid to the enemies or rebels of either part, of what nature or condition soever they were.

"By the Vth, they renounced all former leagues, confederacies, capitulations, and intelligences contrary to that treaty.

"In the VIIth, King James excuses the delivery of the cautionary towns to the King of Spain; and promises to enter into a treaty with the States, wherein he will assign a competent time to them, to accept and receive terms for a pacification with the Archduke; which if they refused, he would from thenceforth think himself freed from the former conventions with them."

These, doubtless, are the articles which have given occasion to say, the Spaniards bought the peace. There appears, however, to have been a secret article to the following effect:

"That as to the States of Holland and Zealand, things should remain as they were, as well with respect to the cautionary towns, as to the other articles of the treaties between Elizabeth and the said States, without the King of England's being obliged to recall his troops from the Low Countries; or to forbid his subjects to serve the said States. Moreover, that the commerce, trade, and navigation between the English and the said States, should continue upon the same footing as in Elizabeth's life-time."

‡ This year, the King, who was a great enemy to Tobacco, as appears by his writings against it, ordered by a proclamation, dated October 7, that besides the custom of two-pence in the pound it used to pay, there should be an additional duty of 6*s*. 8*d*. on every pound imported into the realm.

§ The Spaniards were astonished at the *magnificence* of the embassy, and the handsome gentlemen; for it seems the Jesuits reported our nation to be ugly, and like Devils, as a punishment for casting off the Pope; and they pictured Sir Francis Drake generally half a man and half a dragon. So easy is it, says Wilson, for those jugglers, when they have once bound up the conscience, to tie up the understanding also.

‖ The jealousy the English began to conceive of the Hollanders, was nothing in comparison of that caused by the King's prodigal favours to the Scots. This jealousy occasioned many insolencies; the streets of London swarmed night and day with bloody quarrels; and private duels were every where fomented between the English and Scots. The Scots complaining at first to the King, that they were so poor, they underwent the bye-word of beggarly Scots; the King replied to them, "Content yourselves, I will shortly make the English as beggarly as you, and so end that controversy."

the

the doctrine of the Pope's supremacy, should be tolerated in the kingdom, and the other expelled. This division appeared to them so destructive to the Catholic religion, that they imagined, the King by this artful and politic conduct, intended to reconcile to the church of England, such as should imprudently reject the Papal authority, as it happened in the reign of Henry VIII.

To prevent the execution of this pretended design, which might be very prejudicial to the church of Rome, some of these zealots consulted together, and formed a horrible plot, which was afterwards approved by the rest. The chief of these wretches was Robert Catesby, a gentleman of Northamptonshire, descended from the Catesbies mentioned in the reign of Edward V. This man, having gained Thomas Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's cousin, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, John and Christopher Wright, Francis Tresham, Guy Fawkes, Sir Everard Digby, Robert and Thomas Winter, Thomas Bates, and Robert Keyes, chose five of them to consult how to restore the Romish religion in England. Percy, one of the most zealous, proposed killing the King, and offered to perform it. To this Catesby replied, "Though the King were dead, their cause would not be advanced, since he would leave sons, who perhaps would not be more favourable to the Catholics. Nay, supposing the King and his children were removed, there would remain so many of the nobles and gentry, that probably it would be very difficult to accomplish their design." He added, "he had thought of a way to destroy in an instant, almost all the principal enemies of the Catholic religion, and to throw the kingdom into such a consternation, that not a man would be able to take proper measures to oppose the execution of their design." This way was to blow up the Parliament house, whilst the King should be speaking his speech from the throne to the Lords and Commons. Then he shewed them in what manner the project might be executed, and was applauded by all. However, as so detestable a plot could not but breed ideas frightful and naturally shocking to conscience, some moved to have the lawfulness of the project examined by their divines. It is said, that Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, and John Gerrard being consulted, approved of the plot as just and lawful, since it was against excommunicated heretics.

Be this as it will, the thing being determined, they took an oath of secrecy, administered, as it is said, by father Garnet.* Percy, being one of the gentlemen pensioners, was appointed to hire a house, adjoining to the upper house of Parliament. This passed in November or December 1604, and the King was to make his speech to the Parliament on the 7th of February. Percy having hired the house, the conspirators began, with no small labour, to dig in the cellar through the wall of partition, which was very thick.† But as the Parliament was prorogued to the 3d of October, they had as much time as was necessary to finish their work. In the beginning of February 1605, they had almost digged through the wall, when on a sudden they heard a noise on the other side. This threw them into a great fright, being apprehensive of a discovery; but their courage reviving, Guy Fawkes, who passed for Percy's footman, was sent to see what had occasioned their fear. Presently after he returned and said, the place whence the noise came, was a large cellar under the upper house of Parliament, full of coals, which were now under sale, and the cellar offered to be let. As nothing could be more favourable to their design, Percy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals. Then he sent for thirty-six barrels of powder from Holland, and lodging them at Lambeth, caused them to be conveyed in the night into the cellar, and covered with coals and faggots.‡

The plot being thus in a fair way, it was considered what was to be done when the King, Prince Henry, his eldest son, the Lords, and Commons, should be buried in the ruins of the Parliament house. The Duke of York, the King's second son, being yet very young, was not to be present at the Parliament, and the Princess Elizabeth, his sister, was educated at a house belonging to the Lord Harrington, in Warwickshire. It was resolved therefore, that Percy, who had free admittance into the King's palace, should undertake to kill the Duke of York, and that others, under colour of a hunting match, should meet on the same day, near the Lord Harrington's house, and secure the Princess Elizabeth. As all this could not be effected without money, Tresham offered two thousand pounds sterling, Digby fifteen hundred, and Percy promised to supply four thousand. Some moved for foreign aid beforehand: but the motion was rejected. It was resolved only to demand assistance of France, Spain, and the Archduke, when the plot should be executed. Then after some consultation, they agreed to save the Princess Elizabeth, and proclaim her Queen. To this end, they drew up a proclamation, taking care to insert nothing concerning religion, for fear of alarming the people, till they were sufficiently strong to execute all their designs. Finally, they resolved to spread a report, after the blow should be given, that the Puritans were the authors of it.

The Parliament being further prorogued to the 5th of November, the conspirators expected the day with the utmost impatience, not one being touched with remorse of the crime they were going to commit. One of the conspirators, however, conceived a desire to save William Parker, Lord Monteagle, son of the Lord Morley. This Lord going home about seven in the evening, a letter was given him by his servant who received it from an unknown person, with a charge to deliver it into his master's own hand. The letter was without name or date, and expressed in these words:

"My Lord,

"Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at the Parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into the country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past so soon as you burn this letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it: to whose holy protection I commend you."

This letter was delivered to the Lord Monteagle, ten days before the meeting of the Parliament. Though it was unintelligible to him, though he imagined it only an artifice to frighten him, he carried it to the Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary of State. The Earl shewed it to some Privy Counsellors, who understood the meaning of it no more than he. However they resolved to do nothing till the King's return, who was then at Royston.

The King returning to London the last day of October, the Earl of Salisbury read the letter to him, and concluded that it was written by some fool or madman.

* Catesby, Percy, Wright, Fawkes, and Winter, met behind St. Clement's church in London, and upon a primer gave each other the oath of secrecy, and afterwards went into the next room, where they heard mass, and received the sacrament upon the same.

† It was about three yards thick. They that worked in this mine, were, Percy, Catesby, Thomas and Robert Winter, John and Christopher Wright, and Fawkes. They began to work December 11, and about Candlemass had worked the wall half through. They all seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder, being resolved to die rather than yield or be taken. They had provided themselves with baked meats, to have the less occasion for sending out; and they went in the night, and were never seen.

‡ They put in at first but twenty barrels, but fearing they might be damp, they added sixteen more. There were a thousand billets, and five hundred faggots to cover them. In their indictment it is said, they put in thirty barrels and four hogsheads of gun-powder, and laid on them great iron bars and stones.

To convince the King, he repeated this sentence, "The danger is past so soon as you burn this letter." For, said he, if the danger be passed when the letter is burnt, what signifies this warning? But the King, ordering the letter to be read again, explained the words otherwise, and said, "So soon as you burn the letter," was to be interpreted, "In as short a space as you shall take to burn the letter." Then comparing this sentence with the foregoing, "That they should receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them," he concluded that some sudden blow was preparing by means of gun-powder. This interpretation being deemed very plausible, it was resolved, that all the rooms and cellars adjoining to the Parliament house should be searched, to see whether there was any powder concealed. This search was however deferred till the day before the meeting of the Parliament, in a belief, that the nearer the execution was, the more signs would be found. The Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, went himself to search, without noise or hurry. When he came to the cellar where the powder was, and saw the coals and faggots with which it was covered, he asked Whyneard the keeper of the wardrobe, who attended him, to what use he had put the cellar? Whyneard answered, Mr. Percy had hired it, and very probably the coals and wood were the gentleman's fuel for winter. At the same time the Lord Chamberlain, perceiving a man standing in a corner, asked who he was, and being told he was Mr. Percy's servant, did not seem to take any further notice.* This affected negligence made the conspirators think there would be no further search, since nothing was found in the cellar to create any suspicion; and they prepared to execute their plot the next day.

The Earl of Suffolk having made his report to the council, it was thought, if there was any powder concealed, it was in the large cellar under the faggots and coals. But as the Parliament was to meet on the morrow, it was resolved not to search under the wood till midnight, in hopes to find, in or about the cellar, some persons from whom information might be had. Pursuant to this resolution, Sir Thomas Knevet, gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and justice of peace for Westminster, going to the cellar about midnight, found at the door a man in a cloak and boots, whom he immediately apprehended. This was Guy Fawkes, who passed for Percy's servant. Then causing the wood and coals to be removed, they found underneath, thirty-six barrels of powder. After this discovery, Fawkes being searched, there were found upon him a dark lantern, a tinder-box, and three matches. The villain, instead of being dismayed, boldly told them, if he had been taken within the cellar, he would have blown up himself and them together. The King, being acquainted with the discovery, ordered the prisoner to be examined concerning the circumstances of the plot. He confessed the design was to blow up the King and Parliament, and expressed great sorrow that it was not done, saying, it was the devil and not God that was the discoverer. He obstinately refused all that day to name any of his accomplices; but on the morrow, being shewed the rack, confessed all he knew.

The opening of the Parliament, which was to be the same day, being deferred, and the news of the conspiracy beginning to spread in London, Catesby, Percy, Winter, and the two Wrights, fled by several ways to their companions, who were to secure the Princess Elizabeth. These last were ready to execute their design the moment they should hear of the success of the mine at Westminster. As they did not question it would succeed to their wish, and believed they had nothing more to manage, they had the night before broken open a stable, and carried away seven or eight horses. This action had alarmed Sir Richard Verney, sheriff of the county, who had drawn the people together to seize the robbers. Presently after came the conspirators that fled from London, and told their companions, the plot had miscarried. Whereupon they resolved to keep together, to endeavour to make the Catholics rise, and put themselves at their head. But all their efforts ended in raising about four-score horse.

Meanwhile, the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties, having sent notice to one another, called the people to arms, and pursued the conspirators from place to place, till at length the villains were forced to take harbour at Holbeach, in Staffordshire, where the sheriff summoned them to surrender. They prepared to defend themselves, or fight their way through; but, in opening a barrel of powder to charge their muskets, it took fire and blew up part of the house. This accident constrained them to open the gate, and try to escape. Some were killed immediately by the people who surrounded them. Catesby, Percy, and Winter, standing back to back, fought desperately, till the two first were killed with one shot, and the other taken alive, after receiving several wounds. Digby, Rookwood, Grant, and Bates, yielded, or were taken, in trying to escape. Tresham, who staid at London with Robert Winter, brother of Thomas Winter, and Littleton, was discovered and apprehended with his two companions. All the prisoners were sent to the Tower, and strictly examined. Thomas Winter confessed himself guilty, and wrote his confession with his own hand. Digby vindicated his crime, because, having expected the King would grant a free toleration to the Catholics, and not seeing any likelihood of their obtaining it, he was driven by despair to engage in the plot. Tresham said at first, that father Garnet the Jesuit was privy to the conspiracy, but afterwards denied it, by his wife's instigation, as it is pretended, affirming, he had not seen him for sixteen years. But Garnet, who was apprehended after Tresham's death, confessed, he had frequently conferred with him within six months. The Earl of Northumberland was sent to the Tower, on suspicion of being concerned in the plot. This suspicion was grounded upon his being Captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, and admitting into it his cousin Percy, without administering to him the oath of supremacy, though he knew his religion. This affair being afterwards brought into the Star Chamber, the Earl was fined in thirty thousand pounds sterling, deprived of all his posts, and imprisoned during the King's pleasure.

The session of the Parliament began not till the 9th of November. The King then made a long speech, representing the heinousness and consequences of this horrible plot and magnifying the mercy of God in the miraculous discovery. But withal, he took great care to clear the Catholic religion, and to observe, that this abominable plot, was to be ascribed to such only as were truly Papists, and imbued with the most detestable principles. He affirmed, that there were not many of these, and it would be extremely injurious to accuse the Catholics in general of following such extravagant maxims.

The speech was much applauded by the courtiers, who admired its wisdom, justice, and equity, and remarked the King's greatness of soul, who at the very time he had so much reason to complain of the Catholics, took care to justify their religion, and hinder the innocent from being confounded with the guilty. But the rest of the people were not of the same opinion. They considered with grief and astonishment, the tender regard the King expressed for the Catholics in general, under pretence of a distinction, which was thought imaginary, or at least very useless, by reason of the difficulty of discerning those who held the maxims condemned by the King, from those who were willing to renounce them. They observed also, the difference which the King made, between the Romish religion and that of the Puritans. The former hindered not its professors from being faithful subjects, but the latter was not to be tolerated in any well governed commonwealth.

* The Lord Monteagle, curious to know the event, was with the Lord Chamberlain, and hearing Percy named, immediately guessed the letter came from him, there being great friendship between them.

As soon as he had ended his speech, the King prorogued the Parliament to the 21st of January.*

A. D. 1606.] The discovery of the powder-plot was universally ascribed to the King's penetration, who alone discovered the meaning of the letter to the Lord Monteagle. Some of his flatterers even did not scruple to say, he could never have found out the mystery, without the immediate assistance of the Holy Ghost.

The King of Spain's and the Archduke's ambassadors testified their joy for this deliverance, by bonfires before their doors, and fountains of wine to the mob. The King publicly declared, he was sure no foreign Prince was privy to the plot. Indeed, all the Princes, as well Catholic as Protestant, expressed their abhorrence of so damnable a design, and congratulated him upon his deliverance.

The Parliament meeting the 21st of January, the King appointed commissioners to try the conspirators. He had till now delayed to give the people the satisfaction to see these villains punished. But perceiving if he did not do it of himself, the Parliament would not fail to petition him, he resolved to give them over to justice. There were but eight executed the 31st of January,† though the number of the guilty was much greater. Some time after, Oldcorn, a Jesuit, saying openly, that the ill success of the conspiracy did not render it the less just, was sent to prison, condemned, and executed. Henry Garnet, provincial of the English Jesuits, having also been arrested, was sentenced to die as a traitor, upon the depositions of those that were already executed. The Jesuits have been pleased to honour these men with the title of martyrs, as if they had suffered only in hatred to their religion. But King James's humour and character will not permit it to be thought, that he put men to death only because they were Catholics.‡

Whilst the Parliament was considering the powder-plot, it was suddenly rumoured that the King was stabbed at Oking with a poisoned knife. This rumour instantly threw the people into the utmost consternation, imagining it was the effect of some fresh conspiracy. But the alarm was soon over. Two hours after came certain advice that the King was alive, and he even returned to London that very day, and published a proclamation to quiet the people. The Spanish ambassador distinguished his affection for the King, by presenting Sir Lewis Lewkenor with a gold chain, for bringing him the news of his safety.

Meanwhile, the Parliament seriously applied themselves to prevent the designs of the Popish recusants, that is, of such as refused to acknowledge the King's independent authority. For the more easy discovery of such persons, the two Houses agreed to draw up an oath, which all subjects, without exception, should be obliged to take. This oath was called the oath of allegiance, that is, of submission and obedience to the King, as sovereign, independent of any other power upon earth. It differed from the oath of supremacy, as it concerned only the King's temporal sovereignty, and his independence of the Pope; whereas the other, enacted in the reign of Henry VIII. obliged the subjects to acknowledge the King for supreme head of the church of England.§

Most of the English Catholics, with the arch-priest Blackwell their superior, made no scruple to comply with the oath; and even when Urban VIII. sent them a brief, dated October 31, 1606, forbidding them to take it, they thought the brief was forged by their enemies, to draw them into a non-compliance. But the Pope spoke more fully the next year, and by a second brief plainly told them, if they took the oath, they forfeited all hopes of salvation. At the same time, Cardinal Bellarmine, under the feigned name of Tortus, wrote a book against this oath, and a letter to the Arch-priest Blackwell, to admonish him to repent, as if in taking the oath he had committed the most heinous offence. This occasioned King James's apology for himself, published some time after, with a preamble addressed to all Christian Princes, wherein he cleared himself from the imputation of being a persecutor of the Catholics.

The common danger, which threatened the whole kingdom, stifled for a time the disputes between the King and Commons, which arose in the first session of the Parliament. The Commons were so far from intending to revive them, that, on the contrary, to gain the King's good will, they granted him one of the largest subsidies that had ever been given to his predecessors in the urgent occasions of the State, though he was then in profound peace, and wanted money only to enrich his favourites. The affair of the union of the two kingdoms was deferred to the next session; and the King having no further occasion for the Parliament, prorogued it from the 27th of May to the 18th of November.

The supply from the Parliament, came very seasonably to the King, to give a splendid reception to his brother-in-law the King of Denmark, who arrived shortly after, to visit the Queen his sister, and the King. During his stay in England, there was one continued, though various, scene of diversions, as plays, sights, entertainments, balls, masquerades, and hunting, in a word, every thing that was thought proper to divert him.

The session of the Parliament, which began the 18th of November, was chiefly employed in the affair of the

* The Lords Mordant and Sturton, suspected of being privy to the plot, were fined, the first ten thousand marks, the other six thousand, though there was no other proof against them, but their not coming to the Parliament. They were sentenced by the Star Chamber, which was then the terror of the great men, and which, for the least offence, condemned the parties accused in exorbitant fines to the King's use. The King gave the Lord Monteagle, the first discoverer of the treason, two hundred pounds a year in fee farm rents, and five hundred pounds a year during his life, as a reward for his good service.

† Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, were executed at the west end of St. Paul's church, January 30; and the next day, Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Guy Fawkes, suffered the punishment of traitors, in the Old Palace-yard at Westminster.

‡ The order of the Jesuits was founded by Ignatius Loyola, a Biscayan gentleman, about the year 1538, under the pontificate of Paul III. The dispersion of this order, which had long been formidable throughout the world, was one of the consequences of the French revolution. Since the downfall of Buonaparte, however, it has been restored by the present Pope, by a bull dated August 7, 1814. For a detailed account of the origin and principles of this order, see Robertson's History of Charles V.

§ Here follows the oath which has been, and still is spoken of by many, without well knowing what it is.

I, A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare, in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign Lord King James, is lawful King of this realm, and of all other his Majesty's dominions and countries: and that the Pope neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church or see of Rome, or by any other means whatsoever, hath any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Majesty's kingdoms, or dominions, or to authorise any foreign Prince to invade or annoy him or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, or to give license or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Majesty's royal person, state, or government, or to any of his Majesty's subjects within his Majesty's dominions. Also I do swear from my heart, that, notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted by the Pope, or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his see, against the said King, his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience; I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence, or declaration, or otherwise, and will do this my endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traiterous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of, to be against him or any of them. And I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed and murthered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do believe, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof; which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian.

So help me God.

union,

union, which the King strongly solicited. Sir Francis Bacon, the King's solicitor, was ordered to move and support it with the best arguments he could devise. But though he was learned and eloquent, he met in the House of Commons, with persons able to withstand him, and to alledge as strong reasons against, as he did for, the union. The chief objections were, the inequality between the state and riches of the two kingdoms, the difference of the laws and customs, and Scotland's perpetual alliance with France. But the most prevailing argument, though it was not publickly insisted upon, was the jealousy of the English, which baffled all Bacon's rhetoric.

A. D. 1607.] The King, hearing the affair was not likely to succeed in the Parliament, sent for both Houses to Whitehall, and endeavoured in a long speech to shew the necessity of the union, and the common advantage it would procure. He answered the objections alledged in the two houses, speaking one while with great mildness, another while with a menacing tone, turning himself every way to attain his ends. He said, it was not reasonable, the English and Scots should consider each other as enemies, whilst subjects of the same King, and consequently it was necessary all hostile laws should cease, meaning the laws made from time to time upon the frequent invasions of the Scots on the borders of England. He added, it was no less reasonable, there should be between the two nations community of commerce, since he was no stranger, but descended from the ancient Kings of England, and could not be natural liege-lord to both, whilst they were strangers to each other. Finally, it was against nature, for people who lived under the same dominion, to be no more united than Frenchmen and Spaniards. In answering the objection taken from the perpetual alliance between France and Scotland, he affirmed, the alliance was not between the two nations, but only between their Kings.

The earnestness which the King expressed for the union of the two kingdoms, was not capable of prevailing with the Parliament. All he could obtain, was the repealing of the hostile laws.

The ill success of this affair extremely troubled the King. Thenceforward he always appeared very averse to Parliaments; as on the other hand, the people began to dislike him. They could not see without grief, so many proclamations, which seemed to suppose the King's will to be the sole rule of the government. The King's needless expences were another cause of complaint, because they were compared with Queen Elizabeth's frugality and good management. All this began to form a cloud, which perhaps would have been followed by a storm, had not the King, on the 4th of July, prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of November, and afterwards to the 9th of February.*

Before the Parliament was prorogued, there were some commotions in Northamptonshire,† where the country people rose in arms, under the conduct of one John Reynolds, who styled himself Captain Pouch; but these troubles were short lived. The sheriff of the county found means to disperse the rebels, without the assistance of any regular troops.‡

April 11, 1608, George Gervis, a seminary priest of Rheims, was hanged at Tyburn; and the 23d of June, Thomas Garnet, a Jesuit, had the same fate. Garnet was offered a pardon, provided he would take the oath of allegiance, which he resolutely refused.

The chief concern of the ministers was to see that the King did not want money. One of the properest meaus devised to procure this, was the monopoly of the sale of cloths, at the solicitation of a certain merchant, who, in all appearance, dearly purchased his patent. At this time, the English were not skilled in the art of dressing and dying English woollen manufactures. They sent them into Holland white, and the Hollanders, after they had dyed them, sent them back, and sold them in England. The merchant just mentioned, intimating to the King and ministry, that a great profit would accrue to England, if the cloths were dressed at home, obtained a patent to dress and dye them, exclusive of all others. Then the King published a proclamation, forbidding all persons to send any white cloths abroad. Whereupon the Hollanders prohibited the importation of dyed cloths from England. So the merchant who obtained the patent, not being able to sell his dyed cloths any-where but in England, was forced to dress and dye only a small quantity. This raised such clamours amongst the cloth weavers, that the King was obliged to permit the exportation of a certain quantity of white cloths. At length, the court by degrees connived at the offenders, and the woollen trade continued upon the same footing as before.§

Archbishop Bancroft never ceased to plague the Puritans, to oblige them to conform to the church of England. For this reason, great numbers of these people resolved to go and settle in Virginia, discovered in the late reign by Sir Walter Raleigh. Accordingly, some departed for that country; but the Archbishop, seeing many more ready to take the same voyage, obtained a proclamation, enjoining them not to go without the King's express licence. The court was apprehensive, this sect would become in the end too numerous and powerful in America. This very year the Archbishop made a fresh attempt concerning the twenty-one articles formerly mentioned: but the opposition of the judges was so strong, that the King, however desirous he was to please the prelate, durst not proceed.

A. D. 1609.] In the spring of this year, after a long negotiation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that war which, for nearly half a century, had been carried on with such fury, between Spain and the States of the United Provinces. Never contest seemed, at first, more unequal; never contest was finished with more honour to the weaker party. On the side of Spain were numbers, riches, authority, discipline: on the side of the revolted provinces, were found the attachment to liberty and enthusiasm of religion. By her naval enterprises the republic maintained her armies; and, joining peaceful industry to military valour, she was enabled, by her own force, to support herself, and gradually to rely less on those neighbouring Princes, who, from jealousy to Spain, were at first prompted to encourage her revolt. Long had the pride of that monarchy prevailed over her interest, and prevented her from hearkening to any terms of accommodation with her rebellious subjects. But, finding all intercourse cut off between her provinces, by the maritime force of the States, she at last agreed to treat with them as a free people, and solemnly so renounce all claim and pretension to their sovereignty.

This chief point being gained, the treaty was easily brought to a conclusion, under the joint mediation and guarantee of France and England. All exterior ap-

* In this session it was enacted, that every person who is drunk, shall forfeit for every offence five shillings, to be paid to the churchwardens of the parish.——In the beginning of this year, 1607, was begun a new English translation of the Bible, which was published in 1611, and is the same as is now in common use.

† And in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, &c. The cause of their dissatisfaction was, the enclosing of commons and other lands; and so all the mischief they did, was to break down hedges, fill up ditches, and lay open all enclosures.

‡ The Earl of Tiroen, the famous Irish rebel, pardoned by Queen Elizabeth, and brought to London the beginning of this reign, shortly after, returned to his native country. He not only attempted once more to raise a rebellion in Ireland, but also applied to foreign Princes for assistance. His secret practices not succeeding to his expectation, he was afraid of being apprehended, and chose to leave Ireland, taking with him the Earl of Tirconnel, whom he had drawn into his plots. When he had come to a place of safety, he gave out, that the outrages committed in Ireland upon the Catholics had constrained him to forsake his estate and country.

§ The same year, the King engrossed to himself the selling of alum, which had been lately discovered in England, and prohibited the importation of foreign alum, by proclamation. A proclamation was also published, prohibiting all foreign nations to fish on the coasts of Great Britain. This occasioned the next year a treaty, whereby the Hollanders engaged to pay an annual sum for leave to fish. The King would have afterwards broken the treaty, and taken from them the license he had granted them; but they maintained their privilege against his consent, by guarding their fishing boats with men of war. James, being a pacific Prince, did not think this a sufficient motive to quarrel with them.

pearances

pearances of honour were paid equally to both crowns: but very different were the sentiments which the States, as well as all Europe, entertained of the Princes who wore them. Frugality and vigour, the chief circumstances which procure regard among foreign nations, shone out as conspicuously in Henry as they were deficient in James. To a contempt of the English monarch, Henry seems to have added a considerable degree of jealousy and aversion, which were sentiments altogether without foundation. James was just and fair in all transactions with his allies;* but it appears from the memoirs of those times, that each side deemed him partial towards their adversary, and fancied that he had entered into secret measures against them. So little equity have men in their judgments of their own affairs; and so dangerous is that entire neutrality affected by the King of England!†

A. D. 1610.] The King's proceedings increased the discontent of most of the English. The proclamations which were every day published, and whereof several were upon subjects not used to be decided by the former Kings without the concurrence of the Parliament, bred suspicions and jealousies, which the King was not sufficiently careful to stifle in their birth. On the other hand, his condescension for the Roman Catholics, whose cause he espoused on all occasions, their access and credit at court, even to their being admitted to the most important offices, and into the ministry itself, created fears in the people, and caused them to suspect some plot was formed against the Protestant religion. The ministers, knowing these dispositions, were justly apprehensive of meeting great difficulties in the Parliament, which was to sit the 9th of February. The King intended to procure money, of which he was in great want, though he had no war upon his hands, nor any affair which seemed to require an extraordinary aid. It was therefore necessary at least to give the Parliament good words, and try to palliate his immense expences, since his accession to the crown. But James, believing it to be derogatory to the dignity of a Sovereign, to make an apology himself to his subjects, ordered the Earls of Suffolk and Salisbury to do it for him. The Earl of Salisbury's speech, however, produced not the effect hoped by the King and his ministers. Some of the Commons loudly complained of the King's prodigality, and excessive bounty to the Scots.

But what made most noise in the Lower-House was the High-Commission, which exercised in the kingdom a kind of inquisition on matters of religion and state.‡

The King being informed of what was talked in the Parliament, sent for both houses to Whitehall, and endeavoured to show, he was unjustly complained of. But withal, he intimated by some expressions which plainly discovered his sentiments, that if he did not rule with an absolute sway, it was not for want of power, but entirely owing to his equity.§ The whole speech tended, either plainly, or ambiguously, to establish in the King an absolute and despotic power. The English had not been used to hear their Kings speak in this manner. Henry VIII. the most arbitrary of all, managed the Parliament, in order to procure acts in favour of the Sovereign, but never pretended to establish his authority upon such principles. So, the Commons, evidently perceiving what the King had in his thoughts, resolved strenuously to oppose his designs. But it was not yet a proper season to begin. They feigned therefore to take no notice of the maxims the King would have established, and granted a subsidy, though a much smaller than he expected. This done, the Parliament, having sat till July 23, was prorogued to the 16th of October.‖

Before the end of the session, the King created his eldest son Henry, Prince of Wales, and settled his household, so that the young Prince kept his court at St. James's, whilst the Queen kept her's at Somerset House, to which she gave the name of Denmark House; but it was called so only during her life, and among her own people.¶

Whilst James lived in profound tranquillity, the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon Henry IV.'s grand project to humble the house of Austria. But whilst he was preparing for this expedition, he was murdered by Ravaillac, a Friar, in his own coach, in the midst of Paris.**

The murderer's confession,†† discovered, that this regicide was committed in consequence of that doctrine of the Romish church, which was so disagreeable to King James, and the Jesuits were universally believed to be concerned in it. Wherefore, James, finding how much it behoved him to remove from his person, men who held so detestable a doctrine, issued out a fresh proclamation, commanding all Jesuits, and priests,

* The plan of accommodation which James recommended, is found in Winwood; and is the same that was recommended by Henry, as we learn from Jeanin. It had long been imagined by historians, from Jeanin's authority, that James had declared to the court of Spain, that he would not support the Dutch in their pretensions to liberty and independence. But it has since been discovered, by Winwood's Memorials, that that report was founded on a lie of president Richardot's.

† The fifteen years' letters patent granted by Queen Elizabeth to the East-India Company expiring about this time, King James granted them, in May this year, an enlargement of their privileges, and a Charter whereby he incorporated them for ever.

‡ For the better understanding of this cause of complaint, it must be remembered, that when Henry VIII. was declared supreme head of the church of England, he appointed Cromwell for his Vicegerent in religious affairs, with power to exercise the supremacy in his name. After the tragical end of this first and only Vicegerent, this office was executed by commisioners. And this is what was called the High-Commission, which continued during the lives of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and ceasing in Mary's reign, was revived by Elizabeth. In her reign the High-Commission exercised its authority with great moderation. But the case was otherwise under James I. This Prince, as frequently observed, mortally hated the puritans, and after his proclamation for uniformity, it was the High-Commission's business to see his injunctions executed. It may easily be guessed that the Commissioners, who were all named by the King, were not favourable to the puritans. Accordingly, they very rigorously exercised their power. Had they stopped there, this severity upon a set of obstinate people, as they were reckoned, and whose number was small in comparison of the Episcopalians, would not have excited the complaints of the Lower-House. But, because the puritans were against the Hierarchy, the King inferred they were also against monarchy, and there were but too many who laboured to confirm him in this notion. For this reason, all who were not very submissive to the King's orders, or great assertors of the privileges of the people, were affectedly called puritans. Under this pretence the High-Commission proceeded against them, and wanted not means to molest them. Thus, to be really a Protestant and member of the church of England, the communicating in that Church, and complying with the external worship, were not sufficient, the King's authority was also to be acknowledged as extensive as his flatterers were pleased to make it. They who ventured to censure his conduct, and question his unlimited power, were deemed infected with puritanism, and to reason upon puritanical principles. So, there were then two sorts of puritans, church-puritans, and state-puritans. But the High-Commission affected to confound them one with another, in order to exercise authority upon both. This was the occasion of the complaints in the House of Commons.

§ He wished, however, that three things especially were reformed in the common law:

I. That it were written in the vulgar tongue, and made plain to the people's understanding.

II. That it might have a settled text in all cases, and the exposition of it were fixed by act of Parliament.

III. That the divers contrary reports and precedents, and the several statutes and acts of Parliament that crossed one another, might be reviewed and reconciled.

‖ The acts made in this session were these:

I. That all such as are to be naturalized, or restored in blood, shall first receive the Sacrament, and take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

II. An act for the due execution of divers laws and statutes against rogues, vagabonds, and other lewd and idle persons; whereby it is provided, that there shall be a house of correction erected in every county, to set such persons to work.

III. An act to avoid the double payments of debts.

¶ All historians affirm, the Prince of Wales was of a very different character from that of the King his father. Though he was but sixteen years old, there appeared in him principles of equity, justice, moderation, magnanimity, which so gained him the love and esteem of the English, that the King could not forbear being jealous. His court was well regulated, no extravagancies or indecencies were seen there, except perhaps the too frequent masquerades, which were then much in vogue, because the Queen was passionately fond of them. As for the King, it is said, he did not spend much of his time in state-affairs, but entirely trusted to his ministers.

** Soon after this, viz. August 19, King James renewed the league between the kingdoms of England and France; and received from Lewis XIII. sixty thousand pounds sterling, due to the crown of England.

†† At his examination he boldly confessed he did it, because the King did not take arms against the Huguenots, and that making war against the Pope, is the same as to make war against God, "Seeing the Pope was God, and God was the Pope."

to depart the kingdom, and all recusants not to come within ten miles of the court. Then he caused all his subjects to take the oath of allegiance, which the Parliament, then sitting, had first taken.

The court of Spain was generally suspected of contriving the King of France's murder, because, that Prince was known to be making great preparations against the house of Austria, and that house was not seen to prepare to oppose his designs. Meanwhile, whether James did not believe it, or thought it adviseable to gain the friendship of a house so formidable to the Protestants, he sent to Sir Charles Cornwallis, his Ambassador, to negotiate a marriage between the Prince of Wales, and the King of Spain's eldest daughter.*

Parliament meeting the 16th of October, the Commons were in a humour which pleased not the King. Therefore he determined to dissolve the Parliament by proclamation, the 31st of December, having first prorogued it.†

On the 1st of September, Prince Maurice became master of Juliers, with the aid brought by the Marshal de la Chatre from France, and the English forces that were in the service of the States, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, the Earl of Salisbury's brother.

The King being freed from the incumbrance of the Parliament, and resolving never to call another, the courtiers greatly applauded his design. The three courts were a continual scene of mirth and diversions, and especially the Queen's, where scarcely any thing else was regarded. She had her favourites, as the King had his, that is, persons whose avidity was to be satisfied. The King, however, had not yet a favourite, according to the usual sense of the word, though whilst he reigned in Scotland, he had plainly showed he could hardly be without one. This Prince's taste was very different from that of most others. Neither virtue, nor merit, nor eminent qualities, had any charms for him. He was to be captivated only by something external and dazzling, as youth, gracefulness of person, fine cloaths, and the like. It was not, however, till 1611, that the Scots found means to gain the advantage of their rivals, by giving the King a favourite of their nation.

Robert Carr, a young Scotch gentleman about twenty years of age, just come from learning his exercises in France, going to court to wait on the Lord Hay, his countryman, to whom he was recommended, that Lord had no sooner cast his eyes on him, but he imagined him a fit person to fix the King's affections. With this view, he resolved to show him at court, and surprize the King, by presenting to him, as by chance, this new object. One day, at a tilting, he chose Carr to present his shield and device to the King, according to custom. The King being on horseback, and Carr advancing to perform his office, his horse by some accident happened to start, throw him down, and break his leg. The King, sorry for this misfortune, asked who the young man was, and hearing his name was Carr, remembered he had a page of that name in Scotland, which proved to be the same. This made him still more concerned for his fall, and was the cause of his ordering him to be lodged in the palace, and all possible care to be taken of him. The tilting was no sooner over, but he visited Carr in his room. Next day he came again. In short, as long as Carr kept his bed, not a day passed but the King spent an hour or two with him. He found in this young Scot no great depth of learning or experience, yet such a calm outside, as made him think there might be a fit harbour for his most retired thoughts. Wherefore he resolved to fix his inclination upon this object, hoping to render him, by his instructions, as great a man as any of his ministers. As soon as Carr was recovered, the King made him a Knight, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and took the pains himself to teach him Latin. In a word, Carr became a perfect favourite. All suits, all petitions, were addressed to him, and no favours granted but by his means. Happily for him George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, a Scotchman, who was very much esteemed by the King, died about this time. So Carr enjoyed the King's favour without a rival, and was raised to the office of Lord Treasurer of Scotland, vacant by the death of Dunbar.

The King's new inclination hindered him not from interposing in the disputes caused in Holland, by the diversity of opinion upon certain religious points, between the Gomarists and the Arminians or remonstrants.‡

It

---

* Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and grand adversary of the puritans died about this time. He had procured the King's patent to found a college at Chelsea, for the maintenance of a certain number of able controversists, who were to combat with their sermons and writings, the adversaries of the church of England, as well puritans as papists, but his death put an end to the project. George Abbot, who succeeded him, was of a very different character. He was even suspected and accused of being a puritan, because he would not, like his predecessor, persecute that sect, nor blindly follow the maxims of the court with respect to government.

† The ministers, finding by the motions made in the Lower-House, that a resolution was taken to use the most effectual methods to redress the grievances, thought it against the King's and their own interest, to suffer the Commons to execute this project. The pretences for dissolving the Parliament set forth in the proclamation, were,

"That the King had proposed many things for the differing and surpassing the graces and favours of former times, both in nature and value, in expectation of a good conclusion of some weighty cause, which had been there in deliberation, and not only for the supply of the necessities of his Majesty's estate, but for the ease and freedom of his subjects: but these being, the two last sessions, little taken notice of; and that the members, by reason of the length of Parliament, were debarred from the hospitality they kept in the country, and that divers shires, cities, and boroughs, had been burdened with expence of maintaining their members; for these reasons he dissolved them." This Parliament, being the first of this reign, had sat seven years. From its dissolution to the year 1614, it was the ministry's business to devise ways and means to supply the King's wants.

‡ Franciscus Gomarus and Jacobus Arminius, both divinity-professors in the University of Leyden, had some years since discovered a difference in opinion, concerning absolute predestination, inadmissibility of grace, and some other theological points. They began their disputes at the end of the last century; but the war at that time not permitting people to attend to their controversy, it was confined to their schools till the year 1608. Gomarus followed the opinion of the first Reformers, and Arminius took a contrary course. At last, the States of Holland, perceiving a schism was forming in their church, endeavoured to prevent it by means of conference, which served only to inflame it. The disputes continued; each strengthened his party; and the States, being then employed in the important affair of the truce, could not attend to this, and prevent its consequences. Arminius dying in 1608, his disciples and followers continued the dispute. At length they presented to the States a petition, containing the articles of the faith; and as, instead of the term petitioners, they used that of remonstrants, they were so called, and gloried in the name. The Gomarists presented likewise their petition, styling themselves Contra-Remonstrants.

Arminius's professorship was filled by Conrade Vorstius, divinity-professor at Steinfort, in the county of Bentheim. This divine had published a Treatise concerning God, which had so excited the Gomarists against him, that he was obliged to clear himself in a printed apology from their imputations. But notwithstanding, before he came to Leyden, he was represented as a real Socinian. In 1611, he was attacked by some divines, who offered to show damnable errors both in his Treatise concerning God and in his Apology. These two books being sent into England, the King read them, and presently after sent to Sir Ralph Winwood, his Ambassador at the Hague, a list of the errors he had remarked, ordering him withal, to declare to the States, that he was resolved to publish in print, how much he detested such abominable errors, and the allowers and tolerators of them. This was directly falling upon the States, who had acquitted Vorstius. The Ambassador presented therefore on this occasion a memorial, to which the States returned a modest answer, though they had reason to complain of the haughtiness the King treated them with. Before the King received the answer, he had ordered some of Vorstius's books to be publicly burnt at London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Notwithstanding all this, Vorstius was received at Leyden, and the King wrote against him to the States with so much vehemence, that, in his opinion, burning was too good for him. He even threatened, that in case they continued to tolerate this professor, he would cause the churches of England and Scotland to withdraw from the communion of that of Holland, and exhort all her reformed churches to follow the example.

Though the States of Holland thought it very strange to be thus checked, they believed it was proper to show a regard to the King of England, though without complying with what he required. To this end, they answered the Ambassador, that they had provisionally ordered, that Vorstius should forbear the functions of his office till the next assembly upon this affair, and in the meantime remain at Leyden only as an inhabitant. Winwood took this answer for a denial, and complained in very haughty terms, of their little respect for the King his master. Not long after, the King published a declaration against Vorstius, wherein he used the States of Holland very roughly. Then the States, who were unwilling to quarrel with him, ordered

It is difficult to guess the true cause of the King's great zeal on this occasion. It seems, on the contrary, that he ought not, upon many accounts, to have interposed in a theological dispute, about which the States had not asked his advice, and which concerned a church, over which he could not challenge the least jurisdiction. Probably, as he pretended to be very learned in divinity, he imagined, that having declared for one of the opinions, he was bound in honour to support it. Secondly, looking upon himself still as a Protector of the States, he had a mind to exert his authority on this occasion, and oblige them to do as he required. Thirdly, he was willing to favour Prince Maurice, who had declared for the Gomarists, against the Arminians, who had pensioner Barnevelt at their head.

The King's fondness for his new favourite continually and swiftly increased. The favours the King loaded him with, seemed to exceed all bounds. He created him, the 25th of March, 1612, Baron of Branspeth, and Viscount Rochester. A month after, he made him Privy-Counsellor, and then Knight of the Garter.*

Carr behaved at first very wisely, as favourite. He was neither greedy nor insolent; he did every one what service he could, and especially the English, whose friendship he preferred before that of his countrymen. He had but one Scotch servant, and one friend of that nation, a cousin-german. This conduct rendered him agreeable to the English. The Prince of Wales alone affected sometimes to mortify him, because they were both enamoured of the Countess of Essex, who gave the preference to the favourite. This was sufficient to gain him the Prince's enmity, who, nevertheless, would not be revenged of him. He chose rather to turn into contempt, his love for the lady, who, as we shall see presently, was not worthy of such a lover. Except this amour, which proved his ruin, the favourite carried himself very prudently, being guided by the counsels of Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of parts and great wisdom, who took care to keep him clear of those rocks, on which favourites seldom fail to run.

But though the Viscount Rochester carefully avoided being troublesome, his modesty served only to inflame the King's desire to render him instantly rich and powerful. This, added to the many bounties he bestowed on his courtiers, both English and Scotch, and to the maintenance of three several courts, threw him perpetually into straits. His ministers were incessantly devising means to raise money without a Parliament, of which he would not hear the least mention.

The King, to his great misfortune, lost in May the next year 1613, the Earl of Salisbury, who was perfectly acquainted with the affairs of the state, and genius of the English. He was a check to the rest of the ministers, and hindered them from running upon precipices, the danger whereof they did not know so well as he. Moreover, he had a wonderful art of diverting the King himself from hurtful resolutions, though he did not always succeed. The Earl of Suffolk was made Lord Treasurer: but he was very different from the person he succeeded, both for parts and uprightness. Besides, he had a wife who was greedy of money, and made no scruple to take bribes with both hands.

About the middle of the year, Robert Chreighton, Lord Sanquir, a Scotch nobleman, was condemned to be hanged, for hiring two of his countrymen to murder a fencing-master.† Nothing could prevail with the King to pardon him, who thought this example necessary to curb the insolence of the Scots, who had already committed several outrages in England. His clemency to some had produced such ill effects, that he did not think proper to continue the same course, for fear, in the end, of a general quarrel between the two nations, which must have been to the disadvantage of the Scots.‡

Shortly after, arrived in England a very extraordinary embassy. Sir Robert Sherley, an Englishman, who had served the King of Persia many years in his army, desiring to see his native country, obtained of that monarch the character of his Ambassador, and a letter of credit to the King, with the offer of a free trade to the English throughout the Persian dominions. This Ambassador had passed through the Hague, where he demanded audience of the States, to propose to them a treaty with the King of Persia. But because he came from Spain, where he had made some stay, the States suspecting he had some other design, asked to see his instructions, and upon his scrupling to show them, he was desired to withdraw. As he had been also at other courts, it was believed, he had put the King of Persia in hopes of engaging all the Christian Princes in a war with the Turks, who were preparing to invade him. He had married a Persian wife, who was delivered of a son in England, to whom the Queen stood godmother, and Prince Henry godfather. After a year's stay in England, he returned into Persia.§

The arrival of this ambassador did not make so much noise as that of Frederic V. the Elector Palatine, who came in October to marry the Princess Elizabeth, the King's daughter. He was received with all the respect imaginable; and for some time nothing was seen at court but entertainments and diversions on his account. But amidst the universal joy for this marriage, the Prince of Wales was seized with a distemper, which at first was not thought dangerous. It began on the 10th of October, a few days before the Elector Palatine's arrival: but he himself believed it of so little consequence, that he accompanied the Elector every where for some days. He was not forced to keep his bed till the 25th of the same month, and died the 6th of November, at the age of eighteen years. He was a most accomplished Prince, sober, chaste, temperate, religious, full of honour and probity. He was never heard to swear, though the example of his father, and the whole court, was but too apt to corrupt him in that respect. He took great delight in the conversation of men of honour; and those who were not reckoned as such, were looked upon with a very ill eye at his court. He

---

ordered Vorstius to remove from Leyden to Gouda, where he had another settlement provided for him.

* One day, it is said, the King having given him an order under his own hand, to receive 20,000*l.* at the Exchequer, the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, being surprised at the immenseness of the present, considering how little money there was then in the Treasury, successfully used a statagem, to demonstrate to the King, the excess of his bounty. He ordered the money, all in silver, to be laid on four tables in a room of his house, and inviting the King to an entertainment, caused him to pass through the room as by accident. The King failed not, as the Lord Treasurer foresaw, to ask, for what all that money was designed; to which Salisbury carelessly answered, It was for the Viscount Rochester, according to his Majesty's command. When the King understood his meaning, or had not considered the greatness of the present, he said, it was too much for one man, and bade the Treasurer give him but five thousand pounds.

† This young Lord, it seems, having a mind to disgrace one Turner, a fencing-master, in his own art, had one of his eyes thrust out by him. Some time after, the King of France asked him, "How he lost his eye?" And Sanquir telling him, "it was done with a sword," the King replied, "does the man live?" This question made such an impression upon the young Lord, that at his return to England, he caused Turner to be pistolled, at his house in White-Friars. He was tried in the court of King's Bench, June 27, and executed before Westminster-hall gate, the 29th.

‡ Ramsey switched Philip Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke's brother, over the face at a horse-race, which he not resenting, the King made him a Knight, a Baron, a Viscount, and an Earl, in one day. Mr. Edward Hawley of Gray's-Inn, coming to court one day, Maxwell led him out of the room by a black string he wore in his ear, a fashion then much in use. But this had like to have cost warm blood; not only Gray's-Inn society, but all the gentry in London, thought themselves concerned in the affront, and Hawley threatened to kill Maxwell wherever he met him, if he refused to fight, which so alarmed the King, that he sent for the benchers, and made up the quarrel. One Murray, a Scot, killed a serjeant that came to arrest him; which things, with Sanquir's pistolling Turner, and other insolencies, occasioned the following verses on the Scots:

They beg our lands, our goods, our lives;
They switch our nobles, and lie with their wives;
They pinch our gentry, and send for our benchers;
They stab our serjeants, and pistol our fencers.

§ He was second son to Sir Thomas Sherler of Sussex, and had been abroad fifteen years, five whereof he had spent in the service of divers Christian Princes, especially the Emperor Rodolphus, who made him a Count of the Empire. He afterwards travelled into Persia, and served that Emperor ten years, who made him General of the artillery, and gave him in marriage, the Lady Teresia, sister to one of the Queens of Persia. He left his young son in England.

had naturally a greatness of mind, noble and generous thoughts; and was as much displeased with trifles, as his father was fond of them. He frequently said, if ever he mounted the throne, his first care should be to try to reconcile the Puritans to the church of England. He was naturally gentle and affable: but however, in his carriage had a noble stateliness without affectation, which commanded esteem and respect. He showed a warlike genius, in his passionate fondness for all martial exercises. A French Ambassador coming to take his leave of him, found him tossing a pike, and asking him, "what service he would command him to his master?" the Prince bade him tell him, what he was doing. The King his father is said to have been jealous of him, and to have asked, one day, "If his son would bury him alive?" Some authors have even insinuated, though assuredly without foundation, that the King caused him to be poisoned. Others are contented with accusing the Viscount Rochester of this crime, but without any manner of proof. His head and body were ordered to be laid open, in the presence of many physicians and surgeons, who gave their opinion upon oath, that no marks of poison appeared. But what reflected most upon the King, was his commanding that no person should appear at court in mourning; whether he was willing to remove all melancholy objects from his sight, that might constantly renew his concern, or did not think proper to interrupt the diversions prepared for his daughter's marriage is uncertain. Decency obliged him, however, to defer the nuptials a few weeks, as the Prince's funeral could not be performed till the 7th of December.

Presently after, the King held a Chapter of the Order of the Garter at Windsor, wherein the Elector Palatine, and Prince Maurice, Stadtholder of Holland, were made Knights. They were installed in February following, both on the same day, the one at Windsor, the other at the Hague.

The beginning of the year 1613, was wholly spent in preparations for the Princess's wedding, which was solemnized the 14th of February. To this end the King demanded aid-money of his subjects, according to the ancient custom, observed when the Kings married their eldest daughter. Though it was now a hundred years since this custom had been used, there having been no occasion since the reign of Henry VII. few or none durst refuse to give what the King demanded. The Elector and the Princess staid in England till April, during which time there was nothing but entertainments, balls, masquerades, and other diversions. The City of London made the new married couple a splendid feast; after which, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen presented the bride with a chain of oriental pearl, worthy the greatness and richness of that metropolis.

By the departure of the Elector and Electress, the court became a little more quiet, as to public rejoicings, which had held several months without ceasing. But at the same time, a private scene was acting, the plots whereof began to open this year, but were not quite unravelled till two years after.

Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, was a mortal enemy to the late Earl of Essex, and one of the chief instruments of his ruin. The Earl left a son, who being but nine years old, did not give Cecil much uneasiness, though the King, at his coming to England, restored him to his estate and honours. Meanwhile, as this able minister could not be ignorant of the King's affection for the father, he was apprehensive, that, one time or other, he should be made to pay for all his artifices to ruin that Lord. It was chiefly upon that account, that, in order to preserve the King's favour, he judged it proper to unite closely with the Howard family, by his son's marriage with the Earl of Suffolk's eldest daughter. After which, perceiving the Earl of Essex to grow up, and fearing he might one day prove a thorn in his side, he believed it for his interest to be reconciled to him, and to confirm the reconciliation with the marriage of this young Lord to the Earl of Suffolk's second daughter, younger sister of his daughter-in-law. Besides his own advantage by this alliance, he gave the King the pleasure to see in strict union three families, for which he had the greatest affection; namely, those of Howard, Devereux, and Cecil. This marriage was accomplished in 1606, the Earl of Essex being then in his fifteenth, and Frances Howard his bride in her thirteenth year. As the married couple were yet very young, their relations thought fit the Earl should travel into France and Germany, till they were both a little more advanced in years. During his absence, his Countess became a perfect beauty, and eclipsed all the court ladies.

The Earl of Essex returned to England in the year 1610. He found his Countess in the prime of beauty: but withal, extremely proud of her own merit, by reason of the praises bestowed on her by all. He was himself charmed with her, but met not with that return he expected. She daily coined fresh excuses to delay the consummation of the marriage, and showed as much reluctance as he did eagerness. He bore it patiently for some time, being unwilling to use compulsion. Shortly after, he fell so dangerously ill of the small-pox, that his life was despaired of: but the strength of his constitution overcame his distemper, though it was long before he was quite recovered.

In this interval it was that Robert Carr became the King's favourite. When he gained his master's heart, he made a conquest almost at the same time of the Countess of Essex's, who suffered herself to be taken with the charms of this young Scot, and entirely gave herself over to this new passion, without daring however to reveal it to the person that caused it. Meanwhile, the Earl of Essex finding himself perfectly recovered, pressed his spouse to consent to the consummation of their marriage: but he found her reluctance the greater, as she was enamoured of another. In short, after trying all ways to prevail with her, without being able to succeed, he had recourse to the Earl of Suffolk his father-in-law, and entreated him to use his endeavours to vanquish his daughter's obstinacy. The Earl of Suffolk, surprised at what his son-in-law told him, sharply reprimanded his daughter, and positively told her, she must resolve to consummate the marriage. The Countess, not daring to disobey her father directly, desired only a little longer delay. She believed, in case she could avoid consummating her marriage with the Earl of Essex, it would not be impracticable to procure a divorce, and then marry the Viscount Rochester. Indeed, the Viscount knew nothing yet of her passion: but she had too good an opinion of her charms, not to hope an easy conquest, as soon as she should have occasion to discover it. On the other hand, the great credit of Rochester, and the Earls of Suffolk and Northampton, did not suffer her to question, that if the favourite undertook to marry her, he would easily accomplish it. But she wanted some time to lay her measures, wherein however she met with great opposition both from her husband and father.

In this extremity, not knowing how to proceed, she opened her mind to one Mrs. Turner, a physician's widow, a woman of a dissolute life, and capable of the basest actions. As this woman had no good advice to give her, she persuaded her to apply to one Dr. Foreman, who passed for a conjuror. He had perhaps some secrets of nature, but was not sorry to be thought skilled in the magic-art, because many women came to consult him, and paid him well for it.* To this man the Countess of Essex told her secret, and desired two things of him: First, to manage it so, that the Earl of Essex should be incapable to consummate his marriage. Secondly, to make the Viscount Rochester in love with her. Foreman very confidently promised both, and gave her certain powders for her husband to take, and to be put amongst his linen, with instructions how

* To show the Countess what effects his art would produce, Mrs. Turner, being in love with Sir Arthur Manwaring, gave him some of the powder, which wrought so violently with him, that, through a storm of rain and thunder, he rode fifteen miles one dark night to her house.

she

she should behave to him. As for Rochester, he himself undertook to perform upon him the necessary operations.

Meanwhile, the Countess could no longer disobey her father's command, so was forced at last to cohabit with her husband. But though they lay together, the marriage was not consummated. However this be, the Earl of Essex imagined, that his living in London and at court might contribute to his misfortune, and therefore resolved to carry his lady to Chartley in Staffordshire, a country-seat, about a hundred miles from London. The Countess could not be excused from going with her Lord: but all the while she was there, she shut herself up in a room, and would not so much as suffer the light of the sun to enter, giving herself over to an excessive melancholy, whether out of vexation or policy, the better to deny her husband. After this manner she lived some time with her husband in the country, who did not understand the meaning of this strange behaviour, In the meanwhile, she wrote several letters to Mrs. Turner and Foreman, telling them, "She was afraid Foreman's powders were not strong enough," &c. These letters were found in Foreman's study, and read in open court, upon an occasion to be mentioned presently.

At last, the Earl of Essex seeing himself in so uneasy a situation, resolved to carry his lady back to London, and give her full leave to live as she pleased. He began to perceive there was something extraordinary in her carriage, which he chose rather to be ignorant of than endeavour to discover.

The Countess being returned to court, and mistress of herself, no longer delayed to let Rochester know what she endured for his sake. There was no occasion to use magic to produce the desired effect. He was young, and she the finest lady in the kingdom. So, any advances from the Countess were more than sufficient to kindle a flame in the favourite's breast. As soon as they began to understand each other, assignations became frequent. They were at first very private: but in time, the two lovers used so little caution, that not a courtier was a stranger to their amours. The King probably was informed of it, since nothing delighted him more than to hear of the love-intrigues of his courtiers. The Earl of Essex, who had also notice of it, chose to shut his eyes, and scorn an object so unworthy of his love.

The Countess of Essex having succeeded in her intended conquest, and finding herself sure of her lover's heart, would not allow his passion time to cool. Every thing seemed to favour the execution of her designs, that is, her divorce from the Earl of Essex, and marriage with the Viscount Rochester. Essex saw her no more, and seemed to concern himself very little about her, and Rochester was so beloved by the King, that, in all appearance, nothing would be impracticable. So she let her lover know her desires, and without much difficulty brought him to second her projects. But as he was wont to impart his most serious affairs to Overbury, he believed he ought not to conceal this from him, and the more, as he expected from him some good advice to accomplish it. But so far was Overbury from approving such a project, that he used his utmost endeavours to dissuade him from it. He represented to him the injustice and indignity of the thing, his danger of being ruined by such an action; and lastly, the little value he ought to have for a woman, who, though married, scrupled not to throw herself into the arms of another man: that she had already lost her reputation in the world, and when she should be his wife, all the dishonour would reflect upon him. Rochester, who did not expect so great opposition from his friend, could not forbear showing some resentment. He had the address, however, not to give him room to think he would proceed notwithstanding his advice, and continued, as usual, to communicate to him his other affairs. The Countess was in a violent rage when she heard Overbury's advice, and from that moment ceased not to excite her lover to revenge. She was the more incensed against Overbury, as she feared, that being acquainted with the design, he would labour to render it abortive. In short, Rochester was so complaisant and blind, as to promise her to sacrifice his friend. It is pretended, that to strike the more surely, he consulted the Earl of Northampton, uncle to the Countess of Essex, and by his advice used this artifice to ruin him. He extolled to the King Overbury's abilities: but intimated withal, that he took too much upon him, and was grown intolerably insolent; and therefore he should be very glad to have him removed, by some honourable employment, praying his Majesty to send him Ambassador to Russia. The King liking the proposal, instantly appointed Overbury for the Embassy. Rochester having proceeded thus far, acquainted Overbury with the King's intention, and pretending he could not live without him, intreated him to refuse the employment, promising to procure him a better at court.

Overbury fell into the snare, and when the King sent for him to acquaint him with the employment designed for him, he most humbly besought his Majesty to make choice of some other person. As soon as he was retired, Rochester aggravated his pride and insolence, in daring thus to refuse his master's gracious offer, adding, it was requisite to chastise him: that he was himself affected by it, for he should be infallibly blamed for using his interest for him. In short, by Rochester's instances, the King commanded Overbury to be sent to the Tower. Some days before, the favourite had caused Sir Gervase Elways, his creature, to be made Lieutenant of the Tower. Overbury was closely confined, and not suffered to keep one of his servants, or receive any visits from his relations and friends, a rigor not used even towards the greatest offenders. He was now where the Viscount Rochester and the Countess of Esssex wished him, in order to dispatch him more easily. However, there were still some difficulties. It could not be done by stabbing, because the Lieutenant of the Tower would not have suffered it, and besides, a murder openly committed in one of the King's prisons, would have made too much noise in the world. It was resolved therefore to make use of poison. To that end Mrs. Turner provided a trusty person, one Weston, who had been a servant to her husband, and Sir Thomas Monson recommended this man to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to wait on the prisoner as footman. But even this was not sufficient. Whatever was brought to Overbury to eat being dressed in the Lieutenant's kitchen, it was almost necessary to engage him in the plot. Some say, the Earl of Northampton spoke to him of it, hinting that every thing was done with the King's privity. Others affirm, the Lieutenant refusing to be concerned in the crime, and not daring however, to discover it, by reason of the quality of the parties, took care to sieze the victuals sent from time to time by the Viscount Rochester to the prisoner, and throw them into the common sewer; and this is most likely, since, otherwise, Overbury would have been soon dispatched. He could not however hinder Weston from giving him a certain jelly sent by Sir Thomas Monson, which almost killed him. Whereupon the Lieutenant of the Tower was still more careful, that Overbury should be seen but by Weston alone. This was a check upon Weston, because he perceived none could be accused but himself: wherefore he durst not make such haste as Overbury's enemies desired. There arose however an inconvenience from this delay, which was that every one was surprised, to see the King use so great rigor upon a friend of the Viscount Rochester's for so slight an offence, if the refusing to go in embassy to Russia could be deemed any crime at all. It could not be conceived, and it was vainly endeavoured to discover the cause of the extreme severity with which Overbury was treated.

Whilst the unfortunate prisoner languished in his confinement, the Viscount Rochester and the Countess of Essex were thinking of executing their project, that is of annulling the Countess of Essex's marriage, that she might afterwards espouse the Viscount. To effect this, without Rochester's appearing to be concerned, the Earl of Northampton, who was in the two lovers'

secrets, undertook to speak to the King. Some say the Viscount Rochester had already acquainted the King with the Countess's design to be divorced, and had prayed his Majesty to procure him the lady when the marriage should be dissolved. However, the Earl of Northampton presented to the King the Countess of Essex's petition, to this effect: that the Earl her husband being incapable of consummating their marriage, she besought his Majesty to let her complaint be examined, and if found well grounded, to have liberty to marry another. Upon this petition, the King commissioned the Archbishop, several other Bishops, and some laymen, to hear and determine the affair. This court proceeded very gravely to the trial of the cause, and entered into such particular and secret examinations, as did not very well become clergymen. The Earl of Essex being examined, briefly answered, he had never consummated his marriage, neither did he think he should ever be able to consummate it: but did not feel the same inability with regard to other women. Though this confession greatly favoured the Countess's cause, the court deemed it proper to be certain of the truth by another method, and ordered the Countess to be inspected by a jury of matrons assisted, by some midwife. This inspection being made, the matrons declared she was a virgin; but it is pretended, the Countess, under colour of saving her modesty, was permitted to appear in a veil before the matrons, and that a young gentlewoman of her age and stature, was introduced in her place. It suffices to say in a word, that, by the sentence, the marriage was dissolved, contrary to the opinion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who even publicly published his reasons against it. But the King himself took the pains to answer the Archbishop's arguments, and to maintain the justice of the sentence, upbraiding the prelate with founding his opinion on puritanical principles. Dr. Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, one of the judges, having spoken very strenuously to prove the nullity of the marriage, his son was soon after knighted. But the public was so malicious as to call him Sir Nullity Bilson. This affair made great noise, and brought little honour to the Judges, most of whom could not be ignorant of the Countess of Essex's ill character.

The sentence was hardly published, when the Viscount openly made his addresses to the lady, and their marriage was quickly concluded. The King not only gave his favourite leave to marry the Countess, but also made him Earl of Somerset on the 4th of November, that the second husband might be of equal rank with the first. The nuptials were solemnized a month after, with such extraordinary rejoicings, that had the King's own son been married, there could not have been greater. The City of London signalized itself on this occasion, by a splendid entertainment which the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen gave the new-married couple, and to which the King, Queen, and whole court, were invited. For some time nothing was talked of but banquets, balls, masquerades, and other diversions, in honour of the new Earl of Somerset's nuptials.

These things gave occasion to the disaffected to talk freely of the King. They reported, that in Scotland the Earl of Arran, formerly the King's favourite, married the Earl of Athol's daughter, having procured, by the like means, and on the same account, a dissolution of that lady's marriage with the Earl of March. It was thereby insinuated that the King had taught his favourite the way to attain his mistress. But these insinuations reached not the King's ear, those about him not being such bad courtiers as to carry him such reports.

Whilst the Countess of Essex's marriage was annulling, the unfortunate Overbury was closely confined, without having the comfort of seeing any of his friends, as though he had been guilty of the most heinous of crimes. He had been extremely sick with the poison that was given him, without knowing the cause of his illness. But when he heard what was transacting, he no longer doubted concerning the author of his misery. In this lamentable state, he saw no other remedy but to write to the favourite, intreating him to deliver him out of his wretched condition. Rochester answered, that, the King being still highly incensed, he had not been able to speak in his behalf, but hoped to do it within a few days. In short, the two lovers, being impatient to see a man live so long, who might one day be their ruin, caused an impoisoned clyster to be administered by one Franklin, an apothecary's apprentice, which ended his miseries with his life. Some say, that Weston and Franklin, seeing the extraordinary effect of the clyster, and fearing, if they suffered the poison to operate any longer, it would leave marks on the body, which would rise in judgment against them, smothered him with the bedclothes. When he was dead, he was speedily buried, without any ceremony; and a report spread, that, dying of a syphilitic affection, he was so rotten, he could not be kept any longer. This was the Earl of Northampton's account in his letter to the favourite, to acquaint him with Overbury's death, admiring withal, the justice of God upon such wicked instruments.

The Earl of Somerset thought it a great advantage to have dispatched Overbury. But on the other hand, he found himself much embarrassed in the management of affairs, since he was no longer assisted by that faithful Counsellor. As his small experience rendered every thing difficult, he was forced to chuse another friend; and it was the Earl of Northampton that supplied Overbury's place. But there was a great difference between these two counsellors. Overbury's sole view was to procure his friend honour and glory, and the Earl of Northampton's chief aim was to make use of his credit to countenance the Catholics. When he came to rule the favourite, he acted without any reserve. As he was Warden of the Cinque-Ports, the Jesuits and Romish priests could safely land there without being examined at their arrival. By this means their number so increased in a very short space, that the people loudly murmured at it, and cast the blame on the Earl of Northampton. Wherefore, to silence those who talked too freely, he took out a writ of Scandalum Magnatum against some of them. He believed it was not possible to convict him of a thing founded only upon common report, and that, such evidence not being valid in law, he should silence his enemies by the punishment of some of the most forward to speak against him. But the Archbishop of Canterbury broke his measures, by producing a letter under the Earl's own hand to Cardinal Bellarmine, wherein he said, "That however the situation of affairs of England, and the instances of the King compelled him to be a Protestant in show, his heart stood firm with the Catholics, and he would be ever ready to countenance them to the utmost of his power." Upon this letter the parties accused were discharged. The King even so reprimanded the Earl, that he retired to his country-house, where he died soon after.* He declared in his last will and testament, that he had always been a Catholic, and would die in that religion.

A. D. 1614.] In the spring of this year, some Presbyterian families resolved to go and settle in New England, to enjoy there that peace which they could not find at home. As it was not impossible, by the increase of Presbyterian families, the English plantations might become nurseries for non-conformists, the court gave orders not to let them depart. But afterwards, such as desired to remove being examined, some were allowed to pursue their voyage, and others were detained as sureties for those that went away.

The King's excessive liberality reducing him continually to straits, he had at last recourse to a project, formed by the late Earl of Salisbury; namely, to create knights, baronets, a sort of middle nobility, between barons, knights, and bachelors. Their number was not to exceed two hundred: but the King, at the first promotion, made only ninety. To purchase this honour, which was to be hereditary, every baronet was obliged

* He died on June 15, at the house he had built at Charing-Cross, called in his life-time, Northampton House, but leaving it to the Earl of Suffolk, it was for a time called Suffolk House, and now Northumberland House.

to pay to the King a thousand pounds. But in order to give some colour to this new institution, every baronet was obliged by his patent, to maintain thirty foot soldiers in Ireland for three years, at eight-pence a day each soldier.* Afterwards it was hinted to them, that if they would compound with the King, and pay the whole sum at once, part should be abated, and the King would maintain his troops in Ireland himself. The King, it is said, received only about a hundred thousand pounds of the baronets, and the maintenance of the troops in Ireland cost him much more.

Besides this method, the King made use of others to fill his empty coffers, without being obliged to have recourse to the Parliament.

I. The King, by his letters patent, granted monopolies to private persons, exclusive of all others, and raised great sums by these sorts of favours.

II. He issued out commissions for reviving obsolete laws, for making men who could expend forty pounds a year, to compound for not being knighted. Formerly, an estate of forty pounds a year in land was considerable: and therefore the owners of such an estate were deemed proper to be made knights, and as such, to serve the King in his wars, or find soldiers. But in James I.'s time, such a revenue was inconsiderable: there were infinite numbers who had more, but, not desiring to be knights, chose rather to give the King money, than be obliged to receive an honour, which rendered them dependent.

III. The King made a certain number of Knights of Nova Scotia,† each of whom paid him such a sum.

IV. The dignities of Baron, Viscount, and Earl, had a fixed price set upon them. The King received for making a Baron ten thousand pounds, for a Viscount fifteen thousand, and twenty thousand for an Earl. Thus, whoever had money, might be made a Peer of the realm.

V. The same honours were rated likewise in Scotland and Ireland, though at lower prices.

VI. Those who had defective titles, were obliged to compound with the King for rectifying them, otherwise they were declared null and void.

VII. The Star-Chamber condemned, in excessive fines, to the King's use, such as were cited thither.

VIII. To all this, may be added the sums levied by the King upon his subjects, when the Prince his son was knighted, and his daughter married.

He would have had also a good means of raising money, if he had demanded of the United Provinces the sums that were due to him. But if we believe certain historians, he durst not claim his due, for fear of engaging in a war in case of refusal.

The King's revenue not answering his expences, recourse was to be had to a Parliament. The King was very loth to consent: but at length a Parliament was summoned to meet in April.

The very first day, the King demanded an aid of money for the marriage of his daughter, and told the Commons, after dispatching that affair, he would give them leave to examine the grievances of the nation. But the Commons thought proper to invert the method prescribed them, and begin with the grievances. Instead therefore of granting the money first, as the King expected, they examined to what uses the revenues of the crown had been put. The result was, that the King had bestowed on the Scots excessive grants both in land and money, and that the Scots, having sold these lands to the English, had conveyed the money into Scotland, to the great detriment of England. If what the King had given to the English had been as carefully examined, it would have been found ten times more, but herein was not seen the same inconvenience.

Then, the House inquired into the causes of the increase of Popish recusants; since it should rather seem, that the laws enacted after the gun-powder plot should have very much lessened their number. The first cause appeared to be the King's admitting into his council Popish Lords, publicly known for such. A second was, the negotiations abroad for the marriage of the late Prince Henry and Prince Charles with Popish Princesses.

After this, the Commons took into consideration the monopolies authorised and licensed by the King's letters patent, to the great prejudice of trade: and the extraordinary levies of money, without the consent of the Parliament. Upon all these grievances, it was resolved to represent them in a petition to his Majesty, and to pray him to redress them, and especially to hinder the future settlement of the Scots in England.

The carriage of the Commons was so different from that of the courtiers, who never spoke of the King but with admiration, that his Majesty had not patience to bear it. So, on the 7th of June, he dissolved the Parliament, after a session of about two months, wherein not one statute was enacted. The Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but the King committed to prison several members of the House of Commons, who had spoken the most freely, without admitting them to bail.

The Parliament not answering the King's expectation, and his exchequer being empty, there was a necessity of recurring to new expedients to fill it. To that end, certain persons diligently searched into history, to discover what had been done by former Kings in the like cases. Among all these methods, the court chose the way of benevolence, invented by Edward IV. abolished by Richard III. and once revived by the Parliament itself in the reign of Henry VIII.

The resolution being taken, not only to demand but extort a benevolence, all the sheriffs were ordered by the council, to ask of all private persons within their district a free gift, in proportion to the King's wants. At the same time, they were expressly commanded to return to the council the names of such as should refuse to contribute, or not give according to their abilities. This method however was not so successful as the King had expected. The more eager the sheriffs and court party were to excite the people's liberality, the more industrious were others to dissuade them from it, by setting before them the consequences. So, if we may believe the author of the Annals, the benevolence procured the King but 52,909*l.*

The money arising to the King from the benevolence, though no great sum, came very seasonably for the King of Denmark's reception, who made him a second visit, with a train of forty persons only. During the fortnight he stayed in England, entertainments and diversions never ceased. Shortly after, the King received with great pomp the Russian ambassador, sent by the Czar, to desire him to be mediator between him and the King of Sweden, on account of their differences.

Hitherto, the Earl of Somerset possessed the King's heart so entirely, that the Queen herself grew jealous. Some say, she inwardly grieved for the death of Prince Henry, and suspected him to be the author. Others say only, that his greatness had so blinded the favourite, that he was wanting in his respect to the Queen. However this be, she had conceived a very violent hatred of him, and to ruin him the more easily, she thought proper to gain Sir Ralph Winwood, who was still Secretary of State, but without exercising the office, at least in important affairs, because the Earl of Somerset had seized the management of every thing. Winwood readily joined with the Queen, to ruin this Lord, who left him only the title of Secretary. This was a preparative to the revolution which happened the next year.‡

In

* Which comes just to one thousand and ninety-five pounds; and it has been customary for those who have since been admitted into this order without money, to have a receipt endorsed on their patent for the said sum of 1095*l.* to be appropriated to the same uses; and for want of such endorsement, several Baronets were compelled in King Charles the Second's time to pay 1095 pounds.

† This order of Baronets was first erected for advancing the plantation of Nova Scotia in America, and for settling a colony there, to which the aid of these Knights was appropriated. It was intended in 1621, but not actually founded till 1625.

‡ This year, Sir Hugh Middleton completed his project of supplying London with water by the New River, conveyed through various soils

In his winter progress, in the year 1615, the King passed through Cambridge, where the scholars entertained him with a comedy called Ignoramus, which ridiculed the common law. He was so delighted with this play, that he caused it to be acted twice in his presence, during his short stay at Cambridge. Then it was, that the King was struck with a new object, which made the same impression upon his mind as Robert Carr did the first time he saw him.* This was George Villiers, a young gentleman who appeared before him with all the advantages of a good mien, a fine shape, and a handsome and well made suit of clothes. Every one perceived he looked upon this young man with pleasure, and from that moment it was thought Villiers might supplant the Earl of Somerset.† Indeed with this view it was that certain Lords had brought him before the King. The King looked with admiration on George Villiers. He took care however to conceal it as much as possible, not to alarm the Earl of Somerset: nevertheless he resolved to have Villiers near his person. So he privately caused him to purchase a cup-bearer's place, and to be instructed how to behave.

What care soever the King might take to conceal his new inclination, the courtiers did not fail to discover it. Somerset, as most concerned, was harder to be deceived than the rest. His office of Lord Chamberlain giving him a great authority over the King's servants, he did not want opportunities to vex and mortify Villiers, who bore all with patience; and the King feigned not to perceive it. At last, an accident happened which suffered not the King to dissemble any longer. It was customary for the cup-bearer whose turn it was to be in waiting, to have the first place at the table where the cup bearers dined. Villiers having begun his month, sat at the upper end during the whole time of his service, without any opposition. But offering to sit in the same place after his month was expired, the person, whose turn it was to wait, rudely thrust him from thence, which greatly confounded him. Some days after, the same cup-bearer carrying a glass of wine to the King, let it fall accidentally or designedly on Villiers, who gave him a box on the ear. It is a law of a long standing at court, that whoever strikes another in the King's palace, is to lose his right hand, with many formalities. It is the Lord Chamberlain's business to see crimes of this nature punished; and the Earl of Somerset failed not to do all that lay in his power, to have the law executed to the utmost rigour. But the King granted Villiers a pardon, without enjoining any satisfaction to the party offended. This was the first public mark of his affection for Villiers.

Thenceforward, the Earl of Somerset's enemies laboured incessantly to ruin him in the King's favour. The truth is, that even before he had seen Villiers, the King began to be weary of Somerset, who was not so agreeable as when he was first taken into favour. Since his marriage with the Countess of Essex, he had grown very melancholy, of which probably Overbury's death was the cause, and become more careless of his person and dress. He had lost that vivacity which rendered him so agreeable to the King; and his temper, now gloomy and sullen, induced him harshly to oppose some wanton tricks which were now and then played in the King's anti-chamber, and wherein his Majesty took a singular delight.

The whole court perceived the alteration in the King since he had Villiers about him, and every one strove to thrust the old favourite down the precipice. The best way to that end, was to oblige the King to declare for Villiers: but there was a great obstacle to be removed. The King, by a very gross artifice, would have no favourite but of the Queen's recommending, that in case she complained of him afterwards, he might say, he had received him at her hands. The King fancied by such a device, to impose upon the Queen and the whole court. The business therefore was to prevail with the Queen, to recommend Villiers to the King. But she was already prejudiced against this young man, and, not seeing with the King's eyes, perceived nothing in him worthy of so great an advancement. Somerset's enemies, knowing how the Queen stood affected to Villiers, thought the Archbishop of Canterbury alone able to persuade her to what they desired. The Archbishop, who neither loved nor valued the Earl of Somerset, readily undertook to speak to the Queen: but his first attempt was in vain. The Queen, who was perfectly acquainted with the King's temper, told the prelate, that neither he, nor they who set him on, knew what they did; adding, "I know the King better than you all, for if this young man be once brought in, the first persons he will plague, must be you that labour for him; yea, I shall have my part also. The King will teach him to despise and hardly ill-treat us all, that he may seem to be beholden to none but himself."

Afterwards the Archbishop so pressed her, that at length she desired the King to receive Villiers as a favourite. The King sent immediately for Villiers, knighted him with the Prince of Wales's sword, and ordered him to be sworn gentleman of the bed chamber. As soon as he was out of the King's presence, he waited upon the Archbishop, and, acknowledging himself indebted to him for his good fortune, desired his instructions how to behave. The prelate told him, he had three lessons to give him: first, to pray without ceasing for the King's prosperity, and for grace to serve his master faithfully. Secondly, to labour continually to preserve a good union between the King, Queen, and Prince. Thirdly, to tell the King nothing but truth. The Queen's prediction, however, proved but too true with regard to the Archbishop, who was one of the first to whom Villiers became ungrateful.

The Earl of Somerset, perceiving he daily declined in favour, thought of securing himself from the danger to which he might be exposed by Overbury's murder. So, spying a favourable opportunity, he cast himself at the King's feet, and represented to him, that having served him some years in a very dangerous post, it was difficult not to fall into some miscarriages, and therefore besought him to grant him a general pardon, which might secure him from the malice of his enemies. The King readily complied with his request, and ordered as ample a pardon as possible to be drawn. This was accordingly done; but, whether through the ignorance or malice of the person who drew the instrument, the King was made to say in it, that, "he pardoned not only all manner of treasons, murders, felonies, and outrages whatever, already committed, but also those which should be hereafter committed by the Earl of Somerset." The King signed this pardon without any scruple, and perhaps without reading it. But the Lord Chancellor Egerton refused to put the seal to it, saying;

soils for a course of 60 miles. This junction of two streams was begun in 1608. The projector encountered great difficulties in his undertaking, but his persevering spirit and ingenuity overcame them all. King James, who held some shares in the concern, conferred on Middleton, first the honour of knighthood, and afterwards the title of Baronet. He also incorporated the proprietors by the name of the New River company. Sir Hugh, who greatly injured his circumstances by this scheme, gave one share to the Goldsmiths' Company, for the benefit of poor members of their body. He died about 1636. The shares, originally of 100*l.* were, for many years, at a heavy discount; but, in process of time, they became so valuable, as to be sold for 18,000*l.* each. It is probable, however, that the number of new water companies, established within these few years, in the metropolis, will operate unfavourably on the overgrown wealth of the old company.

* Dugdale states, that it was not at Cambridge that the King first saw Villiers, but at Apethorpe in Northamptonshire.

† George Villiers was of a good and ancient family in Leicestershire, son of Sir George Villiers, of Brokesby, by a second wife, who bare him three sons, of whom this George was the second. After the death of Sir George, his widow married Sir Thomas Compton, brother of the Lord Compton. As George Villiers was but a younger son of a second bed, his fortune could be but small; nevertheless, his mother took great care of his education. After he had finished his studies, she sent him into France, where he made himself perfect master of the French tongue, with all the exercises proper for a gentleman, especially dancing, wherein he excelled. When he returned from his travels, his mother sent him to court to make himself known, and endeavour to procure himself friends and a place. He no sooner appeared there, but the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Bedford, and some other Lords, enemies to the favourite, and who sought his destruction, fancied this young man might be subservient to their design.

as there had never been an instance of such a pardon, he should incur a Præmunire if he passed it; and when he told the King the reason of his refusal, he easily satisfied him, he could not answer setting the seal to the pardon. Nothing was more easy than to draw another pardon, without the clause disliked by the Chancellor: but whether the Queen was against it, or Somerset did not care to discover too plainly the occasion he had for a pardon, or the King was now informed of the circumstances of Overbury's death, nothing more was said of it. At length, the fatal blow was given, at the court's return from the King's summer progress, to Royston.

Franklin, who administered the poisoned clyster to Overbury, made use, to compose it, of one Reeve, an apothecary's boy, who was afterwards sent into Flanders, or perhaps ran away from his master. This Reeve, being at Flushing, where some business had brought Sir William Trumbull, his Majesty's envoy at Brussels, got acquainted with some of his servants, and informed them of what he knew concerning Overbury's death. The servants telling their master what they had heard, he examined Reeve himself, and drawing from him what he desired, found means to detain him at his house. Then, he wrote to Winwood, desiring him to obtain the King's leave for him to come to England, because he had some things to reveal, which he could not trust to paper. Leave being granted, he acquainted Winwood with what he had learned, and Winwood told it the King, who commanded them both to keep it private till further orders. The King, however, being come to Royston, to begin his winter progress, expressed no displeasure against Somerset, but lived with him as he was wont. But some days after, he sent, in the night, a messenger to Lord Chief Justice Coke, with a letter, ordering him to make a warrant to apprehend the Earl of Somerset, at Royston, and his Countess at London, with Franklin, Weston, Mrs. Turner, and Sir Geryase Elways, Lieutenant of the Tower. The messenger was sent back to Royston, at four o'clock in the morning, with an officer of justice to execute the warrant. At his arrival, the officer found the King with his arms about Somerset's neck, who was just going to London, and affectionately saying to him, When shall I see thee again Somerset?* At that very instant the officer arrested the Earl by Sir Edward's warrant, who exclaimed, that such an affront was never offered to a Peer of the realm in the King's presence. The King, feigning ignorance, and asking what was the matter, said jestingly, "Nay, man, there is no remedy, for if Coke sends for me I must go." Then, accompanying him to the steps before the door, he desired him, as he was going down, to return speedily, saying, he could not live without him. As soon as Somerset was in his coach, the King said, in the hearing of some persons, who told it again afterwards, "Now the deel go with thee, I will never see thy face more." If this be true, it must be owned, it was a needless and very strange dissimulation: but King James took delight in things of this nature.

At his coming to London, the Earl of Somerset was sent to the Tower; his Countess, and the rest of the accomplices, having been arrested and committed, whilst he was on the road. The same day, Chief Justice Coke going to Royston, the King told him all he had heard from Trumbull, and enjoined him, with all possible scrutiny, to search into the affair, without partiality or respect of persons. He concluded with saying, "God's curse be upon you and yours, if you spare any of them: and God's curse be upon me and mine, if I pardon any one of them."

Coke, receiving such strict orders, was very active in the affair. Some even pretend, he was too active, and that finding in the Earl of Somerset's papers, indications of his being concerned in the death of Prince Henry, he had not the prudence to conceal them. However this be, most of the parties accused were tried in October and November, and, being found guilty, were condemned and executed.† Sir Thomas Monson, who was also arrested, appeared twice before the judges, and, at the second time, Coke received a note from the King, which obliged him to send back the prisoner to the Tower, with these words, "Take him away, we have other matters against him of a higher nature."‡

The trial of the Earl of Somerset and his Countess was deferred to May the next year, 1616; but not to be obliged to return to this affair, I shall relate here the circumstances of the trial. If we may believe Sir Anthony Weldon, author of a little book intituled, "The Court and Character of King James," which is properly but a satire, the King had assured the Earl of Somerset he should not be brought to a trial. For this reason, when George More, Lieutenant of the Tower, came and told him he must prepare for his trial on the morrow, he answered, that positively he would not appear, unless he was carried by force in his bed. The same author adds, the King, being informed of it, sent him word, he could not hinder his appearing before the judges, but would prevent the passing of any sentence upon him. By this artifice, says Weldon, the Earl was prevailed with to appear in court, where he pleaded in his defence from eight in the morning, till seven in the evening, when, contrary to his expectation, sentence of death was passed upon him, as guilty of Overbury's murder. The same author says, the King was terribly uneasy all that day, neither was he at rest till the news came of his condemnation. This author's aim, in relating these and many other circumstances, was to insinuate, that the King was afraid the Earl of Somerset, to save his life, would reveal some secrets he had a mind to conceal. But these secrets are not explained, and probably are only chimeras.

The Countess of Somerset, being brought before the court, pleaded only with a shower of tears, which raised some compassion in her judges, but however, hindered her not from being condemned to die as well as her Lord. The King granted them a reprieve, which was often renewed till the year 1621, when they had liberty to go and live at a country seat, without however being released from their sentence. At last, in 1621, about four months before the King's death, a pardon was granted them. After the Earl of Somerset was condemned, the King gave him four thousand pounds a year in land, which he took in his servants' names. This noble present, the pardon granted the Earl, notwithstanding the curse denounced by the King against himself and posterity, if ever he pardoned the guilty, his restlessness during the trial, the note sent to the Chief Justice whilst he was trying Sir Thomas Monson, have given occasion to King James's enemies to insinuate, he was conscious of some guilt, and they have been pleased to apply the whole to Prince Henry's death.

To finish what relates to the Earl and Countess of Somerset, we shall briefly add, that their love, which had engaged them to commit such abominable deeds, turned at last to hatred. They lived together many years in one house, as strangers to each other, and at

* The words at length, as related by Weldon, were, "For God's sake when shall I see thee again? On my soul, I shall neither eat nor sleep, until you come again." The Earl told him on Monday, (this being on the Friday,) "for God's sake, shall I, shall I?" Then lolled about his neck; then, "for God's sake, give thy lady this kiss for me:" in the same manner at the stairs head, and at the middle, and foot of the stairs.

† Weston was tried and condemned, October 19, 23. Mrs. Turner, November 9, Sir Gervase Elways, November 16. Franklin, November 27.——Weston was executed November 25. Ann Turner, November 14. Franklin, about the beginning of December, all at Tyburn. And Sir Gervase Elways on Tower hill, November 20.

‡ Simon Mason servant to Monson, who had been employed to carry a poisoned tart to Overbury, being likewise brought before the court, the judge said to him, Simon, "Thou hadst a hand in this poisoning business." "No, my good Lord, (answered Simon) I had but one finger in it, which cost me all my hair and nails." He had, it seems, out of liquorishness, as he was carrying the tart, tasted with his finger a little of the syrrup. This ingenuous answer caused him to be acquitted: for it was thought he would not have tasted the syrrup, had he known it to be poisoned.

last the Countess died of an uncommon disease. The Earl lived long enough * to see his daughter married to the Duke of Bedford, who had by her the Lord Russel, beheaded in the reign of Charles II.†

A. D. 1616.] The Earl of Somerset's affair ending the dispute between the two favourites, the court was restored to its former tranquillity, under the management of Villiers, who engrossed the King's affection without a rival.‡ The new favourite behaved in much the same manner as his predecessor. He suffered himself at first to be guided by such as he thought wiser and more experienced than himself: but in time he thought himself the most able person in the kingdom. His first care was to dismiss by degrees the Earl of Somerset's creatures, and confer the places on his own relations and friends. Nothing more material was transacted at court for some years, except the two usual affairs of this reign, wherein the promotion of the new favourite made no alteration—the advancement of the prerogative royal, and the methods of raising money without the Parliament.§

Prince Charles, the King's only son, was created, this year, Prince of Wales. The King thought of marrying him; but there was not a Protestant Princess of royal extraction in Europe, and his father could not resolve to marry him to any but a King's daughter. He chose rather, to seek him a wife in a house sworn enemy to the Protestant religion, than to marry him to one of his own religion, not royally descended. This infatuation is to be considered as the source of the rest of the occurrences of this reign, and of all the vexations James had to endure, as well from foreigners as his own subjects. He would have married his eldest son, Prince Henry, to Anne of Austria, who afterwards espoused Lewis XIII. King of France: but, having at last discovered that the court of Spain carried on the negotiation only to amuse him, he gave over his design. The French King's marriage being solemnized this year, 1616, James sent ambassadors to France and Spain to congratulate the two Kings. The Lord Hay, a Scotchman, was chosen for the French embassy,‖ and the Lord Ross for the Spanish. They had both orders to sound the two courts concerning the Prince of Wales's marriage, with the Princess, eldest sister of Lewis XIII. or with the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III. The Lord Hay quickly found, his negotiation would be fruitless, since the Princess of France was already promised to the Prince of Piedmont, son to the Duke of Savoy. Count Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador in England, a man of great abilities, so insinuated himself into the King's favour, that, for many years, he caused him to do almost whatever he pleased, by putting him in fear that the marriage would miscarry, if the Spanish court was not managed. We may judge of the policy of that court, by the length of this negotiation, which was made to last seven years. At first, the Spaniard intended only to hinder King James from concerning himself in the war of Cleves, and assisting the Protestant Princes. But afterwards, a more important affair made it his interest, more than ever, to amuse the King of England, and to keep him at bay.

James's conduct was very extraordinary. Under colour of being at peace with all the world, he meddled not with any foreign affairs. He beheld, without concern, France openly labouring the destruction of the Huguenots; and the house of Austria forming projects to enslave all Europe, and daily increasing in power, to the just dread of the rest of the States, and especially the Protestant. Moreover, he expressed a strong desire to be allied to that house, by a marriage which could not but be prejudicial to the established religion of England. Without any war upon his hands, he had consumed immense sums, and alienated almost all the crown lands, to enrich a dozen favourites, who had never done him any considerable service. The Earl of Somerset had, before his disgrace, amassed two hundred thousand pounds in money, plate, and jewels, besides nineteen thousand pounds a year in land, though he had been but five years in favour. The Earl of Salisbury, younger son to the Lord Burleigh, who had no estate but what he derived from the crown, had left his son as rich as any Peer in the kingdom. The Earl of Northampton, younger brother of the late Duke of Norfolk, had built a stately palace in London, since called Northumberland house, and left a vast inheritance to his nephew, the Earl of Arundel, though he had little or nothing from his family. The Earl of Suffolk, youngest son of the Duke of Norfolk, had built a country seat, which cost above two hundred thousand pounds, and he did not, as may be judged, expend his whole substance on this structure. The Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Dunbar, the Lord Hay, had remitted great sums into Scotland, and Sir Henry Rich, afterwards Earl of Holland, though a younger son, had found means to raise an immense estate. Amidst all these favourites so rich and powerful, the King was in extreme want, continually giving more than he could afford, and running into needless expences, without ever regulating his treasury. To all this was added a new favourite, who, being no less greedy than the rest, was also to be enriched, and had a numerous kindred, whom he did not mean to leave in want. Another effect of the King's great wisdom was, to quarrel with his Parliament, in support of a prerogative which he would have carried higher than any of his predecessors, and thereby put himself under a necessity of using means to

* He died in July 1645, and was buried in the parish church of St. Paul, Covent Garden.

† Arabella Stuart, first cousin to the King, died in the Tower the 27th of September 1615. The cause of her disgrace was, her privately espousing, without the King's consent, Sir William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford. Sir William Seymour, upon his marriage, was committed to the Tower, but Arabella was confined to her house at Highgate. After some time they appointed to meet at a certain place on the Thames, in order to fly beyond sea. He, leaving his man in his bed to act his part with his keeper, got out of the Tower in disguise, and came to the place appointed. She, dressed like a young gallant, followed him from her house, but happening to stay beyond the limited time, he went away, leaving word, if she came, he was gone before to Dunkirk. She, full of tears, and lagging in her flight, was apprehended and sent to the Tower. After her death Sir William got leave to come home, and married afterwards the Lady Frances, sister to the Earl of Essex.

‡ In the beginning of January, he was made master of the horse, and July 7, Knight of the Garter. The King bestowed upon him the best part of Somerset's estate.

§ Waller, the poet, used frequently to repeat the following story. When he was young, he had the curiosity to go to court; and he stood in the circle, and saw James dine; where, among other company, there sat at table two Bishops, Neile, and Andrews. The King proposed aloud this question, "Whether he might not take his subjects' money when he needed it, without all this formality of Parliament?" Neile replied, "God forbid you should not: for you are the breath of our nostrils." Andrews declined answering, and said he was not skilled in Parliamentary cases: but upon the King's urging him, and saying he would admit of no evasion, the Bishop replied pleasantly, "Why then I think your Majesty may lawfully take my brother Neile's money: for he offers it."

In one of James's Parliaments, a composition was made with the King, in lieu of wardships and purveyances; by which the subject was at length freed from those oppressive imposts. After much dispute, James agreed to give up these prerogatives, for 200,000*l.* a year. We learn from Winwood's Memorials, the reason assigned for this particular sum. "From thence my Lord Treasurer came to the price; and here he said, that the King would no more rise and fall like a merchant. That he would not have a flower of his crown (meaning the court of wards) so much tossed; that it was too dainty to be so handled: and then he said, he must deliver the very countenance and character of the King's mind out of his own hand-writing; which, before he read, he said he would acquaint us with a pleasant conceit of his Majesty. As concerning the number of nine-score thousand pounds, which was our number, he could not affect, because nine was the number of the poets, who were always beggars, though they served so many muses; and eleven was the number of the apostles, when the traitor, Judas, was away; and therefore might best be affected by his Majesty: but there was a mean number, which might accord us both; and that was ten: which, says my Lord Treasurer, is a sacred number; for so many were God's commandments, which tend to virtue and edification." If the Commons really voted twenty thousand pounds a year more, on account of this pleasant conceit of the King and the treasurer, it was certainly the best paid wit, for its goodness, that ever was in the world.

‖ This was one of the most magnificent embassies recorded in history. Among other things, the Lord Hay, at his public entry into Paris, had his horse shod with silver shoes slightly tacked on; and when he came over against houses or balconies, where persons, or beauties, of eminency were, his horse prancing in humble reverence, flung his shoes away, which the surrounding mob scrambled for; then one of his train, out of a velvet bag took others, and tacked them on; which lasted till he came to the next troop of grandees.

raise money, which could not but alienate from him the love of his people. Lastly, let us add his weakness, in suffering himself always to be so governed by his favourites, that he could not, or would not, see but with their eyes. At the time we are now speaking of, his cabinet council consisted solely of the new favourite, a young man without experience, through whose hands never any affair of moment had passed, and who, notwithstanding, thought himself the most able man in the kingdom. The Earl of Suffolk was more versed in affairs, though he was never counted a great genius: but he was now upon the decline of his favour, Villiers being far from supporting the Earl of Somerset's father-in-law. Bacon, Lord Keeper, was well versed in the laws of the land, and capable of giving good advice: but he made it his whole study to adapt himself to the King's humour, and make his court to the favourite. Meanwhile, the treaty of the Prince of Wales's marriage with the Infanta, procured the King an unexpected supply of money. Queen Elizabeth had settled, with the States of the United Provinces, the arrears they owed her, amounting to eight millions of florins. This sum was due to James, as Elizabeth's successor. The States would have paid the debt long since, had they not found their account in remaining debtors to England, because they thereby engaged that kingdom to support them. But after the twelve years' truce was concluded, the face of affairs was altered. The States no longer wanted the King's protection; and besides, he held, in their provinces, places which gave him opportunity to treat them with haughtiness, as he had done in the affair of Vorstius. It was therefore time for them to recover these places, since they had not the same interest now to leave them in the King's hands, when their dread of Spain was much lessened by the truce. But the sum they were to pay was so considerable, that they waited a favourable opportunity to procure them some abatement. This opportunity offering not till the present year, they embraced it more eagerly as they were under an urgent necessity to withdraw their towns from the English. The King treating of his son's marriage with the Infanta, it was to be feared, the restitution of these towns, to which the Spaniard laid claim, would be one of the articles of the marriage treaty, especially as a clause in the treaty of 1604, between England and Spain, gave them just cause to fear. On the other hand, the present juncture was favourable to them, because the King's coffers were quite empty, and there was no likelihood of his venturing to call a Parliament, by reason of the people's discontent. All the difficulty therefore was to order it so, that the offer of restoring the towns should come from the King himself, because, in that case, the States might pretend inability to pay so large a sum, and that would naturally lead to a negotiation for an abatement of the debt. To bring the King to this point, they ceased for a time to pay the garrisons of the places in possession of the English; though, till then, they had punctually executed the treaty which obliged them to pay them. The garrisons complained, and the States, without, however, refusing payment, found several pretences to defer it. This delay constrained the English forces, who were without money, to apply to the King, who was not in condition to satisfy them. He complained to the States, who answered with great moderation, insisting upon the ill state of their affairs, by reason of their vast expence during the war. In a word, this affair did not end, and the English garrisons still remained without pay. At last, Caron, the Dutch envoy in England, intimated as of himself, to some one of the ministers, that he believed, if the King would offer to restore the towns in his possession, the States would do their utmost to discharge the whole debt, by borrowing money at a high interest. This intimation produced the desired effect. The King, having no money, and seeing a near prospect of drawing from the States a large sum, which the courtiers had already devoured in their thoughts, readily determined to surrender the cautionary towns. Pursuant to this resolution, he wrote to the States, "That he knew them to be his good friends and confederates, both in point of religion and policy, therefore he apprehended not the least fear of difference between them: in contemplation whereof, if they would have their towns again, he would willingly surrender them." Upon this letter they sent Pensionary Barneveldt to the King, who so artfully managed this affair, that they were discharged for two millions seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand florins, in lieu of eight millions, which they had promised to pay to Elizabeth, besides eighteen years' interest. By this agreement, the cautionary towns were delivered to the States, the 14th of June 1616.

They who were not pleased with the court, greatly censured this treaty, which robbed the crown of England of the advantage of holding the United Provinces in a sort of subjection. But it was much worse, when it was seen in a very short space, that the money paid by the States was vanished, without a possibility to guess what was become of it. The King had paid none of his debts: the navy was suffered to decay, for want of money to repair it; and nothing had been sent to his army in Ireland, which had not received one penny for several years, and whose wants had served for pretence to treat with the States.

At length it was discovered, that the Lord Treasurer, Suffolk, had converted to his own use, good part of the money received for the cautionary towns. The favourite missed not this opportunity to ruin a man whom he could not consider as his friend, since he was father-in-law to the Earl of Somerset. The Lord Treasurer was therefore accused in the Star Chamber, of sundry misdemeanors in the exercise of his office, and especially of having kept for himself great part of the money received of the Hollanders. Sir Edward Coke, who was his accuser, aggravated his misdemeanors, his extortions, his mismanagement of the King's treasures, his boldness to apply them to his own use, the corruptions of his Countess, the artifices of his deputy, Bingley, to ensnare such as had business with his master. After that, he cited many precedents of treasurers, who in former reigns had been punished for slighter crimes than those of the Earl of Suffolk, and showed the dangerous consequences resulting from the ill administration of the treasurership, when it was not managed by uncorrupt persons. If the Lord Treasurer had cast himself upon the King's mercy, he would have been easily acquitted. But he strove to justify himself, and not doing it to the satisfaction of his judges, he was fined thirty thousand pounds, and condemned to imprisonment during the King's pleasure, and Bingley was fined two thousand pounds. Till the King should make choice of a treasurer, that office was executed by commissioners, the first of whom was Sir Henry Montague the favourite's creature.*

A. D. 1617.] Ever since his coming to England, the King kept the Puritans so low, that it was not in their power to give him any disturbance. But the church of Scotland was still Presbyterian. Indeed, Episcopacy was not entirely suppressed in that kingdom; but it was in such a state, that the Bishops had no manner of jurisdiction. The several Presbyteries, and the general assembly of the clergy, had engrossed the whole ecclesiastical authority, and left the Bishops only an empty name without power. There were also many other points wherein the Scotish church differed from the English, so that Puritanism triumphed in Scotland, at the time it was looked upon in England as a sort of rebellion. James had therefore resolved to put the church of Scotland upon the same footing with that of

* The Earl of Suffolk was not the only sacrifice to Villiers's policy, who by degrees removed Somerset's creatures. Sir John Bennet, judge of the prerogative court, was turned out, and fined twenty thousand pounds. Sir Henry Yelverton the King's attorney also lost his place, as well as several others whom it is needless to mention. Secretary Winwood dying about this time, Sir Robert Naunton a Protestant, and Sir George Calvert a Papist, were made secretaries. On the 27th of August the King created Sir George Villiers, Baron of Whaddon and Viscount Villiers; and on the 1st of January following, he was made Earl of Buckingham.

England; but perceiving, that to compel the Scots all at once to a perfect conformity with the English church, would be too difficult an undertaking, he meant to lead them to it by degrees. Pursuant to this project, he had now sent to the general assembly of the Kirk, certain articles, which he desired might be inserted in the canons of the church. These articles were:

I. For the future, the holy communion should be received kneeling.

II. The eucharist should not be denied to the sick, with three or four persons to communicate with them.

III. Christmas, Easter, Ascension-Day, and Whit-Sunday, should be kept as holy-days, and the preachers should make choice of texts suitable to the occasion.

IV. Confirmation should be practised after this manner: when the children were eight years old, the ministers should catechise them, and then the Bishops in their visitations should bless them with prayer for God's grace, and the gifts of the holy ghost.*

The King did not desire that confirmation should be received in Scotland, as practised in the church of England, because he was not fully convinced of its usefulness. But as the business concerned one of the episcopal functions, he would that the Bishops should have something at least to do in it.

The King's design being to compass his ends by degrees, he had selected these articles as least liable to give offence to the ministers, in order to leave them without excuse in case they rejected them. The general assembly of the Scotish church, perceiving the King's aim, declared, if the churches of England and Scotland differed only in these four articles, they might be received for peace' sake; but as they were innovations incapable of producing a perfect union, there was no necessity of inserting them among the canons. The King, offended with this refusal, resolved to compel the Scots, not only to receive these articles, but also many more which he had not thought fit to meddle with at first, being persuaded he had a right, by virtue of his royal authority, to impose upon his people of Scotland, the religion which to him seemed the best. To this purpose, he resolved to go in person to Scotland, under colour of visiting his native country, where he had not been these fourteen years.

Before his departure, he ordered a proclamation to be published in Scotland, wherein he said, he was going to visit his old kingdom, "Not to alter the civil and ecclesiastical state, but to reform certain abuses in the church and commonwealth." At the same time, he sent beforehand some officers of his household, all English, with orders to adorn his chapel at Edinburgh in the same manner as that at Whitehall; and these men forgot not to carry with them some pictures, and even statues, of the apostles. As soon as they began to adorn the chapel, the people of Edinburgh exclaimed at the sight, saying, "Images were begun to be introduced, and the mass would quickly follow."

The King, being come to Berwick, prorogued the Parliament of Scotland, to open it himself, as he did indeed, with a long speech, according to custom. He contented himself, at first, with requiring, that a certain number of commissioners should be appointed to examine and settle the affairs of religion. The Parliament consenting to his demand, the King staid not for the Parliament's nominating the commissioners, but chose them himself, and appointed the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Clerk of the Rolls, who were all three his creatures. But as the Parliament scrupled to stand to this nomination, he fell into a violent passion, thinking it very strange they should pretend to name others, after he had made known his pleasure. In short, as they durst not resist him to his face, he obtained whatever he pleased.

These commissioners immediately settled an article, after which there was nothing more to be examined. The article was, "That whatsoever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, and a competent number of ministers, should have the strength of a law." The King himself had dictated the article. "Not (said he) that I am against the advice of the grave and learned ministers, but to be over-ruled, as in your former general assemblies, I will never agree; the Bishops must rule the ministers, and the King govern both in matters not repugnant to God's law."

Meanwhile, the ministers in and about Edinburgh, perceiving that, by the prevarication of the commissioners, their church was going to be overthrown, since the King was impowered to make what alterations he pleased, met together to consult how to prevent it. They found no other remedy than a protestation against the article passed by the commissioners, and when they had drawn it, they committed it to one Hewet, to present it to the King. Hewet being come into his Majesty's anti-chamber, in order to execute his commission, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's civilly accosted him, desiring to see the Protestation; which the minister readily showed him. As soon as he had it in his hands, he would have put it in his pocket, but Hewet seized the paper, which could not be done without making some noise. Upon which, the King, coming out and hearing the occasion of the bustle, spoke so roughly to the minister, that the poor man, all in a fright, fell on his knees and begged pardon, protesting never more to meddle in the affair.

But though the King had obtained what he wanted of the commisioners, he found he should never attain his ends without the consent of the ministers, especially as their protestation was public, and many copies, which continually increased, were already dispersed. He therefore addressed the Bishops, and ordered them to summon the ministers to meet on the 10th of July, at St. Andrew's, where he would come and speak to them in person. The ministers obeying the summons, the King called them all to witness his great care of the church of Scotland, as well before as since his accession to the crown, adding, he expected however no thanks for his zeal for the true worship of God, and for maintaining good order in the church. Then he told them, that before he departed for Scotland, he had sent them four articles to be inserted in their canons, which were rejected, and yet he was silent; that having lately desired it might be declared, that by virtue of his prerogative, he had power to make ecclesiatical laws, they mutinied and protested against him: however, he was very willing to pass by all these, with many other, affronts, received at their hands. "But now," continued he, "the errand for which I have called you, is to know your reasons, why this same power ought not to be admitted. I mean not to do any thing against reason; and, on the other part, my demands being just and religious, you must not think that I will be refused, or resisted." He spoke these last words knitting his brows, and looking at them, says the author of the Annals, with a majestical and stern eye, which made them all fall down on their knees. Then, continuing his speech, he said, "It is a power innate, and a special prerogative, which we that are Christian Kings have, to order and dispose of external things in the policy of the church, as we by advice of our Bishops shall find most fitting. And, Sirs, for your approving or disapproving, deceive not yourselves, I will never regard it, unless you bring me a reason which I cannot answer."

The ministers, seeing how peremptory the King was, desired leave to confer among themselves. Their request being granted, they returned in a few hours, with a petition for a General Assembly, that what his Majesty proposed might be received with common consent. "Aye," says the King, "but what assurance have I of their consenting?" Whereupon some of them said, they saw no reason to the contrary. "But," says the King, "if the General Assembly be of another mind, and your reason now be none of theirs then, and the

* There were five articles in all: the other, which is placed third, was, the Sacrament of Baptism not to be deferred longer than the next Sunday, and in case of necessity to be administered in a private house, with public declaration of the same, the Sunday after, in the church.

articles

articles are rejected, my difficulty will be the greater; for when I shall hereafter use my own authority in establishing them, I shall be pulpited a tyrant and persecutor; Ye were wont to do so." Then all cried out, that none durst be so mad. "Yet experience tells (says the King) that it hath been so; therefore, unless I be made sure, I will not give way to an assembly."

It was, however, easy to perceive, that without an assembly, the King could not possibly compass his ends. So, he agreed at length, that a General Assembly should be held at St. Andrew's in November. In this interval, Symson, the minister who drew up and signed the protestation, was committed to Edinburgh castle, and Catherwood, who carried letters to other ministers to encourage them to adhere to it, was banished. After this, the King returned to England.

The General Assembly, held at St. Andrew's in November, resolved to defer the reception of the four articles, till all the churches of the kingdom were informed of this affair; and then separated. The King was extremely incensed, and, looking upon this delay as a contempt of his authority, ordered the payment of the ministers' stipends to be stopped for a year. But finding this only exasperated the people, and retarded his design, he gave leave at length that another General Assembly should be held at Perth, on August the 25th the next year. And there, by fair or foul means, he obtained the church's consent to the four articles. But withal, he sowed in Scotland the seeds of those troubles, which distracted the kingdom in the following reign, and deprived the King, his son and successor, both of crown and life.

Before he left Scotland, the King made the Earl of Buckingham Privy-Counsellor of that kingdom, as he had been so some time in England.

Whilst the King was returning to London, he received a petition from some servants, labourers, mechanics, and other vulgar persons, complaining, that they were debarred from dancing, playing, church-ales, in a word, from all recreations on Sundays after Divine Service. Whereupon it was suggested to the King, that the Puritans meant to persuade the people, such diversions were contrary to the regard due to the Lord's-day: that these men went upon erroneous principles, namely, that Christians were obliged to keep the day of rest with the same strictness as the Jews, and therefore affected to call Sunday the Sabbath. This was a sufficient inducement to the King to condemn this puritanical scruple, and the rather, as he was not himself very scrupulous in this point. A book therefore was published in his name, wherein he maintained, by several arguments, that pastimes on Sundays, after evening service, were allowable, and withal, commanded that none should be hindered or discouraged from any lawful recreations. This book* made a great noise, neither was it exclaimed against by the Presbyterians alone. Many churchmen disapproved of it, and particularly the Lord Mayor of London, who, notwithstanding the prohibition, commanded the King's own carriages to be stopped, as they were passing through the City on a Sunday. But the King himself, regardless of these murmurs, and willing to support what he had done, enjoined all ministers to read his book publicly in their churches; and those that refused were severely punished by the high-commission.†

We shall close the events of the year 1617, with the sad catastrophe of Sir Walter Raleigh. He had been a prisoner twelve years,‡ ever since his condemnation, during which time, he had employed himself in writing his History of the World. At last, he obtained his liberty, though without the King's pardon.§ As his estate was all forfeited, and given to the Earl of Somerset, he was much embarrassed when he came out of prison. The court, where he was entirely unknown, was like a strange country to him. For this reason, he formed the project of seeking his fortune in distant climates. He had formerly traversed the seas of America, and knew all the coasts, particularly that of Guiana. He found means to acquaint the King, that he knew of a very rich mine in America, whence he hoped to bring mountains of gold, if his Majesty would be pleased to grant him a private commission. The mine lying in a country belonging to the Spaniards, it could not be seized without breaking the peace with Spain. The King, tempted no doubt with the golden hopes inspired by Raleigh, granted him a commission, directed to Our beloved and faithful Walter Raleigh, Knight, &c.‖ It was said afterwards, the King granted the commission with this limitation, that he should not injure the subjects of Spain.

However, Raleigh, by virtue of his commission, engaged several persons in this project. He was supplied with money to fit out twelve sail, and departed in August 1617, in the search of the mine. At his arrival upon the coast of Guiana, he found not the marks he had left there, neither could he know again the place he thought to have so well observed. He detached however his son, and Captain Keymis, with five ships, to sail up the river Oroonoko as high as possible, in order to discover the mountain where the supposed mine lay. The mountain not appearing, the English landed, and putting the Spaniards to flight who opposed their descent, pursued them to the town of St. Thomas, which they took and plundered. Sir Walter Raleigh's son was killed in the assault. Then, leaving a garrison in the place, they advanced farther into the country, without being able to find the so-much-desired mine. At last, weary with searching, they returned to Sir Walter Raleigh, who, finding himself disappointed of his hopes, threatened Keymis with the King's indignation, and, some days after, Keymis was found dead in his cabin.¶ The sailors, vexed at this ill success, loudly complained of their being drawn into a chimerical project, and compelled Sir Walter to sail back for England. When they arrived at Kinsale in Ireland, he would have persuaded them to go with him into France; but, instead of listening to his proposal, they carried him against his will to Plymouth, where he was arrested by the King's orders, and conveyed to the Tower of London.

During his absence, Count Gondemar, the Spanish Ambassador, making great complaints about Sir Walter's commission, which was become public,** the King found no better way to appease him, than by disowning

* It was called the Book of Sports. No recusant was to have the benefit of this liberty.

† The favourite's eldest brother was made Viscount Purbeck this year; his younger brother, Earl of Anglesey; his mother, though a papist, was created Countess of Buckingham, without her husband's enjoying the same honour. All his female relations were married into the richest and most noble families of the kingdom. The favourite's mother being a papist, and ruling her son with the same ease as he himself governed the King, it was not very strange, the papists conceived great hopes, and swarmed in the kingdom. The King gave himself little trouble about it. Provided a man took the oath of allegiance, and was not a puritan, every thing else was indifferent to him. He was almost wholly employed in his diversions, and as he very frequently hunted, his admirers pretended he took those times to consider of the affairs of the government.

‡ Prince Henry used to say, that no other King but his father would keep such a bird as Sir Walter Raleigh in a cage, i. e. the Tower.

§ He was released in 1516. Some say, that after the publication of his history, he petitioned the King, whose love to learning induced him at last to grant Sir Walter his liberty.

‖ There is in Rhymer's Fœdera, a commission for him, directed only to Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, without any other addition of beloved, or faithful. In that commission he hath "authority and licence to go into the South parts of America, or elsewhere, within America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to the end to discover and finde out some commodities and merchandizes in those countries that be necessary and profitable for the subjects of theis kingdomes and dominions, whereof the inhabitants there make little or no use or estimation; whereupon alsoe may ensue some propagation of the Christian faithe, and reformed religion, &c." But not a word of the Spaniards. In this commission, Sir Walter is said to stand in the perill of the lawe.

¶ He first shot himself; but, that not doing his business, he thrust a knife into his body, up to the haft, and expired.

** Sir Walter gave King James a plan of his design, together with the number of his men, burden of his ships, the country and river he was to enter, &c. which the King promised to keep secret, but it was sent by Gondemar to Spain, and thence to the Indies, before Raleigh went out of the Thames; and that very original paper was found in the Spanish Governor's closet at St. Thomas's.

it, or at least by assuring, that Raleigh had express orders not to act against the Spaniards.* Raleigh returning without gold, his cause was so much the worse. Besides, the Ambassador openly insisted upon his being punished, and told the King, there was no other way to continue the treaty of the Prince of Wales's marriage with the Infanta. Wherefore the King determined at length to sacrifice Raleigh to the Spaniard. But as he could not be tried upon his late expedition, for which he had a commission in form, it was resolved he should lose his head, by virtue of the sentence passed upon him fourteen years before. In vain did he plead that his commission, wherein the King styled him faithful servant, and gave him power of life and death over those who were under his command, was equivalent to a pardon. The Judges told him, "That treason could not be pardoned but by express words." So, without being called to an account for his late expedition, it was ordered that the former sentence should be executed.†

Thus died Sir Walter Raleigh, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was a man that deserved a better fortune, and had a large share of merit. He had also some faults, which are lessened or aggravated, in order to render his execution more or less odious, according as the historians are for or against King James. Certain it is, he fell a sacrifice to the mortal hatred conceived by the Spaniards against him in Queen Elizabeth's time, and to the King's unhappy desire to accomplish the Prince his son's marriage with the Infanta of Spain.‡

A. D. 1618.] The negotiation with Spain for the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta was still prolonged; and James continued to be amused with the expectation of a large dowry with that Princess. Hitherto the Spaniard had only the succession of Cleves in view. But this year the affairs of Germany and Bohemia began to give occasion to fear, a religious war would be kindled in those countries. This was a fresh reason for the Spaniard's amusing King James, lest he should side with the Protestants, and send them a powerful aid.§

In the beginning of the year 1619, the Earl of Northumberland, who had been in the Tower ever since the gun-powder plot, obtained his liberty, by means of the Lord Hay, his son-in-law, lately made Viscount Doncaster.‖

In March this year, the King lost his Queen, in the forty-sixth year of her age. Shortly after, he was himself seized with a great illness, which brought him to the brink of the grave.

The Emperor Matthias dying the 20th of March 1619, Ferdinand, his cousin and adopted son, was proclaimed King of Bohemia, as well in consequence of his election, as in virtue of his pretended hereditary right to that crown. Meanwhile, as the chief aim was to obtain the Imperial dignity, and as he stood in need for that purpose of the Protestant electors, he feigned a willingness to end amicably the war now begun in Bohemia, by giving the States a reasonable satisfaction with respect to their privileges. But the States thought

* So it is said in the warrant for apprehending Sir Walter, "We did," says the King, "by express limitation and caution, restrayne and forbid them, from attemptinge any act of hostility, wronge, or violence whatsoever upon the territories, states, or subjects of any forrayne Princes with whome we are in amity, and more particularly of those of our deare brother the Kinge of Spayne, in respect of his domynions and interestes in that continent, &c."

† He was not beheaded till October 29, 1618. It was done in the old Palace-yard at Westminster.

‡ Notwithstanding what has been stated it is the opinion of many, founded upon very plausible reasons, that Sir Walter Raleigh's mine never existed, but in his own fabricated report to the King; that his expedition was altogether of a marauding nature; that his fellow adventurers were seduced into the plan, by his specious representations; that his object was, to retrieve his own desperate fortunes by the plunder of the Spaniards; and that, by the wealth which he should thus be enabled to amass, he might secure his pardon at home, or a safe and affluent retreat in some foreign country. Sir Walter Raleigh unquestionably knew; that the situation of his pretended mine was in the territory of the Spaniards; it is exceedingly improbable that James would have sanctioned any attempt on the property of that people; and it is certain that Sir Walter Raleigh did not voluntarily return to England. He died with great firmness. When he felt the edge of the axe by which he was to be beheaded; "it is a sharp remedy," said he, "but a sure one for all ills." His harangue to the people, from the scaffold, was calm and eloquent. No measure of James's reign was attended with more public dissatisfaction, than the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh.

§ In Bohemia were two religions established by law; the one was called sub unâ, and the other sub utràque. The former was professed by the Catholics, who communicated in one kind only, the latter by the Hussites, who received the Eucharist in both kinds, and, since the Reformation, were become true Protestants. The Emperor Sigismund was forced, in order to be owned for King of Bohemia, to grant the Hussites an edict, whereby, among other privileges, it was decreed there should be no magistrate or inhabitant in Prague but what was of their religion. This edict, granted in the year 1435, was observed till 1570, when, by order of Maximilian II. a Catholic was made citizen of Prague. Another of the same religion obtained the same favour in 1599, and withal, a place in the magistracy. From that time, Sigismund's edict was frequently violated, and at last the Jesuits were admitted into Prague, and built there a stately college. Thus, by degrees, the number of the Catholics was considerably augmented in the city, by means of the governor's and the Emperor's other officers who were all of the same religion. The more they increased, the higher they carried their pretensions, and at last the edict of Sigismund was continually transgressed. However, in the reign of Rodolphus II. the Protestants, by the intercession of Prince Matthias, obtained of the Emperor a second edict, which, under colour of confirming their privileges, put them upon a sort of equality with the Catholics, though they had enjoyed the superiority for one hundred and fifty years. This equality was as much as they could expect, considering the present juncture. But, though it was far short of their ancient privileges, the Emperor's officers in Bohemia, thinking such an edict prejudicial to the Catholic religion, refused to publish it, affirming, it was extorted from the Emperor whilst at war with the Turk.

Rodolphus II. dying in 1612, his brother Matthias succeeded him both in the kingdom of Bohemia, and the imperial dignity. Under this new King the privileges of the Protestants were violated much more openly, and with greater haughtiness than under the last. But this was not all: Matthias having adopted his cousin, Ferdinand of Austria, had a mind also to secure him the crown of Bohemia. The execution of this project would doubtless have been very difficult, had not the Emperor used artifice. Silesia, Moravia, Upper and Lower Lusatia, being annexed to Bohemia, had a right to send deputies to the assembly of the states of that kingdom. But as these countries were Protestant, their deputies very probably would join with those of Bohemia, of the same religion, and frustrate the Emperor's design. Wherefore he convened the States of Bohemia, without summoning the others. The Protestants complained of this innovation, and not to authorise it, refused, for the most part, to send deputies to the States. This was what the Emperor foresaw and wished: for the Catholic deputies being the majority, Ferdinand was declared Matthias's presumptive successor, and shortly after crowned at Prague, after which he resided at Gratz. The defenders, for so were called a certain number of eminent persons, chosen and appointed by the States to see the edicts put in execution, perceiving the designs of the Imperial court, summoned the States pursuant to their power, and forgot not to call the incorporated provinces. This assembly only drew a petition to be presented to the Emperor, wherein the States demanded the execution of the laws of the kingdom, and a just reparation of the injuries done them. Meanwhile, as they could come to no resolution before the Emperor's answer was received, they adjourned to the Monday after Rogation-week, in the year 1618.

The Emperor, instead of being inclined to send a favourable answer to the States' petition, ordered his Lieutenant in Bohemia to hinder the next assembly, called without his license. But the Lieutenant was not quite strong enough to execute the order. His opposition serving only to exasperate the States who were assembled on the day appointed in the college of Charles IV. they went in a body to the chancery, and seizing the Emperor's officers, pitched upon three, and threw them out of the castle-window. After that, they drove the Jesuits out of Prague.

Things being come to these extremities, the States published an apology to acquaint the public why they had punished these officers. But as they believed the Emperor would not hear their reasons, they signed a confederacy, promising mutual aid against all opposers. In the meantime, hearing the Emperor was making preparations to attack them, they chose four and twenty protectors, empowering them to raise forces, and lay upon the kingdom and the incorporated countries what taxes they should judge necessary. Thus, a war being unavoidable, every one took such measures as he deemed requisite, whether to attack or defend.

At the time, the Bohemian States were taking these resolutions, the Cardinal Infant was preparing an army in the Low-Countries to assist the Emperor. Whilst this army was levying, he sent Charles de Bucquoy, Count de Lonqueval, to the Emperor, who made him General of the army designed against Bohemia. The States chose for their Generals, Count Ernest of Mansfeldt, and Count de la Tour. This war was of so great moment to the house of Austria, that it is not very strange the Spaniard should still continue to amuse King James with the hopes of seeing the projected marriage speedily concluded.

‖ James Lord Hay it seems had married Lucy, the Duke's youngest daughter, without his consent, and he was so much displeased with the match, that he could hardly be brought to accept of his liberty from the hands of his son-in-law. The fine of 30,000*l.* which he had been condemned to, was compounded at 11,000*l.* His daughter was the same lady, who under the title of Countess of Carlisle, made the most shining figure in the court of Charles I. as a beauty, wit, and politician. The old Duke, when he came out of the Tower, hearing that Buckingham was drawn about with six horses in his coach, (being the first that was so) put on eight to his, and in that manner was drawn through the city, in his way to the Bath.

not fit to trust to his promises. In the mean time, he endeavoured to gain the Electors, and make alliances with the Catholic Princes of Germany. James, who gloried in being styled the pacific King, thought himself obliged, as such, to try to appease, by his mediation, the troubles of Bohemia. To this end, he chose the Viscount Doncaster to go and endeavour to procure a peace between Ferdinand and the Bohemian states. The embassy, however, proved entirely fruitless, and served only to show the little account Ferdinand made of the King of England's mediation.

The time appointed for the election of an Emperor approaching, the Elector of Mentz summoned the rest of the Electors, and particularly Ferdinand as King of Bohemia. The States of that kingdom protested against the summons, saying, Ferdinand could not be received as elector in quality of the King of Bohemia, since he was not in possession of the kingdom. But their opposition was ineffectual. Ferdinand was not only acknowledged for the King of Bohemia and elector, but was also chosen Emperor, the 18th of August 1619. Then the States of Bohemia, seeing they had not been able to hinder Ferdinand from being Emperor, took an oath never to own him for their Sovereign, and at the same time, namely, on the 5th of September, chose for their King, Frederic, Elector Palatine, and sent deputies to acquaint him with the election, and pray him to repair to Prague. Frederic did not want much solicitation to accept of a crown offered him by those who, in his opinion, had a right to dispose of it. He dispatched however Baron d'Aulné to the King his father-in-law, for his advice, but it was as a mere compliment. Assembling some troops, he came to Prague, where he was crowned the 4th of November.

Before Frederic's envoy reached England, James, hearing the news of his son-in-law's election, called a council, to debate whether the elector ought to accept or refuse the crown of Bohemia. The Archbishop of Canterbury, not being present, by reason of the gout which confined him to his bed, wrote to Secretary Naunton, "That it was his opinion the Elector should accept of the crown, and England openly support him. And therefore as soon as there should be certain news of his coronation, the bells ought to be rung, guns fired, and bonfires made, to let all Europe see the King was determined to countenance him." But this advice was not followed. The King maintained, in the council, Ferdinand's cause against the States of Bohemia, and, without knowing any thing of their privileges, as he afterwards owned, decided that the Bohemian States were in actual rebellion.* It was therefore resolved, the King should admonish the Elector to refuse the offered crown, not only because it was agreeable to the King's principles, but for another, and no less strong, reason, namely, the King rightly judged that the Elector's acceptance could not but be extremely prejudicial to the negotiation of the Spanish match, considering the strict union between the Princes of the house of Austria.

But the Elector Palatine had broken these measures by accepting the crown, without expecting the council of England's resolution. The King was so angry, that he refused to give Baron d'Aulné audience, who, since his departure, had received orders to excuse the Elector from the necessity he was under of proceeding with all possible expedition. The very Ambassadors, sent by King James on this occasion to the Emperor, and several German Princes, had express orders to disavow Frederic's proceedings; and of all the Protestant Princes, James alone never gave him the title of King.

Though the Elector was crowned, the King his father-in-law fancied, he could persuade him to quit the crown, and induce the States of Bohemia to acknowledge Ferdinand. To that purpose, he sent two Ambassadors to Prague, namely, Richard Weston a papist, and Sir Edward Conway a Protestant. Conway being afterwards made Secretary of State, the King used to say to him merrily, that never Prince had such a Secretary, who could neither read nor write. This embassy was fruitless.†

Meantime, the King of Spain did not forget to do the Emperor good service, keeping King James in his pacific disposition. Nothing was talked of at the court of Madrid, but the King of England's generosity, justice, and equity. In fine, to amuse him the better, the negotiation of the marriage was renewed, having been interrupted, in expectation of the Pope's dispensation. It was even intimated to Cottington, that if the dispensation did not quickly arrive, the marriage should be concluded without it, or means found to force the Pope to grant it. Cottington, who knew the Spanish court, fell not into the snare. He sent word to England, that nothing more was to be expected concerning the marriage; that the King of Spain's intent was only to amuse his Majesty, and therefore he believed, the negotiation ought to be broken off. But instead of seeing his advice followed, he received orders to declare to the King of Spain, that his master was not concerned in the acceptance of the crown of Bohemia: that his son-in-law had proceeded without his approbation and knowledge, and therefore he entirely disowned him.

A. D. 1620.] The affair of Bohemia put several of the Princes of Europe in motion, and held the rest in suspense. Ferdinand and Frederic had each their friends and allies, who were preparing to assist them, whilst James stood neuter, imagining, that by making a show of neutrality, he should induce the two competitors to make him arbiter of their difference. But both were jealous of him, the one because he was a Protestant, and father-in-law of his adversary; the other because he had openly declared, he disapproved of his conduct. So, without much regarding his solicitations, both sides prepared to decide the quarrel by arms.

The whole kingdom was extremely surprised at the King's insensibility for his son-in-law, his daughter, and the children: but for his part, he looked upon the quarrel between the Emperor and Frederic in quite another light. He was just going to be strictly united with the house of Austria, by his son's marriage with the Infanta of Spain; and at this very time, the Elector, his son-in-law, had broken all his measures by a rash, unjust, and inconsiderate action; for so he termed the acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. "Is it reasonable, said he, I should suffer myself to be drawn, by a son-in-law's ambition and humour, into a war against the house of Austria, who have done me no wrong? Must I alter all my projects, all my measures, because the Elector Palatine has been pleased to accept the crown of Bohemia, without so much as asking my advice?" However, by much persuasion, he was prevailed with at length to suffer a regiment of two thousand two hundred men to be raised, which was done mostly at the charge of some Lords. Sir Horatio Vere, who had long served in Holland, where he had acquired great reputation, commanded this regiment, having under him Burroughs and Herbert for Major-Generals. The Earls of Oxford and Essex accompanied him, and commanded each a company of gentlemen volunteers.

This regiment, being raised with extreme speed, was transported to Holland. Then they passed the Rhine below Wezel, to avoid Spinola, who was at Aix la Chapelle. It was not without danger, that the English crossed so many countries to reach the Palatinate: even they durst not have attempted it, if Prince Frederic Henry of Nassau, with two thousand horse, and some foot, had not conducted them to Francfort, and deceived Spinola's vigilance, who expected them on another road. It was the 1st of October before they joined the

* He was so possessed of the opinion of a Divine right in all Kings, that he could not bear, that even an elective and limited King should be called in question by his subjects.

† It was a pleasant remark of the King's, that Stenny had given him three notable servants: a Gemleman of the bed-chamber (Clark) who could not help him to untruss a point, for he had but one hand; a chaplain (Dr. Preston) who could not say prayers, for he scrupled the use of our liturgy; and a Secretary of State (Conway) who could neither write nor read. Conway had been bred a soldier, being Governor of the Briel, when England gave up the cautionary towns.

army

army of the King of Bohemia's allies, commanded by the Margrave of Anspach.

Spinola, who departed from Brussels the 8th of August, being come to Coblentz, opened his orders in the presence of the English Ambassador, who had accompanied him thus far. The orders were, to make war upon all who should declare for the Elector Palatine. This was all Edmonds could know of Spinola's designs. The rest was easy to be guessed, considering which way he was marching. He arrived in the Palatinate before the English had joined the confederate army, and took several small places. The two armies tried one another for some time, and were once in sight of each other, ready to engage, but no action of moment ensued. The season, which daily grew worse, obliging them at last to retire to winter quarters, the confederate Princes led home their troops, leaving the English in garrison at Heidelbergh, Manheim, and Frankendal.

In April this year the King of France sent to the Emperor and several German Princes, the Duke of Angoulême, the Duke of Bethune, and Mr. Despreaux, to endeavour to appease the Bohemian and Hungarian troubles. At the same time, James dispatched Sir Henry Wotton on the same errand, and to exhort to peace all the Princes engaged in the quarrel between the Emperor and the Palsgrave. Wotton, having seen the Princes of both parties, brought back only general expressions, which showed how little the King his master was regarded. At last he came to Vienna, where he found the French Ambassadors. In the audience he had of the Emperor, he made two propositions. It must be observed, the Emperor had now published a ban against the Elector Palatine, wherein he had fully set forth the reasons moving him to come to such extremeties: that Spinola was marching to the Palatinate: that the Duke of Bavaria was leading his troops to Bohemia to join the Emperor's forces, and the Elector of Saxony going to invade Lusatia. In this juncture, Wotton made his two propositions; but the Emperor, affecting not fully to understand the discourse, desired a clearer and more circumstantial memorial, that he might be able to give a suitable answer. The memorial was never presented, and thus ended this embassy.

The Elector of Saxony, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Marquis of Spinola, commissioned to execute the imperial ban, began all three to act in September. The Elector of Saxony, at the head of twenty thousand men, entered Lusatia, and by the end of October conquered the whole country, which he kept for himself, according to his agreement with the Emperor.

Whilst the Elector of Saxony was in Lusatia, the Duke of Bavaria, having subdued Upper Austria, the beginning of September, joined Count Bucquoy, who commanded the imperial army in Bohemia. As Frederic had all his forces there, the Emperor's two Generals were obliged to take some places, before they could advance to Prague. At length, having opened a passage, they came in the beginning of November within sight of that metropolis, and of the enemy's army posted between them and the city. A few days after * was fought the famous battle of Prague, wherein Frederic's army was entirely routed. This Prince, who stayed at Prague during the battle, hastily retired with his wife and children, leaving all his baggage and money in the city, which on the morrow opened her gates to the imperialists and Bavarians. Weston and Conway, the English Ambassadors, followed the King in his flight; But finding he intended to withdraw into Holland, they obtained a passport to return to Prague, where they remained not long, their stay being entirely needless.

The victory lately gained by the Emperor's arms produced great effects; the first whereof was that the Palsgrave was forsaken by most of the Princes his confederates. The Prince of Anhalt himself, who commanded his army, entered into the Emperor's service. Count Mansfeldt alone remained faithful, and was still serviceable to him.†

The campaign of the Palatinate was no sooner ended, than the Earl of Essex posted away, to represent to the King the impossibility of saving that country, without a speedy and powerful aid. But it was not by arms that James meant to support his son-in-law's interest. Count Gondemar ruled him as he pleased, by feeding him with good success of the marriage, provided he would not disturb the negotiation by proceedings offensive to the King of Spain. Count Gondemar had bribed with presents and pensions, all those who had the King's ear, and who took care to cherish him in this vain project.‡ The King verily believed there was no other way to save the Palatinate, than to preserve a good understanding with the King of Spain and the Emperor by standing neuter. This he declared himself to the council, adding however, if his instances were rejected he would have recourse to arms at last. Not that he had any intent to go to war with the house of Austria let what would happen, but hoped, this would be a good pretence to draw money from his subjects, and to send a letter signed by the council to all the nobility, and to the Lord Mayor of London, for a benevolence. But probably this method was unsuccessful, so much were the people dissatisfied with the government.§

The affairs of the Protestant religion in Germany and France were in a very ill situation. On the other hand, the King of Bohemia, being driven out of the kingdom, saw himself upon the point of losing also the Palatinate. All the world murmured to behold the King's extreme indolence with respect to these two affairs, wherein he was particularly concerned as a father, as a King of England, and as a Protestant. These murmurs produced at length a Parliament. Not that the court's intent was to satisfy the people: but it was judged, since they were so desirous that proper measures should be taken for the defence of religion and the Palatinate, the House of Commons would be ready to grant the King an aid answerable to so important a design. A Parliament was therefore summoned to meet on the 20th of January, 1621.

The Parliament being assembled, the King made a speech to both Houses, which he divided into three heads. In the first, he told them what a Parliament was, under colour of reminding them of so necessary and fundamental a point. The second contained the reasons of their meeting. In the third, he spoke of the grievances, which the people thought to have cause to complain of, and endeavoured to justify his conduct.

The occasion of calling the Parliament was so plausible, that the Commons easily perceived, if they began, according to the custom, with the consideration of the grievances, before they gave the King money, he would not fail to say, that a delay in so important a juncture was the same as a denial. The people were extremely incensed against Spain for invading the Palatinate. They dreaded the Prince's marriage with the

* On the 8th of November. There were six thousand Bohemians slain, and more taken prisoners.

† This same year, the Huguenots of France being vigorously pushed by Lewis XIII. James sent Sir Edward Herbert to solicit him in their behalf. He had even orders to use menaces, if the court of France refused to regard his remonstrances. Herbert discharged his commission so bluntly, that the constable Luynes being offended at it, caused him to be recalled. Herbert would have afterwards sent a challenge to the constable for misrepresenting his words, but the King would not suffer it. The Viscount Doncaster, lately made Earl of Carlisle, was sent to France in Herbert's room. He spent immense sums, without effecting any thing for the Huguenots. This is not surprising, since the French court knew King James was neither able nor willing to assist them.

‡ Wilson says, he bribed the very ladies, especially those who talked much, and to whom much company resorted, that they might allay such as were too sour in their expressions, and stop them if they ran on too fast. But it seems he had neglected the Lady Jacobs, who upon his passing by her window in his chair, instead of answering his salutation as usual, only gaped with her mouth, which repeating again next day, he sent to know the reason; she replied, "that she had a mouth to be stopt as well as other ladies."

§ The Marquis of Buckingham, about the end of the year, married the Earl of Rutland's only daughter, the richest heiress in the kingdom. Some say, he debauched her before marriage, and the Earl of Rutland sent him word, if he did not espouse her, the King's favour should not screen him from his revenge. Buckingham readily complied, since it was a very advantageous match for him.

Infanta, and the destruction of the Protestant religion abroad. So to deny the King money on this occasion, would be justifying his indolence. Some members, however, believing the King had no design to make war, were desirous to spare the people's purses. But the rest demonstrated to them, the necessity of sacrificing a sum of money, whether the King employed it in defence of the Palatinate, or put it to other uses. In the first case, the public would have what they wished, and the money given the King, would be only a small part of what was further to be expended in support of the war. In the second case, the King's intentions would be manifestly known, and that would afford a just motive to refuse him money hereafter for imaginary undertakings. So, without any solicitation, the Commons granted the King two entire subsidies, with which he was satisfied, in expectation of obtaining much more hereafter on the same account.

The subsidy act was no sooner passed, but many petitions were received by the House of Commons, as well against the increase of popery, and impunity of recusants, as against monopolies, informers, or projecters. Of the monopolies, three were chiefly complained of. The first was concerning inns, which no man could keep without a licence from certain persons, to whom the King granted a patent. The second was of the same nature with respect to ale-houses. The third was the most enormous. It was a patent granted by the King to Sir Giles Monpesson, and Sir Francis Michel, for the sole making and selling of gold and silver lace. By this means, they sold great quantities of counterfeit gold lace instead of real, and if any person presumed to make or sell any other, he was thrown into gaol, and fined severely. The two patentees against being informed against in the House of Commons, were immediately committed to prison: but Monpesson, Buckingham's creature, found means to make his escape. As soon as he was safe, the King published a proclamation, promising a reward to any person that should take him.

Meanwhile, the two Houses applied themselves closely to the affair of monopolies. The Commons would know how these two persons obtained their patent, whilst the Lords were diligently forming their process. In the mean time, the King was very uneasy. He saw, this affair was examining in such a manner, that the odium could not but fall upon himself or favourite. To prevent the consequences, he came to the House of Lords, and made a speech full of tender and affectionate expressions. He affirmed, he was ignorant of the ill effects his patent had caused, and charged them to bring the offenders to speedy and severe justice: adding, his intention was to revoke all his patents which had been so injurious to the people, and particularly that of gold and silver lace, which was a kind of false coin. He exhorted them, moreover, to dispatch the bill they were preparing against informers and projectors, saying, he had before, in the Star-Chamber, shewn his dislike of such people, and to be rid of them, would be the greatest ease to himself, and all those about him. "For," continued he, "Buckingham told me he never found such quiet and rest, as in this time of Parliament, from projectors and informers, who at other times miserably vexed him at all hours." In short, he told them, he thought till then the people had never been so happy as in his reign: but now he was ashamed to consider how his people had been vexed and polled, by the vile execution of projects, patents, bills of conformity, and the like, which have more exhausted their purses than subsidies would have done. Having thus obviated the complaints which could be made against him, by condemning first the occasion of them, he taught the Lords how they were to proceed in equitably judging the matters before them, namely, not to suffer themselves to be carried away with an inconsiderate zeal for justice, in hearkening to those who accused the innocent as well as the guilty.

Every one knew that he meant to hinder the Marquis of Buckingham from being attacked, who was reckoned the chief author of our monopolies. He had indeed the satisfaction to see that the Parliament did not carry this affair very far. But though he had ordered his speech to be printed, and dispersed, he could not hinder reflections to his disadvantage.

The Lords were satisfied with punishing Monpesson and Michel. They confiscated Monpesson's estate, who had made his escape, and degraded him of his knighthood.* Michel was likewise degraded, fined a thousand pounds, imprisoned for life, and carried on horseback with his face to the tail, through the public streets in London.

Shortly after, the King, hearing complaints were brought before the Peers against Chancellor Bacon, came to the House of Lords, and sending for the Commons, made a speech, wherein he chiefly insisted upon the necessity of punishing corruption and bribery in Judges. Then he thanked the Commons for the two subsidies, but said, the money had been employed before-hand for the defence of the Palatinate, and maintenance of his children, who were fled to Holland for refuge: that he had procured a short truce, and hoped soon to obtain a general peace; but the great charges of sending Ambassadors over all Europe, or an army into the Palatinate in case his negotiations became fruitless, required a much larger sum than what had been granted him. He concluded, with protesting before God, he would not dissolve the Parliament till the affairs in agitation were finished.

The House of Commons, having demanded a conference of the Lords, represented to them, that the Chancellor being accused of several crimes, it was not fit he should continue any longer in so eminent a post if he was guilty, or be exposed to calumny if innocent. Whereupon the Lords sent the Chancellor to the Tower, and prepared for his trial. He used all possible endeavours to avoid the shame of a particular and full confession. To that end, he presented an humble submission to the House, confessing himself guilty in general, and imploring pardon, or at least, that his punishment might not extend farther than the taking of the Great Seal. But the Lords were inexorable. They required him to confess the particulars of the charge, which consisted in the enumeration of several bribes he had taken. He was so very express, that he confessed, one of his servants took a dozen of buttons as a gift, in a cause depending before him.† But this confession, however full and plain it was, did not hinder him from being declared unworthy, not only of the office of Chancellor, but even of having a place for the future in the House of Peers,‡ though he had been created Baron Verulam, and Viscount of St. Albans. He was likely to have been even deprived of his dignity.§ He was a very great genius, and one of the most learned men in Europe, but a servile flatterer, extremely haughty whilst fortune smiled upon him, and cringing when she frowned. After his disgrace, he composed several works, and amongst others, the History of King Henry VII. to whom certainly he has not given a just character. This is not surprising; for as his estate was forfeited by the sentence passed upon him, and as he lived only on a pension from the King, who always spoke of Henry VII. his great-grandfather with high-commendations, he made his court to the King, by representing that Prince as a pattern of wisdom and virtue.‖

It

* And also out-lawed, and condemned him to perpetual banishment.

† That dozen of buttons was valued at 50*l*. The reader may see an account of the proceedings against him, (which continued from March 15, to May 3,) in State-Trials.

‡ He was also condemned in a fine of 40,000*l*. (which was afterwards remitted) to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure; and declared for ever incapable of filling any office or place.

§ To heighten his misery the more, many others were crushed by his fall, for he was vastly in debt, and, notwithstanding his pension, he wanted to his last, living obscurely in his lodgings at Gray's-Inn. ——His too great indulgence to his servants, was the cause of his ruin; he connived at their takings, and they were profuse and expensive, and had at command whatever he was master of. His decrees in chancery were generally made with so much equity, that never was any one of them reversed as unjust.

‖ He was of middling stature, his countenance indented with age,

It was properly in this third Parliament that two parties were formed, the one for the court, the other for the people, who began from this time to oppose one another on all occasions. The people had the strongest party among the Commons, and the King in the House of Lords. Not but that the Kings had always their adherents in both Houses, and the ministers and favourites their enemies and enviers. But till this Parliament, there were not properly any formed parties, or, if any, they were not long-lived. But those that began to be formed this year, continually increased. These are the same parties which still subsist, under the names of Tories and Whigs; the first of which labours incessantly to stretch the prerogative royal as high as possible, when favoured by the King; and the other is always insisting on the rights and privileges of the people. When all parliamentary affairs came to be transacted with a spirit of party, every thing tended by degrees to confusion. As one of the parties was always ready to increase the King's power, the other used its utmost endeavours, not only to keep it within due bounds, but also to lessen it, for fear the King's prerogatives might serve him for steps to mount higher. Thus both went too far. James I. gave birth to these two parties, by haughtily establishing these two prerogatives, which perhaps would never have been questioned, had he not founded them upon principles that opened a door to arbitrary power. He met, however, with great opposition, not only in the House of Commons, but among the Peers themselves, several of whom did not scruple to contradict him openly. Of this number were the Earls of Essex, Oxford, Southampton, and Warwick, the Lords Say and Seal, the Lord Spenser, and some others. It was then become customary, that when one Lord had spoken for or against the government, he was answered by another of the opposite party, and very often with a heat and passion unbecoming the dignity of the House.*

The Commons, finding the King made no preparation for war, but had only sent Digby to the Emperor, were not forward to give him a fresh supply, especially as they knew the two subsidies already granted had been put to other uses. They were not ignorant, moreover, that the King built all his hopes upon the Spanish match, and consequently would not easily resolve to take arms against the house of Austria, and the more, because Gondemar had still a great influence over him. The truth is, had the King really intended to wrest from the Spaniard what was taken from the Palatinate, it was not natural for the Spanish Ambassador to have so much influence at court. The people were extremely displeased with it, and looked upon the Spanish marriage as a very great misfortune to the nation, and the Protestant religion. Of this they gave Gondemar himself a sensible proof, who was reviled and insulted by the populace in London streets. The King hearing of it, ordered one of the insolent mob to be publicly whipt by the hangman.

The King, perceiving the Commons would never think of granting him a fresh aid, before it was more certainly known whether there would be peace or war, ordered the Lord-Treasurer to go, in his name, on June the 4th, and adjourn the Parliament to the 14th of Nov. The spirit of jealousy, which then reigned among the Commons, caused them to consider this adjournment as an encroachment upon their privileges. They pretended, the King had indeed power to prorogue and dissolve the Parliament, but that adjournment was the peculiar privilege of each house. So they desired a conference with the Lords, to persuade them to concur with them in presenting a petition to the King upon this occasion. But the King acquainting the Lords, that such a petition would be very displeasing to him, and that he would not suffer his power to call, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the Parliament, to be disputed, the Lords refused to join with the Commons. Whereupon the Commons declared, that they were extremely concerned at the King's resolution, because it deprived them of the means of finishing what was begun for the public good.

This declaration brought the King to the House of Peers, and after thanking their Lordships for acknowledging his prerogative, and refusing to join with the Commons, he told them, if they desired it, he would grant them a delay of eight or ten days; but would not do it at the request of the Commons. Upon this offer, the Lords, after a conference with the Commons, moved the King to continue their sitting for fourteen days, which was granted. Some days after, the committee of both Houses attending the King, he took occasion to tell them, how ill he took it that the Commons should dispute his undoubted right to adjourn the Parliament. The Commons, seeing the Lords, who were equally concerned in the affair, refuse their concurrence, proceeded no farther. Nevertheless, on the day they were to break up, they drew the following declaration, "That taking into most serious consideration, the present state of the King's children abroad, and the generally afflicted estate of the true professors of the same Christian religion, professed by the church of England in foreign parts, and being touched with a true sense and fellow feeling of their distresses, as members of the same body, they do with unanimous consent declare——they shall be ready to the utmost of their power, both with their lives and fortunes, to assist his Majesty, so as that he may be able to do that with his sword, which by a peaceable course shall not be effected."

Presently after, the King published a proclamation, wherein he set forth, that as many great affairs debated in Parliament, could not be brought to perfection in so short a time, the Commons thought it convenient to continue the same session in course of adjourment. That as for the grievances, they were such as he needed not the assistance of Parliament to reform the same, and would have redressed them himself, had they been sooner made known to him. Adding, that by his own regal authority, he annulled and revoked the patent for gold and silver thread, and some others mentioned in the proclamation; at the same time a second proclamation was published against such as were so bold as to talk of state-affairs, notwithstanding his Majesty's former command, with threats of severe punishment, as well against the concealers of such discourses, as against audacious tongues and pens.

On the 20th of July, John Williams, Dean of Westminster, was sworn Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, the Chancellorship having been vacant ever since Bacon's condemnation.

The day after the battle, the city of Prague surrendered at discretion, and the Duke of Bavaria returned to Munich, leaving his army in Bohemia under the command of Count Tilly his General. On the other hand, Count Bucquoy departed the 12th of December for Moravia which voluntarily submitted, as despairing of assistance. After Bucquoy had spent part of the winter in Moravia and at Vienna, he went and commanded the imperial army in Hungary, where he was slain, after some progress. A little before, Silesia had likewise submitted to the Emperor.

Philip III. King of Spain died the 31st of March, this year, and was succeeded by his son Philip IV.

In France, Lewis XIII. vigorously pressed the Huguenots, and invested Montauban; but the long resistance of the besieged, compelled him to desist.

The Emperor, to gain time, or, to be freed from Digby's importunities, told him, he intended to grant a truce for the Palatinate, if the Duke of Bavaria would

---

before he was old; his presence grave and comely, of a high-flying and lively wit, striving in some things to be rather admired than understood; yet so quick and easy when he would express himself, and his memory so strong and active, that he appeared the master of a large and plenteous store-house of knowledge.

* One day, as the Lord Spenser was speaking about the government, and alledging several examples of their great ancestors, Arundel suddenly interrupted him, saying, "My Lord, when these things you speak of were doing, your ancestors were keeping sheep." Spenser instantly replied, "When my ancestors (as you say) were keeping sheep, yours were plotting treason." Whereupon, the House ordering them both to withdraw; it was resolved, in spite of the most zealous courtiers, that the Earl of Arundel, as aggressor, should give the Lord Spenser satisfaction, which he refusing, was sent to the Tower, and not released till he had submitted to the commands of the House.

would consent to it. He even advised him to go and negotiate the truce with the Duke. Digby, leaving Vienna the 11th of September, came into the Upper Palatinate, where the Duke of Bavaria then was, at the time Mansfeldt was concluding a truce with Tilly. When Digby talked of a truce, the Duke told him, "There was no need to labour for a truce, for the wars were at an end, in that he had agreed with Count Mansfeldt; nor did he doubt of keeping both Palatinates in peace, till the Emperor and Palsgrave were agreed." The Emperor, hearing by Digby this answer, wrote him word, that, the face of affairs being altered in the Upper-Palatinate, by Mansfeldt's fault, who had entered that country with his troops, the Duke of Bavaria was under a necessity of raising an army to drive him thence, and it was not reasonable he should be at that charge to no purpose. Then it was that Digby, having informed the King of the state of affairs in Germany, brought Mansfeldt into the Lower-Palatinate, where his coming saved Frankendal. After that, he borrowed, upon his own credit, ten thousand pounds sterling, to pay the English troops, who had for a long time received nothing.

The King, being informed, by his ambassador's letter, of the Duke of Bavaria's answer, wrote to the Emperor, to complain of the invasion of the Palatinate, and to tell him, in what manner he conceived, the elector Palatinate was to give him satisfaction, in order to fix the sense of the word.

I. That he should renounce the crown of Bohemia.

II. That, as Prince of the empire he should submit, to his Imperial Majesty.

III. That he should ask pardon on his knees.

IV. That for the future, he should remain quiet, and raise no disturbance in the empire.

V. That he should be reconciled to all the Princes.

VI. That if this was not sufficient, he would undertake to procure what other terms should be deemed reasonable. Lastly, he told him, that if he could not obtain his son-in-law's pardon by fair means, he was resolved to have recourse to arms. The Emperor, without being frighted at this menace, still continued to amuse him, and, the better to persuade him he was inclined to peace, he dispatched Count Schwartzenburgh to settle with him the conditions of a truce.

The King had further adjourned the two Houses from the 14th of November, to the 8th of February 1622. But Digby's return occasioned his ordering them to meet the 20th of November. As he was a little indisposed, he commanded the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Digby, to acquaint the Parliament with his intentions. The Lord Keeper said, that, since the last adjournment, the King had taken great care of the nation, reforming by his proclamations thirty-seven several grievances complained of by the people, without demanding any thing in return for these favours, as was usual in former times. That he had reassembled the Parliament, upon the declaration of the Commons to assist him powerfully in the recovery of the Palatinate. That he had used his endeavours to procure a good peace, but with little success, as the Lord Digby would inform them. Then, he put them in mind, that the King had advanced forty thousand pounds to keep together an army in the Lower-Palatinate: "But," continued he, "unless the Parliament take further resolution, and imitate rather ancient than modern principles, and be more expeditious in what they do, his Majesty's endeavours will fall to the ground." He concluded with saying, the King had resolved to continue the session till seven or eight days before Christmas, and renew it the 8th of February.

The Lord Digby, speaking next, gave a brief account of his embassy to Vienna, and said, he plainly discovered, it was the Emperor's intent to give the Upper Palatinate to the Duke of Bavaria. Adding, that a good sum of money was absolutely necessary, both to keep Count Mansfeldt's army together, and to send a strong supply of English troops to the Palatinate.

The Lord Treasurer said, the King's coffers were empty, his treasure being exhausted by the sums employed in the defence of the Palatinate. Nevertheless, though the King declared for war, he was resolved to conclude the Spanish marriage.

The King demanded money to enable him to make the necessary preparations, and, in a word, required that the affair should be left entirely to his management. But the Commons had no confidence in James I. He demanded money for a war, to which, they were persuaded, he had no inclination. Therefore they could not help fearing, that the money which should be granted him, would be employed other ways than in a war with Spain. On the other hand, the Commons were taken in their own nets. To show that the delay of a war, deemed necessary by all the world, did not proceed from them, they had promised to put the King in condition to begin and pursue it vigorously. But when this promise came to be performed, their little confidence in the King, made them very reserved. It was necessary however to satisfy the public, and show, they meant to keep their promise, provided they could be certain, it would be for the advantage of the state. To this end, they framed a remonstrance, which they intended to carry to the King. They represented, that the enormous growth of the Austrian power threatened the liberties of Europe; that the progress of the Catholic religion in England bred the most melancholy apprehensions, lest it should acquire an ascendancy in the kingdom; that the indulgence of his Majesty towards the professors of that religion had encouraged their insolence and temerity; that the uncontrolled conquests, made by the Austrian family in Germany, raised mighty expectations in the English papists; but, above all, that the prospect of the Spanish match elevated them so far as to hope for an entire toleration, if not the final re-establishment of that religion. The Commons, therefore, entreated his Majesty that he would immediately undertake the defence of the Palatine, and maintain it by force of arms; that he would turn his sword against Spain, whose armies and treasures were the chief support of the Catholic interest in Europe; that he would enter into no negotiation for the marriage of his son, but with a Protestant Princess; that the children of Popish recusants should be taken from their parents, and be committed to the care of Protestant teachers and schoolmasters; and that the fines and confiscations, to which the Catholics were by law liable, should be levied with the utmost severity.

The King had taken great care, at the opening of this Parliament, to mark out the bounds which the Commons were not to exceed. Above all things, he intimated to them, that they ought not to give him advice without being asked. They neglected this charge very much, in their remonstrance, and plainly showed, they did not believe it belonged to the King to determine, how far the duty of the people's representatives in Parliament reached. The King's principles were so different from those of the Commons, that it is no wonder their inferences were directly contrary. The King did not expect, the Commons should advise him; and the Commons pretended, it was their indispensible duty to represent to him the dangers of the church or state, with the properest remedies. The King rested upon the prerogative royal, but the Commons did not agree to the extent he gave this prerogative, by virtue whereof he pretended to hinder them from taking care of the church and state, when they were in danger, or their concerns neglected.

The King was at that time absent, at Newmarket; but as soon as he heard of the intended remonstrance of the Commons, he wrote a letter to the speaker, in which he sharply rebuked the House, for openly debating matters far above their reach and capacity; and he strictly forbade them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government, or deep matters of state, and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with the daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that King, or any other of his friends or confederates. In order the more to intimidate them, he mentioned the imprisonment of Sir Edwin Sandys: and though he denied that the confinement of that member had been owing to any offence committed in the House, he plainly

plainly told them, that he thought himself fully entitled to punish every misdemeanour in Parliament, as well during its sitting as after its dissolution; and that he intended thenceforward to chastise any man, whose insolent behaviour there should minister occasion of offence.

This letter being read and examined in the House, the Commons did not think proper to keep silence, but to let the King see, his threats should not deter them from doing their duty, as they pretended. They drew therefore a petition, in which they still insisted on their former remonstrance and advice; and they maintained, though in respectful terms, that they were entitled to interpose with their counsel in all matters of government: that to possess entire freedom of speech, in their debates on public business, was their ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance transmitted to them from their ancestors; and that, if any member abused this liberty, it belonged to the House alone, who were witnesses of his offence, to inflict a proper censure upon him.

This petition, with the former remonstrance annexed, was sent to the King by twelve members, at the head of whom the House affected to set Sir Richard Weston, a Privy-Counsellor, a known Papist, and thought to be the person that most incensed the King against the Commons. Then the House resolved to proceed to no other affair, till they had an answer to their petition. The King received the twelve members very roughly. Some say, he called for twelve chairs for them, saying, "Here are twelve Kings come to me." His answer was prompt and sharp. He told the House that their remonstrance was more like a denunciation of war, than an address of dutiful subjects; that their pretension to inquire into all state-affairs, without exception, was such a plenipotence as none of their ancestors, even during the reign of the weakest Princes, had ever pretended to; that public transactions depended on a complication of views and intelligence, with which they were entirely unacquainted; that they could not better show their wisdom, as well as duty, than by keeping within their proper sphere; and that, in any business which depended on their prerogative, they had no title to interpose with their advice except, when he was pleased to desire it. And he concluded with these memorable words: "And though we cannot allow of your style, in mentioning your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wished that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us (for the most of them grew from precedents, which shows rather a toleration than inheritance;) yet we are pleased to give you our royal assurance, that as long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges, as ever any of our predecessors were, nay, as to preserve our own royal prerogative."

The last part of the King's answer was so clear, as to want no explication. He had contented himself hitherto with insinuating certain principles, the consequences whereof he had carefully concealed; but now, whether he gave way to his passion, or was glad at last to speak his thoughts clearly, he put the Commons under a necessity either of granting his pretensions, or opposing them openly. The Commons, having read the answer, the consequences whereof they plainly perceived, and knowing the Parliament was about to be dissolved or prorogued, drew up the following protestation:

"The Commons now assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties franchises, and privileges of Parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this protestation following, that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdiction of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, state, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in Parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the house of Parliament hath, and, of right, ought to have, freedom of speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion, the same; and that the Commons in Parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters in such order, as in their judgments shall seem fittest; and that every member of the said House hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by censure of the House itself) for, or concerning, any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the Parliament or Parliament business: and that if any of the said members be complained of, and questioned for any thing done or said in Parliament, the same is to be shewed to the King by the advice and assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the King give credence to any private information."

The King now hurried to town, sent for the journals of the Commons, and, with his own hand, before the council, tore out this protestation; ordering his reasons to be inserted in the council book. Six days after, he dissolved the Parliament by proclamation; declaring, he was not obliged to give an account thereof to any, since the dissolving of the Parliament, when he pleased, was confessedly in his power. That, however, he was willing to inform the public, it was, because the Commons took the liberty not only to treat of his high prerogatives, which belonged not to them, but also to speak disrespectfully of foreign Princes: that they spent the time in disputing about their privileges, without regarding the public wants: that some ill-tempered spirits sowed tares among the corn, and by their cunning devices, had imposed upon him a necessity of discontinuing the present Parliament, without putting it to the name or period of a session. Then, he declared, that though the Parliament was broken off, he intended to govern well, and should gladly embrace the first occasion to call another at a proper season.

This proclamation was followed by another, forbidding under severe penalties, to talk of state affairs, and charging the judges in their circuits, to put the laws in force against licentious tongues.

But the King's resentment did not end here. Some of the Commons, who had appeared most zealous to maintain the privileges of the House, as Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, Mr. Mallery, were committed to prison. Likewise Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, and Sir James Perrot, were ordered into Ireland, to execute a certain commission; the King intending thereby to remove them from their homes, and punish them with a sort of banishment. On the other hand, the Earls of Oxford and Southampton were sent to the Tower on some studied pretence: but it was easy to see, it was for speaking too freely in the House of Peers, of the King's conduct.

A. D. 1622.] Whilst the nation was in a state of fermentation, the King wanted money. He had a mind to send Digby to Spain, and Weston to Brussels, to finish at once the marriage, and the affair of the Palatinate. Though a Parliament could have been persuaded to give the King money, it would not have been till after their privileges were secured at the expence of the prerogative royal, and the King thought the remedy worse than the disease. Recourse therefore was to be had to extraordinary methods. The speediest, and most sure, seemed to be, the exacting from the people a contribution under the name of benevolence. As the court knew, if some constraint were not used, the people's liberality would not go very far, the judges were ordered in their circuits to demand a benevolence, and to intimate withal, that the King would not be satisfied with what should be voluntarily offered, if it was not proportionable to the giver's abilities.*

The

* To that purpose, the council directed a circular letter to the judges, concluding with these words: "Nevertheless, if any persons shall, out of obstinacy or disaffection, refuse to contribute herein, proportionably to their estates and means, you are to certify their names

The King's project was to conclude the Prince his son's marriage, and receive the dowry of two millions of pieces of eight, or 600,000*l.* sterling, before he demanded the restitution of the Palatinate, for fear the Spaniard should pretend that this restitution was to be in compensation of the dowry. After that, he hoped the King of Spain, out of friendship, and in consideration of their alliance, would surrender the Lower Palatinate to his son-in-law, and oblige the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria to restore him the Upper. He accordingly sent Digby ambassador extraordinary to Spain, to conclude the marriage-treaty jointly with Sir Walter Aston, who had been some time at the court of Philip IV. The articles concerning religion were already settled, but the rest were not to be talked of, till the Pope's dispensation was obtained.

When Digby, who was this year created Earl of Bristol, set out for Spain, the King sent Gage to Rome, to solicit the dispatch of the dispensation, without which the new ambassador could not proceed at Madrid. But to render Gage's instances more effectual, it was necessary to shew the Pope, the King was not a persecutor of the Catholics. He, therefore, released all the imprisoned recusants; to the number, it is said, of 4,000. This was done publicly and openly, by writs under the Great Seal to the justices of assize, with a letter from the Lord Keeper, Williams, exhorting them punctually to obey the King's orders.*

The King of Bohemia, perceiving the King, his father-in-law, made use of very ineffectual methods to restore him to his dominions, believed it adviseable to proceed some other way. He was still master of Manheim, Heidelberg, and Frankendal; and Count Mansfeldt, though withdrawn into Alsatia, had it still in his power to re-enter the Lower Palatinate. In order to improve this remedy, he agreed with Prince Christian of Brunswick, administrator of the Bishopric of Halberstadt, who had accompanied him to the Hague, to raise an army in Westphalia, and join Mansfeldt. At the same time he made the like agreement with the Prince of Baden-Durlach, who promised also to levy an army for the same purpose. It is likely, the Hollanders supplied the money for these levies, on account of the advantage they should reap from this powerful diversion. These two Princes kept promise with the King of Bohemia, and each headed ten or twelve thousand men. The difficulty was, how to enter the Lower-Palatinate, where the Spaniards were very strong. However, the thing not appearing impracticable, the Prince of Brunswick took the field in Westphalia, and seized some place in the county of Marck. This drew upon him a detachment of the Spanish army, from the Low-Countries, commanded by Count Henry de Bergh, who was joined by the Count of Anhalt with another detachment of the army of Bavaria, commanded by Count Tilly in the Palatinate. By this means, Prince Christian saw himself detained some time in Westphalia. But at length, the Count of Bergh being recalled, he was at liberty to advance. On the other hand, it was not easy for the Prince of Baden to enter the Palatinate, all the passages being stopt up by Count Tilly and Gonsales of Cordova.

In the meanwhile, the King of Bohemia, departing privately from the Hague, on board a small vessel, and landing at Calais, travelled through France and safely arrived at Mansfeldt's army, who was advanced to Germersheim. Here they impatiently expected the approach of the two armies coming to their assistance. It would be needless to give a particular account of the march of these two armies, and the obstacles they met with from the Spaniards and Bavarians. It will suffice to say, the Prince of Baden was defeated the 6th of May: that afterwards, the King of Bohemia, and Mansfeldt, marching to Prince Christian, met Count Tilly, who put them to rout, and forced them to retire to Manheim. This battle was fought the 12th of June. Eight days after, Tilly also attacked Prince Christian, who was advanced to the borders of the Palatinate, and though he gained some advantage over him, could not however prevent his passing to Manheim with good part of his troops.

Some time after, the Spaniards and Bavarians were so strongly recruited, that their army consisted of above fifty thousand men, with which they almost surrounded their enemies, who were encamped between Manheim, and Heidelberg. Wherefore the King of Bohemia, despairing ever to recover what he had lost, returned to Holland. After his departure, the Prince of Brunswick and Count Mansfeldt, resolved to join Prince Maurice in the Low-Countries, and marched through Lorraine. As they were obliged to take a compass, Gonsales de Cordova, parting from Tilly, went and expected them at Brabant, to hinder their passage. The two armies, meeting between Namur and Brussels, fought with equal success; but the Prince of Brunswick lost an arm by a cannon ball. After the battle, Mansfeldt continued his march towards Holland.

Meanwhile, Count Tilly, having no enemy to oppose him in the Lower Palatinate, carried Heidelberg by storm, took Manheim by a long blockade, and then besieged Frankendal.

Whilst the King of Bohemia was in the Palatinate, conferences were held at Brussels, to procure a truce for that unfortunate country, according to the King of England's desire, though he was not empowered by the King, his son-in-law, for whom, at this juncture, a truce was not convenient. In this negotiation two difficulties immediately occurred, which served to prolong it. The first was, the English ambassador had not sufficient powers from the King of Bohemia and his allies. James had doubtless imagined, that, since this truce was negotiating on his account, it sufficed to treat with him. But the Spaniards gave to understand, they could treat only with the principal parties. There was occasion therefore to send to the Palatinate for full powers from the King of Bohemia, who was not in haste to despatch them, whilst he had any hopes of succeeding in his enterprise. But at last, sending these powers when he saw his affairs declining, another difficulty of the same nature occurred at Brussels. The Archduchess had no other power than the Emperor's bare letter, desiring her to consult with the English ambassador concerning a truce for the Lower Palatinate. From that time, the King of Bohemia's affairs daily growing worse, the Archduchess and Count Schwartzenburgh prolonged the affair on divers pretences, till Heidelberg was taken, and Manheim closely blocked up. Then James wrote to the King of Spain, to desire him to order that the affairs of the Palatinate might remain in their present state, till the conclusion of the truce, and the blockade of Manheim was raised. Philip feigned to have this condescension for him, but before his letter to the Archduchess was received, Manheim was taken. It did not even hinder Count Tilly from besieging Frankendal, which he would have also taken without scruple, had not the overflowing of the rivers forced him to raise the siege. Thus was the King amused with vain hopes, whilst the conquest of the Palatinate was compleating.† He perceived it at last, but, at the same time, was told, the Prince his son's marriage

names unto this Board. And so recommending this service to your best care and endeavour, and praying you to return unto us notes of the names of such as shall contribute, and of the sums offered by them."

* As this affair made a noise among the people, the Lord Keeper was ordered to vindicate the King by a public writing. This vindication begins with this noble comparison: "As the sun in the firmament appears to us no bigger than a platter, and the stars but as so many nails in the pummel of a saddle, because of the enlargement and disproportion between our eye and the object: so is there such an unmeasureable distance between the deep resolution of a Prince, and the shallow apprehensions of common and ordinary people, that as they will ever be judging and censuring, so they must needs be obnoxious to error and mistaking."

† To shew how little account was made of James's negotiations abroad, there is a pleasantry mentioned by all his historians, which, for that reason, shall have a place here. In a farce acted at Brussels, a courier was introduced carrying the doleful news that the Palatinate would soon be wrested from the hands of Austria, so powerful were the succours which, from all quarters, were hastening

marriage was so near a conclusion, that he could not think of hazarding a miscarriage in that affair, by insisting too strenuously on the restitution of the Elector's dominions.

In fine, after a long expectation, Gage was sent back from Rome, where he had been soliciting the dispensation, with a treaty consisting of nineteen articles, to each of which the Pope had put a postil or, short note, after the manner practised in the capitulations of places.*

When Gage came from Rome, the King was terribly embarrassed. The Palatinate was almost lost. The negotiation at Brussels did not advance, and he could not but perceive, he was imposed upon by the Emperor and King of Spain. In this perplexity, rather than break with Spain, and so lose the desired dowry, with the hopes of recovering the Palatinate, he chose to be exposed to the reproaches of his subjects. He drew therefore a memorial, which he signed with his own hand, containing his offers in favour of the Catholic religion, and sent it to the Earl of Bristol.

Hitherto the Spaniard had fed the King's hopes concerning the marriage, only to amuse him. But since he plainly saw, by the articles and offers signed with his own hand, that James was resolved to conclude at any rate, he thought, so fair an opportunity should not be missed to restore the Catholic religion in England, which very probably might be accomplished by means of this match. So Philip, suddenly altering his mind, appeared as eager to conclude, as he had seemed unwilling before. From that time, that is, from the end of the year 1622, the marriage was resolved at the court of Madrid. The business was only to extort from the King such terms as should lead to what was intended. All the King of Spain's proceedings, from the time we are speaking of, evidently show, that he was inclined to the marriage, in case he could obtain what he promised himself for the advancement of the Roman religion in England, and which James's impatience gave him room to expect.

A. D. 1623.] The late alteration in the projects of the Spanish court, procured the Earl of Bristol a letter from Philip IV. to the Infanta Isabella, to desire her to raise the siege of Frankendal, and renew at London the conferences for a truce, which were broken off at Brussels. This request was a real order, which the Infanta obeyed, and the negotiation of the truce was begun at London, where it ended the 27th of March. The sole point was to hinder, by means of this truce, Frankendal, the only place in the Palatinate where was an English garrison, from falling into the Emperor's hands. But on the other side, the Emperor had reason to fear, if James remained master of this place, he would make use of it to carry war into the Palatinate, and the more, as he had sometimes threatened to have recourse in the end to arms. To adjust the different interests of the Emperor and the King, this expedient was devised. Frankendal was to be delivered to the Infanta Isabella, and a truce made for fifteen or eighteen months, after which, the Infanta was to restore the place to the English. But withal, the Elector was to break his alliance with the Prince of Brunswick and Count Mansfeldt.

Before the truce was concluded, the Emperor, going to the diet of Ratisbon, invested the Duke of Bavaria with the electoral dignity and the Upper Palatinate, notwithstanding the opposition of several Princes who were possessed of hereditary dominions, and to whom such a precedent was a just occasion of fear. Such was the effect of King James's three years' negotiation, in favour of his son-in-law, who was at length stript of his dominions and dignities.† But the Spanish match was to recover all.

The Spaniard, being satisfied with the articles sent from England, which were much more advantageous to the Catholics than those agreed upon with the Earl of Bristol, demanded time to send them to Rome, and obtain the Pope's dispensation. It was thought, the dispensation might come in March, or April at farthest; and it was agreed, the nuptials should be solemnized four days after its arrival: that the Infanta should set out within twenty days after the celebration of the marriage, and whilst the dispensation was expected, the other articles, which were called temporal, to distinguish them from those concerning religion, should be settled. Pursuant to this agreement, the Earl of Bristol and Sir Walter Aston, jointly with the Spanish ministers, prepared these articles by the beginning of March, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. The 22d of March, the Condé d'Olivarez and Gondemar came to the English ambassadors, and showed them a writing, with the King of Spain's hand to it, whereby he approved of the temporal articles, and ordered them to finish the affair. These articles concerned only the portion and dowry, without any mention of the Palatinate. Besides that he had commanded the Earl of Bristol, in his instructions, not to make the restitution of the Palatinate one of the marriage articles, this command was repeated in the King's letter to him of the 30th of December 1622, that is, two or three months before. Moreover, at this very time, the truce and sequestration of Frankendal were negotiating at London.

The affair of the marriage being in this situation, and, very probably, near a conclusion, the end of April was to be expected with patience, to see whether any new difficulty would occur, for, thus far, every thing seemed to be settled to the King's satisfaction. But the face of this affair was suddenly changed by a most extraordinary adventure. The Marquis of Buckingham persuaded the Prince of Wales, to go to Spain and fetch home his mistress, the Infanta, himself. He told him, "The more uncommon such a gallantry was among Princes, the more it would redound to his honour: the Infanta herself would be charmed with it: his presence would immediately put an end to all formalities, and remove whatever difficulties might yet occur: as after the marriage, there was an affair of moment to be negotiated, namely, the restitution of the Palatinate, an intercessor like him, would do more in three days than ambassadors could do in as many months." In a word, he so artfully represented this project, that, the Prince, transported with the thoughts of so noble an adventure, never rested till he had accomplished it. The difficulty was to obtain the King's consent. The Prince asked it before Buckingham, and expressed so earnest a desire to make the journey, that the King granted his request without much hesitation, and put off till next day to consider of means to effect it. But, after he had more seriously reflected on this affair, his mind was quite changed on the morrow, when the Prince and Buckingham came to him. He represented to them, how fruitless such a journey would be in the present situation of the marriage affair, and the inconveniences it might be attended with. But instead of answering his reasons, Buckingham rudely told him,

to the relief of the despoiled elector; the King of Denmark had agreed to contribute to his assistance a hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thousand butter-boxes, and the King of England a hundred thousand ambassadors. On other occasions, he was painted with a scabbard, but without a sword; or with a sword which nobody could draw, though several were pulling at it.

* In this treaty, nothing could reasonably be found fault with, except one article, in which the King promised, that the children should be educated by the Princess, till ten years of age. This condition could not be insisted on, but with a view of seasoning their minds with Catholic principles; and though so tender an age seemed a sufficient security against theological prejudices, yet the same reason which made the Pope insert that article, should have induced the King to reject it. Besides the public treaty, there were separate articles, privately sworn to by the King; in which he promised to suspend the penal laws enacted against Catholics, to procure a repeal of them in Parliament, and to grant a toleration for the exercise of the Catholic religion in private houses.

† Thus by King James's amazing negligence, was the Protestant religion entirely rooted out of Bohemia, the electoral dignity transferred from the Palatine family, and the liberty of Germany overthrown. And all this chiefly through Gondemar's artful management, who wrote in one of his letters to the Duke of Lerma, that he had lulled King James so fast asleep, as he hoped neither the cries of his daughter, nor her children, nor the repeated solicitations of his Parliament and subjects in their behalf should be able to awaken him.

he had given his word, and if he broke it, would be never more credited.* This conversation ended with the King's permission, extorted by the Prince and Buckingham, for this strange, rash, and very dangerous, journey. It was resolved, that Buckingham should accompany the Prince, with two more only, namely, Sir Francis Cottington, who had been the King's agent in Spain, and came from thence in September, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of the bed-chamber to the Prince, who had been bred at Madrid: that they should go post through France, and the secret be kept, that they might be at a distance before their departure was known.† This resolution being taken, the Prince and Buckingham desired only two days to prepare.‡ They set out post the 17th of February, and came to Paris, where they ventured to appear at court, and be present at a ball, where, though disguised, they were in some danger of being discovered. However, they arrived safely at Madrid the 17th of March, and alighted at the Earl of Bristol's, who was not a little surprised to see the Prince.§ When he made himself known, the Prince met with all the rèspect due to his birth, and all possible caresses to testify the satisfaction at his gallantry to the Infanta, and his candour in confiding in the King's generosity. The only thing in which great ceremony was used, was his not being permitted to visit the Infanta in private. The Spanish way did not admit of such a familiarity, and the more because the dispensation not being yet come, he could not in strictness be considered as the Infanta's future spouse.

No sooner was the Prince arrived in Spain, but all the Spaniards thought he was come to change his religion before he espoused the Infanta, no one imagining there could be any other motive of his journey. Count Gondemar very seriously desired the Earl of Bristol, not to oppose so pious a design; and, if the Earl is to be credited, the Count intimated to him, that the Marquis of Buckingham was not against it. The Earl of Bristol, perceiving, if the court of Spain had any such hopes, it would be apt to retard the marriage, spoke of it to the Prince, and conjured him to impart the secret to him, if there was really any thing in it. But the Prince firmly denied it, and expostulated with the ambassador for having so ill an opinion of him. Whereupon the Earl of Bristol intreated him, neither to do nor say any thing whatever that might feed the hopes of the Spanish court in that respect, for fear of obstructing the marriage. Nevertheless he was attacked several times, one while by Ecclesiastics, who took all occasions to dispute with him about religion, another while by courtiers, who represented to him how powerful England would grow, if she would return to the obedience of the Pope. He even received a long letter from Gregory XV. exhorting him to come into the bosom of the church, and imitate his glorious ancestors, who had done so great things for the defence of religion.

Since the Prince's arrival in Spain, the state of the marriage treaty was somewhat altered. The dispensation arrived about six weeks after, that is, about the beginning of May. But the Pope had annexed certain conditions, without which it was to be of no force. That the children by this marriage should be left to their mother's care till they were ten years old: that the nurses should be Catholics, and appointed by the mother: that the King of England should give security for the performance of the articles agreed upon concerning religion.

After the Prince and Marquis of Buckingham came to Madrid, they managed the affair of the marriage exclusively of the Earl of Bristol. There was some debate upon the articles annexed to the Pope's dispensation. The Prince of Wales said, he had no power to make the least addition to the articles signed by the King his father, and the Spanish ministers maintained, his Catholic Majesty could not reject the conditions on which the Pope had granted the dispensation: that it lay in the Pope's breast to grant his favours on what terms he pleased, and that the dispensation was void without these conditions. In short, it was thought proper to consult the King of England, by letter, and to ask withal, what security he would give for the performance of the articles. James made no scruple concerning the time of the education of the children, or about the nurses, because these things were now settled. As to the security, he replied, he could give no other than his own, and the Prince's royal words and oaths, confirmed by his council of state, and exemplified under the great seal of England. All this not satisfying the Pope's nuntio, who pretended to have particular orders upon that point, the King of Spain offered to become security himself; but it was first to be determined by a committee of Ecclesiastics, that Philip might lawfully swear for the King of England. This difficulty being removed, the Prince sent Cottington to England with the articles concerning religion, newly drawn according to the Pope's intentions, and with some other secret articles which were not to be published so soon.

The King did not long detain Cottington in England. As it was not now time to dispute, and he was required to sign the articles as brought by Cottington without any alterations, he chose to do it rather than hazard a breach of the marriage, when the Prince his son was in the hands of the Spaniard. He signed them, therefore, and solemnly swore to them.

The King's compliance in every thing he had signed and ratified was so great, that the Spaniards could hardly believe it sincere. Some who knew the English constitution, maintained, it was not in the King's power to perform his promises, or, in case he attempted

* The King conjured them with sighs and tears not to pursue their resolution. But Buckingham told his Majesty, "That nobody could believe any thing he said, when he retracted the promise he had so solemnly made; that he plainly discerned, it proceeded from another breach of his word (for he had promised to keep the thing secret) in communicating with some rascal, who had furnished him with those pityful reasons he had alledged, and he doubted not, but he should hereafter know who his counsellor had been."—The King, with great earnestness, fortified by many oaths, made his apology, by denying that he had imparted the matter to any one.

† Cottington having been called in, James told him, that he had always been an honest man, and therefore he was now to trust him in an affair of the highest importance, which he was not, upon his life, to disclose to any man whatever. "Cottington," added he, "here is baby Charles and Stenny" (these ridiculous appellations he usually gave to the Prince and Buckingham) "who have a great mind to go post into Spain, and fetch home the Infanta: they will have but two more in their company, and they have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Sir Francis, who was a prudent man, and had resided some years in Spain as the King's agent, was struck with all the obvious objections to such an enterprise, and scrupled not to declare them. The King threw himself upon his bed, and cried, "I told you this before;" and fell into a new passion and new lamentations, complaining that he was undone, and should lose baby Charles.

‡ The motives of this journey are variously related. Some say, the court of England, still doubting the Spanish court's sincerity, thought proper, the Prince and Buckingham should be satisfied with their own eyes, in order to know what could be depended upon. Lord Clarendon says, Buckingham, out of envy that the Earl of Bristol should have the sole management of so great an affair, had a mind to have the glory of ending it. Others pretend, Buckingham's aim was insensibly to induce the Prince to change his religion, by exposing him to all the temptations which of course he would meet at the court of Madrid. Of this he was afterwards accused before the Parliament, by the Earl of Bristol, who said, the project was formed several months before the Prince's departure, between Buckingham and Gondemar, by means of Endymion Porter, who had been sent to Spain for that purpose. But, whatever were the favourite's real motives with respect to this journey, it can hardly be denied, that it was a sign of great levity in the Prince, and of no less weakness and imprudence in the King. The affair of the marriage was in such a situation, that it was entirely needless to solicit afresh the court of Spain with whom every thing was agreed. Two months' patience would have shown the King, whether he could rely on them, without exposing his only son and heir apparent to such imminent danger, by suffering him to execute a romantic project, which could procure no advantage. But the King's condescension for the Prince and Buckingham prevailed above all these considerations.

§ The Prince and Marquis of Buckingham put on false beards, to cover their smooth faces, and travelled under the borrowed names of Jack and Tom Smith. The Mayor of Dover stopped them, thinking they were going to France to fight, so that Buckingham was forced to discover himself; pretending he was going to visit the fleet, as Admiral. The same day they embarked, they landed at Boulogne, and from thence rode post to Paris. At Paris, they both wore large bushy perriwigs that shadowed their faces. Here the Prince saw, at a masking dance, the Princess Henrietta Maria, whom he afterwards married.

it, a rebellion would infallibly follow. Wherefore the King of Spain appointed a committee to take this matter into consideration. The result of the debate was, that it was not proper to send the Infanta to England before the next spring, that in this interval the performance of the articles granted to the Catholics, and their effects, might be assured. Upon this the Spanish ambassadors in England had orders to desire the King to begin to execute his engagements in favour of the Catholics. This demand embarrassed him. What he had promised was secret, and not to be performed till after the marriage, and he was pressed to make it public by the execution, whilst the Prince was still in Spain. This was a sort of menace that the marriage should not be solemnized, before he had given public marks of his sincerity. He knew, a proclamation for granting the Papists a toleration might be attended with ill consequences; that these consequences might break off the marriage, and the Prince his son would be in danger of being detained in Spain. To free himself from this perplexity, he gave the ambassadors some satisfaction, by putting into their hands a declaration of his council, containing his intention concerning this affair. In all appearance, the ambassadors were prevailed with to consent, that the performance of it should be deferred, by reason of the accidents that might follow. The declaration, signed by Secretary Conway and some privy-counsellors, who were most trusted by the King, was probably sent to Spain as a pledge of the King's intention to perform his engagements. There it was that the Earl of Bristol found means to have either the original itself, or a copy, which he produced before the Parliament in 1626, to show what the Duke of Buckingham had negotiated in Spain without his privity.*

Whilst these things passed in England, news came to Madrid of Pope Gregory XV.'s death, which was a fresh obstacle to the conclusion of the marriage. When Cottington arrived from England with the ratification of the articles, the nuntio refused to deliver the dispensation, affirming, as the marriage was not yet celebrated, the dead Pope's dispensation was of no force, and therefore it was necessary to stay till there was a new Pope, who might grant a valid dispensation. By this accident, the Prince of Wales saw himself detained in Spain till the election of a new Pope. The 29th of August, however, was appointed for the celebration of the marriage, in a supposition, that before that time there would be a Pope and a new dispensation.

Meanwhile, the restitution of the Palatinate was not talked of, or, if mentioned, it was only by way of conversation, without any positive demand on the King of Spain, or his ministers.

But the court of Spain was intent upon a project of greater consequence; namely, to endeavour to persuade the Prince of Wales to turn Catholic. To this is to be ascribed the delay of the dispensation. Urban VIII. who was chosen the 6th of August, would not have failed to send it, had he not waited for this happy event, which he strove to advance by his letters to the Prince and Duke of Buckingham. The cause of the breach of the marriage, after having been so long deferred, is involved in obscurity.

All agree, it was the Duke of Buckingham that first inspired the Prince, and afterwards the King, with the thought; but it is difficult to guess his motive. Some say, the Duke rendered himself contemptible and odious to the court of Spain, by affecting to follow the French fashions in almost every thing opposite to the Spanish: that for this reason, foreseeing the Infanta and the Spaniards would have great power at the court of England, he thought they might in the end do him some ill turn, and therefore resolved to break off the match. Others say, Olivarez, favourite of Philip IV. reminding the Duke of his promise that the Prince should turn Catholic, the Duke gave him the lie to his face, and from that time sought means to retire from the Spanish court, for fear of the Condé's revenge. Some say, the Queen of Bohemia, perceiving there was no likelihood of recovering the Palatinate by his marriage, and having much more reason to expect great advantages from a rupture between England and Spain, sent a trusty messenger to the Duke, with certain offers, in case he would procure a breach. This is not improbable, and the Hollanders, to whom the union between Spain and England must have been prejudicial, might well be concerned in the project. In fine, the Duke of Buckingham's greatest favourers pretend, the Duke, having sounded the King of Spain's intentions concerning the restitution of the Palatinate, found there was nothing to be expected, and therefore resolved to break off a marriage, which was intended for no other purpose. It is certain at least, the King, Prince, and Duke made use of this pretence to justify the breach.

However this be, the Duke of Buckingham, having taken this resolution, soon prevailed with the Prince to agree to it, over whom he had now a very great ascendant. There were two difficulties to be surmounted in the execution of this design. The first was to obtain the King's consent. The second, to get the Prince out of Spain. The Duke must have been fully persuaded of his power over the King, to hope to incline him at once to desist from a design, he had so constantly pursued for seven years, at the very time all was concluded, and nothing wanting but the nuptial ceremonies. He despaired, not however, of succeeding, and therefore sent him word, he had at last discovered the King of Spain's insincerity: that not only, he had no inclination to cause the Palatinate to be restored, but also was far from having the least thought of accomplishing the marriage, and the Prince was in danger of being detained in Spain all his life. To support what the Duke said, the Prince himself wrote to the King his father, telling him, "He must now look upon his sister and her children, never thinking more of him, and forgetting he ever had such a son." The King fell, or rather threw himself into this snare, without the least reflection, and immediately wrote to Buckingham, to bring away the Prince by all means. At the same time, he sent some ships to St. Andero, in Biscay, to take them on board.

The first difficulty being overcome, means were to be devised to quit Spain, and not give the court any suspicion, which could not be done without wounding the Prince's honour and conscience. Happily for them, Urban VIII. had not yet sent the dispensation, nor even fixed any time for it. So Buckingham notified to his Catholic Majesty the order he had received to bring back the Prince to England, his return being absolutely necessary to remove the nation's jealousy of his long stay in Spain. Adding, his departure would cause no considerable alteration, since he would leave a proxy in the hands of any person, his Majesty should please to appoint, to espouse the Infanta in his name, as soon as the dispensation should come. The King of Spain was a little surprised at the Prince's design. However, as he did not desire the Infanta, his sister should go before spring, he imagined, that, after the espousals, it would be more easy to detain her, than if the Prince of Wales were actually in Spain; and therefore, he readily consented to the Prince's departure.†

The only point, therefore, was, to be assured of the celebration of the marriage, and the King himself desired to be the Prince's proxy, jointly with Prince Edward of Portugal. The proxy was drawn by the

* In pursuance of this declaration, there was a general pardon drawn in as full and ample a manner as the Papists themselves could desire: and two general commands were issued out, one to all judges, justices of peace, &c. and the other to all bishops, chancellors, and commissaries, not to execute any statute against recusants.

† There is a pleasant jest in Coke's reign of King James I. His Majesty, a little after the Prince's departure for Spain, being in one of his pensive moods, Archy, his buffoon, comes in, and tells him, he must change caps with him: why? says the King; why, who (replies Archy) sent the Prince into Spain? But what (answered the King) wilt thou say if the Prince comes back again? Why then (said Archy) I will take my cap from thy head, and send it to the King of Spain; which it is said troubled the King sorely.

King's

King's secretary; and the Prince of Wales, signing it in the presence of several witnesses, left it in the hands of the Earl of Bristol, with orders to deliver it to the King of Spain, ten days after the dispensation should be received. This done, the Duke of Buckingham departed first, under colour of preparing for the Prince's reception on board the English fleet at St. Andero. The court saw him depart without any concern, or rather with a satisfaction equal to his impatience to be in a place of security. After his departure, all imaginable honours were paid to the Prince. The King himself conducted him to the Escurial,* where he received and feasted him as a Prince that was to be very shortly his brother-in-law.

The Prince went away, loaded with honours, caresses, presents, and attended by several Lords of the court, who waited upon him to the fleet. He was no sooner come there, but he dispatched to the Earl of Bristol, Mr. Edward Clarke, one of Buckingham's creatures, with positive orders not to deliver the proxy till security was given him that the Infanta, after the espousals, would not betake herself to a cloister, and to send him word, before the delivery of the proxy, what security was offered, that he might be judge himself, whether it was proper to accept it. This was the first artifice used by the Prince to gain time, in the fear that the dispensation would come, and the marriage be solemnized before the King, his father, was determined to break it. The Earl of Bristol not yet perceiving the intent of the order he had received, was afraid if he should stay to the last, it might be an obstacle to the consummation of the marriage. He thought proper, therefore, to take care before the dispensation should arrive, to know what security the court of Spain would give concerning the Prince's scruple. He received as satisfactory an answer as he could wish, which he conveyed to the King and Prince by a letter.

The Prince and Duke arrived on the 5th of October at Portsmouth, and from thence posted to Royston, where the King was. It seems they durst not immediately discover their design to the King, about the breach of the marriage, but thought fit to take some precautions, to render it less strange to him. The Earl of Bristol's letter coming soon after, the King wrote to him, the 8th of October, that he was satisfied with the security offered by the court of Spain. The Prince, who probably had not yet prepared all his batteries, concealing his design, wrote likewise to the Earl of Bristol the following letter, which no doubt was to be seen by the King his father.

"Your letter to the King and me, concerning that doubt I made after I came from St. Laurence, hath so satisfied us both, that we think it fit no longer to stick upon it, but leave it to your discretion to take what security you shall think fitting."

At length, the dispensation arrived at Madrid the beginning of December. Philip immediately ordered all the necessary preparations for the espousals to be made. But when the marriage was expected to be solemnized, the Earl of Bristol notified to him the King his master's orders, not to deliver the proxy till after Christmas. He easily perceived the King of England's intention, since the proxy would then be invalid. That very day, he sent to the Earl of Bristol to demand no more audience, and gave command that the Infanta should be no longer called the Princess of Wales, as she had been ever since the arrival of the dispensation; and caused all preparations for the marriage to cease. Meanwhile, to cast all the blame on the King of England, he sent the Earl of Bristol, on the 8th of January 1624, a written promise, signed with his own hand, whereby he engaged to cause the Palatinate to be restored to the Elector Palatine. This the Earl of Bristol, in the following reign, affirmed before the Parliament in his defence.

Thus ended the affair of the Spanish marriage, which had wholly employed King James for seven years. During all that time, he most earnestly solicited the conclusion of it, and, to succeed, scrupled not to sacrifice the interests of his son-in-law, his own reputation, the religion he professed, the good of his people, and the laws of his realm. But when, at last, it was just going to be concluded, he suddenly broke it off, for reasons which were never yet clearly known. It can only be ascribed to his weakness for his favourite. The Earl of Clarendon says positively, the King was compelled to it by the Duke of Buckingham, "Who, in breaking the marriage, resumed the same impetuosity, he had indulged to himself in the debate of the journey into Spain." He adds, "The King plainly found the Prince and Duke were resolved upon a breach, with or without his approbation, and that he never forgave the Duke what he had done, but retained as sharp a memory of it as his nature could obtain."†

A. D. 1624.] Meantime, for fear the Earl of Bristol should by some means renew a treaty broken with so little reason, they caused him to be recalled. Since the return of the Prince and Duke, the King no longer ruled, all his affairs were managed by them, and he only executed their counsels. In this situation, the King saw no other remedy, than to surrender himself entirely to them, and do whatever they pleased. Not only the breach of the marriage had been resolved between them, but also a war with Spain; and the King durst not contradict them, notwithstanding his aversion to arms. Their first project, was, to demand for this war a benevolence of every subject: they even made the King sign an order to levy it. Baker says in his Chronicle, he himself paid fifty pounds on this occasion. But on a sudden, the King, by advice of the Prince and Buckingham, gave over this project, and resolved to call a Parliament. That was indeed the most proper way to justify the breach of the treaty with Spain, and to procure money, which he wanted extremely.

The Duke of Buckingham, not being ignorant of the people's aversion to the marriage, the breach whereof was not yet well known, doubted not to gain their affection, by causing a Parliament to be called, and declaring himself the author of this happy breach, so passionately desired by all true Englishmen. To compass his ends, he rendered himself popular, and affected to caress both the church and state puritans: he even consulted with Dr. John Preston, head of the Puritan party, how the King might seize the dean and chapter lands. Nothing could be more proper to procure him the love of the people, most of the clergy having rendered themselves odious, by their zeal in maintaining

*. The Escurial lies about eighteen miles from Madrid. It is reckoned one of the most magnificent structures in Europe. The Spaniards call it the eighth wonder of the world. This mighty fabric was built by Philip II. in the form of a Gridiron (the emblem and instrument of St. Laurence's martyrdom, to whom it is dedicated) the handle whereof, is the King's palace, and the square of the Gridiron is divided into twelve spacious quadrangles, in which are arched cloisters, one above, the other below, all dedicated to religious orders, who live like Princes rather than priests, with each his man and his mule. In the middle of the square stands a magnificent Cathedral, to which Philip IV. added a chapel for the sepulchre of such Kings and Queens as leave issue behind them, who lye in curious coffins of black marble, which are placed in arches round the marble wall. The chapel is built in form of the Pantheon.

† In February this year, a cruel scene was acted at Amboyna in the East Indies, of which this account is given: A treaty was concluded in 1619, between England and the United Provinces, whereby, among other things, it was agreed, that in regard of the great bloodshed and cost, pretended to be bestowed by the Hollanders, in winning the trade of the Isles of the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Hollanders should enjoy two thirds of that trade, and the English the other third. In pursuance of this agreement, English factories were placed at the Moluccas, and at Banda, and Amboyna. This last isle is the principal place in the East Indies, where nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, cloves, and spice, grow. Here the English had been settled but about two years, when the Dutch, in order to deprive them of their share of the Spice-trade, pretended a plot was formed between the English and the natives, to get possession of the Dutch fort at Amboyna. Whereupon the English were tortured by the Dutch, both with fire and water, in a most cruel and barbarous manner; and, on February 27, Captain Gabriel Towerson, and nine other English, with nine Japanese, and one Portuguese, were ignominiously executed for this pretended conspiracy, though they protested their innocence to the last. For this insolent affront, no reparation was obtained, till the year 1654, when Cromwell made the Dutch pay 300,000*l.* upon that account.

the prerogative royal.* So, the juncture being very favourable, the Duke caused the King to call a Parliament, notwithstanding his resolution never to summon another: such even was his power over the King, that he made him speak to the Parliament in a manner the most repugnant to his opinions and principles.

Meanwhile, the Prince and Duke had contrived another project, namely, the Prince's marriage with Henrietta Maria, the King of France's sister, to which his Majesty readily consented. He was so proud of his grandeur, that he could not think of marrying his son to any but a Princess of royal extraction, and the third daughter of Henry IV. was the only Princess then in Europe of that character. Henry Rich, Baron of Kensington, was, on some pretence, sent to France, in order to sound the court concerning this marriage; and before his departure, he was created Earl of Holland. The Parliament met the 19th of February.† The King, in his speech to both Houses, dropped some hints of his cause of complaint against Spain; and he graciously condescended to ask the advice of Parliament, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of so important an affair as his son's marriage. Buckingham delivered, to a committee of Lords and Commons, a long narrative, which he pretended to be true and complete, of every step taken in the negotiations with Philip: but, partly by the suppression of some facts, partly by the false colouring laid on others, this narrative was calculated entirely to mislead the Parliament, and to throw on the court of Spain the reproach of artifice and insincerity. He said that, after many years' negotiation, the King found himself not any nearer his purpose; and that Bristol had never brought the treaty beyond general professions and declarations: that the Prince, doubting the good intention of Spain, resolved at last to take a journey to Madrid, and put the matter to the utmost trial: that he there found such artificial dealing as made him conclude all the steps taken towards the marriage to be false and deceitful: that the restitution of the Palatinate, which had ever been regarded by the King as an essential preliminary, was not seriously intended by Spain: and that, after enduring much bad usage, the Prince was obliged to return to England, without any hopes, either of obtaining the Infanta, or of restoring the Elector Palatine.

The Duke of Buckingham's speech was received with applause, for several reasons. First, he had made a party in the two Houses. Secondly, he had prevented the consummation of the marriage in Spain, which was very grateful to the nation and Parliament. In the third place, he had brought home the Prince, contrary to all expectation, and so removed the just fears of the English. Finally, the Duke of Buckingham's narrative being attested by the Prince himself, it could not be thought false. As the public was not informed of the secret circumstances of the negotiation, it is no wonder the Parliament should believe what they were told by the King, Prince, and Duke. But afterwards, when all was discovered, people were of another sentiment.

The Parliament was extremely pleased to see the King disposed to break the Spanish match, not knowing, or feigning not to know, it was really broken, by the affront put upon the King of Spain. So, forgetting all former occasions of discontent, and applying themselves wholly to the affair proposed by the King; they jointly presented an address to his Majesty, to advise him to discontinue the treaty, begun with Spain, as well for the restitution of the Palatinate as for the marriage.

His Majesty, in consequence, came to the Parliament, and made a speech to show he could not break off the treaties, without knowing how to maintain the war which would unavoidably follow, since the Palatinate was to be recovered by arms. He told them of his intolerable debts, chiefly contracted by the sums remitted to the Palatinate; but he added, that he did not insist on any supply for his own relief, and that it was sufficient for him, if the honour and security of the people were provided for. He declared therefore, if they thought proper to engage in a war with Spain, he would readily consent that the supply to be granted should be managed by commissioners appointed by the Parliament. Moreover, he promised the two Houses, he would not make a peace without their advice. He concluded with saying: "I am so desirous to forget all rents in former Parliaments, that it shall not be my default, if I am not in love with Parliaments, and call them often, and desire to end my life in that intercourse between me and my people, for the making of good laws, reforming of such abuses as I cannot be well informed of but in Parliament, and maintaining the good government of the common-wealth."

How different is this speech from those the King made to the former Parliaments! But the King's thoughts are not so visible in these expressions as the Duke of Buckingham's policy, who, after breaking the Prince's marriage, had a mind to push his point, and proclaim war with Spain.

Some days after, the Commons presented an address to the King, offering to grant him three entire subsidies, and three fifteenths, upon his public declaration for dissolving the treaties of the marriage and the Palatinate.‡ But they took him at his word, concerning his offer that the money should be disposed of by commissioners of their own chusing. The King thanked them for their affectionate expressions, and told them, he was resolved for the future solely to confide in his Parliament. After which, he dispatched a messenger to the court of Spain, with his last resolution to break off the treaty.

This session an address was made, very disagreeable to the King, craving the severe execution of the laws against Catholics. His answer was gracious and condescending; though he declared against persecution, as being an improper measure for the suppression of any religion, according to the received maxim, "That the blood of martyrs was the seed of the church." He also condemned an entire indulgence of the Catholics; and seemed to represent a middle course as the most humane, and most politic. He went so far as even to affirm, with an oath, that he never had entertained any thoughts of granting a toleration to these religionists. The liberty of exercising their worship in private houses, which he had secretly agreed to in the Spanish treaty, did not appear to him deserving that name; and it was probably by means of this explication, he thought that he had saved his honour. And as Buckingham, in his narrative, confessed that the King had

---

* The Duke of Buckingham proposed also the selling of the remainder of the crown-lands, but this project was strenuously opposed by the Lord Keeper Williams, and accordingly laid aside.

† The Parliament was to meet the 12th of February, but the King that morning missing Lodowick Stewart, Duke of Richmond, and sending in haste for him, his Duchess went to his bed-side to awake him, and, drawing the curtain, found him dead in his bed. Upon news whereof the King would not adorn himself that day, and put off the Parliament till the 16th, and afterwards till the 19th.

‡ Subsidies and fifteenths are frequently mentioned by historians; but neither the amount of these taxes nor the method of levying them has been well explained. It appears that the fifteenth formerly corresponded to the name, and was that proportionable part of the moveables. But a valuation having been made in the reign of Edward III. that valuation was always adhered to, and each town paid unalterably a particular sum, which the inhabitants themselves assessed upon their fellow-citizens. The same tax in corporate towns was called a tenth; because, there at first it was a tenth of the moveables. The whole amount of a tenth and fifteenth throughout the kingdom, or a fifteenth as it was often more concisely called, was about 29,000*l.* The amount of a subsidy was not invariable, like that of a fifteenth. In the 8th of Elizabeth, a subsidy amounted to 120,000*l.* in the 40th, it was not above 78,000*l.* It afterwards fell to 70,000*l.* and was continually decreasing. The reason is easily collected from the method of levying it. We may learn from the subsidy-bills, that one subsidy was given for four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on moveables throughout the counties; a considerable tax, had it been strictly levied. But this was only the ancient state of a subsidy. During the reign of James, there was not paid the twentieth part of that sum. The tax was so far personal that a man paid only in the county where he lived, though he should possess estates in other counties; and the assessor formed a loose estimation of his property, and rated him accordingly.

agreed to a temporary suspension of the penal laws against the Catholics, which he distinguished from a toleration (a term at that time extremely odious) James naturally deemed his meaning to be sufficiently explained, and feared not any reproach of falsehood or duplicity, on account of this asseveration.

While the attachment of the Prince to Buckingham, while the timidity of James, or the shame of changing his favourite, kept the whole court in awe; the Spanish ambassador, Inoiosa, endeavoured to open the King's eyes, and to cure his fears by instilling greater fears into him. He privately slipped into his hand a paper, and gave him a signal to read it alone. He there told him, that he was as much a prisoner at London as ever Francis I. was at Madrid; that the Prince and Buckingham had conspired together, and had the whole court at their devotion; and that cabals among the popular leaders in Parliament were carrying on to the extreme prejudice of his authority; that the project was to confine him to some of his hunting seats, and to commit the whole administration to Charles; and that it was necessary for him, by one vigorous effort, to vindicate his authority, and to punish those who had so long and so much abused his friendship and beneficence. What credit James gave to this representation does not appear. He only discovered some faint symptoms, which he instantly retracted, of dissatisfaction with Buckingham. All his public measures, and all the alliances into which he entered, were founded on the system of enmity to the Austrian family, and of war to be carried on for the recovery of the Palatinate.

Before the Parliament broke up, the King received a fresh mortification from the Prince and Duke. Whilst they were in Spain, Lionel Cranfield, Lord Treasurer, lately created Earl of Middlesex, having the courage to refuse them sometimes the exorbitant sums they demanded, they resolved to ruin him at their return. They made use for that purpose of their credit with the Parliament, and caused him to be accused by their creatures, of mismanagement in the discharge of his office. The King, knowing this came from them, desired them for God's sake, to use their interest with the two Houses to drop the impeachment: but they remained inflexible and unmoved at all the King's entreaties. So the Lord Treasurer was condemned in a fine of fifty thousand pounds, and declared incapable of ever sitting in the House of Peers.

The King saw no remedy but in the Earl of Bristol's counsels, whose return he impatiently expected. And yet, no sooner was this Lord arrived in England, but the King was constrained to send him express orders at Dover, not to come to court, but remain at his own house till he had answered certain questions, which should be put to him by some of the council. The Parliament being prorogued shortly after, the Earl frequently wrote to the King, to desire he might be examined. The King wished it; but it was not the Prince's or Buckingham's interest, who still found fresh excuses to defer the examination. The Earl was however examined at last, after much solicitation, and returned such answers, that his examiners could not help declaring, his conduct was unblamable. But this could not procure him his liberty or admittance into the King's presence. Some time after, the Duke sent him word, he was much mistaken, if he imagined his answers were satisfactory to the King, the Prince, or to him, the Duke; but his only way to come into favour again, was to make the confession he had sent him. The Earl refused it, and the King told Buckingham, it was horrible tyranny to make an innocent person confess faults of which he was not guilty. Notwithstanding all this, it was not in his power to speak with the Earl, because the Prince and Duke did not think it proper.

After all these transactions, the Parliament was prorogued by the King,* who let fall some hints, though in gentle terms, of the sense which he entertained of their unkindness, in not supplying his necessities. The aid which had been granted, however, was very considerable. It was computed that with this money he might send twenty-five thousand men into the Palatinate, under the command of an English general. But the court had already taken other measures. Six thousand men only were therefore sent into Holland, to serve in the army of the States, under the command of the Prince of Orange, and other troops were levied for Count Mansfeldt, who was, during the winter, to open himself a passage into the Palatinate.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Holland, who had been dispatched into France, having sent word that Lewis XIII. was inclined to listen to the overture of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and his sister the Princess Henrietta Maria, the King appointed James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, to go and negotiate the affair jointly with him. The two ambassadors repairing to Compeigne, where the court of France was, commissioners were nominated to treat with them, of whom the Marquis de la Vieuville, superintendant of the finances, was the first. The conferences began a few days after the prorogation of the Parliament, when the King, according to his promise, was putting the laws in execution against Popish recusants, particularly against friars and priests, some of whom were thrown into prison.

This severity caused the Catholics to complain, who expected a very different treatment a few months before. They could not forbear complaining, that, whereas the negotiation of the Spanish match had procured them great ease, this with France seemed on the contrary to serve only to increase their miseries. Several wrote to France in that strain, intimating they had nothing to trust to but the piety, zeal, and protection of Lewis. Among others, a Scotch Franciscan wrote upon this subject to Hugo, Archbishop of Ambrun, who had been general of the order, and to whom he was known. The Archbishop showed the letter to the King, and aggravated the sufferings of the English Catholics, who expected relief only from his intercession. The King of France had already done his utmost to pacify the English Catholics, assuring them by Tilliers, his ambassador at London, that he would not forget them. But their repeated complaints obliged him at length to take some step in their favour, and the rather, as he was afraid they would obstruct the Pope's dispensation, which would soon be wanted. He resolved therefore, to send to James a secret agent to intercede for the Catholics, and chose for that purpose the Archbishop of Ambrun, who came to London in disguise, and passed for a counsellor of the Parliament of Grenoble. At his arrival, he waited upon Buckingham, who seemed much inclined to countenance his negotiation. The Countess of Buckingham, the Duke's mother, the Earl of Rutland, and some other Catholics, did the Archbishop great services, and acquainted him with many things, necessary to be known, in order to succeed in his designs. The King, being informed that the Archbishop desired to speak with him, sent for him to Royston, where he then was, confined to his bed with the gout. The Archbishop's first conference with the King, was followed by the release of several Popish recusants, imprisoned since the Parliament's petition. Moreover, the King gave the Archbishop leave to administer confirmation in the French ambassador's house, to all that should apply for it. This was done in so public a manner, that not only the house, but the street itself, was crowded with people. If the Archbishop's own narrative may be credited, he confirmed above ten thousand persons. However this be, the number must have been great, since the magistrates of London complained of it to the King, who owned it was done with his leave.

From that time, the King had several conferences with this prelate, and, one day, as he was expressing his earnest desire to live in strict union with the King of France, the Archbishop took occasion to tell him, that one of the best means to that end, was to grant a full

* On May 29, to November 2.

toleration to the Catholics. Whereupon, the King, squeezing him by the hand, said these words to him: "I perceive you are the man sent me from God, to whom I may freely open my mind." Adding, "He had always a good opinion of the Catholic religion, and he had often been in danger of assassination during his minority: he intended to grant a full toleration to the Catholics; and in order to succeed, meant to cause an assembly of divines, as well foreign as English, to be held, and therein to be decided, that it was necessary to grant an universal liberty of conscience: and he had already cast his eyes on the English divines to be sent thither: if the assembly could not be held at Dover, he would agree it should be at Boulogne, as soon as his son's marriage secured him the assistance of France: he thought proper that the Archbishop should return to France, under colour of waiting on the Princess, and he would send him two letters under his own hand, one for the Pope, the other for the King of France, wherein his project should be more fully explained: he would also give him a memorial on the same subject, that, being armed with these two papers, he might go and negotiate at Rome with the Pope, for whom he had a very great respect, being obliged to him for a copy of verses he had formerly, when Cardinal, made upon the Queen his mother and the house of Stuart." At the same time, he showed the verses to the Archbishop, and then said, "If he returned from Rome, with the Pope's approbation concerning the assembly, it should be immediately held, and he did not question, it would be very advantageous to the Catholic religion. In the mean time, he intended to negotiate with the Protestant Princes of Germany, and endeavour to gain some of the chief Puritan Lords in England and Scotland."

On supposition of the truth of this extract from the Archbishop of Ambrun's narrative, at the end of Deageant's Memoirs, all that can be inferred from it, is, that James had formed a chimerical project of a mutual toleration throughout Christendom, and thought himself qualified to effect it, with the assistance of France.

Whilst the Archbishop of Ambrun was in England, the negotiation of the marriage was continued in France, between the English ambassadors and the French commissioners. The English proposed at first the continuation of the treaty, formerly begun for Prince Henry's marriage with the Princess Christina, who espoused the Duke of Savoy. But this motion was rejected by the French commissioners; first, because that negotiation was properly but just set on foot: secondly, because France would not be contented with less than was offered by the King of England, for the Prince of Wales's marriage with the Infanta of Spain. So, the French commissioners demanded in their turn that the articles concerning religion, granted to Spain, should serve for foundation to the present treaty. The ambassadors expected this demand, and by their private instructions knew how to proceed; but pretended, they could not grant what was demanded, without fresh orders. At last, after some solicitation, they offered the articles agreed upon with Spain, except four, namely: Liberty of Conscience to the Catholics: a Church in London: the Education of the Children by the Queen till ten years old: a Bishop with ecclesiastical authority over the Princess's family. These four articles were much debated, and at length, the ambassadors yielded the two last. But for the two first, they said, they could not absolutely grant them, because of the King's solemn promise to the Parliament. This reason appeared so strong to the French commissioners, that they thought it fruitless to insist any more upon these two articles. The portion was settled without much trouble. The King of France offered eight hundred thousand crowns, on condition the Prince assigned a jointure of sixty thousand crowns a year; which offer, with the condition, was accepted. In all appearance, this affair was to be ended in a very short time. Some objections of the Pope, however, and the Marquis de la Vieuville's disgrace, which happened at this time, occasioned considerable delay; but, at length, the treaty was signed at Paris the 10th of November.*

When the Earl of Carlisle was sent to France to hasten the treaty of marriage, he had orders to propose to that court a league against the house of Austria. This was the Prince's and Buckingham's grand aim. There was then a dispute about the Valteline, between the Kings of France and Spain, which made the court of England imagine Lewis would readily listen to such a proposal. And indeed he did so: but it was only to frighten the Pope and the Spaniard, and not with design to conclude the league. The Duke of Bavaria had friends in the French court, who caused him to be much more regarded than the Elector Palatine, expelled his dominions, and sheltered in Holland. So, Lewis's ministers told the English ambassadors, that the league and marriage were two distinct affairs, which could not be negotiated together: but after the conclusion of the marriage, the league should be treated of. By this answer, they kept the English in hope, and the Spaniards in fear. On the other hand, the Count of Mansfeldt stayed at or near Paris, and the Spaniards knew he had frequent conferences with the ministers.

Some time after, Mansfeldt came to England, where he was received with extraordinary caresses, and lodged by the Prince in his palace at St. James's. Here, after some conferences, he agreed with the King, the Prince, and the Duke, that he should have twelve thousand men, to carry the war into the Lower Palatinate. This project being formed, the King pressed the court of France with respect to the league: but his proposal was artfully evaded on divers pretences, though without an absolute denial. He was forced therefore to be contented, till the league was concluded, with demanding of the French King, a passage through his dominions for Mansfeldt's army. Lewis, in general or ambiguous terms, made him hope, not only that he would grant a passage, but also strengthen this army with a body of his own troops. The event showed, he meant after the conclusion of the league, whereas the English took it for a positive promise, whether the league should be concluded or not. Pursuant to this project, the forces to be commanded by Mansfeldt were levied in England.

Whilst this army was preparing to march, James caused a memorial to be presented to the Infanta Isabella, demanding the city of Frankendal, which she held in sequestration, and, by the treaty of London, was to keep but till the end of the truce, which was to expire the 26th of October. Moreover, he demanded, in the same memorial, a free passage for the garrison he was to send to Frankendal, not only through the Infanta's, and his Catholic Majesty's dominions, but also through the territories of their friends and allies. The Infanta answered, she would order the governor of Frankendal to surrender the place on the day appointed, to such as should produce a power from the King of England: that she would grant a passage through her own, and the King of Spain's dominions, to the fifteen hundred foot, and two hundred horse, which, according to the treaty of London, were to take possession of Frankendal; and, in general, would punctually execute the treaty. But as to the King's further demand, to procure him a passage for his troops through the empire, she declared,

* As Prince Charles, during his abode in Spain, had given a verbal promise to allow the Infanta the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was here inserted in the treaty; and to that imprudence is generally imputed the subsequent distressed condition of his posterity. The court of England, however, it must be confessed, always pretended, even in their memorials to the French court, that all the favourable conditions granted to the Catholics, were inserted in the marriage treaty merely to please the Pope, and that their strict execution was, by an agreement with France, secretly, dispensed with. It is certain that the young Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. had Protestant governors from his early infancy; first the Earl of Newcastle, then the Marquis of Hertford. The King, in his memorial to foreign churches, after the commencement of the civil wars, insists on his care in educating his children in the Protestant religion, as a proof that he was no-wise inclined to the Catholic. It can scarcely, therefore, be questioned, but this article, which had so odd an appearance, was inserted only to amuse the Pope, and was never intended by either party to be executed.

clared, it was not in her power, neither was she obliged to it. Thus, the court of England found by experience their error, in not inserting in the treaty of London, what they were afterwards forced to demand, and what the Infanta might justly deny. It is very true, in withdrawing the English garrison from Frankendal, James met with no obstacle; but he could not expect the same thing when he should come to send them back. Some say, that on the 25th of October, the governor of Frankendal marched out of the city with his garrison but, finding none of the King of England's forces ready to take possession, instantly re-entered.

This was not the only error of the court of England. The twelve thousand men to be conducted by Mansfeldt to the Palatinate, were embarked in December, in extremely cold weather, without the least doubt of their passage through France. Nevertheless, when the army came before Calais, the French would not suffer them to land. The King of France constantly asserted, he had never positively promised to grant these troops a passage. However this be, the army suffering greatly on board the ships, where the soldiers were closely pent up, Mansfeldt was forced to sail for Zealand, where he met with the same difficulties. The Zealanders said, they had not provisions for such a number of troops, having had no notice of their coming. Much time was employed in negotiating. Messengers were sent to the Hague, and afterwards to London. In the meanwhile, the pestilence raging among the soldiers, above two thirds perished before they were suffered to land. Most of those that escaped, either deserted, or enlisted among the six thousand English which were in the service of the States. Thus, by the court's wrong measures, this army became useless, and the money spent in raising it was lost.

It was February 1625, before Pope Urban's dispensation arrived. When it came to Paris, two new conditions, not mentioned in the treaty, were seen in it with surprise, namely,

I. That the domestics of the children, born of this marriage, should be Catholics.

II. That the Princess should appoint them.

The Pope absolutely required the King of England, and the Prince to swear to these two articles, otherwise the dispensation was invalid. The court of France, therefore, was under a fresh concern, fearing King James would reject these by new conditions. But he was far from breaking for such a trifle. He accepted them without being much importuned, and only refused to swear again, saying, his word was sufficient. Notwithstanding this, a new dispensation was to be solicited, which was some months in coming, and in this interval, died King James, without having the pleasure of seeing the marriage consummated.

About the middle of March he was seized with a tertian ague, of which he had some fits. But though commonly such agues are not dangerous in the spring, this brought him to his grave. He died at Theobalds, the 27th of March, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after a reign of two-and-twenty years in England.

His death, happening suddenly, and unexpectedly, caused many suspicions, which fell on the Duke of Buckingham. When one of the King's fits was going off, the Duke caused certain plaisters to be applied to his side and wrists, and gave him twice with his own hands a medicine to drink, in the absence of the physicians. He would even have given it a third time, but could not persuade him to take it. The King, finding himself much worse, sent for the physicians, who said positively, they would not prescribe, if the plaisters were not immediately removed. However, the King died within a few days. The Duke was afterwards impeached by the Commons, not directly for poisoning the King, but for daring to apply remedies without the advice of his physicians.*

James left only a son and a daughter. His daughter was married to a Prince who had now lost his dominions, and was fled for refuge to Reenen, in the province of Utrecht, where he kept his little court very poorly. King James, who was so liberal, is accused of having but moderately contributed to the maintenance of this disconsolate family.

James I. had for historians, men much prepossessed in his favour, or extremely prejudiced against him. This naturally followed from the divisions to which he himself had given birth. Some represent him as a perfect pattern of a good King: others blacken his reputation as much as possible, by aggravating his failings. The reason of this diversity proceeds from the history of his reign, being penned at a time when the animosity of the two parties was at the height, whence both have happened to leave in their writings evident marks of their passion. Therefore the character of this Prince must not be formed, either upon the praises of the one, or the invectives of the other, but upon his manner of governing, upon his speeches and actions. This might be done by recollecting the principal circumstances of his reign.

The principal ingredient in King James's panegyric is the constant peace he caused his subjects to enjoy. This cannot be said to be the effect of chance, since it clearly appears to have been his sole, or, at least, chief aim in his administration. Nothing, say his friends, is more noble, or more worthy a great King, than such a design. But this design loses all its merit, if the Prince is discovered, by his conduct, to preserve peace only out of fear, supineness, excessive love of ease and repose; and King James's whole behaviour shows he acted by these motives, though he coloured it with the pretence of affection for his people.

If some take care to extol his knowledge in philosophy, divinity, history, polite learning, others affirm, it was but real pedantry, and that from all his acquired knowledge he learnt only to talk very impertinently on every subject, instead of framing solid and sure rules for the government of his dominions.

His liberality, which some praise, is exclaimed against by others as prodigality. These pretend, he gave without measure and discretion, without any regard to his own wants, or the merits of those on whom he heaped his favours.

The same contrariety occurs between King James's historians with respect to his capacity. Some call him, for his wisdom, the Solomon of the age. Others endeavour to display all his errors, particularly in the two sole important affairs of his reign, wherein he came off very ill, namely, the Prince his son's marriage, and his son-in-law's election to the kingdom of Bohemia.

Some extol him for maintaining the prerogative royal in its full lustre, in spite of the efforts of those who were continually attacking it. Others pretend he had conceived very wrong ideas of the English constitution, and by aiming to carry the regal authority too high, and instilling the same principles into his successor, he was the first cause of his family's ruin.

As to his manners, writers are no less divided. Some describe him as a very wise and virtuous Prince, whilst others speak of him as a Prince of a dissolute life, given to drinking, and swearing in common conversation, especially when he was in a passion. He is likewise reproached for dissolving the Earl of Essex's marriage, pardoning the Earl and Countess of Somerset, for the death of Sir Walter Raleigh, and for confidently calling God to witness, in full Parliament, that he never had any thoughts of granting the Papists a toleration,

* Wilson says, one of Buckingham's chief motives was thought to be his fear the King would set up Bristol, his deadly enemy, against him, to pull him down. And if what Burnet says be true, he had reason likewise to fear the King's old favourite Somerset. He says, the King, being resolved to bring the Earl of Somerset into favour again, met him in the night in the gardens at Theobalds: two bed chamber men were only in the secret: the King embraced him tenderly, and with many tears: the Earl of Somerset believed the secret was not well kept, for, soon after, the King was taken ill with an ague, and died at Theobalds. Burnet says, he had this from some who were told it by the Earl himself. Dr. Craig, the King's physician, was disgraced, for saying, he believed the King was poisoned.

which

which he could not affirm but by means of some mental reservation.

In fine, whilst some praise his moderation and equity to the Catholics, others pretend to demonstrate he was a Papist in his heart, and only professed the Protestant religion out of fear of what might follow, in case he openly declared for the Catholic. If some say, in proof of his being a good Protestant, that he made constant profession of the established religion, persevered in it to his death, and, when dying, charged the Prince his son to protect the church and clergy; others answer, this is far from a demonstration. They pretend, the point is not to know what he would appear to be, but what he was in reality, and that his actions belied his outward profession: that the same thing had happened to him in Scotland, where, till the age of thirty-six years, he had professed a religion which he mortally hated, as plainly appeared afterwards.* That when he came to England, he declared himself openly the protector of the Papists: took their part on all occasions: promoted them to honours, dignities, and public offices: that in his reign the laws against them were never duly executed, of which he boasted to the Catholic Princes in his apology concerning the oath of allegiance: that in all his speeches, whether in the Parliament or the star-chamber, his constant aim was to move his subjects to consent to a full toleration for the Catholics; but not finding the Parliament inclined as he wished, he granted, by his sole authority, a toleration in effect, by hindering the execution of the laws, and discharging the condemned recusants from fines, and other penalties: that in his conventions with Spain and France, he positively promised to cause no more laws to be enacted against the Papists, and those already in force not to be executed: that on all occasions, he affected to show he found nothing amiss in the Romish religion, but the Pope's exorbitant power over Princes: that by giving the Pope the titles of Holy Father, his Holiness, and by consenting that his son's children should be educated in the Romish religion till the age of thirteen years, he plainly discovered he should not be sorry for their continuance in that religion: lastly, his engagement with the Archbishop of Ambrun is a fresh and manifest proof of his being a true Papist. To this the others reply, it is not possible to conceive, that if King James had been a Papist in his heart, he would have spent a considerable part of his time in writing books against the Popish religion, and combating the arguments of Bellarmine and Du Perron.†

Probably King James was truly neither a sound Protestant, nor a good Catholic. He seems never to have had much at heart the interest of the Protestant religion; and on the other hand, it cannot be denied, he made public and constant profession of the same to his dying day. Perhaps he had formed a scheme of religion different from that of others, according to which he counted of no moment, what the Protestants and Catholics looked upon as essential. He believed, probably, that every religion was good, provided it taught obedience to sovereigns, and preserved the hierarchy, which he considered as a fundamental article. It is therefore no wonder, that, agreeably to this scheme, he should refuse to enter into the measures of the English Protestants, to hinder the growth of the Romish religion in England, or not scruple to continue in the religion he professed, since, according to his notions, the two religions were equally good, provided the Pope's despotic power was abolished.

But, whatever may be said for and against King James's person, it is certain, England never flourished less than in his reign, and the English saw themselves exposed to the insults and railleries of other nations, whilst the blame was generally cast on the King. The following epigram, made in France in his time, is a clear evidence in what esteem he was with his neighbours:

Tandis qu' Elizabeth fut Roy,
L'Anglois fut d' Espagne l' effroy.
Maintenant, devise et caquette,
Régi par la Reine Jaquette.

That is literally in English.

Whilst Elizabeth was King,
The English were of Spain the terror.
But now, governed by Queen Jaquet,
They only talk and prattle.‡

By

* Of King James's dissimulation in point of religion, there is a clear evidence in a speech of his to the kirk of Scotland, which he is said to speak standing, with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to heaven, wherein, among other things, "He blessed God that had honoured him to be King over such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world. The church of Geneva, what are they? They keep Pasche and Yule, (i. e. Easter and Christmas.) What authority have they in God's word, and where is their institution? As for our neighbour church in England, their service is an evil mass, said in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings, &c."

† As to this King's person, though his father and mother were esteemed the handsomest couple of the age they lived in, he was himself but homely, nor in any of his features was to be found the least resemblance of the beautiful Mary Stuart, or Lord Darnley.

‡ Some miscellaneous remarks will here, no doubt, be acceptable. The amount of the King's revenue, as it stood in 1617, is thus stated: of crown lands, 80,000*l.* a year; by customs and new impositions, nearly 190,000*l*; by wards, and other various branches of revenue, besides purveyance, 180,000*l.* The whole amounting to 450,000*l.* The King's ordinary disbursements, by the same account, are said to exceed this sum by 36,000*l.* All extraordinary sums which James had raised by subsidies, loans, sale of lands, sale of the title of baronet, money paid by the States and by the King of France, benevolences, &c. were in the whole about 2,200,000*l.* of which the sale of land afforded 775,000*l.* The extraordinary disbursements of the King amounted to 2,000,000*l.* besides above 400,000*l.* given in presents. Upon the whole, a sufficient reason appears, partly from necessary expences, partly for want of a rigid œconomy, why the King, even early in his reign, was deeply involved in debt, and found great difficulty to support the government.

The extraordinary supplies granted by Parliament during this whole reign amounted not to more than 630,000*l.* which, divided among 21 years, makes 30,000*l.* a year. This does not include those supplies, amounting to 300,000*l.* which were given to the King by his last Parliament.

The customs were supposed to amount to 5 per cent ad valorem, and were levied upon exports as well as imports. On the former in some instances, they were as high as 25 per cent. The customs in 1604 yielded 127,000*l.* a year: they arose to 190,000*l.* towards the end of the reign.

Interest, during this reign, was at 10 per cent. till 1624, when it was reduced to 8. This high interest is an indication of the great profits and small progress of commerce.

The price of corn during this reign was very high. Whenever wheat fell below 32s. a quarter, rye below 18s. barley below 16s. commissioners were empowered to purchase corn for the magazines. The usual bread of the poor was made of barley. Prince Henry, by contract with his butcher, paid nearly four-pence a pound, throughout the year, for all the beef and mutton used in his family.—The best wool, during the greater part of King James's reign, was at 33s. a tod.—At the commencement of the succeeding reign, a turkey-cock cost 4s. 6d. a turkey-hen 3s. a pheasant-cock 6s. a pheasant-hen 5s. a partridge 1s. a goose 2s. a capon 2s. 6d. a pullet 1s. 6d. a rabbit 8d. a dozen of pidgeons 6s. The contractors for victualling the navy were allowed 8d. a day for the diet of each man when in harbour, and 7½d. when at sea.

James was not negligent of the navy. In five years preceding 1623, he built ten new ships, and expended 50,000*l.* a year on the fleet, besides the value of 36,000*l.* in timber, which he annually gave from the royal forests. The largest ship that had ever come from the English docks was built during this reign. She was only 1,400 tons, and carried 64 guns. The merchant ships, in cases of necessity, were instantly converted into ships of war. The King affirmed to the Parliament, that the navy had never before been in so good a condition.

Nothing renders the reign of James more memorable than the commencement of the English colonies in America. The reasoners of that age raised many objections to the planting of those remote colonies; and foretold that after draining the mother-country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off the yoke, and erect an independent government in America. This prediction has, in part, been fulfilled.—Greenland was also discovered about this period; and the whale fishery was carried on with success.

London at this time was built almost entirely of wood, and was, in every respect, a very ugly city. The Earl of Arundel introduced the general practice of brick building.—For some time, from the year 1600, the population of the city doubled itself every 40 years.

Lotteries were first introduced in this reign. The first sedan-chair was used by the Duke of Buckingham.

The English writers of this age have been justly considered as possessing more genius than taste. Their distorted conceptions and expressions are accompanied with such vigour of mind, that we admire the imagination which produced them, as much as we blame the want of judgment which gave them admittance. Generally speaking, the poetry of the English was rude and imperfect; yet Fairfax translated Tasso with ease, elegance, and correctness. Harrington's transla-

By an indenture of the 2d of James I. a pound weight of gold, of twenty-two carats fine, and two carats allay, was coined into 37*l.* 4*s.* by tale; namely, into unites going for 20*s.* double crowns at 10*s.* British crowns at 5*s.* thistle crowns at 4*s.* and half-crowns at 2*s.* 6*d.* a-piece: and a pound weight of silver, of the said old standard, into 62*s.* by tale; namely, into shillings, six-pences, two-pences, pence, half-pence, crowns, and half-crowns.——In the 3d year of this reign, a pound weight of gold of the old standard, of twenty-three carats, three grains and a half fine, was coined into 40*l.* 10*s.* by tale; namely, into rose-rials at 30*s.* a-piece, spur-rials at 15*s.* and angels at 10*s.* a-piece. ——In the 9th, there was a proclamation for raising gold 2*s.* in every 20*s.*——In the 10th, a pound weight of the old standard gold was coined into 44*l.* by tale; namely, rose-rials, spur-rials, and angels; and a pound weight of gold of twenty-two carats fine, was coined into 40*l.* 18*s.* and 4*d.* namely, into unites at 22*s.* double crowns at 11*s.* British crowns at 5*s.* 6*d.* thistle crowns at 4*s.* 4*d.* three farthings, and half British crowns at 2*s.* 9*d.* a-piece.

The gold coins of this King (as appears from the indentures below) are rose-rials, and spur-rials, angels, unites, crowns, and half-crowns, of several denominations. The rose-rial has, on one side, the King upon his throne, in his robes, with crown, sceptre, and ball, at his feet a portcullis, IACOBVS. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET. HIBER. REX. Reverse, the rose and arms, which are quarterly, France and England in the first and fourth quarters; second, the lion within the double tressure fleury, for Scotland; third, the harp for Ireland, A. DNO. FACTVM. EST. ISTUD. ET. EST. MIRAB. IN. OCV. NRIS. The unite has on one side the King's figure, IACOBVS. DEI. GRA. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET. HIBER. REX. Reverse, FACIAM. EOS. IN. GENTEM VNAM. Of these unites there are several sorts, as may be seen in Nummi Britannorum. One in particular has the King's busto laureaton one side, and XX. behind the head, ascarf across the shoulder, inscriptions and arms, as in the former unites, HENRIC. ROSAS. REGNA. IACOBVS. There is a half, with X. behind the head, and a quarter with V. The crowns have on the reverse the arms; and HENRICI. ROSAS. REGNA. IACOBVS. The thistle crown has, on one side, a rose crowned, and IA. D. GRA. MAG. BR. FR. ET. HIBER. REX. On the other side a thistle flower crowned, TVEATVR. VNITA. DEVS. (fig. 1.) The half-crowns have, on one side, the King's figure, and IA. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SPINA. Reverse the arms, and TVEATVR. &c.——The silver coins of this King are crowns, half-crowns, shillings, six-pences, two-pences, pence, and half-pence. The crown represents the King on horse-back, in armour, and crowned, holding a sword in his hand; the rose and crown upon the trappings of the horse. IACOBVS. D. G. ANG. SCO. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. Reverse, the arms, EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI. Another crown is inscribed, IACOBVS. D. G. ANG. SCO. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. Reverse, the arms, QVÆ. DEVS. CONIVNXIT. NEMO. SEPARET. The shillings have XII. (fig. 2.) and the six-pences VI. behind the King's head crowned. (fig. 4.) Reverse, the arms fill up the whole area. The Irish moneys, are in all respects like the English, only they have a harp crowned on the reverse. (fig. 3.) The copper money of Ireland has two sceptres through the crown.

tion of Ariosto, also possesses great merit. Jonson, the great contemporary of the greater Shakespeare, had a pension of 100 marks from James, which Charles afterwards augmented to 100*l.*—In prose, Bacon must be regarded as the great luminary of the age; yet his style is cold and stiff; his wit, though frequently brilliant, is often unnatural and far-fetched; and he seems to have been the original parent of those pointed similes and long-spun allegories which so much distinguish English writers prior to the times of Addison and Johnson. Raleigh's writings form a respectable model of ancient style; and Camden's history of Elizabeth may be esteemed good composition, both for manner and matter. The King himself is yet to be noticed. That James was but a middling writer must be allowed: that he was a contemptible one, can by no means be admitted. Whoever will read his Basilicon Doron, particularly the two last books, the true law of free monarchies, his answer to Cardinal Perron, and almost all his speeches and messages to Parliament, will confess him to have possessed no small share of learning. He wrote concerning witches and apparitions; but many people in that age did admit the reality of these fictitious beings: he composed a commentary on the Revelation, and thought he had proved the Pope to be antichrist: but may not a similar reproach be extended to the famous Napier; and even to Newton, at a time when learning was much more advanced than during the reign of James I.? From the grossness of its superstitions we may infer the ignorance of an age; but never should pronounce decidedly on the folly of an individual from his following popular errors, consecrated by the appearance of religion.

BOOK

RAPIN'S

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHARLES THE FIRST.

BORN 1600.—DIED 1648.

BOOK XIX.

COMPRISING THE FIRST FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

25. CHARLES I.

A. D. 1625.] CHARLES I. son and successor of James I. was tinctured from his infancy with the principles concerning the regal authority, and prerogative royal, which had been so much insisted on by the deceased King. He had the same favourite, the same council, the same ministers; and all the places at court, and in the kingdom, continued in the hands of the Duke of Buckingham's creatures. Charles's journey to Spain had so endeared the Duke of Buckingham to him, that King James's affection for that favourite was nothing, in comparison of the new King's.

Charles I. on his accession, formed two projects equally difficult to be executed. The first was, to wrest from the Emperor, and the Duke of Bavaria, both the Palatinates which had been taken from his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine. The second, to carry the regal authority much higher than the King his father, or any of his predecessors, had done. These two projects, which separately would, in all appearance, have met with great obstacles, became almost impracticable when joined. Nevertheless, Charles believed they mutually supported each other: that under colour of the Palatinate war, he should put the Parliament upon a footing not to refuse him any thing: that in time, he should have both Houses at command, and after rendering himself independent, dispose as he pleased of the riches of the kingdom, in executing his designs in favour of the King of Bohemia.

As soon as the deceased King's funeral was solemnised,* Charles speedily sent eight thousand men to Plymouth, to be embarked for an expedition to Spain. As he had but little money in his coffers, the charge of coat and conduct was ordered to be disbursed by the country, and the country to be repaid out of the Exchequer at a more convenient season. The troops having committed great disorders in their march, the King granted a commission for martial law, to punish the offenders. This was looked upon as an innovation, which took from the usual judges the cognizance of crimes committed by the soldiery.

The King's marriage having been concluded in his father's life-time, was solemnised at Paris with great magnificence, on a theatre erected before the church of Notre-Dame, the Duke of Chevreuse performing the office of proxy for the King of England. Presently after, the Duke of Buckingham was sent into France to conduct the Queen to the King her spouse. She arrived June 12, at Dover, where the King met her, and the marriage was consummated at Canterbury. The 16th of the same month the King and Queen made their entry into London, and, two days after, the Parliament met. The King affirmed in his speech, that no Prince was ever more desirous to maintain the religion he professed.† The Parliament, however, does not seem to have fully believed this, since, at the very first, both Houses joined in presenting to him a petition against recusants. The King returned a very gracious answer, saying, he was glad to see their zeal for religion, and was ready to concur with them in whatever they should propose on that head. He deferred, however, answering each particular article of the petition, till he had examined it.

Mr. Richard Montague, a clergyman, had lately printed a book, intituled, "An Appeal to Cæsar," wherein were several propositions tending to the disturbance of church and state. It was complained of to the Commons, who, bringing the author to the bar of their House, and examining him, thought proper to refer him to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop, who was looked upon with no good eye at court, because he was suspected of being a friend to the Puritans, contented himself with exhorting him to write no more upon such subjects. The proceedings of the Commons displeased the King, for, Montague being one of his chaplains, he pretended the bringing of him to their bar was an encroachment upon his prerogative. He expressed his displeasure with the Commons, and took occasion to bring the cause before the council.‡ Every one suspected, that as Montague's book contained an Arminian doctrine, Laud, Bishop of St. David's, the King's most intimate counsellor for religious affairs, had done this, to stop the prosecution. Laud was considered by many as the head and protector of the Arminians, who were now very numerous in the kingdom. He had insinuated himself into Buckingham's favour, and by that means into the King's, who readily followed his counsels in the affairs of religion.

The displeasure expressed by the King against the Commons, hindered not the House from granting him two subsidies; equal to 112,000*l.* The King accepted them graciously, but withal intimated, this supply was far short of what was necessary for the war § to which

* He was removed, on April 23, from Theobalds to London, and buried May 7, in Henry VII.'s chapel.

† Charles's opening speech was full of simplicity and cordiality. He lightly mentioned the occasion which he had for supply. He employed no intrigue to influence the suffrages of the members. He would not even allow the officers of the crown who had seats in the House, to mention any particular sum which might be expected by him. Secure of the affections of the Commons, he was resolved that their bounty should be entirely their own deed; unasked, unsolicited; the genuine fruit of sincere confidence and regard.

‡ Our author seems here to confound two distinct things. Montague (in 21 Jac.) published a book, which he called, "A New Gag for an Old Goose," being an answer to a Popish book, intituled, "A Gag for the New Gospel;" and for this book it was that he was questioned by the Parliament, and committed to the Archbishop, who dismissed him, with an admonition. Afterwards the Bishops of the Arminian party, consulting the propagation of the five articles condemned at the synod of Dort, concluded, that Montague should publish his "Appeal to Cæsar," at first attested by their joint authorities, which they afterwards withdrew by subtilty. However, the book was printed and dedicated to King Charles. The House appointed a committee to examine the errors therein, and thanked the Archbishop for his admonition formerly to the author, and voted his books to be contrary to the articles established by the Parliament, and took bond for his appearance.

§ The charge of which, by computation, amounted to 700,000*l.* a year.

his father had been advised by the Parliament. The act for the two subsidies was no sooner passed, than the King adjourned the Parliament to Oxford, to meet again the first of August following, by reason of the plague which raged in London.

King James, a little before his death, promised to lend the King of France five or six ships to be employed against the Genoese. At least they were borrowed on that pretence. But afterwards, Lewis XIII. wanting these ships for the siege of Rochelle, prevailed with Charles I. by Buckingham's means, that he might employ them where he pleased, and accordingly they were sent to Dieppe, under the command of Vice-Admiral Pennington. The masters or commanders of these ships, discovering they were to go against Rochelle, weighed anchor and sailed back to England. Pennington informing the Duke of Buckingham of it, received an express order, confirmed by another from the King himself, to return to Dieppe with the ships, and put them into the hands of the French, which was done accordingly. But the mariners all deserted, utterly refusing to serve against Rochelle.

This affair made great noise at Oxford, where the Parliament was re-assembled. Buckingham's ill conduct, in this and other respects, was loudly complained of in the House of Commons. It was said, the money granted by the Parliament to the late King had been misapplied, and put to uses very different from those it was intended for. That the seas were so neglected, that the corsairs had done great damage to the English merchants. That Popery and Arminianism were countenanced by a strong party in the kingdom. Neile, Bishop of Winchester; and Laud, Bishop of St. David's, were chiefly looked upon as the heads and protectors of the Arminians,* and as favourers of Popery, by reason of their rigid and passionate zeal for all the ceremonies of the church of England, even for such as seemed the least necessary. This zeal appeared to many as mysterious as uncommon, and caused them to suspect, that the two prelates, under colour of maintaining religion, had formed a project to restore Popery. They could not imagine, that men should have so strong an attachment to things in themselves of so little moment, without some hidden design. Wherefore Mr. Montague was summoned a second time before the House of Commons, and severely reprimanded.

The King, seeing the Parliament had spent the three or four first days of their session in talking of grievances, without any mention of the money he expected for supporting the war, found himself obliged to depart from that delicacy which he had formerly maintained. He accordingly sent for both Houses, and in Christ-Church-Hall, by himself and his ministers, he entered into a particular detail both of the alliances which he had formed, and of the military operations which he had projected. He told the Parliament, that, by a promise of subsidies, he had engaged the King of Denmark to take part in the war; that this monarch intended to enter Germany by the north, and to rouse to arms those Princes who had impatiently longed for an opportunity of asserting the liberty of the empire; that Mansfeldt had undertaken to penetrate with the English army into the Palatinate, and by that quarter to excite the members of the evangelical union; that the States must be supported in the unequal warfare which they maintained with Spain; that no less a sum than 70,000l. a year had been found, by computation, requisite for all these purposes; that the maintenance of the fleet, and the defence of Ireland, demanded an expense of 400,000l.; that he himself had already exhausted and anticipated in the public service his whole revenue, and had scarcely left sufficient for the daily subsistence of himself and his family; that, on his accession to the crown, he found a debt of above 300,000l. contracted by his father in support of the Palatine; and that, while Prince of Wales, he had himself contracted debts, notwithstanding his great frugality, to the amount of 70,000l. which he had expended entirely on naval and military ornaments. After mentioning all these facts, the King even condescended to use entreaties. He said that his request was the first that he had ever made them; that he was young and in the commencement of his reign; and if he now met with kind and dutiful usage, it would endear to him the use of Parliaments, and would for ever preserve an entire harmony between him and his people.

To these reasons the Commons remained inexorable. They returned to their House, proceeded to examine grievances, and, in this examination, divers complaints were made against the Duke of Buckingham. It was also complained, that Popery was not only tolerated, but even countenanced, contrary to the King's express promise: that pardons were granted to recusants, signed by the Lord Conway, Secretary of State, who pretended to be authorized by the King; and that these pardons stopped the course of justice, and the execution of the laws. Whereupon the King thought himself obliged to return positive answers to the petition presented to him at London, by the two Houses, to which he had hitherto only answered in general. He accordingly gave them a gracious and compliant answer to all their remonstrances; though, in his heart, he was extremely averse to the furious measures which the remonstrants proposed. But, if it may be judged by the continual complaints of the Parliament throughout this reign, concerning these articles, it will appear that Charles's promises were no better performed than his father's. The King expected, that his answers to the petition would gain him the affection of the Commons. But these answers, though so gracious and positive, could not engage them to do what he desired, that is, to lay aside all their business, and think only of granting him money. Instead of the money-bill, they began with examining and even inquiring after the grievances of the nation, and the state of religion. In this examination, the Duke of Buckingham, and the rest of the ministers, were not spared.

The King, seeing what course the Commons were taking, was extremely offended. First, hath by their slowness, they broke all his measures for the present campaign. Secondly, he deemed it a manifest affront and contempt of his person, to presume openly to attack his favourite and ministers, or rather himself under their name. So, perceiving no likelihood of a speedy supply, which was the sole end of calling the Parliament, he was determined to dissolve it.† The Commons, having some notice of it, hastily drew up a declaration, in order to throw the blame of this dissolution

* Rapin, as well as most of our writers, especially those of the Puritan party, seem to confound two things, which have no manner of relation to each other, viz. Arminianism and High-Church-Principles. The Arminian doctrine, condemned by the Synod of Dort, held in 1618, was in substance reduced to these five articles:—

I. God does not in an arbitrary manner predestinate any person to be saved or damned.

II. Christ died for all men, that is, all are partakers of the benefits of Christ's passion, who sincerely perform the Gospel-terms of faith and repentance.

III. How necessary soever grace may be towards our doing good actions, yet,

IV. It is not irresistable, that is, we are still free agents; consequently,

V. The faithful may finally fall away, or depart from a state of grace.

Now nothing can be more evident, than that a man may embrace all these opinions, without being one jot the more a friend to Popery or arbitrary power. Wherefore, though the first assertors of Arminianism happened likewise to be zealous sticklers for something like a despotic power in the King, yet is the one no consequence at all of the other, as abundance of our historians would insinuate. Doubtless, Laud, Neile, Montague, and the rest, who were for setting the King above the laws, would have been of that mind, whether they had been Arminians or not. Even at this time, the five articles above, which are now generally received in the church of England, are believed by thousands, who are not for carrying the authority of the King or church beyond its due bounds. The reason why Arminianism was condemned in the reign of James I. and Charles I. was, because our articles and homilies (in the points above mentioned) were generally understood in a Calvinistical sense.

† The few acts made in this short Parliament, were these:

I. An act forbidding sports and pastimes, such as bear or bull-bating, plays, or other unlawful exercises, on Sundays.

II. An act for the further restraint of tippling in inns, ale-houses, and victualling houses.——The clergy granted the King three entire subsidies, and the laity two.

on the King, for fear he should himself lay it on them, under colour that they were not very ready to perform their promise.* The Commons' aim was to intimate to the people, that they intended not to deny the King money for his just occasions: but believed to have a right to demand first the redress of grievances, as a condition, though they avoided using that term.

The dissolution of the Parliament hindered not the King from pursuing his design of continuing, or rather of beginning, the war with Spain. For though the late King had taken some measures tending to a war, there had been no action since the breach of the treaty. The sending of Count Mansfeldt into the Low-Countries, in order to march into the Palatinate, was almost the only thing that could be considered as a declaration against Spain, though the project had miscarried. Charles, resolving therefore to undertake this war, of which he was the principal author and promoter, sent the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland to the Hague, to negotiate a league with the United Provinces. In the mean time, a fleet was equipping in England to act against Spain. But as he wanted money, he found no speedier or better method to raise it, than by borrowing of persons able to lend, to whom he directed letters under his Privy-Seal, requiring by way of loan such sums as each was taxed at.†

The fleet designed against Spain was not ready to sail till the beginning of October, under the command of Edward Cecil, lately made Viscount Wimbleton, who had the Earl of Essex for Vice-Admiral. The fleet consisted of eighty sail, with ten regiments on board. The intent of this expedition was to wait in some convenient place for the Spanish Plate-fleet which was expected from the Indies in November. As the Admiral had sufficient time, he might have attacked a great number of ships in the Bay of Cadiz, but the difficulty of the enterprize, or some other reason, caused him to neglect this advantage. He was contented with landing Sir John Burroughs with some troops, who meeting no opposition, only plundered some villages, and abused themselves with wine, to their own, more than their enemies', prejudice. Whereupon they were forced to be re-imbarked with all speed. After that, the contagion spreading among the troops, the fleet returned to England in November, without the King's reaping any benefit from this armament, which had been very chargeable to him. This ill success did great injury to the King, as well as to Buckingham, who was looked upon as the contriver and director of the court-projects.

The King, finding himself without money, and consequently unable to continue the war, resolved at length to call a new Parliament. But to avoid the inconvenience of seeing, in the Lower-House, such members as had most opposed him, and exclaimed against the Duke in the late Parliament, the court invented this stratagem. All these persons were made sheriffs, and so could not be chosen members of Parliament. Sir Edward Coke was of this number: however, he and some others were chosen, preferring the service they owed their country in Parliament to that which they could render it as sheriffs.‡ The Parliament was therefore summoned to meet on the 6th of February 1625-6, and on the 2d, being Candlemas-day, the King was crowned by Archbishop Abbot; William Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, the King's favourite Bishop, officiated as Dean of Westminster, in the room of Bishop Williams, who, through the King's disfavour, was sequestered from this service. Before the coronation, the King ordered, by proclamation, all such as had forty pounds a year or more, and were not yet Knights, to come and receive the order of knighthood. This was considered as a new grievance.§

The Parliament being assembled on the 6th of February, the Lord Keeper Williams opened the session in the King's name. Though it did not appear in his speech, that the King intended to ask a supply of the Commons, that was the real motive of calling the Parliament. But the Commons did not think themselves obliged to guess the King's intention, or prevent his demand. So, after chusing their speaker, the first care was to thank the King for his gracious answer to the petition against recusants, presented to him at Oxford. Then they spent some days in examining the public grievances, amongst which were reckoned, the miscarriage of the fleet to Cadiz, evil counsellors about the King, and the misemployment of the three subsidies, and three fifteenths, granted to the late King, for the recovery of the Palatinate. To examine these grievances with more order and clearness, committees were appointed, one for secret affairs, another for grievances, and another for religion. This last, whereof Mr. Pym was chairman, called in question again, Montague's books, intituled, An Answer to the late Gagg of Protestants, An Appeal to Cæsar, and A Treatise of the Invocation of Saints, and reported to the House, the false, erroneous, Papistical, Arminian opinions found therein, repugnant to the articles of the church of England. For instance, "That the church of Rome hath ever remained firm upon the same foundation of Sacraments and doctrines instituted by God. That the controverted points between the church of England, and the church of Rome, are of a less and inferior nature, of which a man may be ignorant without any danger of his soul at all. That images may be used for the instruction of the ignorant, and excitation of devotion. That there are tutelar Saints as well as Angels. That men justified may fall away and depart from the state of grace," and some other Arminian tenets.

The King, seeing the Commons bent upon the examination of religious matters, ordered his Attorney-General to acquaint the Judges of the circuits that it was his pleasure they should proceed with rigour against recusants.

The King had demanded a supply of money to carry on the war; but the Commons were in no haste to grant it. On the contrary, they still proceeded in the exami-

* The declaration of the Commons was as follows: "We the knights, citizens and burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, being the representative body of the whole Commons of this realm, abundantly comforted in his Majesty's late gracious answer touching religion, and his message for the care of our health, do solemnly protest and vow before God and the world, with one heart and voice, that we are all resolved, and do hereby declare, that we will ever continue most loyal and obedient subjects to our most gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles; and that we will be ready in convenient time, and in a Parliamentary way, freely and dutifully to do our utmost endeavours, to discover and reform the abuses and grievances of the realm and state, and in like sort to afford all necessary supply to his most excellent Majesty, upon his present, and all other his just occasions and designs; most humbly beseeching our said dear and dread Sovereign, in his princely wisdom and goodness, to rest assured of the true and hearty affections of his poor Commons, and to esteem the same to be (as we conceive it is indeed) the greatest worldly reputation and security that a just King can have; and to account all such as slanderers of the people's affections, and enemies to the commonwealth, that shall dare to say the contrary."

† These forced loans, practised by some Kings of England, have ever been considered as great grievances, and tending to render Parliaments useless. It will hereafter appear, that the next Parliament did not suffer these to pass uncomplained of. However, to soften people's minds, and induce them to lend their money more freely, a proclamation was published, to call home all such children as were now educating in foreign countries, as well as all the English, Scots, and Irish, in the service of the House of Austria. On the other hand, the Privy-Council issued out warrants to disarm recusants.

‡ The three persons chiefly aimed at, were, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, and Sir Thomas Wentworth, made Sheriffs of Bucks, Somerset, and Yorkshire. Sir Edward Coke taking exceptions against the sheriff's oath, these words were ever after left out: "You shall do all your pain and diligence to destroy and make to cease all manner of heresies and errors, commonly called Lollardies, within your bayliwick from time to time, and assist all ordinaries and commissioners of the holy church, and favour and maintain them as often as you shall be required."

§ The coronation was performed with the usual ceremonies. But when all was over, the King being seated on his throne ready to receive the homages of the Lords, Laud approached him, and read an extraordinary passage, of which there appeared no instance in former coronations. It contained the following words:

"Stand and hold fast, from henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us, and all the Bishops and Servants of God: and as you see the clergy to come nearer to the altar than others, so remember that (in all places convenient) you give them greater honour, that the mediator of God and man may establish you in the kingly throne to be mediator betwixt the clergy and the laity; and that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords."

nation of the grievances, and, among others, of certain reprisals made upon France, with too much precipitation, to the great damage of the English merchants. The Council of War, appointed by the Parliament to manage the three subsidies granted to King James, were also obliged to give an account of their conduct.

The King, bearing this delay very impatiently, pressed the Commons to consider of the supply. The Lords also endeavoured to persuade them to it, in a conference which they desired on this occasion; but it was to no purpose. On the contrary, they heard the report of the committee concerning the nation's grievances, wherein they had always the Duke of Buckingham in view, and even caused him to be informed of the articles on which the complaints against him were grounded. Whereupon the King sent a remonstrating letter to the Speaker, with a message to the House by Sir Richard Weston. The message contained five articles of expence to be provided for, namely,

"I. That his Majesty's fleet being returned, and the victuals spent, the men must of necessity be discharged, and their wages paid, or else an assured mutiny will follow, which may be many ways dangerous at this time.

"II. That his Majesty hath made ready about forty ships, to be set forth on a second voyage, to hinder the enemy, which want only victuals and some men, which, without present supply of money, cannot be set forth and kept together.

"III. That the army which is appointed on every coast, must presently be disbanded, if they be not presently supplied with victuals and clothes.

"IV. That if the companies of Ireland, lately sent thither, be not provided for, instead of defending that country, they will prove the authors of rebellion.

"V. That the season of providing healthful victuals will be past, if this month be neglected.

"And therefore his Majesty commandeth me to tell you, that he desired to know, without further delaying of time, what supply you will give him for these his present occasions, that he may accordingly frame his course and council."

The Commons were not very well pleased with the letter or message, wherein were several things they could not approve. As they perceived, that the desired supply would not be the last, they could not be sure, but in the next session of Parliament the King would again expect the money-bill to pass before the grievances, and so there would be no end. The Commons therefore resolved to send an answer to the King's message, full of respect, submission, expressions of their zeal for his service, and even promises of aiding him in his wants, though in a general manner. But withal, they artfully intimated to him, that redress of grievances ought to precede the supply they intended to grant him.

The King fully perceived the intention of the House in sending him this answer. But he had not the same reasons as the Commons to be reserved in his expressions. It was rather his interest to speak freely, for fear, by dissembling his principles and pretensions, he should encourage the Commons to attack the Duke of Buckingham, who was counted the prime author of the grievances. His Majesty therefore made this reply to the Commons' answer:

Mr. Speaker,

"THE answer of the Commons delivered by you, I like well of, and do take it for a full and satisfactory answer, and I thank them for it, and I hope you will with all expedition take a course for performance thereof, the which will turn to your own good as well as mine; but for your clause therein, of presenting of greivances, I take that but for a parenthesis in your speech, and not a condition; and yet for answer to that part, I will tell you, I will be as willing to hear your grievances, as my predecessors have been, so that you will apply yourselves to redress grievances, and not to inquire after grievances. I must let you know, that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned amongst you, much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me. The old question was, 'What shall be done to the man whom the King will honour?' But now it hath been the labour of some, to seek what may be done against him whom the King thinks fit to honour. I see you specially aim at the Duke of Buckingham; I wonder what hath so altered your affections towards him. I do well remember, that in the last Parliament in my father's time, when he was the instrument to break the treaties, all of you (and yet I cannot say all, for I know some of you are changed, but yet the House of Commons is always the same) did so much honour and respect him, that all the honour conferred on him was too little; and what he hath done since to alter and change your minds, I wot not; but can assure you, he hath not meddled, or done any thing concerning the public or commonwealth, but by special directions and appointment, and as my servant; and is so far from gaining, or improving his estate thereby, that I verily think he hath rather impaired the same. I would you would hasten for my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves; for if any ill happen, I think I shall be the last that shall feel it."

This letter hindered not the Commons from proceeding in the examination of the Duke of Buckingham's conduct, it being resolved to impeach him in form. The question was moved by Dr. Turner, a physician, "Whether common fame be a good ground of proceeding for the House?" This question was decided in the affirmative, after consulting some lawyers; at which the King was extremely offended, and showed his displeasure to the Commons, demanding withal, that Turner might be punished for moving such a question. But this message signified but little, and the House still continuing to proceed against the Duke, it was the general opinion of the members, that, in granting the King money, the redress of the grievances was not to be neglected.

Meanwhile, to take from the King the pretence, which all these delays might furnish him with, the Commons unanimously voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths, to which, a month after, was added a fourth subsidy. By this expedient they showed the public, how ready they were to assist the King in his necessities; but withal reserved to themselves the liberty of passing this vote into an act (without which it was of no use to the King) when they should think fit. According to their intention, this act was not to pass till grievances were presented to, and answered by the King. Thus he was deprived of the pretence to complain of their delays, though indeed what they did for him could be advantageous to him, only on supposition he would regard their desires. This greatly embarrassed the King. He plainly saw the Commons' design, and was the more offended, as all their proceedings were levelled at the Duke of Buckingham, or rather at the King himself, who had publicly declared, the Duke had only followed his orders, without being able to prevail for his being left unmolested. As he found they acted with too little respect, he resolved to let them know how much he was displeased with their proceeding, doubtless, to frighten them into another course. He sent therefore for both Houses to Whitehall, where the Lord Keeper, in the King's name, expressly commanded the House not to meddle with his minister and servant, Buckingham; and ordered them to finish, in a few days, the bill which they had begun for the subsidies, and to make some addition to them; otherwise they must not expect to sit any longer. And though these harsh demands were endeavoured to be explained and mollified, a few days after, by a speech of Buckingham's, they failed not to leave a disagreeable impression behind them.

The King was extremely embarrassed. He wanted money, and the Commons had voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths, to which they lately added a fourth subsidy. But it evidently appeared they meant not to pass the bill, till the Duke of Buckingham's affair was finished. So, the King not being able to divert the charge against the Duke, without hinder-

ing

ing at the same time the subsidy bill, consented at length, that the House should proceed in the examination of his favourite's conduct, but it was with intention to put a stop to it, if the affair was carried too far.*

A few days after, the Commons sent word to the Duke of Buckingham, that they were passing articles of accusation against him, of which he might be informed by the clerk's book, and take a copy thereof; and that they expected his answer, if he pleased to send any.† Whereupon, the Duke applied to the Lords for leave to answer. But the Lords did not think it convenient to permit him; under colour, that he would thereby give the Commons occasion to defer the subsidy bill, which they were presently to take into consideration. But the Commons, without regarding the reason alledged by the Lords, which was signified to them by the Duke, continued their proceedings. They even resolved to annex to the charge, an article concerning the plaister and potion applied and given by the Duke to King James, in his last sickness, without the advice of the physicians. The King, hearing of this, sent a message to the Commons, "That he, having consented to their proceedings against the Duke of Buckingham, hearing there is new matter intended to be brought against him, nevertheless leaves the House to their own way to present the business to him, or to the Lords, withal advising them to consider of the season of the year, and to avoid all loss of time."

Some interruption was given to the Duke of Buckingham's accusation, and consequently to the subsidy bill, by a new affair which unexpectedly arose, and which it will be necessary briefly to mention. The Earl of Bristol, who had been Ambassador in Spain for the affair of the marriage, which he had at length almost brought to a conclusion, according to King James's desire, had however the misfortune to displease the Prince and Duke. As their aim was to hinder the Earl from giving the Parliament an exact account of what passed in Spain, they so managed, that at his return he was confined to his house, and afterwards sent to the Tower. King James was fully satisfied of the Earl's innocence, but was so little master of his actions the two last years of his life, that he dared not openly protect him. So, the Prince and the Duke constrained him, on divers pretences, to keep him in prison, that he might not speak with him. After King James's death, the Earl's case became so much the worse, as the new King and favourite, his professed enemies, were no longer obliged to use any ceremony. He remained therefore in prison till this second Parliament, that is, about two years, without being brought to a trial, or even any charge entered against him. At last, knowing how the Commons stood affected to the Duke, he resolved to embrace this opportunity, and try to recover his liberty. He wished also to be in a condition to justify his conduct, which the Duke had aspersed, in order to cast on him the whole blame of what had passed in the negotiation of the Prince's marriage with the Infanta of Spain. He presented therefore a petition to the House of Lords, showing, that being Peer of the realm, he had received no summons to the Parliament, desiring them to intercede for him, that he might enjoy his privilege. Whereupon the Lords prayed his Majesty, to send a writ of summons as well to the Earl of Bristol as to some other Peers, whose writs were also stopped, which the King granted. A summons was therefore sent to the Earl, but withal, he received a letter from the Lord Keeper, acquainting him, that his Majesty would have him forbear his personal attendance. Upon this, the Earl sent a second petition to the Lords with the Keeper's letter, telling them, it was done by the Duke of Buckingham's credit, whose aim was to prevent him from discovering his crimes. Moreover, he besought the Lords to permit him to bring an accusation against the Duke, wherein he would demonstrate how much the Duke had abused the late King, his present Majesty, the State, and the Parliament. The King was so offended with the Earl of Bristol's boldness, that he sent a message to the Lords, declaring, he was determined to exhibit before them a charge of High-Treason against the Earl of Bristol. After this declaration, the Lords could not avoid putting the Earl into the custody of the Black-Rod. Some days after, the Earl being brought to the bar of the House, the Attorney-General read the charge against him in the King's name, who had corrected it in several places with his own hand. Nevertheless, the Lords received also the accusation entered by the Earl of Bristol, against the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord Conway Secretary of State. The King's charge against the Earl was divided into three heads; namely, his offences, before the Prince's going to Spain: during the Prince's being in Spain: and after the Prince's return. But the Earl made such a defence, as covered his accusers with confusion. He plainly showed how much the Duke of Buckingham had deceived the Parliament in his narrative of what passed in Spain. This reflected on the King himself, who had not only attested the relation, but persisted still to attest it as true. Wherefore he did not think fit to prosecute a sentence against the Earl.

Some days after the Earl of Bristol had given his answer, and presented his charge against the Duke and the Lord Conway, the Commons brought up to the Lords their declaration and impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham. It contained thirteen articles, which were explained and aggravated by the managers appointed by the Commons. It is customary on such occasions, to divide the task among several of their members, each of whom prepares to speak to the article assigned him.‡ Sir Dudley Diggs was appointed to explain and support the beginning of the charge. The preamble having been read, Sir Dudley gave a general exposition of the impeachment, without insisting upon any particular article. He reduced the charge to four principal heads. In the first, he showed the grievances which sprang from so many offices conferred on a single person, and pretended it was one of the chief causes of the evils which afflicted England; as decay of trade, losses at sea, and the contempt the nation was fallen into. In the second, he spoke in general of honours being sold or procured by the Duke for undeserving persons. In the third, he said, as the Duke had raised all his poor kindred to honours, so he had exhausted and mis-employed his Majesty's lands and revenues. In the fourth, he spoke of the remedies applied and given to the late King in his last sickness, but he only just mentioned them, because that article was to be enlarged upon by another manager.

These articles were enlarged upon by the several managers; and Sir John Elliot was appointed to make the epilogue to the impeachment, wherein he summed up what had been said against the Duke, and spoke of him in very offensive terms, but however mentioned not the plaister or potion.

The same, or the next day, Diggs and Elliot were by the King's command sent to the Tower.

The Commons immediately declared, that they would proceed no further upon business, till they had satisfaction in their privileges. Charles alledged, as the reason of this measure, certain seditious expressions, which, he said, had, in their accusation of the Duke, dropped from these members. Upon inquiry it appeared that no such expressions had been used. The members were released, and the King reaped no other benefit from this attempt than to exasperate the House still further, and to shew some degree of precipitancy and indiscretion. Moved by this example, the House of Peers were roused from their inactivity, and claimed liberty for the Earl of Arundel, who had been lately

* At this time the King sent for the Bishops; and fourteen of them repairing to him, he charged them, that in the cause of Bristol and Buckingham, their consciences being their guides, they should follow only proofs, and not rumours.

† He was proxy for no less than fourteen Lords, which being found of ill consequence, it was ordered, that for the future no Lord should be capable of receiving above two proxies.

‡ It was managed by eight members, and sixteen more as assistants. The eight chief managers were, Sir Dudley Diggs, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Selden, Mr. Glanville, Mr. Pym, Mr. Sherland, Mr. Wandesford, and Sir John Elliot.

confined

confined in the Tower. After many fruitless evasions, the King, though somewhat ungracefully, was at last obliged to comply. And in this incident it sufficiently appeared, that the Lords, how litttle soever inclined to popular courses, were not wanting in a just sense of their own dignity.

Before the Duke of Buckingham had given in his answer to the Commons' impeachment, the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge becoming void by the Earl of Suffolk's death, the King caused the Duke, his favourite, to be elected in the room of the late Chancellor. The House of Commons were extremely offended at this election, considering it as a manifest contempt, that the Duke should be chosen whilst under an impeachment, and when one of the articles against him was plurality of offices. Besides, they maintained, there was a sort of contradiction in this choice, since the University themselves, by their representatives in Parliament, had given their consent to the Duke's impeachment. But the King openly supported the election in spite of the Commons.

At length, on the 6th of June, the Duke gave in his answer to the impeachment of the House of Commons.*

The Commons, finding no gratification in the legal impeachment of Buckingham, again claimed the execution of the penal laws against Catholics; and they presented to the King a list of persons entrusted with offices, most of them insignificant, who were either convicted or suspected recusants.

It was not for the King's honour to be pressed so often to perform what he had so positively promised. But it must be considered, it was not easy for him to withstand the solicitations and intrigues of the Queen, of the Duke of Buckingham, whose mother was a professed papist; of Sir Richard Weston his chief Counsellor; and of the Lord Conway, Secretary of State, both likewise Papists, since these were the men that were nearest his person, and by whom he was in a manner beset.

The next attack made by the Commons, had it prevailed, would have proved decisive. They were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament. This article, together with the new impositions laid on merchandise by James, constituted nearly half of the crown-revenues; and by depriving the King of these resources, they would have reduced him to total subjection and dependence. While they retained such a pledge, besides the supply already promised, they were sure that nothing could be refused them. Though after canvassing the matter nearly three months, they found themselves utterly incapable of fixing any legal crime upon the Duke, they regarded him as an unable, and perhaps a dangerous minister; and they intended to present a petition, for removing him from his Majesty's person and councils, which would then have been equivalent to a command.

These preparations alarmed the King; and he now conceived that Buckingham's sole guilt was the being his friend and favourite: all the other complaints against him were mere pretences. A little before, he was the idol of the people. No new crime had since been discovered. After the most diligent inquiry, prompted by the greatest malice, the smallest appearance of guilt could not be fixed upon him. What idea, he asked, must all men entertain of his honour, should he now sacrifice his friend to pecuniary considerations? What further authority should he retain in the nation, were he capable in the beginning of his reign, to give, in so signal an instance, such matter of triumph to his enemies, and discouragement to his adherents? To day the Commons pretend to wrest his minister from him: to-morrow they will attack some branch of his prerogative. By their remonstrances, and promises, and protestations, they had engaged the crown in a war. As soon as they saw a retreat impossible—without waiting for new incidents—without covering themselves with new pretences—they immediately deserted him, and refused him all reasonable supply. It was evident, that they desired nothing so much as to see him plunged in inextricable difficulties, of which they intended to take advantage. To such deep perfidy, to such unbounded usurpations, it was necessary to oppose a proper firmness and resolution. All encroachments on supreme power could only be resisted successfully on the first attempt. The Sovereign authority was, with some difficulty, reduced from its ancient and legal height; but when once pushed downwards, it soon became contemptible; and would easily be carried to the lowest extremity, by the continuance of the same effort, now encouraged by success.

Urged by these motives, Charles was determined immediately to dissolve the Parliament. When this resolution was known, the House of Lords, whose compliant behaviour entitled them to some authority with him, endeavoured to interpose; and they petitioned him, that he would allow the Parliament to sit some time longer. Not a moment longer, cried the King, hastily; and he soon after ended the session by dissolving them.

The Commons, who had foreseen this, now took care to finish and disperse their remonstrance, which they intended as a justification of their conduct to the people. The King, likewise, on his part, published a declaration, in which he gave the reasons of his disagreement with the Parliament, and of their sudden dissolution, before they had time to conclude any one act. These papers furnished the partisans on both sides with ample matter of apology and of recrimination. But all impartial men judged that the Commons, though they had not violated any law, yet, by their unpliableness and independence, were insensibly changing, perhaps improving, the spirit and genius, while they preserved the form of the constitution: and that the King was acting altogether without any plan; running on in a road surrounded on all sides by the most dangerous precipices, and concerting no proper measures, either for submitting to the obstinacy of the Commons, or for subduing it.

A few days after the King's declaration was published, two proclamations appeared, which afforded ample matter of discourse to such as were not of the court-party. By the first, the King commanded all persons who had any copies of the Commons' remonstrance to burn the same, on pain of his highest displeasure.

The second proclamation contained express commands, not to preach or dispute upon the controverted points of Arminianism, either for or against them, under colour that such sort of disputes served only to breed contention. But many were of opinion, that Laud, Bishop of London; and Nevil, Bishop of Winchester; had procured this injunction, to oppress the orthodox ministers, who should take the liberty to break it, whilst the disobedience of the contrary party should be connived at. It is certain, the next Parliament complained to the King, that the Orthodox ministers were silenced for disobeying the proclamation, and the Arminians tolerated and countenanced.

Meanwhile, an information was preferred by the King's special command in the Star-Chamber against the Duke of Buckingham, for applying the plaister to the late King. But withal, it was so ordered, that the cause came not to a hearing.

The King receiving no aid from the Parliament, because he was unwilling to purchase it at the rate set by the Commons, was in great straits.† He was to maintain a war against the House of Austria, to supply his

* On comparing the articles with the accusation and reply, they appear to be either frivolous or false, or both. The only charges which could be regarded as important was, that he had extorted a sum of 10,000*l.* from the East-India Company, and that he had confiscated some goods belonging to French merchants, on pretence of their being the property of Spanish. The impeachment never came to a full determination; so that it is difficult for us to give a decisive opinion with regard to these articles. But it must be confessed, that the Duke's answer in these particulars, as in all the rest, is so clear and satisfactory, that it is impossible to refuse our assent to it. His faults and blemishes were in many respects very great; but rapacity and avarice were vices with which he was entirely unacquainted.

† By his hasty dissolution of the Parliament, he lost four subsidies, and three-fifteenths, which had been voted him by the Commons.

allies with the promised succours, and to put his kingdom in a posture of defence. As all this could not be done by his ordinary revenues, recourse was to be had to expedients to raise money.

The first was a proclamation forbidding all persons, for two years, to present or solicit any suit for any thing, tending to the diminution of the King's revenues.

The second was a commission directed to the Archbishop of York and others, to compound with Popish recusants, not only for all forfeitures, due since the tenth year of King James, but also for such as should become due hereafter. This commission was directly contrary to his promise to the Parliament at Oxford.

The third was a proclamation, declaring the King's resolution to make his revenue certain, by granting his lands, as well holden in copy as otherwise, to be holden in fee-farm.

The fourth was a loan from every Peer of a certain sum for the defence of the kingdom. But his attempt to borrow a hundred thousand pounds of the city of London did not succeed, the city desiring to be excused.

The fifth was an imposition upon the several ports and maritime counties, to furnish and set out a certain number of ships to protect the trade. The city of London, having refused to lend the King money, was appointed to equip twenty ships, or, at least, to find a sum sufficient for that purpose. As this tax was peculiar to the maritime towns, many of the inhabitants of such places retired elsewhere: but they were commanded by proclamation to return to their respective towns.

Lastly, the council ordered very strictly that the payment of tonnage and poundage should be continued, though the King had yet no grant from the Parliament, though he had never demanded any such thing, and though the Commons had complained of the levying of these imposts, as a grievance, in the remonstrance they had prepared.

But to let the people see, it was purely out of necessity that the King made use of these extraordinary methods to raise money, his Majesty ordered a general fast to be held on the 5th of July, to divert the judgments of God ready to fall on the kingdom, by the pretended invasion it was threatened with. This afforded him also a pretence to require the Lords-Lieutenants of the several counties to muster and arm the militia, and put them in condition to withstand the invasions of enemies from abroad, and quell the rebellions of subjects at home, if any should happen.*

The means hitherto used by the King, to raise money, were not sufficient to free him from a fresh incumbrance caused by an unexpected event. The King of Denmark, his uncle, whom he had engaged in a war with the Emperor, was defeated the 27th of August by Count Tilly, with the loss of all his baggage and train of artillery. This accident obliged Charles to find money to support his uncle, who was in a very ill situation, and could not avoid making a peace with the Emperor, unless speedily relieved. The way which was thought most proper to raise money on this urgent occasion, was by a general loan from the subjects, according as every man was assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy. It is true, the King gave his royal word, that all the money should be repaid without fee or charge: but the performance of his promise, as afterwards appeared, was not relied on. The King himself, as well as his council, expected to meet with many obstacles in executing this project, such forced loans not being agreeable to the nation. It was feared besides, that this way of raising money upon the subjects, would in the end render Parliaments useless. For this reason, the council judged it proper to make use of three methods to succeed in their design:

I. Of some artifice to oblige the people, as much as possible, to lend freely:

II. Of fear, to terrify the irresolute:

III. Of rigour, to compel the most obstinate.

These were the grounds of the instructions the council gave the Commissioners, who were appointed in the several counties to levy the loan.†

For the advancement of the loan, care was taken to publish a list of such as had freely subscribed, for a good example to others; and all the Peers and Gentlemen were ordered to repair to their country-seats, that their absence might cause no delay or obstacle to the subscriptions. Sir Randolph Crew, Lord Chief Justice, showing no zeal for advancing the loan, was removed from his place, which was given to Sir Nicholas Hide.

Besides this example, the court used, to promote the loan, some other ways, which, probably, would not be less effectual. The first was, the billeting of soldiers upon private houses, contrary to the constant custom of England, where all, but such as keep public-houses, have the privilege of not being obliged to lodge soldiers against their wills. It is easy to perceive, that those who showed any reluctance to lend the King money, were not spared on this occasion, and that the soldiers quartered upon them took care to let them see, what they exposed themselves to by disobeying the King. Moreover, such as were sufferers by these troublesome guests, could not summon them before the usual judges; but by the King's express orders, they were obliged to apply to a council of war, so that the officers were the sole judges of their soldiers. Notwithstanding all this, the people in general were so averse to the loan, that the money flowed but slowly into the King's exchequer.(a) The court, therefore, was obliged to use a more violent remedy to force the most obstinate. And that was, to order such of the common sort as refused to subscribe to the loan, to be enrolled as soldiers to serve in his Majesty's troops. As for persons of birth and rank, they were summoned to appear before the council, and upon a second refusal to lend money, were confined to places at a great distance from their habitations; and such as refused to be thus confined, were committed to the several prisons in London. Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, and a zealous adherent of the King, was among the imprisoned.

Besides these means, the court practised another, from whence they expected great advantages, but which proved more detrimental than beneficial to the King. And that was, to cause ministers, gained for that purpose, to preach, as a Scripture-doctrine, that subjects were obliged to obey the King's commands, without examination.‡

Notwithstanding the King's hopes to succeed at length

(a) A. D. 1627.

* This year the King raised the sailors' wages, from fourteen to twenty shillings a month.

† The commissioners appointed to levy these loans, among other articles of secret instruction, were enjoined, "If any shall refuse to lend, and shall make delays or excuses, and persist in his obstinacy, that they examine him upon oath, whether he has been dealt with to deny or refuse to lend, or make an excuse for not lending? Who has dealt with him, and what speeches or persuasions were used for that purpose? And that they also shall charge every such person, in his Majesty's name, upon his allegiance, not to disclose to any one what his answer was. So violent an inquisitorial power, and so impracticable an attempt at secrecy, were the objects of indignation, and even, in some degree, of ridicule.

‡ Two of these ministers distinguished themselves by their sermons on this subject. Dr. Sibthorp, who was one, says, among other things, in a sermon, preached at Northampton, at Lent assizes: "That the Prince, who is the head, and makes his court and council, it is his duty to direct and make laws, Eccles. viii. 3, 4. He doth whatsoever pleases him. Where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, What dost thou?———If Princes command any thing which subjects may not perform, because it is against the laws of God, or of nature, or impossible, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment, without either resisting, or railing, or reviling, and so to yield a passive obedience where they cannot exhibit an active one———I know no other case, but one of those three, wherein a subject may excuse himself with passive obedience; but in all other he is bound to active obedience."

But Dr. Manwaring spoke still more plainly in one of his sermons. He said, "That the King is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subjects' rights and liberties, but that his royal will

length in his project, he was not easy: the war he had undertaken for the recovery of the Palatinate, was so slowly and unsuccessfully carried on, that it was evident he would never effect his ends by continuing it in such a manner. Hitherto, every thing had miscarried. The twelve thousand men intended for the Palatinate, under the command of Count Mansfeldt, were lost, for want of proper measures for their passage, as was shown in the reign of King James. The projected expedition against Cadiz and the Spanish West-India fleet, had met with no better success. The King of Denmark, beginning a war with the Emperor, at the instance of his nephew the King of England, was entirely defeated. The United Provinces of the Low-Countries in alliance with England, were rather in want of assistance, than able to give any. Lewis XIII. had flattered the King of England with hopes of a league against the House of Austria, only to obtain the better terms from the Spaniards in Italy, and since he had concluded a peace in that country, did not show the least inclination to join with England for the recovery of the Palatinate. Thus Charles saw himself farther than ever from the execution of his grand projects. To this may be added, that the dissolution of his two first Parliaments, without obtaining the expected supplies, rendered him contemptible to his neighbours. There was no state desirous to enter into a strict alliance with a Prince who had imprudently quarrelled with his subjects, when he most wanted their assistance. In short, though he had intended to free himself from the yoke of Parliaments, and put himself in a condition to raise what money he pleased upon his subjects, by the methods he had devised, he daily perceived he had taken wrong measures.

The King, in his present situation, seems to have had but one of these two courses to take, either to agree with his people, or make peace with Spain. By the first course, he would have been enabled to push the war he had undertaken more vigorously. By the second, he would have been freed from the trouble of demanding extraordinary supplies of his Parliament, or of raising money by unusual methods, which gained him the hatred of his people. But both these courses were contrary to his temper, his character, his projects, the interests of his favourite and ministers.

Instead of persuading the King to make a peace with Spain, they engaged him by degrees to proclaim war with France, at a time when he knew not how to continue the war he had begun with the House of Austria. To engage France to afford some pretence for the rupture which was meditating in England, the King, upon some disgust concerning the Queen's French Chaplains and domestics,* dismissed them all, having first paid what was due for wages or salaries. The King of France highly resented this breach of the marriage-treaty; but, however, did nothing that showed a design to be revenged by way of arms. So the disgust received from the Queen's domestics, who were sufficiently punished, could not serve for pretence of a rupture on the side of England, since, on the contrary, France had reason to complain of the breach of the treaty. Nevertheless, it was intended to make war upon France, under colour of supporting the Huguenots who were oppressed, and threatened with utter destruction. But when the character of the King, of the favourite, and of the ministry, is considered, it can hardly be thought, that the desire of maintaining the Protestant religion, such as it was in France, was the real motive of this war. The King and his whole court mortally hated the Presbyterians. The Duke of Buckingham had properly no religion at all. Weston and Conway were Catholics. Laud and Neile thought it impossible to be saved out of the church of England. How then can it be imagined that all these men, who were the King's most intimate counsellors, should combine to support in France a religion for which they had the utmost contempt? It is much more probable, that the King's ministers, seeing little likelihood of recovering the Palatinate by arms, and fearing the King would at length be tired of a fruitless war with Spain, induced him to carry his arms into France, in order still to keep him under a necessity of raising money by extraordinary methods, and thereby perpetuating his misunderstanding with his subjects, on which the continuance of their credit entirely depended. Another cause is alledged of this war with France, namely, the Duke of Buckingham's pride, who being sent to Paris to conduct the Queen into England, became enamoured of Ann of Austria, wife to Lewis the XIII.th, and had the confidence to disclose his passion. It is said, the court of France threatened him with a punishment suitable to his insolence, and refused to let him see the Queen any more, but that he swore, he would see her in spite of them all. To this oath is ascribed the resolution instilled into the King his, master, to make war upon France, in hopes it would give him an opportunity to perform his oath.

The war with France being resolved, the King declared the grounds of it to the council, namely,

I. "That the House of Austria had such an influence upon the council of France, as to prevail with them to obstruct the landing of Count Mansfeldt's army, contrary to promise, with whom the French should have joined forces, for the relief of the Palatinate, and the German Princes; which failure of performance in them, proved the ruin of that army.

II. "That having, by his mediation, prevailed for a peace between the French King and his Protestant subjects, and engaged his word, that the Protestants should observe the articles of agreement: nevertheless the King of France, contrary to the said articles, blocked up their towns, garrisons, and forts, and had committed many spoils upon them when they had done nothing in violation of the edict of peace.

III. "That the King of France had committed an example of great injustice in full peace, to seize upon one hundred and twenty English ships, with all their merchandize and artillery."

The King's design was to send a fleet to Rochelle, under colour of relieving that place, which was threatened with a siege. This affair had been managed at the court of England by the Duke of Soubize, and Monsieur St. Blancard, a gentleman of Languedoc, without the knowledge of the Rochellers. This gave occasion to suspect, that their intention was to deliver the town to the English, on pretence of relieving it. However this be, the affair was kept very private; and, ever since April, a fleet had been equipping with all expedition, without any possibility of guessing for what it was intended. When it was ready, the King gave the Duke of Buckingham a commission, which plainly showed, the affair was to be a secret. By this commission, the Duke was made Admiral of the fleet, and Commander-in-Chief of the land-forces, which should be embarked for the recovery of the Palatinate, according to such private instructions as he should receive from his Majesty.

This fleet, consisting of above a hundred ships, having on board seven thousand soldiers, sailed from Portsmouth the 7th of June, and on the 20th of July appeared before Rochelle. At the Duke's approach, the Rochel-

will and command in imposing loans and taxes, without common consent in Parliament, doth oblige the subjects' conscience upon pain of eternal damnation. That those who refused to pay this loan, offended against the law of God, and the King's supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion. And that the authority of Parliament is not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies; and that the slow proceedings of such great assemblies, were not fitted for the supply of the state's urgent necessities, but would rather produce sundry impediments to the just designs of Princes."

Archbishop Abbot was suspended from all his archiepiscopal functions, and confined to one of his country-houses, for refusing to license Sibthorp's sermon; and Manwaring, after having been sentenced by the Lords in the next Parliament, to pay a thousand pounds' fine, to make a public submission at the bars of the two Houses, and to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the Lords, after having been suspended for three years, and declared incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity, or secular office, obtained nevertheless the King's pardon, with a good benefice, and afterwards a bishopric.

* They maintained, that King Charles had no power to intermeddle with his Queen's family, because he was a heretic: and besides, they had made the Queen walk to Tyburn in devotion to pray there.

lers shut their gates for fear of a surprize, as having no notice that an English fleet was to come so near them. Presently after were seen to arrive the Duke of Soubize, with Sir William Beecher, who told them from the Duke of Buckingham, that the King of England, out of compassion to their sufferings, had sent a fleet and army to their assistance, and if they refused his aid, he declared he was fully quit of his engagement of honour and conscience for their relief. The Mayor replied in the name of the inhabitants, that they most humbly thanked his Majesty for the care he had of them; but that, being in strict union with all the rest of the Protestants in the kingdom, they could not receive into the city the offered succours, without consulting their friends, and without the previous consent of the whole body of the Huguenots. The Duke of Buckingham, finding by this answer, it would not be easy to get his troops into Rochelle, directed his course to the Isle of Rhé, where Toiras commanded. Toiras endeavoured at first to hinder the landing of the English; but as his forces were few, he was obliged to retreat to his citadel at St. Martin's, which was in a good state of defence. Had the Duke understood the art of war, he would, without losing a moment, have marched to the fort, and thereby hindered Toiras from getting in provisions. But he spent so much time in landing, and in preparing to march, that Toiras had leisure to store the place with ammunition. At last he marched to St. Martin's, and besieged it in form, but with little success. He had to deal with one more expert than himself, and who found means to keep him employed in the siege till November, though he had sent the King word he should be master of the place in eight days. Meanwhile, the King of France, who had not expected this invasion, ordered his troops to march with all speed towards the sea, and came in person to hasten the relief of the Isle of Rhé. When every thing was ready, Count Schomberg passed into the Isle with six or seven thousand men, without any opposition from the English fleet. Then he marched to St. Martin's, the siege whereof the Duke of Buckingham raised with precipitation, being vigorously pushed by the French to the very sea-side, so that it was with great difficulty that he re-embarked his remaining troops. It is said, of the seven thousand men he brought from England, nearly five thousand perished in this unfortunate expedition. It was rumoured however in England, that not above fifteen hundred were lost, and some even say, the King was made to believe it.

Whilst the Duke of Buckingham was employed in this expedition, Sir John Elliot, imprisoned for refusing to lend the King money, presented to his Majesty a petition for his liberty, which he did not ask as a favour, but as justice. He grounded his request upon several statutes which he cited, and by which he pretended to shew, that the King could not exact money from the subject by way of loan, nor were the subjects bound to submit to it. As the King then stood disposed, this petition could be of no service to the person that presented it. In November following, some other gentlemen,* committed for the same reason, brought their Habeas Corpus, that is, desired to be discharged upon bail, a privilege enjoyed by all Englishmen. This cause was pleaded very solemnly before all the judges of the realm. There were two points to be decided. The first, whether the prisoners were committed by the special command of the King, since the warden said only, "that the prisoners were detained by command of the King, signified to him by the warrant of several of the Privy-Council." Now the prisoners pleaded, that, according to law, the King's order should be produced, not barely for detaining them, but for committing them; and that besides, the signifying of the order by the Lords of the council, shewed, it was not by special command of his Majesty. The second point was, whether the King could imprison any subject without declaring the cause of the commitment, and whether in such case, the prisoners ought not to have the benefit of Habeas Corpus, that is, to be discharged upon bail. The counsel for the prisoners represented the terrible consequences of such a power in the King, since thereby the liberty of every subject would be at the King's mercy, who could detain them in prison as long as he pleased, and there would be no remedy by law. But the Judges unanimously decided against the prisoners, who were all remanded to their several prisons.

The ill success of the Isle of Rhé expedition, raised numberless complaints and murmurs against the Duke of Buckingham, who had many enemies. Multitudes were lost in that unfortunate undertaking, and, among the rest, Major-General Burroughs, one of the best officers in England; and these misfortunes were imputed to the Duke of Buckingham's incapacity, who had never been in the wars, and knew nothing of the sea-service, though the King had made him both Admiral and Captain-General. To these complaints were added others upon other accounts. The mariners complained they had received no wages for three years past, and deserted in great numbers, not to be forced to serve any longer without pay. The merchants made bitter complaints, that the seas were neglected, that within three years they had lost a great number of ships, and that the fishermen were taken almost in the very harbours. In a word, no one ventured to build any new ships, because, as soon as they were ready, the King seized them for his service, against the will of the owners.

The King did not much regard all these complaints, which perhaps reached him not; but he was very attentive to the petition which the Rochellers, upon the point of being besieged, sent him by their deputies, for relief. He had engaged in a war with France, upon his good opinion of his fleet, and of his favourite's ability; and though experience shewed him this opinion was ill-grounded, he would proceed, let what would be the consequence. Meanwhile, he saw himself without money, and the opposition he met with in the affair of the loan, made him sensible how difficult it would be to raise it by such methods. For this reason he consulted Sir Robert Cotton, upon the present situation of his affairs. Cotton advised him to call a Parliament, as the best means to free himself from all difficulties. But as Sir Robert foresaw the House of Commons would attack the Duke of Buckingham, he advised withal, that the Duke might be the first, who, in full council, should move the calling of the Parliament. This advice was followed, and, the Duke having acted his part, the Parliament was summoned by the unanimous resolution of the council, to meet the 17th of March 1628. Immediately after, warrants were sent to all parts to release the imprisoned and confined Gentlemen for the affair of the loan-money, and the King had the mortification to see almost all of them, to the number of twenty-seven, chosen to serve for representatives in the ensuing Parliament.† He sent writs of summons also to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was confined to one of his houses, to the Bishop of Lincoln prisoner in the Tower, and to the Earl of Bristol. At the same time, the council ordered the Lord Mayor of London to use moderation in demanding the loan-money.

The Parliament being assembled the 17th of March, 1628, the King made a speech to both houses; in which he told them, that "if they should not do their duties, in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put in his hands, in order to save that which the follies of some particular men may otherwise put in danger. Take not this for a threatening," added the King, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition from him who by nature and duty, has most care of your preservation and prosperity." The Lord Keeper, by the King's direction, subjoined, "This way of Parliamentary supplies, as his Majesty told you, he hath chosen, not as the only way, but as the fittest; not because he is destitute of others, but because it is most agreeable to the goodness of his own most gracious disposition, and to the desire and weal of

* Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Hevingham, Sir Edward Hampden.

† There were released, in all, seventy-eight.

his

his people. If this be deferred, necessity and the sword of the enemy make way for the others. Remember his Majesty's admonition; I say, remember it."

The King does not seem to have made use of proper means to gain the good-will of the Commons. But it must be observed, that nothing was more opposite to his temper, than to stoop to court his Parliament.

After the two Houses had presented a petition to the King for a fast, the Commons began to examine the grievances of the nation, and seemed determined to grant no supply till these grievances were redressed. The first they took into consideration were, billeting of soldiers, loans by benevolence and Privy-Seals, imprisonment of gentlemen refusing to lend, denial of release upon Habeas Corpus; and several speeches were made upon these occasions. Sir Francis Seymour, among other things, said——"How can we think of giving subsidies, till we know whether we have any thing to give or no? For if his Majesty be persuaded by any to take from his subjects what he will, and where it pleaseth him; I would gladly know what we have to give?"——"Hath it not been preached in our pulpits, that all we have is the King's JURE DIVINO?"—— Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards so well known by the name of Earl of Strafford, distinguished himself by a speech against the government. He said truly, these things were not to be imputed to the King but to the Projectors, that is, to the ministers or others who had formed the design of stretching the prerogative beyond its due bounds, of whom he spoke in this manner: "They have brought the crown into greater want than ever, by anticipating the revenues: and can the shepherd be thus smitten, and the sheep not scattered? They have introduced a Privy-Council, and, ravishing at once the spheres of all ancient government, imprison us without either bail or bond; they have taken from us, what? What shall I say indeed, what have they left us? All means of supplying the King and ingratiating ourselves with him, taking up the root of all propriety."——Sir Edward Coke, a great lawyer, spoke chiefly to the grievance of the loans, and said, among other things: "Who will give subsidies, if the King may impose what he will? And if after Parliament, the King may enhance what he pleaseth?—— The King cannot tax any by way of loans"——Thereupon he quoted the statute of 25 Edward III. wherein it is said, that "loans against the will of the subject, are against reason, and the franchises of the land." Another, speaking of the imprisonment of those who had refused to lend the King money, said,——"O improvident ancestors! O unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and liberties of Parliament, and to neglect our persons and bodies, and to let them die in prison, and that durante beneplacito, remediless: if this be law, what do we talk of our liberties? Why do we trouble ourselves with the dispute of law, franchises, propriety of good? What may a man call his, if not liberty?"

The court-party durst not oppose this general sentiment, but endeavoured by several arguments, to intimate, that to gain his Majesty's good will, supplies were in the first place to be granted. Then, they gave hopes, that the King, moved with such a mark of affection for his person, would not be against redressing the grievances. To make a diversion, Secretary Coke presented to the House certain propositions from the King, concerning supply; but it was resolved, that the reading thereof shall be deferred till the House had taken some resolution with respect to the grievances, especially the imprisonment of the subjects, and denial of bail. There were very great debates upon these points, and the Judges themselves were heard. At last, the House came to the following resolutions, directly contrary to the King's pretensions, and the Judges' determinations: that is, they established maxims opposite to those of the King; namely,

"I. That no freeman ought to be detained or kept in prison, or otherwise restrained by the command of the King or Privy-Council, or any other, unless some cause of the commitment, detainer, or restraint, be expressed, for which by law he ought to be committed, detained, or restrained.

"II. That the writ of Habeas Corpus may not be denied, but ought to be granted to every man that is committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, though it be by the command of the King, the Privy-Council, or any other, he praying the same.

"III. That if a freeman be committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained by the command of the King, the Privy-Council, or any other, no cause of such commitment, detainer, or restraint being expressed, for which by law he ought to be committed, detained, or restrained, and the same be returned upon a Habeas Corpus, granted for the said party, then he ought to be delivered or bailed.

"IV. That it is the ancient and indubitable right of every freeman, that he hath a full and absolute property in his goods and estate; that no tax, tallage, loan, benevolence, or other like charge, ought to be commanded or levied by the King, or any of his ministers, without common consent by act of Parliament."

A. D. 1628.] The propositions tendered the day before, by Secretary Coke, from his Majesty, were now received and read, as follows:—

"To furnish with men and victuals thirty ships to guard the narrow seas, and along the coasts; to set out ten other ships for the relief of the town of Rochelle; to set out ten other ships for the preservation of the Elbe, the Sound, and the Baltic sea; to levy arms, clothe, victual, pay, and transport an army of ten thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, for foreign service; to pay and supply six thousand more for the service of Denmark; to supply the forts of the office of ordnance; to supply the stores of the navy; to build twenty ships yearly for the increase of the navy; to repair the forts within the land; to pay the arrears of the office of ordnance; to pay the arrears of the victuallers' office; to pay the arrears of the treasure of the navy; to pay the arrears due for the freight of divers merchant-ships employed in his Majesty's service; and to provide a magazine for victuals for land and sea-service."

The House easily perceived, by the reading of these articles, that it would be a work of infinite labour, to examine the necessity and justice of each; and as there were no estimates made, they plainly saw, if they should take the particulars into consideration, the court would mount the expence very high. Wherefore, without entering into any discussion, they resolved in general to grant the King a large supply.

After that, they returned to the examination of this particular grievance, that the King's council, by their bare authority, had confined to their houses, some that refused to lend money; had sent away others to distant places from their homes; and constrained some, on the same account, to go and serve the King in foreign countries. Upon this point, Sir Thomas Wentworth said, "If any man owe a man a displeasure, and shall procure him to be put into foreign employment, it will be a matter of high concernment to the subject: We know the honour and justice of the King, but we know not what his ministers, or the mediation of Ambassadors may do, to work their own wrath upon any man." These debates produced this resolution:

"That no freeman ought to be confined by any command from the King, or Privy-Council, or any other, unless it be by act of Parliament, or by other due course, or warrant of law."

All these determinations promised the King no good with respect to his prerogative; and as he feared the Commons would again attack the Duke of Buckingham, he tried to divert them from it by a message delivered to the House by Secretary Coke. It was upon a rumour, that the Duke had spoken ill of the Parliament at the council-board. The King assured, that it was not true, and the Secretary added, if the Duke had so spoken, he would have contradicted himself, for the whole council could bear him witness, he was the first mover of calling the Parliament.

The next day, the King sent another message to the Commons, desiring them to take the affair of supply

into consideration. He told them likewise, that, as to the freedom of persons, and propriety of goods, he was willing to come into any expedients which should be judged convenient, by way of bill, or otherwise; and that the more confidence they should shew in his grace and goodness, the more they should prevail to obtain their desires.

Upon this message, the House unanimously voted five subsidies to the King,* but returned immediately to the examination of grievances, and held a conference with the Lords upon that subject.

Easter holidays approaching, the King sent and desired the Commons not to adjourn, that affairs might be the more speedily dispatched. This message occasioned a debate, some members fearing such a precedent might be a prejudice to the privileges of the House, and the King for the future think he had power to hinder an adjournment when he pleased. But at length it was resolved to do as the King desired.

The 11th of April, Secretary Coke moved the dispatch of the subsidies, saying, the votes to grant the King money were nothing till turned into a bill. But being opposed by several, it was resolved, that grievances and supply should go hand in hand.

The day following, Coke brought another message from the King to the House, to this effect: "That his Majesty had long since expected some fruit of that which was so happily begun; but finding a stop beyond all expectation, his command was, that without any further delay, they should proceed in the affair of supply. For, notwithstanding his consenting that supply and grievances should go together, his meaning was not, that the one should give interruption to the other, nor the time be spun out on any pretence. And therefore bade them take heed, that they did not force him to make an unpleasing end of what was so well begun."

This message did the King great injury.

I. Because of the threatening.

II. By reason of his instances, that the affair of supply should be dispatched before that of grievances: for it was not doubted, that if the first were finished, the Parliament would be immediately prorogued.

III. Lastly, the King's unwillingness to redress the grievances, was a clear evidence, he would never be brought to it of his own accord, and consequently it was necessary to constrain him thereto. This was the more probable, as Coke, when he delivered the message, added, "That the King would willingly hear any thing concerning the abuses of power, but not about power itself." These expressions were liable to many cavils, and plainly intimated, that the King reserved to himself, by this restriction, a means to evade the grievances. And indeed, Coke being moved to explain what he meant by the word power, refused it.

Two days after, the Secretary delivered another message from the King, to hasten the affair of supply. These messages, which came thus one upon another, gave frequent occasions to the court-party to press the House to content his Majesty. All their speeches upon this head met in one point; namely, to inspire the House with a dread, that a quarrel between them and the King, would be fatal to Parliaments, and give the King occasion to proceed without them for the future.†

The Commons, therefore, resolved to desire an audience, in order to answer all his Majesty's messages, and to present to him, withal, a petition concerning the billeting of soldiers upon the subject.

The manner in which the King and the Commons transacted their affairs together is very pleasant. There was nothing but evasion and artifice on both sides. They expressed not their real thoughts when they spoke to each other, and yet they understood each other perfectly. The King took advantage of the Commons' using obscure insinuations, instead of speaking plainly. On the other hand, though the King had no design to redress grievances, he would have it thought, he intended it as soon as the affair of supply was dispatched. He accordingly advised them to avoid disputations, and to proceed with the necessary business of supply, relying on him for the necessary preservation of their true liberties; lest both his prerogative and their freedom might be put to hazard in favour of the enemy.

The Commons had prepared a petition to be presented to the King in the name of both Houses, to which they desired the concurrence of the Lords. This petition was termed the Petition of Right, because it was pretended not to desire of the King any grace or favour, but only the maintenance of the liberties of the subject. For this reason, it was to be solemnly presented to the King on his throne, by way of bill, and the King was to reply to it in a parliamentary manner. A draught of it had been sent to the Lords for their concurrence.‡ The King was alarmed at it. He was desirous to avoid receiving such a petition, which too plainly established the rights of the people, because he saw, if he rejected it, he should lose the five subsidies, the bill not being yet passed. On the other hand, in granting the contents of the petition, he himself tied up his hands for the future, and confessed withal, that the acts of authority he had hitherto exercised, were contrary to law. Into this streight precisely it was that the Commons meant to draw him by the Petition of Right. Wherefore he omitted nothing in his power to divert this blow. As he had a great influence in the Upper House, he so managed, that the Lords, by pretending to agree with the Commons upon the substance of the petition, moved the praying his Majesty to make the following declarations:—

"I. That the good old law called Magna Charta, and the six statutes, conceived to be declarations and explanations of that law, do still stand in force to all intents and purposes.

"II. That his Majesty would be pleased graciously to declare, that according to Magna Charta, and the statutes afore-named, as also according to the most ancient customs and laws of this land, every free subject

* The King thankfully received them, and acknowledged it the greatest gift that ever was given in Parliament. He added, that he liked Parliaments at the first, though, since, he was grown to a distaste of them; but now he loves them, and shall rejoice to meet with his people often.

† As the King himself, and the Lord Keeper (by his order) had frequently made use of the same means to frighten the Commons, it could not be doubted, that these men spoke pursuant to the intentions, and perhaps by the order, of the court. A Privy-Counsellor's speech in the Lower House last Parliament was not yet forgotten, and of which the Commons had thought fit to take notice, in the remonstrance they would have presented to the King. The design of that speech was to intimate to the Commons, that if they did not content the King, they would run the risque of being the cause of no more Parliaments in England. This threat, so often insinuated by the King himself, by the Lord Keeper, by members of the House known to be devoted to the court, sometimes in dark, sometimes in plain terms, had a quite contrary effect to what the King expected. Instead of terrifying the Commons, it convinced them, how watchful they ought to be of the King's proceedings, lest their condescension, or even their silence, should authorise some things very prejudicial to the liberties of the nation, whom they represented. "What!" said most of the members among themselves, "we are threatened, that if we do not grant the King whatever he requires, and when he pleases; if we oppose his pleasure, even when contrary to the laws, he will govern without a Parliament, that is, with an unlimited power; he will imprison our persons, sieze our estates, and consider the whole kingdom as his property! But he does not only threaten us, he has put his threats in execution already. Which then is best, either for him to usurp an absolute power against our will, or for us to suffer it, nay, approve it by our silence, and servile fears? Of the two, certainly the first is least dangerous. A time may come, when the King shall have occasion for Parliaments, and then we shall be able to recover the ground we shall have lost. But if we betray the interest of our country, by tamely yielding to the King the power he would assume, our liberty will be irrecoverably lost. We shall lay upon ourselves and posterity, a yoke which our forefathers could never bear, and be held in abhorrence by the whole nation. And after all, what shall we gain by our condescension? Why, the King will continue the use of Parliaments, provided he shall be absolute master; order them to give him such a sum, and by such a time; forbid them to examine grievances; in a word, manage them entirely as he pleases. Thus we shall prevent the King's governing without a Parliament, but shall establish a precedent which will render Parliaments for ever slaves to the King and his ministers."

‡ The King's serjeant, Ashley, said in his discourse, that "the propositions made by the Commons tended rather to anarchy than monarchy, and that they must allow the King to govern by acts of State." For which the Lords committed him, and he recanted.

of this realm hath a fundamental property in his goods, and a fundamental liberty of his person.

"III. That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to declare, that it is his royal pleasure to ratify and confirm unto all and every his loyal and faithful subjects, all their ancient, several, just liberties, privileges, and rights, in as ample and beneficial a manner, to all intents and purposes, as their ancestors did enjoy the same under the best of his most noble progenitors.

"IV. That his Majesty would be further pleased graciously to declare, for the good content of his loyal subjects, and for the securing them from future fear, that in all cases within the cognizances of the common-law, concerning the liberties of the subject, his Majesty would proceed according to the common law of this land, and according to the laws established in the kingdom, and in no other manner or wise.

"V. As touching his Majesty's royal prerogative, intrinsical to his Sovereignty, and betrusted him withal from God, ad communem totius populi salutem, et non ad destructionem, that his Majesty would resolve, not to use or divert the same, to the prejudice of any of his loyal people in the property of their goods, or liberty of their persons: and in case, for the security of his Majesty's royal person, the common safety of his people, or the peaceable government of this kingdom, his Majesty shall find just cause, for reason of state, to imprison or restrain any man's person, his Majesty would graciously declare, that within a convenient time he shall, and will, express the cause of the commitment or restraint, either general or special; and upon a cause so expressed, will leave him immediately to be tried according to the common justice of the kingdom."

But the Commons avoided the snare, plainly perceiving it was only an artifice to evade the Petition of Right, which would become useless, after these declarations. Indeed, there was a great difference between these declarations, and what was required in the petition. The declarations were all expressed in general terms, which gave the King room to cavil upon the performance of each article, as he had done in the affair of the loans, and the imprisonment of those that refused to comply. In those cases, the King did not pretend to act contrary to the laws, but rather thought himself authorized by the law; and the Judges of the realm had countenanced his pretensions. But the Petition of Right was more full and express, and left but little room for cavils. On the other hand the difference was not less, between the direct and Parliamentary reply demanded by the Commons, and the bare and general declarations which were not capable of contenting the people. So, the Commons entirely rejected the proposition of the Lords.

The King, not succeeding in his design, by means of the Upper-House, tried to satisfy the Commons, by making them, of his own accord, the same offers the Lords had seemed only to desire of him. To that purpose, having sent for both Houses to Whitehall, the Lord-Keeper, in his presence, addressed them in a very artful speech on the subject. The Commons, however, avoided this snare, as the former, and firmly adhered to the Petition of Right. A few days after, Secretary Coke brought a fresh message from the King, to know whether the House would rest on his royal word, declared to them by the Lord Keeper; which if they would do, he assured them, it should be royally performed.

This message occasioned great debates, because Coke and the rest of the court-party used their utmost endeavours, to persuade the House to what the King proposed, that is, to lay aside the Petition of Right, and rest upon his Majesty's promise. Sir Thomas Wentworth concluded the debate, saying, "That never House of Parliament trusted more in the goodness of their King, for their own private persons, than the present, but we are ambitious that his Majesty's goodness may remain to posterity, and we are accountable to a public trust: and therefore, seeing there hath been a public violation of the laws by his ministers, nothing will satisfy him but a public amends; and our desires to vindicate the subject's right by bill, are no more than are laid down in former laws, with some modest provision for instruction, performance, and execution." This so well agreed with the sense of the House, that they made it the subject of a message, to be delivered by the Speaker, to his Majesty.

Amidst those deliberations, another message was delivered from his Majesty, by Secretary Coke, to this effect: "That howsoever we proceed in this business we have in hand, which his Majesty will not doubt, but to be according to our constant profession, and so as he may have cause to give us thanks; yet his resolution is, that both his royal care, and hearty and tender affection towards all his loving subjects, shall appear to the whole kingdom, and all the world, that he will govern us according to the laws and customs of this realm; that he will maintain us in the liberties of our persons, and properties of our goods, so as we may enjoy as much happiness as our forefathers in their best times; and, that he will rectify what hath been, or may be, found amiss among us, so that hereafter there may be no just cause to complain. Wherein, as his Majesty will rank himself amongst the best of King's, and show he hath no intention to invade or impeach our lawful liberties, or right; so he will have us to match ourselves with the best subjects, not by incroaching upon that sovereignty or prerogative, which God hath put into his hands for our good, but by containing ourselves within the bounds and laws of our forefathers, without restraining them, or enlarging them by new explanations, interpretations, expositions, or additions in any sort, which he telleth us, he will not give way unto.

"That the weight of the affairs of the kingdom and Christendom do press him more and more, and that the time is now grown to that point of maturity, that it cannot endure long debate or delay; so as this session of Parliament must continue no longer than Tuesday come seven-night at the furthest: in which time his Majesty, for his part, will be ready to perform what he promised; and if the House be not as ready to do what is fit for themselves, it shall be their own faults.

"And upon assurance of our good dispatch and correspondence, his Majesty declareth, that his royal intention is to have another session of Parliament at Michaelmas next, for the perfecting of such things as cannot now be done."

All this was not able to divert the Commons from their purpose of turning the Petition of Right into an act of Parliament. The threat of putting an end to the session frightened them not, the King having gone too far to recede. The only point was to know, whether he would grant by bill, what he was willing to grant any other way; and he could not break with the Parliament on that account, without forfeiting entirely the love of his people, and losing the five subsidies. So the Commons would not miss this opportunity of firmly establishing the rights of the subject; but, through the medium of their Speaker, they respectfully informed the King, that no less than a public remedy would raise the dejected hearts of his loving subjects, to a cheerful supply for his Majesty, or make them receive content in the proceedings of this House.

His Majesty, in his answer, delivered by the Lord Keeper, still endeavoured to evade the demand. Yet, said the Lord Keeper, to show clearly the sincerity of his Majesty's intentions, he is content that a bill be drawn for a confirmation of Magna Charta, and the other six statutes, insisted upon for the subjects' liberties, if he shall chuse that as the best way; but so as it may be without additions, paraphrases, or explanations.

Secretary Coke also pressed the House to rely on the King's word, notwithstanding the intimation of his good pleasure for a bill. "The matter fallen now into consideration," said he, "is what way to take, whether to rely on his Majesty's word, or on a bill: If we will consider the advantage we have in taking his Majesty's word, it will be of the largest extent, and we shall chuse that that hath most assurance; an act of Parliament is by the

the consent of the King and Parliament; but this assurance by word, is, that he will govern us by the laws; the King promises that, and also, that they shall be so executed, that we shall enjoy as much freedom as ever: this contains many laws, and a grant of all good laws; nay, it contains a confirmation of those very laws; assurance, which binds the King further than the law can: first, it binds his affection, which is the greatest bond between King and subject, and that binds his judgment also, nay, his honour, and that not at home, but abroad; the royal word of a King is the ground of all treaty; nay, it binds his conscience: this confirmation between both Houses, is in nature of a vow; for my part, I think it is the greatest advantage to rely on his Majesty's word." He further added, "this debate was fitter to be done before the House, and not before the committee, and that it was a new course to go to a committee of the whole House."

The Commons, however, did not think proper to receive the secretary's instructions, or alter their usual method. The House therefore was turned into a committee, to take into consideration, all that could be said for or against what the King desired. The general sense of the House was expressed as follows, by one of the members, with whom the majority agreed:—

"Was it ever known," said he, "that general words were a sufficient satisfaction to particular grievances? Was ever a verbal declaration of the King, verbum regni? When grievances be, the Parliament is to redress them. Did ever Parliament rely on messages? They put up petitions of their grievances, and the King never answered them: the King's answer is very gracious; but what is the law of the realm? that is the question. I put no diffidence in his Majesty: the King must speak by a record, and in particulars, and not in general. Did you ever know the King's message come into a bill of subsidies? All succeeding Kings will say, ye must trust me as well as ye did my predecessors, and trust my messages; but messages of love never came into a Parliament. Let us put up a Petition of Right: not that I distrust the King, but that I cannot take his trust, but in a Parliamentary way."

As the Commons had resolved that supply and grievances should go hand in hand, the Petition of Right was no sooner ready, but they made a further progress in the affair of the subsidies, ordering that the two first should be paid the 10th of July, one more the 12th of October, another the 20th of December, and the last the 1st of March. This was done to take from the King all pretence of complaining, that the affair of supply was neglected; but this did not satisfy him. He wished the subsidy bill to be drawn and passed, before the Petition of Right was presented to him, which the Commons were fully resolved not to do, being persuaded, that as soon as the subsidy bill should be passed, the Parliament would be prorogued or dissolved. So, that same day, they sent the Petition of Right to the Lords for their concurrence.*

The Lords, being employed in examining the Petition of Right, desired a conference with the Commons, when the Lord Keeper said, he had proposed to the House, some alterations in the petition, to render it less harsh, and more agreeable to his Majesty, to the end, what was desired might be the more readily obtained. The Lords moved, the adding to the petition a clause which would have rendered it useless, at least, according to the court's intention, by whom the House of Lords was directed. The additional clause was as follows:

"We present this our humble petition to your Majesty, with the care not only of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that sovereign power wherewith your Majesty is trusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people."

This addition was examined and debated with great exactness in the House of Commons, and the general opinion was, that it ought to be rejected, chiefly for three reasons. The first, because of the ambiguity of the words Sovereign Power, which the Parliaments had never used in speaking of the King's prerogatives. The second, because this addition was in the nature of a saving of the King's sovereignty, which rendered the petition of no force. It was alledged, that, in the reign of Edward I. the Parliament having presented the like petition to the King, he would have added these words, "Saving the King's right and sovereignty;" but the Parliament would not consent to it, because such savings render useless whatever they are annexed to. It was said likewise, that, for the same reason, the Kings would never suffer the clergy to insert in any of their acts, "Saving the honour of God and the church." The third reason was, that if this addition was general, and had no reference to the petition, there was no need of admitting it. But if, on the contrary, it did refer to the petition, it evidently rendered the petition of no effect.

This clause being thus rejected by the Commons, the Lords durst not throw out the petition on account of this addition, which in truth, was not absolutely necessary. So, being satisfied with giving the King this testimony of their affection for his service, they insisted no longer upon the additional clause. Then the two Houses resolved to present the petition to the King, and to pray his Majesty to give his answer in full Parliament, that it might be enrolled and serve hereafter for rule to the courts of justice, as an act of Parliament.† The 2d of June, the King came to the Parliament to give the royal assent to the Petition of Right, and

* It was carried up by Sir Edward Coke, Sir Dudley Diggs, and Mr. Littleton. Six weeks were spent in hearing the King's council against the petition, and the Commons' defence of it.

† This important petition was as follows:—

"*To the King's most excellent Majesty,*

"Humbly shew unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that, whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute, made in the time of the reign of King Edward I. commonly called Statutum de Tallagio non Concedendo, that no tallage or aid should be laid or levied, by the King or his heirs, in this realm; without the good-will and assent of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, Knights, Burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: and by authority of Parliament holden in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the King against his will, because such loans were against reason, and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition, called a benevolence nor by such like charge; by which the statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in Parliament.

"Yet nevertheless, of late, divers commissions, directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have been issued, by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your Majesty, and many of them upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance, and give attendance before your privy council, and in other places; and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your Majesty, or your privy-council, against the laws and free customs of the realm.

"And whereas also by the statute called, The Great Charter of the Liberties of England, it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his Peers, or by the law of the land.

"And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III. it was declared and enacted by authority of Parliament, that no man of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

"Nevertheless against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned, without any cause shewed; and when for their deliverance they were brought before your justices, by your Majesty's writs of Habeas Corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded

and spoke thus to both Houses. However, instead of the usual concise and clear form, by which a bill is confirmed or rejected, Charles expressed himself as follows:—

"The King willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof, he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative."

The Commons, surprised, and dissatisfied with the King's answer, made no haste to finish the affair of supply. On the contrary, they desired a conference with the Lords, where the point of commitments was thoroughly discussed. The thing in question was, the power assumed by the King to imprison the subjects, without declaring the cause, which the King had not lessened by his answer, though it was one of the chief motives of the Petition of Right. Wherefore the Commons, instead of proceeding with the subsidy bill, returned to the consideration of grievances. On this occasion, and at the instance of the Commons, the Lords passed upon Dr. Manwaring, the sentence already mentioned.

The King, seeing the Commons otherwise employed than in the business of subsidies, sent them a message, apprising them, that the session was drawing near to a conclusion, and desiring that they would not enter upon new business, or cast any aspersions on his government and ministry.

This message made the Commons believe, the Duke of Buckingham had done them ill offices with the King. This was mentioned in the House, and Sir John Elliot standing up, and beginning to speak in such manner that it was thought he was going to fall upon the favourite and ministry, the Speaker started from the chair, and said, "There is a command laid upon me, that I must command you not to proceed." Whereupon Elliot sat down. But others more bold proposed to go and show their dangers to the Lords, and then carry their complaints together to the King. Some of the court party saying, that the speech lately spoken by Sir John Elliot had given offence to his Majesty, the House declared: "That every member is free from any undutiful speech, from the beginning of the Parliament to that day;" and ordered, that the House be turned into a committee, to consider what is fit to be done for the safety of the kingdom; and that no man go out upon pain of going to the Tower. But Sir John Finch, the Speaker, desiring leave to go out, obtained it, and immediately informed the King of what was passing in the House. In his absence it was debated, and was about to be voted by a majority, to make a remonstrance to the King, wherein it should be said that the Duke of Buckingham was the chief cause of all the miseries of the kingdom. But before the debate was ended, the Speaker returned with a message from the King, commanding the House to adjourn till next day, and all committees to cease in the meantime. The Lords received the same order. On the morrow the Speaker brought another message from the King; but, the Commons not being more satisfied with this message than the former, the House was again turned into a committee, and considered of some more heads to be inserted in the remonstrance, particularly the King's design to bring into the nation foreign forces.*

At the same time, the Commons sent a message to the Lords, to desire their concurrence in an humble petition to the King, that a clear and satisfactory answer be given by his Majesty in full Parliament to the Petition of Right; to which the Lords consented. The King knew then, it was not possible for him to avoid giving such an answer as the Parliament desired, and therefore at last to do it with a good grace, otherwise he saw plainly the affair of supply would be for ever delayed. So, coming to the Parliament the 7th of June, he pronounced the usual form of words: Soit droit fait comme il est desiré (Let it be law as is desired) C. R.

The Commons being satisfied upon this point, began seriously to proceed with the bill of subsidies, but in such a manner, that they made the consideration of grievances go hand in hand with it, knowing, as soon as the money bill was passed, the King would put an end to the session. They began, therefore, with examining a commission, whereby the King had autho-

---

commanded to certify the causes of their detainer; no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your Majesty's special command, signified by the Lords of your privy-council, and yet were returned back to several prisons without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer according to the law.

"And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

"And whereas also by authority of Parliament in the 25th year of the reign of King Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that no man should be fore-judged of life or limb, against the form of the Great Charter, and the law of the land, and by the said Great Charter, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death, but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of Parliament: and whereas no offender of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm; nevertheless, of late time, divers commissions under your Majesty's great seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever; and by summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

"By pretext whereof, some of your Majesty's subjects have been by some of the said commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

"And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof, claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused, or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid; which commissions, and all others of like nature, are wholely and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

"They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: and that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in the time to come: and that the aforesaid commissions for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter, no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, least by colour of them, any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

"All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings, to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: and that your Majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that, in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your Majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom."

* This complaint was grounded upon a discovery the House had made of a privy seal, expressed in these words:—

"*Charles, by the grace of God, &c.*

"To the treasurer, and under treasurer for our exchequer for the time being, greeting: we do hereby will and command you, out of our treasury, remaining in the receipt of our said exchequer, forthwith to pay, or cause to be paid unto Philip Burlemac of London, merchant, the sum of thirty thousand pounds, to be paid by him over by bill of exchange into the Low Countries, and Germany, unto our trusty and well beloved Sir William Balfour, Knight, and John Dolbier Esq. or either of them, for levying and providing certain numbers of horses, with arms for horse and foot, to be brought over into this kingdom for our service, viz. &c."

Burlemac was called into the House, where he confessed that he had received the money here mentioned.

rised and required a certain number of Lords and gentlemen to consider of the best and speediest means for raising money upon the people by way of imposition or otherwise. After a conference with the Lords, they voted that the commission should be inserted in the remonstrance they were to present to the King.

Then they entered upon the examination of Buckingham's conduct. He was charged with being the cause of all the evils to the kingdoms, of the losses at sea, of the decay of trade, of the disasters to the armies, and of countenancing Arminianism and Popery. In short, the House came to this resolution, "That the excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham is the cause of the evils and dangers to the King and kingdom, and that this be added to the remonstrance;" and a few days after voted, "that Dr. Neile, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, be named to be those about the King, who are suspected to be Arminians."*

The Commons, though they had already granted the King the supply of five subsidies, still retained a pledge in their hands, which they thought ensured them success in all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by Parliament; and the Commons had artfully, this session, concealed their intention of invading that branch of revenue, till the royal assent had been obtained to the Petition of Right, which they justly deemed of such importance. They then openly asserted, that the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the Petition of Right, so lately granted. The King, in order to prevent the finishing and presenting of their intended remonstrance on the subject, came suddenly to the Parliament, and ended this session by a prorogation, on the 26th of June.

Presently after the prorogation of the Parliament, the King published several proclamations. The first was to suppress Dr. Manwaring's sermons, intituled, "Religion, and Allegiance." But this suppression consisted only in an order to such as had any copies of these sermons, to deliver them to the secretary of state, or some other magistrate.

By another proclamation, Richard Smith, titular Bishop of Chalcedon, was ordered to be apprehended, with all other priests and jesuits that had taken orders by authority from the see of Rome, and after conviction to be committed to the castle of Wisbech. Some Jesuits having been taken and sent to Newgate, the King ordered, that if they were found guilty, they should be carried to the same castle of Wisbech in the Isle of Ely. These were all the proceedings of the court against the Papists.

On the other hand, the King took a course which gave a much worse opinion of his own, or his ministers' zeal for religion. First, he appointed commissioners to compound with recusants. Secondly, Sir Richard Weston, a known Papist, was made Lord Treasurer, and afterwards Earl of Portland. Thirdly, Dr. Laud, who was considered as head of the Arminians, in the judgment of the House of Commons, was translated from Bath and Wells, to the Bishopric of London. Fourthly, Dr. Montague, who had given so great offence by his book, intituled, "An Appeal to Cæsar," was promoted to the see of Chichester.†

The town of Rochelle being at this time closely besieged by the King of France, the King had prepared a fleet to relieve it, and the Duke of Buckingham, who was to have the command, was now at Portsmouth. But when he was going to embark, he was stabbed to the heart with a knife, and immediately died. The assassin was one John Felton, a Lieutenant, who owned, that after the declaration of the Commons, against the Duke, he had looked upon him as an enemy to his country, and had been thereby induced to commit the deed. It appeared by his trial, that he had no accomplice, and was led to this wicked action by an excess of zeal.‡ The King, being then at Sir Daniel Norton's, near Portsmouth seemed extremely concerned for the Duke's death, and, to give him, even after his death, continual marks of his affection, his creatures remained in the same favour and posts they had enjoyed in the life-time of their protector.

Meanwhile, as the relief of Rochelle could not be delayed any longer, the King sent away the fleet designed for that purpose. But Cardinal Richelieu had used so great diligence, that the barricado he was making, to hinder the approach of the English ships, was finished, so that the fleet was forced to return without effecting any thing, after having seen Rochelle taken.§

* In this remonstrance, the Commons recapitulated all national grievances and misfortunes, and omitted no circumstance which could render the whole administration despicable and odious. The compositions with Catholics, they said, amounted to no less than a toleration, hateful to God, full of dishonour and disprofit to his Majesty, and of extreme scandal and grief to his good people: they took notice of the violations of the liberty of the subject, against which the Petition of Right seems to have provided a sufficient remedy; they mentioned the decay of trade, the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the Isle of Rhé, the encouragement given to Arminians, the commission for transporting German horse, that for levying illegal impositions; and all these grievances they ascribed solely to the ill conduct of the Duke of Buckingham.

† Manwaring also (having with Montague procured a royal pardon of all errors) was, notwithstanding his being disabled by the House of Lords from all future preferments, immediately presented to the rectory of Stamford Rivers, with a dispensation to hold St. Giles's in the Fields.

‡ Felton was of a good family, but of an ardent melancholic temper. He had served under the Duke in the station of Lieutenant. His Captain being killed in the retreat at the Isle of Rhé, Felton had applied for the company; and when disappointed, he threw up his commission, and retired in discontent from the army. While private resentment was boiling in his sullen, unsociable mind, he heard the nation resound with complaints against the Duke; and he met with the remonstrance of the Commons, in which his enemy was represented as the cause of every national grievance, and as the great enemy of the public. Religious fanaticism further inflamed these vindicative reflections; and he fancied that he should do heaven acceptable service, if, at one blow, he dispatched this dangerous foe to religion and his country. Full of these dark views he secretly arrived at Portsmouth, at the same time with the Duke, and watched for an opportunity of effecting his bloody purpose.—Buckingham had been engaged in conversation with Soubize and other French gentlemen; and a difference of sentiment having arisen, the dispute, though conducted with temper and decency, had produced some of those vehement gesticulations and lively exertions of voice, in which that nation, more than the English, are apt to indulge themselves. The conversation being finished, the Duke drew towards the door; and in that passage, turning himself to speak to Sir Thomas Friar, a Colonel in the army, he was on a sudden, over Sir Thomas's shoulder, struck upon the breast with a knife. Without uttering other words than "The villain has killed me," in the same moment pulling out the knife, he breathed his last. No man had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it; but in the confusion, every one made his own conjecture; and all agreed that the murder had been committed by the French gentlemen, whose angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words had not been understood by the by-standers. In the hurry of revenge, they had instantly been put to death, had they not been saved by some of more temper and judgment, who, though they had the same opinion of their guilt, thought proper to reserve them for a judicial trial and examination.—Near the door there was found a hat, in the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing four or five lines of that remonstrance of the Commons which declared Buckingham an enemy of the kingdom; and under these lines was a short ejaculation, or attempt towards a prayer. It was easily concluded that this hat belonged to the assassin: but the difficulty still remained, "Who that person should be?" For the writing discovered not the name, and, whoever he was, it was natural to believe that he had already fled far enough not to be found without a hat. In this hurry, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door. One crying out, "Here is the fellow who killed the Duke," every body ran to ask, "Which is he?" The man very sedately answered, "I am he." The more furious immediately rushed upon him with drawn swords: others, more deliberate, defended and protected him: he himself, with open arms, calmly and cheerfully exposed his breast to the swords of the most enraged; being willing to fall a sudden sacrifice to their anger, rather than be reserved for that public justice which, he knew, must be executed upon him. He was now known to be that Felton who had served in the army. Being carried into a private room, it was thought proper so far to dissemble as to tell him, that Buckingham was indeed grievously wounded, but not without hopes of recovery. Felton smiled, and told them, that the Duke, he knew, full well, had received a blow which had terminated all their hopes. When asked, at whose instigation he had performed that horrid deed? he replied, that they needed not to trouble themselves in that inquiry; hat no man living had credit enough with him to have disposed him to such an action; that he had not even entrusted his purpose to any one; that the resolution proceeded only from himself, and the impulse of his own conscience; and that his motives would appear, if his hat were found: for that, believing he should perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them.

§ It had held out so long, that prodigious numbers had died of the famine, so that at the taking of it, there were not four thousand remaining alive, out of fifteen thousand.

The meeting of the Parliament, appointed to be the 20th of October, was by proclamation prorogued to the 10th of January. In this interval, certain cases happened which supplied the Parliament with a fresh occasion of complaint, and in the end caused their dissolution. Though the remonstrance concerning tonnage and poundage was not presented to the King, it was public, and sufficient to show the people what was the sense of the House of Commons. Upon this foundation three merchants among others, refused to pay this duty to the King. Rolls, one of the three, merchant of London, and member of the House of Commons, having refused it, as contrary to law, the officers of the customs seized his goods, and, upon his alledging the authority of Parliament, one of them insolently told him, "If all the Parliament were in you, we would take your goods." Chambers and Vassal, the other two merchants of London, the first of whom was alderman, were condemned to pay tonnage and poundage by the Barons of the Exchequer, who ordered their goods to be detained.

The Parliament meeting the 10th of January 1629, Rolls's affair was immediately laid before the House, and referred to a committee. Whilst the committee were in debate, the King sent a message to the House, willing them to desist till next day in the afternoon, at which time he would speak with them at Whitehall. The Lords having also received orders to be present, the King made a speech to both Houses; in which, amongst many mild and conciliatory expressions, he informed the Commons, that he had not taken the duties of tonnage and poundage as appertaining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever was, and still is, his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people; and that if he had hitherto levied tonnage and poundage, he pretended to justify himself only by the necessity of so doing, not by any right which he assumed.

Some days after, the King sent a message to the Commons, that the bill for tonnage and poundage might be speedily taken into consideration, and no time lost. But the Commons, not thinking the King had power to prescribe the time to them, fell upon matters of religion, particularly with regard to Arminianism: and finding that Laud, Montague, and Manwaring had been preferred since the last session, several members made great complaints. Though the King pressed them again by message, to proceed with the bill for tonnage and poundage, they pretended that religion ought to have the precedency of all other affairs. Wherefore, they began to inquire how the execution of the laws against Papists came to cease, and whence it was that Papists were employed and countenanced, and new ceremonies continually introduced, especially at Durham, by Dr. Cosins, as angels, saints, crucifixes, altars, candles on Candlemas day; and lastly, from whence proceeded the increase of Arminianism.

This inquiry was interrupted by a fresh message from the King, requiring them to give the preference to the bill for tonnage and poundage. Nevertheless he declared, that he meant not to interrupt their debates upon matters of religion, provided the House would not meddle with what did not belong to them. This message hindered them not from continuing their debates. The proclamation forbidding all disputes for and against Arminianism was complained of particularly, wherein it was said, "If there be any difference of opinion concerning the seasonable interpretation of the thirty-nine articles, the Bishops have power to order which they please." But, as some of the Bishops were suspected, it was concluded, that by the terms of the proclamation, the kingdom would be obliged to receive Popery or Arminianism, by following the determinations of the Bishops. These suspicions fell chiefly upon Laud and Neile, who, being the King's counsellors for matters of religion, governed almost all the other Bishops. Upon this account, the House, to prevent the dangers they feared, thought fit to enter into this vow:

"We the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the articles of religion, which were established by Parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the public act of the church of England, and by the general and current expositions of the writers of our church, have been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all others, wherein they differ from us."

As the intention of the Commons was to persuade the people that religion was in danger, they desired the concurrence of the Lords to petition the King for a fast, which they obtained with some difficulty. The King plainly perceived the design of this petition, and, though he did not think fit to reject it, answered, that the custom of fasting every session was but lately begun; that he granted it however for this time, though he did not see the necessity of it; but for the future would not grant a fast, except on extraordinary occasions. Adding, that as for the defence of the reformed churches abroad, fighting would do them more good than fasting.

As the King had frequently pressed the Commons to proceed with the bill for tonnage and poundage, and give it the precedency of matters of religion, they thought themselves obliged to present a declaration to the King to justify their conduct. They excused themselves two ways, for not giving precedency to the bill for tonnage and poundage. The first was, because matters of religion having been first proposed, the constant order of the House required, they should have the preference. The second was, the weight and importance of the concerns of religion. They concluded with thanking the King for his promises to maintain religion, thereby tacitly reproaching him for not performing them.

Whilst the Commons were in debate concerning religion, the warehouse of Mr. Rolls, merchant and member of Parliament, was locked up by a pursuivant, and himself called forth and served with a subpœna. This put the House in a flame, and occasioned the sending for the officers of the customs, to know upon what account they had seized the merchant's effects, and carried them to the King's store-house. They replied, it was for refusing to pay tonnage and poundage, and other duties. But because there was an information already preferred against the merchants in the Exchequer and star-chamber, the Commons resolved not to proceed with the bill of tonnage and poundage, till the goods were restored to the owners; and ordered that the Barons of the Exchequer should be told to make void their injunction concerning the detaining of the merchant's effects. The Barons returned for answer, that they did not, by their injunctions, determine, or any way touch upon, the right of tonnage and poundage, neither did they by their orders, bar the owners from suing for their goods in a lawful course; but whereas the merchants endeavoured to take their goods out of the King's possession by writs of replevin, which was no lawful course in the King's case, nor agreeable to his prerogative royal, therefore the court of Exchequer did stay those suits, and declare, that the owners, if they conceived themselves wronged, might take such remedy as the law allows. This answer, which signified nothing, not being satisfactory to the Commons, a motion was made to consider, whether ever the court of Exchequer held this course before, for the staying of replevins; and whether this had been done by prerogative of the King in his court of Exchequer.

This affair having been long debated in the House, the officers of the customs were sent for again, and answered, that they acted by virtue of a commission under the great seal. One of them said, "He had seized the goods for duties that were due in the time of King James, and that his Majesty had sent for him, and commanded him to make no other answer." Whereupon, the House being turned into a grand committee, a motion was made and seconded, whether the officers of the customs should be proceeded against, by separating their interest from that of the King. After several speeches pro and con, a report was made from the grand committee, that they had at last resolved, that Mr. Rolls ought to have privilege of person and goods; which

which being voted, the Speaker was moved to put the question, but he refused to do it, saying the King had commanded the contrary. Such a command could not but surprise the House: they adjourned to the 25th of February, and then were further adjourned by his Majesty's order till the 2d of March. On that day the Commons being met, and requiring the Speaker to put the question, he said, "I have a command from the King to adjourn the House till the 10th of March." And endeavouring to go out of the chair, he was held down by force till Sir John Elliot had drawn a protestation, which was approved by the majority, though not without great tumult and confusion, and even some blows.* The doors being locked, the gentleman usher of the House of Lords, who was sent by the King, could not get admittance till the remonstrance was finished. By the King's order, he took the mace from the table, which ended their proceedings.

As the King expected no money from this second session, he was very glad to have, as he thought, a plausible pretence to dissolve the Parliament. So, that very day, a proclamation was drawn up, to give notice of his design to dissolve the Parliament on the 10th of March, and that the members might depart about their own affairs.

The next day, warrants were directed from the council to Denzil Hollis, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir John Elliot, Sir Peter Hayman, John Selden, William Coriton, Walter Long, William Stroud, and Benjamin Valentine, Esqs. commanding their personal appearance on the morrow. Four of them, Hollis, Elliot, Coriton, and Valentine, appeared; and, refusing to answer out of Parliament, for what was said and done in the House, were committed close prisoners to the Tower. The council ordered at the same time, the studies of Hollis, Elliot, and Selden, to be sealed up; and a proclamation was published to apprehend them.†

The King's conduct, as well in dissolving the Parliament, as in what was done afterwards, could not but breed discontent among the people. Murmurs were every where heard: libels were dispersed about London against the King's counsellors, and particularly against Bishop Laud, and the Lord Treasurer Weston, who were accused of putting the King upon these violent proceedings. For this reason, the King, to prevent greater complaints, published a declaration to notify to the people the causes of the dissolution of the last Parliament. This declaration, however, or rather apology, produced not the effect, the King expected. It was very difficult for him to persuade the people, that a dozen members of Parliament had formed a project to subvert the government, to introduce anarchy, to usurp the royal authority, without any appearance of the least advantage to themselves or others. It would have been still more strange, that, supposing the King so just a Prince, and so tender of his people as he desired to be thought, these men should have had sufficient credit, to bring over the majority of the Commons to their sentiments. On the other hand, the King defended himself very weakly, in his declaration, on the articles concerning recusants, tonnage, and poundage, and in general, on the causes of the dissolution of the Parliament. For in aggravating the Commons' fault, in not instantly obeying the adjournment, he not only supposed his power incontestable, though it was not so, but also admitted the immediate cause of their non-compliance; namely, the Speaker's refusal, by his express command, to put the question, which was a manifest breach of the freedom of Parliament. Complaints, therefore, and murmurs continued more than ever. It was publicly said, the King intended utterly to destroy the Privileges of the Parliament, and the Liberties of the People; and what was done afterwards against the imprisoned members, helped not to undeceive the nation. It was added, that trade was ruined, and religion in danger, and that the kingdom was going to be enslaved, if these mischiefs were not redressed by a new Parliament. The King, being informed of these rumours, published a conciliatory proclamation; in which, amongst other things, he observed that it was not his intention to charge his subjects with any new burthens, but to satisfy himself with such duties as had been received by the King his father.

Rochelle being taken, the King did not think proper to continue a war with France, which could bring him no advantage, nor serve him for pretence to ask money of the Parliament, since he was determined not to call one. As France had no quarrel with him, but concerning the Queen's domestics, which was not a sufficient motive to continue the war, a peace was quickly concluded between the two crowns, by the mediation of the republic of Venice. It was signed the 14th of April, about a month after the dissolution of the Parliament. France so little cared for what had passed concerning the Queen's domestics, that she was satisfied with inserting this article in the treaty of peace: "The articles and contract of the marriage of the Queen of Great Britain are to be confirmed faithfully. And as for the said Queen's household, if there be any thing to be added or diminished, it shall be done by a mutual consent, freely and willingly, as it may be judged fit and convenient for the service of the said Queen." This peace was ratified in September following.

Charles I. like the King his father, was very fond of arbitrary power, and had no favourites or ministers, but what were of the same principles. His privy-council became by degrees an absolute court, which thought itself above the laws. The star chamber was another court, the most rigorous that ever was, the severity whereof fell chiefly upon those who pretended to dispute the prerogative royal. The high commission perfectly seconded the council and star chamber, and under colour of putting a stop to schism, oppressed, as Puritans, those that refused to submit to a despotic power. In short, the judges of the realm, being all chosen by the court, and devoted to the King, omitted no oppor-

---

* *The Commons' Protestation:*—

"I. Whosoever shall bring in innovation of religion, or by favour or countenance seem to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinion disagreeing from the true and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and common-wealth.

"II. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and common wealth.

"III. If any merchant or person whatsoever, shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to the same."

† Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Hayman, Selden, Coriton, Long, and Stroud, were committed to prison, on account of the last tumult in the House, which was called sedition. With great difficulty, and after several delays, they were released; and the law was generally supposed to be wrested, in order to prolong their imprisonment. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were summoned to their trial in the King's Bench, for seditious speeches and behaviour in Parliament; but, refusing to answer before an inferior court for their conduct as members of a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure; to find sureties for their good behaviour; and to be fined, the two former a thousand pounds a-piece, the latter five hundred. This sentence, procured by the influence of the crown, served only to shew the King's disregard to the privileges of Parliament, and to acquire an immense stock of popularity to the sufferers, who had so bravely, in opposition to arbitrary power, defended the liberties of their native country. The Commons of England, though an immense body, and possessed of the greater part of national property, were naturally somewhat defenceless; because of their personal equality, and their want of leaders: but the King's severity, if these prosecutions deserve the name, here pointed out leaders to them whose resentment was inflamed, and whose courage was no-wise daunted by the hardships which they had undergone in so honourable a cause. So much did these prisoners glory in their sufferings, that though they were promised liberty on that condition, they would not condescend even to present a petition to the King, expressing their sorrow for having offended him. They unanimously refused to find sureties for their good behaviour; and disdained to accept of deliverance on such easy terms. Nay, Hollis was so industrious to continue his meritorious distress, that, when one offered to bail him, he would not yield to the rule of court, and be himself bound with his friend. Even Long, who had actually found sureties in the chief-justice's chamber, declared in court, that his sureties should no longer continue. Yet because Sir John Elliot happened to die while in custody, a great clamour was raised against the administration; and he was universally regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England.

tunity

tunity to support the prerogative royal, and raise it as high as the King desired. The Parliament alone could cure these disorders, but the King was determined to call no more, the maxims of the Parliament being diametrically opposite to his. He thought the Parliament had much encroached upon the prerogative royal, in the foregoing reigns, and the Parliament could not help dreading the consequences of the general maxims, which the King was endeavouring to introduce into the government; and the rather, as they saw plainly, these consequences were not bare speculation, but were put in practice. This dread induced them to deny the King some things readily granted by former Parliaments to his predecessors, because they were free from any such fears. But as the nation in general was more inclined to be ruled by the Parliament, than by the court, these contrasts bred in the minds of the people a distaste to the court, the fatal effects whereof the King afterwards experienced.

By the dissolution of the late Parliament, and by his resolution never to call another, which was universally known, the King had not only deprived himself of the extraordinary supplies he might have expected from the Commons, but had also done himself great prejudice with respect to his treasury. The five subsidies granted by the Parliament fell very short of what was expected. As every man's quota towards a subsidy is settled by commissioners in each county, and by assistants belonging to the towns and villages, in proportion to his possessions, either poverty, or decay of trade, or some such excuse was pleaded to lessen the tax. On the other hand, the commissioners and assistants not being inclined to the court, allowed very readily these excuses, and appeared much more apt to favour their countrymen than the King. This occasioned a great diminution of the usual value of the subsidies. Moreover tonnage and poundage were not paid without force. There was continual occasion to use violence, to seize the effects, and imprison the merchants, to oblige them to pay what the House of Commons had declared illegal. Besides, they practised a thousand artifices to defraud the King of a duty, which they thought was unjustly laid upon them. To cure these inconveniences, the council was forced to give very strict orders, even to the empowering of the officers of the customs to enter into any ship, vessel, or house; and to search in any trunk or chest, and break any bulk whatsoever, in default of the payment of customs. But, besides that this had never been practised before, another inconvenience arose. These officers, under colour of searching, used many oppressions and rogueries, which caused the people still the more to exclaim. In a word, the King had not half the profit from tonnage and poundage that he received before his quarrel with the Parliament; and the people were more dissatisfied than ever. But to hinder their discontent from turning into rebellion, the council gave strict orders to have the militia, both horse and foot, completed, armed, and instructed in the exercise of arms. It was thereby intended to intimidate the people, and keep them in awe, whilst, on the other hand, they were amused with orders for the rigorous execution of the laws against recusants. But these orders must have been neglected, since the people's complaints upon that subject never ceased during the whole course of this reign.

Meanwhile, as the King wanted money, and it was easy to foresee that his ordinary revenue would not be sufficient to supply his expences, the ministers found no better way to increase the King's revenue, than by granting monopolies. That is, the King, by his letters patent, formed companies, to whom alone he gave the privilege of selling certain goods or wares, and who were to pay him for it such a yearly revenue. This was directly contrary to the rights of the people, and very destructive to trade. This abuse went so far, that in a manner all sorts of commodities were monopolized, and the sale engrossed by some company, even to old rags.*

A. D. 1630.] Since the King had undertaken to make war upon France, the Spanish war was no more talked of than if there had been no such thing, though in all the speeches to the foregoing Parliaments, and in all the messages to the Commons, he had endeavoured to show how necessary this war was, for the welfare of all Europe, and especially of England. He had frequently insinuated, that England and Ireland were in so great danger of being invaded by the Spaniards, that it was not possible to be too speedy in applying a remedy to so urgent an evil. Yet, the Spaniards had never made any attempt which might confirm the fears, the King would have inspired the Parliament with. The King of Spain, contented with not being attacked, undertook nothing against England. However, after the conclusion of the peace between France and England, he thought proper to end the war with the English, to which he met with no obstacle, Charles not being in condition to continue it. So a peace between the two crowns, after some negotiation, was concluded in November.

Presbyterianism had lately gained ground in England, notwithstanding the strong opposition of the Bishops, and particularly of Laud, Bishop of London, sworn enemy to the Puritans. This prelate seldom missed any opportunity to show his hatred to them, and such opportunities very frequently offered. Besides that he was the King's most intimate counsellor, especially for ecclesiastical matters, he had almost the sole direction of the high commission. He so managed therefore, to prevent the growth of Presbyterianism, that the King sent certain instructions to the Archbishops, with a command to impart them to the Bishops of their provinces, in order to their being observed. The chief end of these instructions was to hinder any Presbyterian minister from creeping into the church of England, and to discover the careless observers of the rites prescribed by the canons. Laud himself was the author of these instructions, which were agreeable to some considerations for the better settling of the church government presented by him to the King some time before. As the Presbyterians were not ignorant whence the evil sprang, they entertained an implacable enmity to this prelate, the effects whereof they afterwards made him feel.

This year the King had the satisfaction of having a son, called Charles, of whom the Queen was delivered the 29th of May.

Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, had expressed a great desire to relieve Germany, oppressed by the Emperor, but his wars with Poland had prevented the execution of that design. Upon this account the Kings of France and England joined together to procure a peace between these two crowns, in which they ultimately succeeded. The French King's aim was to humble the house of Austria by this diversion; and Charles hoped, that, by the King of Sweden's means, he should recover the Palatinate for his brother-in-law. The peace, just mentioned, was no sooner concluded, than the King of Sweden prepared to enter Germany at the head of a powerful army. At the same time, he made a private agreement with the King of England, whereby Charles engaged to furnish him with six thousand men, in the Marquis of Hamilton's name, as though that Lord had raised these troops at his own charge. That we may not return to this affair, we shall just observe that Charles was the dupe of Gustavus. When the Swede, after several victories over the Imperialists, was able in his turn to assist the King of Bohemia, he would have laid such hard terms upon him, that he could not think of accepting them. So Charles withdrew his troops, which had done good service in the war, and recalled Sir Henry Vane, who was with the King of Sweden, in quality of ambassa-

* Thus, as the Lord Clarendon observes, "Unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which came to the King, the profit to other men; insomuch that of 200,000*l.* drawn by these ways in one year, scarce 1500*l.* came to the King."

dor.

dor. Thus ended this sort of league, the particulars whereof it is needless to relate.

The King's ordinary revenues not sufficing for his expences, it was necessary to find means to raise a further supply. One of these means was, to attack such as had neglected to receive the order of knighthood, at the King's coronation, though they had been summoned.*

Multitudes being summoned upon this occasion, the compositions brought the King above a hundred thousand pounds. This was looked upon afterwards as a grievous oppression, and the Parliament repealed the statute on which it was grounded.

The church of England, at the reformation, had thought fit to retain some ceremonies, not as absolutely necessary, but rather as indifferent, and which consequently she believed it not proper to remove from the divine service. Bishop Laud was not only scrupulously attached to the ceremonies, but also to every thing that served to adorn the externals of religion, and seemed more inclined to increase the number than to suppress any of those that most offended the Puritans. He gave a proof of this inclination, when he consecrated St. Catherine Creed church, which had been lately repaired. On this occasion he used some formalities which he might have forborne, as being too like what are practised in the church of Rome on such solemnities.†

A. D. 1631.] If Laud had taken the ceremonies from a ritual of the church of England, made since the reformation, there would have been nothing to object. But, some years after, the House of Commons accused him in form, of having exactly copied the Roman Pontifical, which was found in his study. He denied it, alledging two seemingly very frivolous reasons. First, that the pontifical prescribes ashes to be thrown up by the Bishop who consecrates the church, whereas he threw up dust in the air, which he found on the ground.‡ Secondly, that he observed a form communicated to him by Bishop Andrews. But as there is so little difference between dust and ashes, and as Bishop Andrews' form agreed with that in the pontifical, this answer was not much approved. His enemies took occasion from it, to charge him with an intention to introduce Popery. But he little regarded what could be said against him: the King's favour had raised him so high, that it was not in the power of his enemies to hurt him, but on the contrary, he had frequent opportunities to be revenged on them. Whilst he was most exclaimed against, three doctors in divinity, of the university of Oxford, having preached against Arminianism, were expelled the university; and some others, who had undertaken their defence, were turned out of their offices. This was under colour of observing the King's proclamation, and it was not doubted but Laud was the author of these violent proceedings.§

In the mean time, the King's ministers were diligently seeking means to raise money, and new projects were every day offered, of which they chose such as they thought proper. Among these means, monopolies, as before observed, were at first most in vogue. At the beginning of the year 1632, the King, by his patent under the great seal, incorporated the soap makers. It is said, this patent alone was worth to him ten thousand pounds.‖ There was another company settled, for the making of cards, of whom the King bought them, at eighteen shillings a gross, and, sealing them, sold them again.¶

A. D. 1632.] Monopolies were not however the only way practised to raise money. Shortly after, the King by proclamation commanded all Lords, gentlemen, clergymen, and others whose stay in London was not absolutely necessary, to depart within forty days, and reside in their respective counties, and at their mansion houses. This injunction seemed to be grounded upon the King's desire, to hinder the nobility and gentry from wasting their estates by a needless residence in London, where they were obliged to be at a great expence. But it was perceived afterwards, that the King had another end in it, when such were summoned before the Star Chamber, as had neglected to obey the proclamation, and were condemned in grievous fines to the King's use. At the same time, the King appointed commissioners to punish those that, contrary to

* It was an ancient custom from the Conquest, that such as had fifteen pounds a year in land, were obliged to serve the King in his wars, and those who were not capable of serving, compounded with the King, and for a certain sum were released from this service. To this end, those who were worth fifteen pounds a year, were to be made Knights, that is, fit to serve the King. In process of time, the number of those who were to take the order of knighthood was limited to such as had twenty pounds a year. What was at first but a bare custom, was turned into a law in the reign of Edward II. and, after that, some of the following Kings took advantage of it. But in general, though this statute was not abolished, it had been long disused. Charles I. going upon the statute's being still in force, put it in practice at his coronation, and pretended to use great condescension, in summoning to take knighthood such only as had forty pounds a year, though at that time forty pounds were much less than twenty pounds in the days of Edward II. He found but very few willing to obey these summons, the use whereof was entirely forgotten. The King himself then overlooked this non-compliance; but after the dissolution of the third Parliament, he appointed commissioners to compound with those who had neglected to appear, as well for their contempt, as for being excused from receiving the order of knighthood. The commissioners had this instruction, "To take no less than after the rate of thrice and half as much, as the persons compounding were found rated in the subsidy."

† The manner of consecration was thus:

"At the Bishop's approach to the west door of the church, some that were prepared for it, cried with a loud voice, 'Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of glory may enter in!' And presently the doors were opened: and the Bishop, with some doctors, and many other principal men, went in, and immediately falling down upon his knees, with his eyes lifted up, and his arms spread abroad, uttered these words: 'This place is holy, the ground is holy, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy.'

"Then he took up some of the dust, and threw it up into the air several times, in his going up towards the chancel. When they approached near to the rail and communion table, the Bishop bowed towards it several times, and, returning, they went round the church in procession, saying the 100th Psalm; after that the 19th Psalm, and then said a form of prayer, Lord Jesus Christ, &c. and concluding, we consecrate this church, and separate it unto thee, as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common use.

"After this the Bishop, being near the communion table, and taking a written book in his hand, pronounced curses upon those that should afterwards prophane that holy place, by musters of soldiers, or keeping prophane law-courts, or carrying burdens through it; and at the end of every curse, he bowed towards the east, and said, 'Let all the people say, Amen.'

"When the curses were ended, he pronounced a number of blessings upon all those that had any hand in framing and building that sacred and beautiful church, and those that had given, and should hereafter give any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils; and at the end of every blessing, he bowed towards the east, saying, 'Let all the people say, Amen.'

"After this followed the sermon; which being ended, the Bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament in the manner following:

"As he approached the communion table, he made many several lowly bowings, and coming up to the side of the table where the bread and wine were covered, he bowed seven times, and then, after the reading of many prayers, he came near the bread, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin wherein the bread was laid, and when he beheld the bread, he laid it down again, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times towards it, then he drew near again, and opened the napkin, and bowed as before.

"Then he laid his hand on the cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it, which he let go again, went back, and bowed thrice towards it; then he came near again, and lifting up the cover of the cup, looked into it, and seeing the wine, he let fall the cover again, retired back, and bowed as before; then he received the sacrament, and gave it to some principal men; after which, many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended."

‡ Laud's words in Rushworth are: "Whereas it was said, I threw up dust in the air, this I deny; and where it was alledged that this was in imitation of the Roman pontifical, that (said he) is a mistake, for the pontifical prescribes Ashes or Dust to be cast abroad." However it was expressly deposed by two witnesses that he threw up dust.

§ Laud was chosen chancellor of Oxford, April 12, in the room of William, Earl of Pembroke, who died of an apoplexy, April 10.

‖ By way of advance, and eight pounds a ton for all soap hereafter boiled. Not long before was confirmed a grant made by King James, to incorporate the starch makers into a company; and there was a contract between the King and the master, &c. of this company, whereby the said company did covenant to pay into his Majesty's Exchequer 1500*l.* the first year, 2500*l.* the second, and then 3500*l.* yearly.

¶ May 14, this year, Mervin, Lord Audley, Earl of Castlehaven, was beheaded, for a rape committed upon his wife by one of his servants, with his assistance: and for sodomy.——November 4, was born the Princess Mary, married in 1641, to William, Prince of Orange, and mother of King William III.——This year died the famous Sir Robert Cotton, founder of the Cottonian library.

former prohibitions, had enlarged the city of London by new buildings. From all this the King drew very considerable sums, the fines in which the offenders were condemned being all to his use. The Star Chamber exercised great rigour on these occasions.

About the same time, the city of London was fined fifteen hundred marks, because the Mayor and Aldermen had neglected to take inquisition of the death of one Doctor Lamb, who passed for a conjurer, and of whom the Duke of Buckingham had made use. This man, being eighty years of age, was pursued by the mob from street to street, and died within a few days, either of the fatigue he had endured, or of the bruises he had received.

Presbyterianism, or, as it was then called, Puritanism, daily gained ground, notwithstanding the endeavours used by the King, Bishops, High Commission, Star-Chamber, and courts of justice, to stop its progress. As these endeavours consisted not in better informing the Presbyterians, but only in the excessive severity exercised upon them, when their zeal caused them to offend; they were the more exasperated against the church of England, as they saw at the same time, that the Arminians and Papists were left unmolested, or if orders were sometimes given against them, such orders were never executed. This made them exclaim against the Bishops, and charge them with designs to introduce Popery and Arminianism into the church. Unhappily, they imputed to the whole church of England, the violences which ought to have been ascribed to the circumstance of the times, and the particular character of some Bishops, who, having credit at court, intimated to the King, that nothing was more opposite to regal authority, than Presbyterian church government. All who were not very submissive to the King, were considered as Puritans, and, as such, frequently oppressed. So, by a fatal policy, men well affected to the church of England, but enemies to arbitrary power, were forced, against their wills, to join with the Puritans, in order to strengthen their party, and enable them to oppose the designs of the court.

The design of ruining Presbyterianism destroyed all regard to the scruples of tender consciences, even in things of little moment, left by the reformers in the public worship, rather as indifferent, than as absolutely necessary. On the contrary, every thing that gave most offence to the Presbyterians, was not only industriously practised, but represented as necessary, and several novelties added which were apt to widen the breach, and make an union impracticable.*

In the account of the third Parliament held in this reign, we had sometimes occasion to speak of Sir Thomas Wentworth, Knight of the Shire for the county of York. This gentleman, several times, in the House of Commons, gave proofs of his zeal for the maintenance of the liberties of the people, and the privileges of the Parliament. By that he became formidable to the court, though he took care not to run into any excess with regard to the King and his minister. On the contrary, he always softened his opinions with some honourable and respectful expressions, but, however, seldom failed to oppose the pretensions of the court. As he was one of the greatest geniuses then in England, the King soon perceived that his parts and capacity might be very serviceable to him, if he could gain him to his interest. He endeavoured it therefore, after, or perhaps before, the dissolution of the Parliament, and succeeded so well, that Wentworth became one of the most zealous promoters of the royal authority, or rather of the despotic power the King had a mind to establish.† Upon this account, the King thought him the fittest person to be entrusted with the presidentship of the council in the north.‡

The King, having governed three or four years without

* There was in the city of Salisbury a collegiate church, called St. Edmund's, which with its revenues, like the rest of that kind, came by act of Parliament into the hands of Henry VIII. and remained in the crown till the reign of James I. who sold it to a private person, and he to another, so that it passed successively through several hands, till at length the last proprietor sold the church to the parishioners of St. Edmund's, who repaired and made it the parish church. The windows, which had till then been preserved, were painted after the old fashion, and contained among other things the history of the creation, where the painter had represented God the Father in the form of an old man, creating the world during the first six days, but on the seventh had painted him sitting, to denote the day of rest. The ignorant painter had committed several blunders, having given to one day the work performed on another, and, in expressing the creation of the sun and moon, had put in God's hand a pair of compasses, as if he was going to measure them. Henry Sherfield, recorder of Sarum, and parishioner of St. Edmund's, having called a vestry, represented to the parishioners, that these pictures gave offence, and were apt to lead the people to superstition. That the painter had committed several errors, and, besides, the representation of God the Father in the form of an old man, offended the eyes of good Christians. Whereupon the vestry thought it proper to take down the windows, and put up others, not painted, in their room. Armed with this order, the recorder sent for a glazier, and, shewing him with his stick the glass which was to be changed, broke some of the panes, as little caring to preserve them.

Upon this outrage, an information was exhibited against Sherfield in the Star Chamber by the attorney general, showing, that contrary to the canons, which forbade any private person to alter or innovate any thing in the fabric or ornament of a church, without special license from his Majesty or the Bishop of the diocese, Sherfield, being ill affected to the discipline of the church of England, and the government thereof by Bishops, did combine with some others of the same opinion, and undertake by a bare order of the vestry, and in contempt of the King and the diocesan, to break down the windows of St. Edmund's church, which contained excellent pictures of the creation, made hundreds of years since, and were a great ornament to the church. That he committed this prophane act contrary to the order of the Bishop, who, by letter, had enjoined him to desist from this design. That by this ill example, other wicked and schismatical persons, ill-affected to the government of the church of England under his Majesty, might be encouraged to use the like violent courses.

Sherfield answered, that the church of St. Edmund's was a lay-fee, and had so continued ever since it fell to the crown, and therefore it was legally exempted from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese. That, consequently, those who had purchased the church, had lawful power to alter the windows, as they had before made other alterations, in the steeple, walls, pulpit, and other parts, without any complaints from the Bishop. That, after all, he had only taken down some small quarries of glass to show the glazier what was to be altered, and that the history of the creation might still be plainly discovered. That the painting was so far from being fine, that when it was done, it did not cost above forty shillings. Then he set forth the gross blunders of the painter, and proved by acts of Parliament made in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, that all pictures should be removed out of the churches. Finally, he denied that he was ill-affected to the government of the church under Bishops, or had acted in contempt of the King, or ever received a letter from the Bishop of Salisbury upon this subject. Whereupon the Bishop of London said, that he did not pretend to justify the errors of the painter, but only to observe to the court, that God being called in scripture, the Ancient of Days, might be the occasion of the painter's representing God the Father like an old man. But that Sherfield was much more to blame than the painter, for daring to make alterations without license. In short, Sherfield was fined five hundred pounds, contrary to the opinion of some of his judges, who would have mounted his fine to a thousand, and condemned to make a public acknowledgment of his fault, before such persons as the Bishop should please to name. He was likewise committed to the Fleet, removed from his recordership, and bound to his good behaviour.

† About the same time were gained also, Sir John Saville, who was made a Lord, and controller of the household; Sir Dudley Diggs, who was promoted to the mastership of the Rolls; Noy, who was made attorney-general; and Sir Edward Littleton, who was made solicitor. Sir John Elliot was, some time before his death, tampered with; but he was proof against all temptation.

‡ As this is one of the greatest grievances complained of by the English against Charles I. and one of the most noted occasions wherein that Prince discovered his design to set up an unlimited power, it will be necessary briefly to show what this council in the north was.

Upon the suppression of the lesser monasteries in the 27th year of the reign of Henry VIII. there were, for two or three years together, several insurrections in the north. Meanwhile, as Henry VIII. did not intend to stop there, but meant also to suppress all the rest of the monasteries, he thought proper to take some care to prevent the like insurrections in those parts. To that end, he established at York a court of justice, under the specious pretence of easing his poor subjects, who had not wherewithal to prosecute their suits in the courts of Westminster. But his real intent was, that this court should have an eye upon the proceedings of the northern Lords and gentlemen, who were suspected, in order to punish them immediately, in case it was perceived they were endeavouring to raise any fresh insurrections. A commission therefore was granted to the Bishop of Landaff, the first president, and others, by virtue whereof was established this new council in the north, otherwise called the court of York. The jurisdiction of this court extended over Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, the Bishopric of Durham, the county of the cities of York, Kingston upon Hull, and Newcastle upon Tyne. The King's commission was no other than a commission of Oyer and Terminer, with an additional clause, whereby the council was impowered to hear all causes, real and personal, when one or both of the parties, by reason of their poverty, could not prosecute their

out a Parliament, was much at ease. His will, by degrees, began to pass for law; there was no House of Commons to complain publicly, and he saw none about him but such as were always ready to flatter him, and cherish his principles concerning government. On the other hand, he was freed from the incumbrance and expence of war, which had created him great trouble, and rendered him too dependent on the Parliament. In short, though he was not ignorant that, in general, the people were discontented, he did not see any appearance of a rebellion, the great men of the kingdom and the neighbouring Princes being so disposed, as to give no encouragement to those who should attempt to disturb the state. His affairs being in this situation, he believed he could not take a more proper time to go into Scotland, where three important affairs required his presence:

I. He had a mind to be crowned.

II. He intended to hold a Parliament for the procuring of money.

III. He designed to take some measures there for the execution of a project long since formed, to reduce the kirk of Scotland to a perfect conformity with the church of England, and entirely ruin Presbyterianism.

To this end it was, that he took with him Laud, Bishop of London, and at his arrival in Scotland, made him privy-counsellor of that kingdom. He departed therefore from London the 13th of May 1633, and, being come to Edinburgh, was crowned with the usual solemnities. After that, he held a Parliament, which gave him the largest subsidy that had ever been granted to any King of Scotland before him.*

The reformation was established in Scotland in the reign of Queen Mary, mother of James I. upon the plan of the churches of Geneva and Switzerland. The hierarchy was entirely suppressed, and the government of the church committed to Presbyters, and national synods, called in Scotland, General Assemblies. But however, the Bishops were still continued, though divested of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They retained only their revenues, lands, houses, seat in Parliament, and all the temporal advantages in general, that were annexed to the episcopal dignity. From the beginning of the Reformation, that is, from the year 1561, to the end of the sixteenth century, the state of the Bishops underwent several revolutions. James I. becoming King of England, found means to cause the Parliament of Scotland to restore episcopacy to its former lustre, and give the Bishops their ancient jurisdiction over the church. This was the first step to lead the kirk of Scotland to the desired point, that is, to a perfect conformity with the church of England. But the tedious treaty of the Prince, his son's, marriage with the Spanish Infanta, and the affairs of Bohemia and the Palatinate, hindered him from fully executing his project. Charles I. had this work no less at heart than the King his father. But as in the beginning of his reign he was engaged in a war with Spain, and afterwards with France, and moreover his disputes with his Parliaments affording him little leisure to think of other matters, he could not seriously set about this affair, till after the others were ended. In the Parliament at Edinburgh in the year 1633, among other acts that were presented to be passed, there were two, namely, the third and fourth, the one intituled, "An act anent or concerning his Majesty's royal prerogative and apparel of kirkmen:" the other, "An act of ratification of the acts touching religion." These were the only acts that met with any opposition, on account of the consequences which some feared the King would hereafter draw from them. The first of these acts was properly but a confirmation of a like act, passed in the reign of King James VI. impowering his Majesty to order the vestments of the clergy as he pleased. Now as from that time, the design of altering the discipline of the kirk of Scotland, had showed itself more and more, some of the members of this Parliament suspected the King would make use of this act to introduce the surplice. And indeed, being asked whether he intended it, he made no answer; but, taking a list of the whole members out of his pocket, said, "Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and I'll know who will do me service, and who will not, this day." However, about thirteen noblemen, and as many barons and burgesses, declared, that they agreed to the act for his Majesty's prerogative, but dissented from that part of it, as to the apparel of kirkmen.

The other act was expressed in the following manner: "Our sovereign Lord, with the advice and consent of the estates, ratifies and approves all and whatsoever acts and statutes made before, anent the liberty and freedom of the true kirk of God, and religion presently professed within this realm, and ordains the same to stand in their full force and effect, as if they were specially mentioned and set down herein."

It has been already observed, that in the reign of James VI. and especially after his accession to England, he made several innovations in the kirk of Scotland, particularly with respect to the episcopal jurisdiction which had been restored. The whole artifice of this act consisted therefore in these words, "The religion at present professed:" for thereby were confirmed all the innovations in the discipline of the kirk of Scotland, to which the opposers of the act would not agree. They were very willing to ratify the acts made in favour of religion, as established by an act passed in the 6th year of James VI. when the Bishops had no power or jurisdiction; but would not admit these words, "At present professed." During these contests, the King said with some emotion, "I will have no distinction, but command you to say, aye, or no." Whereupon the dissenting Lords and gentlemen said, "No." However, the two acts passed by a majority of votes. Some affirmed afterwards that fraud was used in gathering the votes. However that be, the King's eagerness to have these two acts passed, convinced the people of Scotland that the project of making greater innovations in the kirk still subsisted, and that the two acts were a sort of preparative to accomplish it. On the other hand, the opposition the King met with, showed him, it was not yet time to act openly, and that it was

their rights, according to the laws of the land. This clause, though illegal, produced no ill effect, nor any complaint, whether the new court exercised that part of the commission at all, or only so sparingly that the poor found ease and benefit by it.

In the first year of the reign of King James I. a commission was granted to the Lord Sheffield, president of the court of York, which varied not from the former, only as it had reference to instructions which the King was to send him. It is not known whether these instructions were sent; but it is evident, that in making the power of the court to depend on the King's instructions, the intent was, that its decisions should not be made so much according to the laws, as according to his Majesty's private orders. And indeed, King James, in the seventh year of his reign, granted a new commission to the same Lord Sheffield, omitting these two clauses, which were in the first, that they should inquire per sacramentum honorum et legalium hominum, and hear and determine, secundum leges Angliæ. Thus the power of the court was limited only by the particular instructions, which were the first that appear to have been sent thither.

From that time, whenever the commission was renewed, which was upon every change of president or counsellor, the King sent new instructions, tending to render the court of York independent, not only of the courts of Westminster, which are the courts of the whole kingdom, but even of all sorts of laws. Charles I. renewed this commission in favour of the Lord Wentworth, with a more ample power than any of his predecessors had been invested with. In 1632, a clause was added, whereby among other things, authority was committed to him to hear and determine all offences and misdemeanors, suits, debates, controversies, and demands, causes, things and matters whatsoever contained in the instructions annexed to the commission. But what were these instructions? In the Parliament of 1640, Mr. Edward Hyde, then member of the House of Commons, and afterwards Earl of Clarendon, being sent by the House to the Lords, concerning the court of York, said in his speech to them, that in the instructions of 1632, and 1637, containing fifty-eight articles, "There was scarcely one that was not against or beside the law." Whence he took occasion to ask, "What have the good northern people done, that they alone must be disfranchised of all their privileges, and be governed according to the discretion of the court of York?" Nay, though this court might proceed according to its discretion, special provision was made in the King's instructions, that no fine, no punishment should be less than by law appointed. This court was abolished afterwards by the same Parliament of 1640.

* This subsidy was 30s. of every pound's worth of land, for six years; and also the sixteenth penny of all annual rents, or interest of money, and for six years as the former.

necessary to take other measures to facilitate the success of his designs.

If it were endeavoured in Scotland to ruin Presbyterianism by indirect ways, it was thought proper to proceed in England with less caution. Accordingly, all possible efforts were used to destroy it utterly, by persecuting the Puritans. The court and the Bishops laid it down for a rule, not to depart, on their account, from one tittle of what was practised in the church of England, for fear they should grow too powerful, and the indulgence shown them prove detrimental to the church. But there was a stronger reason, namely, the implacable hatred conceived of them by the King, his ministers, and above all, by the Bishops of London and Winchester, which made them earnestly seek all occasions to oppress them. And these occasions were easy to be found. They had only to press the observation of the canons without dispensing with one article, in order to cause the Presbyterians to commit offences, which exposed them to the rigour of the ecclesiastical and civil laws. But as the Bishops could not be every where, and wanted people to inform them of what passed, Walter Curle, Bishop of Winchester, bethought himself, in his primary visitation, to oblige by oath the church-wardens, and sworn men, to turn informers, that none might escape their inquiry. The oath was as follows:

"You shall swear, that you and every of you, without all affection, favour, hatred, hope of reward, and gain, or fear of displeasure or malice of any person, shall present all and every such person and persons, of or within your parish, who hath committed any offence, fault or crime, or omitted any part of duty, which he was enjoined to perform: wherein you shall deal uprightly; and according to truth; neither of malice, presenting any contrary to truth, nor of corrupt affection, sparing to present any, and to conceal the truth; having in this action God before your eyes, with an earnest zeal to maintain truth, and suppress vice. So help you God, and the contents of this book."

With this oath were delivered certain instructions, according to which they were to proceed.*

George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, dying this year, 1633, William Laud, Bishop of London, succeeded him in that dignity.

This same year, the Queen was delivered of a second son, in October; who was called James, and created Duke of York.

The Presbyterians were persuaded, that a project was formed to re-establish the Romish religion in England. They imagined that the King's ministers, the council, bishops, and particularly the new archbishop of Canterbury, were the authors of this project. If they did not directly charge the King with it, at least they were persuaded, either that he encouraged it, or suffered himself to be carried farther than he intended, by persons who concealed their design from him. The Catholics themselves gave occasion for these suspicions, in showing openly their hopes of quickly seeing a change in favour of their religion. We find in a diary kept by Laud, of what happened to him every day, that this very year, 1633, he had the offer of a Cardinal's cap, if he would help to restore the Romish religion. It is not probable, however, that either the King, the Archbishop, or the ministers, ever formed such a design.

The King, as before observed, intended to introduce the rites of the church of England, into the kirk of Scotland. This project was formed by the King his father, who had even ordered that divine service should be celebrated in his royal chapel at Edinburgh, in the same manner as in his chapel at Whitehall. But whether this order was neglected, or the Scots would not frequent the chapel, Charles thought proper not only to renew it, but to add several things to hinder the chapel from being deserted for the future. On the 8th of October, he sent a list of articles to the Bishop of Dunblane, Dean of his chapel at Edinburgh;† besides which, he wrote a letter to the Dean, ordering him to certify to the Lords of the privy-council, if any of those appointed to communicate in his chapel royal, did not perform these articles, to the end, such order might be taken, as his Majesty had appointed by his former letters.

Hence it is visible, that not only the whole council of Scotland, but also those who were in public employments, and court places, were prepared to conform to the church of England, otherwise they would not have been employed, or continued in their posts. It was with them, the King intended to begin, that, as he said himself, they might serve for example to the rest.

Whilst the King was seeking means to engage the Scots to conform to the church of England, pains were taking on the contrary to alienate from her, the Presbyterians in England, by affecting such usages and customs as were most apt to offend them. At that time the heads of the church of England, instead of unde-

* "I. As to the articles concerning the church, they are to inquire, whether they have the book of constitutions, or canons ecclesiastical, and a parchment register-book, book of common prayer, and book of homilies, &c.? And whether the communion table be placed in such convenient sort within the said chancel or church, as that the minister may be best heard in his prayer and administration?

"II. As to the articles concerning the clergy, whether doth the minister read the constitutions set forth by his Majesty once every year?

"III. Whether the minister or preacher used to pray for the King's Majesty with his whole title, as King of Great Britain? And doth he in like manner pray for the Archbishops, and Bishops? And doth he observe all the orders, rites, and ceremonies prescribed in the common prayer, and administering the sacrament? And whether doth the minister receive the sacrament, kneeling at the same, and administereth to none but such as do kneel, as by the 12th canon is directed?

"IV. Whether hath the minister admitted to the communion any notorious offenders or schismatics? contrary to the 26th and 27th constitution. And whether strangers of any other parish do come often and commonly to your church, from their own parish church? contrary to the 28th canon. And whether doth the minister use to sign the children with the sign of the cross, when they are baptized? And whether is your minister a licensed minister? If yea, then by whom? And whether doth the minister wear the surplice whilst he is saying the public prayer, and administering the sacraments? Whether doth the minister catechise and instruct the youth of ignorant persons of your parish in the ten commandments, &c.? And whether he doth solemnise marriage, the bans not being three several Sundays and holidays first published in time of divine service? And whether doth your minister in the rogation days use the perambulation of the circuit of the parish? Whether doth the minister every six months denounce in the parish all such as do persevere in the sentence of excommunication, not seeking to be absolved? Or hath he admitted any excommunicated person into the church, without certificate and absolution? Whether is your minister a favourer of recusants, whereby he may be suspected not to be sincere in religion? Whether is your minister noted to be an incontinent person, a frequenter of taverns, ale-houses, a common gamester, or a player of dice, &c.?" With divers other articles of inquiry.

† "Our express will and pleasure is, that the dean of our chapel, that now is, and his successors, shall be assistant to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, at the coronation so often as it shall happen.

"II. That the book of the form of our coronation lately used, be put in a little box, and laid into a standard, and committed to the care of the dean of the chapel successively."

The coronation of King Charles I. it must be observed, had been performed according to the rites of the church of England.

"III. That there be prayers twice a day, with the choir, as well in our absence, as otherwise, according to the English liturgy, till some course be taken for making one, that may fit the custom and constitution of that church.

"IV. That the Dean of the chapel look carefully, that all that receive the blessed sacrament there, receive it kneeling; and that there be a communion held in that our chapel, the first Sunday of every month.

"V. That the Dean of our chapel, that now is, and so successively, come duly thither to prayers upon Sundays, and such holy-days as that church observes, in his whites, and preach so, whenever he preacheth there. And that he be not absent from thence, but upon necessary occasion of his diocese, or otherwise, according to the course of his preferment.

"VI. That these orders shall be our warrant to the Dean of our chapel. That the Lords of our privy council, the Lords of the sessions, the advocate, clerks, writers to the signet, and members of our college of justice, be commanded to receive the holy communion once every year at least, in that our chapel royal, and kneeling for example sake to the kingdom. And we likewise command the Dean aforesaid, to make report yearly to us, how we are obeyed therein, and by whom; as also if any man shall refuse, in what manner he doth so, and why.

"VII. That the copies which are consecrated to our use, be delivered to the Dean, to be kept upon inventory by him, and in a standard provided for that purpose; and to be used at the celebration of the sacrament in our chapel royal."

ceiving those who preposterously imagined she was leaning to Popery, seem to have taken all possible care to confirm their suspicions, by industriously conforming to the church of Rome, in matters of little moment, and without any necessity, as if it was done on purpose to brave them. In October 1633, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, as ordinaries of St. Gregory's church, which stood near the cathedral, removed the communion table from the middle of the chancel, to the upper end, placing it there altar-wise. For which they alledged two reasons. The first, that in the King's chapel, and all cathedrals, the communion tables were placed in that manner, and therefore it was fit other churches should conform to the same custom. The second, that when the tables stood in the middle of the chancel, several scandalous indecencies were committed, people leaning thereon in sermon time, or putting their hats on it. This last reason, added to the great care that was taken about kneeling at the sacrament, caused many to believe, that the endeavouring to inspire such an extraordinary respect for the communion table, and the giving it always the name of altar, was not without design. And therefore some of the parishioners of St. Gregory's complained of this removal, by appeal to the Court of the Arches. But the council having notice of it, prevented the sentence, by ordering the dean of the Arches, to confirm by his authority, what had been done in St. Gregory's church. A few days after, the King being present in council, caused this affair to be debated, and approving the act of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, gave commandment, that if those parishioners did proceed in their appeal, the dean of the Arches, who was then attending at the hearing of the cause should cast them, and confirm the removal. This sentence, given by the King's sovereign authority, without staying for the judgment of the court, to whose cognizance this matter properly belonged, was a fountain of oppressions to many ministers and congregations, who were not willing to comply with it. There was scarcely a church in England, except the cathedrals and the King's chapel, where the communion table was placed altar-wise, at the upper end of the chancel. But after the King had confirmed the removal in St. Gregory's church, the like disputes arose in numberless places, and the high commission had frequent occasions to punish the ministers, who were suspected of too little zeal for the church of England. As since the Reformation, the altars were changed into communion tables, and placed in the middle of the chancel, to avoid superstition, many imagined, the tables were again turned into altars, with intent to revive a superstitious worship.

In February 1634, came to a solemn hearing in the Star Chamber, a cause which made a great noise, and which showed the extreme severity of that court against such as were suspected not to be submissive enough to the government. The case was this. Mr. William Prynn, barrister, of Lincoln's Inn, had compiled and printed, a large volume in quarto, of above a thousand pages, intituled, Histrio-Mastix. The author's main design was to show, that stage plays, balls, masques, were unlawful and antichristian.* But in treating his subject, he had interspersed sundry reflections, applicable to the King, the Queen, and the church, who approved or tolerated these abuses. It was pretended, his aim in general was to show, there was a design to reduce religion to a kind of paganism, in order to make way for Popery. This outrage was represented by the King's council in the blackest colours they could possibly give it. At last, after a solemn hearing of three days, the book was condemned to be burnt by the common hangman, a thing till then unusual in England. As for the author, sentence was passed upon him; that he should be expelled Lincoln's Inn, be disabled to practise, degraded of his degree in the university of Oxford, set on the pillory, have his ears cut off, imprisoned during life, and fined five thousand pounds. The publisher, Michael Sparkes, who was also the printer of the book, was fined five hundred pounds; and Mr. Buckner, the chaplain who licensed it, fifty pounds.

This sentence seemed too severe, to disinterested persons. It mortified the Presbyterians especially, most of whom were of the same principles with Prynn. They could not help perceiving, in the severity exercised upon this author, a malicious design to disgrace their sect, and oppress them on all occasions. The truth is, the Presbyterian party, though very numerous, as plainly appeared afterwards, laboured then under oppression.

The death of the attorney-general hindered not the King from putting his advice in practice. To that purpose, under the pretence of protecting the seas against piracy, &c. he directed to the mayors and head officers of the maritime towns, writs, commanding them to provide a certain number of ships, and to defray all the expenses thereof for a given time. The port of London was commanded to provide seven ships of war, furnished with men, victuals, and all warlike provisions, to be at Portsmouth by the 1st of March following, and to continue from thence the space of twenty-six weeks in his Majesty's service, upon the defence of the seas and other causes. The city pleaded an exemption, but was not capable of causing the King to desist from his resolution. On the contrary, in time, this tax, which was at first peculiar to the maritime towns, was imposed upon the whole kingdom.

A. D. 1634-5.] After Laud's promotion to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, his zeal for the church of England and against the Presbyterians, seemed to be much increased. He kept by the King's order a private correspondence with the Bishops of Scotland, concerning the liturgy and canons designed to be introduced into the kirk. But he did not confine his labours to the conversion of the Scots, nor even of the English Presbyterians. The Dutch, the Walloons, the French, who had taken refuge in England, since the reign of Edward VI. had obtained sundry privileges from the former Kings, and particularly the liberty of celebrating divine service after their manner, that is, the Presbyterian, and formed several congregations, both in London and other parts of the kingdom. But Laud could not bear they should enjoy this privilege any longer. And therefore sent them these two injunctions, having first secured the King's approbation:

"I. That all the natives of the Dutch and Walloon congregations, in his grace's diocese, should repair to the several parish churches of those several parishes where they inhabited, to hear divine service and sermons, and perform all duties and payments required in that behalf.

"II. That the ministers, and all other of the Dutch and Walloon congregations, which were not natives and born subjects to the King's Majesty, or any other strangers that should come over to them, while they remained strangers, might have and use their own discipline, as formerly they have done; yet it was thought fit, that the English liturgy should be translated into French and Dutch, for the better settling of their children to the English government."

Besides that, by these injunctions, he imposed upon these foreign churches a liturgy which they did not approve, he reduced these congregations almost to nothing since he excluded all that were born in the kingdom,

* His zeal against all these levities, he says, was first moved by observing, that plays sold better than the choicest sermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than the Bible itself. Besides, that the players were often Papists, and desperately wicked, the play-houses, he affirms, are Satan's chapels, the play-haunters little better than incarnate Devils; and so many steps in a dance, so many paces to Hell. The chief crime of Nero he represents to have been, his frequenting and acting of plays; and those, who nobly conspired his death, were principally moved to it, as he affirms, by their indignation at that enormity. The music in the churches, he affirmed not to be the noise of men, but a bleating of brute beasts: choristers bellow the tenor, as it were oxen; bark a counter part, as it were a kennel of dogs; roar out a treble, as it were a sort of bulls; and grunt out a bass, as it were a number of hogs: Christmas, as it is kept, is the Devil's Christmas. And Prynn employed a great number of pages to persuade men to affect the name of Puritan, as if Christ had been a Puritan; and so he saith in his index.

that is, all the descendants of such as had fled hither in the reign of Edward VI. and consequently there could be but very few left of those born out of the kingdom.

Upon this, the Dutch and Walloon churches at Norwich presented a petition to the Bishop of that diocese, remonstrating, that the Archbishop's injunctions were contrary, not only to several orders of the council heretofore given in favour of their congregations, but also to the privileges granted them when they first settled in England, and continued to them during the reigns of Edward VI. Queen Elizabeth, and James I. and confirmed also by his present Majesty's royal word. The Bishop of Norwich not returning a favourable answer to their petition, they applied to the Archbishop himself, who answered them by letter, that his Majesty was resolved, his instructions should hold, and that obedience should be yielded to them by all the natives, after the first descent; concluding his letter with these words: "And thus I have given you answer fairly in all your particulars, and do expect all obedience and conformity to my instructions, which if you shall perform, the state will have occasion to see how ready you are to practise the obedience which you teach: And for my part, I doubt not but yourselves, or your posterity at least, shall have cause to thank both the state and the church for this care taken of you; but if you refuse (as you have no cause to do, and I hope you will not) I shall then proceed against the natives, according to the laws and canons ecclesiastical."*

The Presbyterians having no other way to be revenged of the Archbishop, published several libels against him, taking notice of all the innovations he had brought into the church, pretending they were so many steps towards popery. They forgot not to upbraid him with the pictures he had placed in the windows of his chapel at Lambeth, particularly that of God the Father in the form of a little old man, They observed several other things, of which the Archbishop was afterwards accused by the House of Commons.

The King being always in want, his ministers were continually employed in devising means to raise money. In the beginning of the year 1635, the Attorney-General presented an information of the Star-Chamber against several hundreds of persons, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Ladies, and others, for disobeying his Majesty's proclamation, by which they were commanded not to reside in London. Probably, considering the Star-Chamber's zeal to support the King's authority, the parties accused were punished by fine.

The tax to provide and maintain a certain number of ships to guard the seas, was imposed in 1634, for the year 1635, only upon the maritime towns. But in 1635, the King sent his writs for ship-money all over the kingdom for the year 1636. The reason or rather pretence of this general tax was, that the kingdom was in great danger, on account of the league lately concluded between France and the Low-Countries. Though it did not appear how this league, which was not against England, could put the kingdom in danger, the King however inferred, that the two most powerful States in naval forces being united, it was absolutely necessary that England should have a strong fleet to preserve the dominion of the sea, otherwise she might be insulted, and her trade disturbed. This tax being imposed by virtue of the prerogative royal, several private persons refused to pay the sums they were rated at. Nay some there were who sued the Magistrates and other officers appointed to levy the money, asserting, that the subject could be taxed only by act of Parliament. This opposition was the reason, that in the year 1636 ship-money amounted to not above two hundred thousand pounds, though the King had expected a much larger sum. Meanwhile, the King considering, that by means of this tax he should have a settled revenue, besides that it would be a precedent to make use of his prerogative on other occasions, resolved to support his project at any rate. But to guard it against all objections of being illegal, and contrary to his answer to the Petition of Right, he had a mind to show he was authorized on this occasion to exert his prerogative. To that end he sent to the Judges of the realm, and required their opinion concerning his right to levy this tax. As the Judges wholly depended upon the court, they very readily decided in favour of the King, and gave him their opinion in writing. But the King thought not proper to publish their determination, being satisfied with keeping it in private till their should be occasion to use it.

This year, 1635, the King renewed a former commission to confirm their defective titles, to such as held lands of the crown. He pretended it was an act of grace, and that his only aim was to secure the possession of lands to those who held them by disputable titles. But notwithstanding this, the commission was looked upon as a manifest oppression. For, under colour of examining defective titles, all the proprietors were obliged to produce their titles, to which, how valid soever they might be, the commissioners made objections. So, to avoid a law-suit with the King, wherein they were sure to be cast, considering the disposition of the Judges, the proprietors were forced to compound, and give money to secure their lands, which were otherwise in danger of being re-united to the crown.

Shortly after, the King published a proclamation, commanding all persons, except soldiers, mariners, merchants, and their factors, not to depart the kingdom without his licence.

The abuses of the informers, that is, persons, who watched people's actions, in order to accuse them, in case they infringed the laws, were grown so excessive, that the King was forced, if not to abolish them entirely, at least, to qualify them by certain directions which he ordered to be observed.

The office of Lord Treasurer, which had been executed by commissioners, since the death of the Earl of Portland, was conferred on Dr. William Juxton, Bishop of London. who discharged it worthily. No churchman had enjoyed this post since Henry VIIth's time.

This year was presented to the King, by the Earl of Arundel, an old man called Parr, who was a hundred and fifty-two years of age, and in perfect health. He was born the last year of the reign of Edward IV.†

The Elector Palatine, and Prince Rupert, or Robert, his brother arrived in England about this time, and were lodged in the King their uncle's palace.

A. D. 1636.] The Presbyterians were still molested upon every occasion, or whenever they gave their enemies an advantage, through an excess of zeal which was not always well regulated. Samuel Ward, a minister in Ipswich, boldly preached against the King's Book of Sports, and also said, "That the church of England was ready to ring changes in religion." For which he was suspended by the high-commission, and afterwards committed to prison for refusing to make a public recantation. The church-wardens of Beckington in Somersetshire refusing to place the communion-table otherwise than it had been for sixty years, were excommunicated by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. They appealed to the Arches, but their appeal was rejected. Then they petitioned the King, but with no better success. So the church-wardens stood excommunicated a whole year, and were afterwards thrown into the common-goal, whence at length they were released by the Bishop, upon their public submission and penance.

On the other hand, the Archbishop of Canterbury,

* About one hundred and forty families of these people went into Holland, where they were kindly received, and exempted from excise, and paying of house-rent for seven years: they taught the Dutch the way of managing the woollen manufacture. Thousands of families also retired into New England.

† He died the same year, aged 152 years and 9 months: the change of air, and mode of living, particularly the drinking of wine, are supposed to have accelerated his death.—Old Thomas Parr, the subject of this note, was a husbandman, of Shropshire. At the age of one hundred he did penance for a bastard child; and at one hundred and twenty he married a second wife, by whom he had a child.

ever

ever zealous for the church of England, considered as puritans all who neglected the least rite or ceremony of that church. This prelate being informed of some remissness in that respect in the two Universities, could not suffer such an abuse. There were at Cambridge three chapels where Divine Service was daily celebrated, though they had never been consecrated. This neglect, which to him seemed so blameable, exciting his zeal, he resolved to visit the Universities as metropolitan. He met with some opposition, the Universities maintaining that he had not the right of visiting as Archbishop, though they did not deny he might visit by the King's commission, if his Majesty was pleased to appoint him. But not being satisfied with a borrowed power, he brought the case before the King, who decided it in his favour, after having himself supported the Archbishop's reasons with arguments, and answered the objections of the Universities.

The King being determined to continue the tax for the maintenance of the ships designed to guard the seas, and having the last year given orders for levying it this year, 1636, was obliged to seek a pretence for a fleet. This tax, called ship-money, was grounded upon the necessity of guarding the seas. But none could perceive the danger, which, according to the King, England was exposed to by the alliance between France, and Holland To this pretence therefore was to be added that of preserving the dominion of the narrow seas. To this end he published a proclamation, declaring, "Whereas King James did, in the seventh year of his reign, set forth a proclamation touching fishing; whereby all persons of what nation or quality soever (being not his natural-born subjects) were restrained from fishing upon any of the coasts and seas of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the rest of the Isles adjacent, until they had orderly obtained licences in that behalf. Since which time, neither the King his father, nor himself have made any considerable execution of the said proclamation, but have expected a voluntary conformity thereto. But now finding by experience, that all the inconveniencies which occasioned that proclamation, are rather increased than abated; and his Majesty well knowing how far he is obliged in honour to maintain the rights of his crown, has thought it necessary to renew the aforesaid restraint of fishing, and to declare, that his resolution is to keep such a competent strength of shipping upon his seas, as may be sufficient both to hinder farther encroachments upon his regalities, and assist and protect those his good friends and allies, who shall henceforth with licence endeavour to take benefit of fishing upon his coasts."

These friends were the Hollanders, who came every year and fished for herrings on the coast of Scotland. It was therefore manifest, that after thirty years forbearance he sought a quarrel with the Dutch, only to have occasion to fit out a fleet, which served for pretence to impose the tax of ship-money. This quarrel produced the two famous treatises, intituled Mare Liberum, and Mare Clausum, the former penned by Grotius, the latter by Selden. But the King regarded not arguments drawn from history, or ancient treaties between the two nations; he made use of a more effectual method, namely, a fleet under the command of Algernon, Earl of Northumberland. This fleet attacking the dispersed fishermen, who little expected it, and sinking some, compelled the rest to retire into the English harbours as the safest retreat, and in short, to give the King thirty thousand florins, for permission to continue their fishing that summer.*

Soon after, the King raised thirty thousand pounds by a commission, to inquire concerning depopulations and conversions of arable lands to pasture, since the 10th year of Queen Elizabeth. There were many offenders of this kind, and so heavy a fine was imposed in the Star-Chamber on Sir Anthony Roper, that the rest, to avoid the same treatment, speedily compounded with the King.

But ship-money was the most important thing; and as such regarded by the court. The King neither would nor could depart from it, for three principal reasons. First, because he should be deprived of a very considerable aid, which he meant to render fixed and customary. Secondly, in desisting from this tax, after levying it two years successively, he would have given cause to believe he had no power to impose it, and consequently had acted contrary to law. Thirdly, having resolved never more to call a Parliament, it highly concerned him to establish his prerogative in such a manner that none should dare to contest it. So the city of London having petitioned the board, that the twenty ships they were rated at, might be reduced to ten, received a very sharp answer to this effect:

"That the tax of ship-money was necessary for the preservation of the state; and the charge was not immoderate: that his Majesty would admit of no excuse, but expected a ready compliance: that the precedents alledged in favour of the city, ought to induce them to obey, rather than to contradict and direct the King."

Notwithstanding all this, there were some that obstinately refused to pay their share of this tax, imagining, no court of Justice would be so bold as to compel them. As these examples were of dangerous consequence, the King, to discourage all opposition, proposed this question to the Judges: "Whether, in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this taxation; and whether he were not sole Judge of the necessity?" These guardians of law and liberty, replied, with great complaisance, "That in a case of necessity, he might impose that taxation, and that he was sole judge of the necessity."†

After these precautions, the King thought himself sufficiently authorized to order such to be prosecuted, as refused to pay ship-money. Nevertheless, there was a gentleman, who being persuaded, notwithstanding the Judges' determination, that ship-money was illegal, and contrary to the Petition of Right, resolved to stand the shock, and refused to pay the tax. Mr. Hampden of Buckinghamshire was the man, who being rated at twenty shillings, chose rather to be condemned than pay voluntarily. This case was argued in the Exchequer Chamber, before all the Judges of England, who were sent for to render the judgment more solemn and authentic. Though the point was only to decide, whether Mr. Hampden should pay twenty shillings or not, it was the most important case that had ever been argued in any Court of Justice. The thing in question was, to determine, whether the King had power to tax the subject, without the concurrence of the Parliament, and whether the people were obliged to pay taxes imposed in that manner. Accordingly Mr. Hampden's and the King's counsel displayed on this occasion, all that wit, learning, knowledge of the laws, solidity of reasoning, subtlety, chicanery, are able to produce.

The counsel for Mr. Hampden pleaded express laws, Magna Charta, the subsequent statutes, and the Petition of Right. The King's counsel insisted chiefly upon precedents and instances taken from some of the former reigns, and upon the impossibility in certain cases, of strictly observing the laws. From whence they inferred, that the laws were not so general, but that they were limited by extraordinary cases, and the King being bound to defend the state, ought to be the sole judge of such cases.

After the cause had been argued many days, from the beginning of November till Christmas, and in the following terms, till May and June, judgment was given against Mr. Hampden, and he was condemned to pay the sum he was taxed at. Thenceforth no one would have recourse to the law.‡

Whilst

* The Dutch agreed to give the King thirty thousand pounds for this summer, which was paid accordingly; and expressed their willingness to obtain a grant from the King, for their permission to fish for the time to come, paying a yearly tribute.

† Two of the Judges, however (Hutton and Crooke) were not of this opinion; but they were persuaded to sign, like the others, by the consideration, that it was the opinion of the body.

‡ This cause was not only argued by the King's, and Mr. Hampden's

Whilst endeavours were using in England to carry the prerogative-royal higher than ever, the King resolved to execute the project he had formed with regard to Scotland, namely, to reduce the kirk to a perfect conformity with the church of England. This project has been formed by King James, at his accession to the crown of England. He had even found means before he left Scotland to restore episcopacy. From that time, the Bishops were always protected and countenanced by James I. and Charles I. who gained the Parliaments to their interest, and moreover exerted their prerogative in favour of the prelates; for with them the execution of their design was to begin.

The Reformation was received in Scotland by public authority, in the reign of Queen Mary 1560, just before the death of Francis II. and whilst the Queen his widow was yet in France. The first that embraced the reformed religion in Scotland under the former reigns, were much persecuted, even to the time we have been speaking of, and yet, their number did not fail daily to increase.

From the year 1560, to 1609, the church of Scotland was governed by presbyteries, diocesan and provincial synods, general assemblies, and even superintendants were appointed, who continued till the year 1575. The general assemblies condemned and rejected episcopal government above thirty years, and, during that time, constantly demanded and earnestly solicited the abolition of episcopacy, with respect both to temporals and spirituals. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the Reformation till 1592, no express act of Parliament could be obtained, whether for or against episcopacy, or to approve or reject the presbyterian government, if we except the interval between the years 1571 and 1575.*

Had the general assemblies confined their demands to the abolishing of episcopacy as to the spiritual functions, very likely, they would have easily obtained it. But after the abolition of the episcopal office as far as in them lay, they were not contented with desiring that their acts might be confirmed by the Parliament, but demanded also that the name of Bishop might be abolished, and the Bishop deprived of all sorts of temporal honours and privileges, as the right of sitting in Parliament and the like. But the court always opposed it strenuously, because the bishopricks and abbies being filled by the King, he could almost depend upon as many votes in Parliament as there were Bishops and Abbots. For the same reason, the court, by secret practices, hindered the Parliament from passing any act to establish presbytery, and to abrogate the spiritual jurisdiction of Bishops, because it was perceived that this would tend to deprive them of their temporal honours. Not but that, in the actual practice of the church, episcopacy was really abolished, and presbytery established; but however, as long as there was no express act to abolish episcopacy, the Bishops and Abbots could not be prevented from voting in Parliament, which was a great advantage to the court. So the name and title of Bishops and Abbots still subsisted. They held the lands annexed to their benefices, and enjoyed the same temporal privileges with their predecessors, though the office had ceased.

The reign of Mary lasted till the year 1567. This Queen was a zealous Catholic, and yet so long as the Earl of Murray her natural brother had any credit with her, the Reformation was not attacked. But towards the end of her reign under Bothwel's administration, the general assembly lost ground. However, in 1566, they made the decree, to approve of the discipline of the churches of Switzerland, and of a parity among the ministers, which entirely destroyed episcopacy. But the Queen, regardless of this decree, openly restored the Archbishopric of St. Andrew's, notwithstanding the opposition of the assembly.

The interval from the deposing of Queen Mary, in 1567 to 1573, was a time of troubles and discord, under the administration of several Regents, whose authority was not firmly established: so that it was very difficult for the Parliament effectually to settle the discipline of the church. All that can be said is, that they rejected not what was established by the general assembly, though they gave not their consent to it. On the other hand, in 1572 and 1573, the Regent, for some private views, caused some acts to be passed in favour of episcopacy, but which were afterwards repealed.†

The Earl of Morton having lost his head in 1581, the Duke of Lenox and Earl of Arran ruled the young King as they pleased. They were expelled afterwards by the Ruthens, but the King recalled the Earl of Arran, who became more powerful than ever. This favourite's design was to disengage the King his master from the interest of England, and to countenance the Duke of Guise's project to invade Elizabeth by Scotland. It was the favourite's business therefore to curb the too great power of the general assembly, who strongly opposed the execution of this project. The best way to succeed, was, not only to protect the Bishops, but also to give them authority over the ministers, that these might be more humble. To that end, he procured four acts of Parliament in 1584; the intent of which was to abolish the general assemblies with the presbytery, and restore the episcopal government. These acts were repealed by the Parliament of 1592.

---

den's counsel, but afterwards by the Judges at the Bench, and all of them, (except Hutton and Crooke) argued, and gave their judgment for the King.

* In Scotland are eight hundred and ninety parishes, each of which is divided in proportion to its extent, into particular districts, and every district has its own ruling elders (that is, men of the principal quality and interests in the Parish) and Deacon (that is, one who has a competency, and is of a good character for manners and understanding.) A consistory of ministers, elders, and deacons, is called a kirk-session, the lowest ecclesiastical judicatory, which meets once a week, to consider the affairs of the parish. The minister is always moderator, but without a negative. Appeals lie from hence to their own presbyteries, which are the next higher judicatories. Scotland is divided into sixty-nine presbyteries, each consisting of, from twelve to twenty-four contiguous parishes. The ministers of these parishes, with one ruling elder, chosen half-yearly out of every kirk-session, compose a presbytery. They meet in the head town, and chuse their moderator, who must be a minister, half-yearly: he is only prolocutor. From hence appeals lie to provincial synods, which are composed of several adjacent presbyteries, two, three, four, to eight. There are fifteen in all. The members are the ministers, and a ruling elder out of every parish. These synods meet twice a year, at the principal towns of its bounds. They chuse a moderator, who is their prolocutor. The acts of the synod are subject to the review of the general assembly, the dernier resort of the kirk of Scotland. It consists of the commissioners from Presbyteries, royal burghs, and universities. A presbytery of twelve ministers, sends two ministers, and one ruling elder. Of between twelve and eighteen, it sends three, and one ruling elder. Of between eighteen and twenty-four, sends four, and two ruling elders. Of twenty-four, sends five, and two elders. Every royal burgh sends one elder, and Edinbugh two. Every University sends one commissioner, usually a minister. The assembly meets once a year.

† By the first, which is the 46th of the Parliament holden in 1572, it is declared, "The Archbishops and Bishops have the authority, and are ordained, to convene and deprive all inferior persons being ministers, who shall not subscribe the articles of religion, and give their oath for acknowledging and recognising of our Sovereign Lord and his authority, and bring a testimonial in writing thereupon, within a month after their admission."

By the 48th act of the same Parliament, it is declared, "That Archbishops and Bishops have authority at their visitations to design ministers' glebes."

By the 54th of the said Parliament, "Archbishops and Bishops were authorized to nominate and appoint at their visitations, persons in every Parochin for making and setting of the taxation, for upholding and repairing of kirks and kirk-yards, and to convene, try, and censure all persons that shall be found to have applied to their own use the stones, timber, or any thing else pertaining to kirks demolished."

By the 55th of the Parliament in 1573, "Archbishops and Bishops were authorized to admonish persons married, in case of desertion, to adhere, and in case of disobedience, to direct charges to the minister of the Porachin to proceed to the sentence of excommunication."

There appears in these four acts some signs of the episcopal jurisdiction, or at least, that the Parliament did not look upon episcopacy as entirely abolished. But on the other hand, if the Bishops actually exercised their functions at that time, where was the necessity of the Parliament's authorizing them to act in most of the things specified in these statutes? But there is a stronger objection still against the Bishops. And that is, they who have thus cited these acts, have curtailed them, and passed over in silence the superintendants who were joined with the Bishops, whence it is inferred, that the Bishops were impowered only as commissioners of the Parliament.

ment.

Though, at the beginning of the year 1587, Elizabeth had beheaded Mary, King James's mother, he was soon comforted by the hopes of possessing one day the crown of England, which he was afraid of losing, in case he continued to form projects against religion, as he had done during the Earl of Arran's ministry. This same year therefore he gave the royal assent to the Act of Annexation, whereby were annexed to the crown, "all Lordships and Baronies pertaining to whatsoever Archbishops, or Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Nuns and Monks; reserving always to Archbishops, &c. and others possessors of great benefices of the estate of Prelates, and which before had or hath vote in Parliament, the principal castles and fortalices."

It may be inferred from this act, that the depriving the Bishops of their lands, was depriving them withal of the right of sitting in Parliament, since that right was founded entirely upon the possession of the baronies. It seems even that the title of Bishop began now to be conferred on laymen, which gave them only the possession of the chief castle belonging to the see.

At last, in 1592, the Parliament repealed and annulled not only the fore-mentioned acts of 1583, but also such as were contrary to the discipline established, "approving, ratifying, and confirming the assemblies, presbyteries and synods, with the discipline and jurisdiction of the kirk, as most just and godly, notwithstanding whatsoever statutes, acts, canons, civil or municipal laws made in the contrary. Further, they abrogated all acts, granting commission to Bishops, and other Judges constitute in ecclesiastical causes; and ordained presentation to benefices, to be directed to presbyteries, with power to give collation thereupon."

This act was confirmed in 1593, and the power of presbyteries solemnly acknowledged by the Parliament of 1594, act 129.

But things remained not long upon the same footing. Whether the general assemblies usurped too much authority, after they were freed from the Bishops, or for some other reasons, the King formed new projects, and resolved to restore the Bishops. At that time, as at many other junctures, the court had so great an influence over the Parliament, that almost whatever was desired, was enacted.

The King therefore so ordered it, in 1597, that "the privilege of a voice in Parliament was granted to the whole kirk; and under that name to Bishops and Abbots, even as in times of Papistry." As to the office and spiritual government of Bishops, the Parliament remitted them to the King and the assembly, intending not to derogate from the provincial and general assemblies, and other whatsoever presbyteries and sessions, nor from the discipline established in the kirk.

The act shows, the Bishops had lost their right of seats in Parliament, since there was occasion to give it them again. By virtue of this act, they resumed their places in Parliament, and even Sir Robert Spottiswood a layman took his seat there, as Abbot of New-Abbey. The King desired nothing more at that time, than to introduce the Bishops and Abbots again into the Parliament. But he did not stop there.

Meanwhile, as the general assembly continued to oppose strenuously the promotion of churchmen to posts of authority in the state, and as the people seemed more inclined to follow the determinations of the general assembly, than those of the Parliament, it was to be feared, this dissention would at last raise disturbances in the kingdom. To prevent this inconvenience, the King caused the general assembly, held at Montrose, in the year 1600, to be pressed so earnestly to consent to what the Parliament of 1597 had granted to the Bishops, that they were obliged either to comply, or break entirely with him. They approved this act therefore, but upon certain conditions, the substance whereof was, that the Bishops should act in Parliament only as commissioners or deputies of the kirk, and should be subject to the general assembly.

As soon as James I. became King of England, he formed the project of establishing in the kirk of Scotland, the discipline and hierarchy of the church of England. To accomplish this design, it was necessary to restore the Bishops to all the rights they had enjoyed before the Reformation, and accordingly he resolved to begin with this restoration. His power in the Parliament was very great, during the last years of his being in Scotland; but it was nothing in comparison of what it was after his accession to the throne of England. It suffices to say, that this influence was in proportion to the means he had of dispensing to his Scotch subjects favours, which he had not been able to grant them in their own country. He made use of his credit in the year 1606, and obtained the following act of Parliament:

"The ancient and fundamental policy, consisting in the maintenance of the three estates of Parliament, being of late greatly impaired, and almost subverted, especially by the indirect abolishing the Act of Annexation: albeit it was never meaned by his Majesty, nor by his estates, that the said estate of Bishops, being a necessary estate of the Parliament, should any way be suppressed, yet by dismembering and abstracting from them of their livings, being brought in contempt and poverty, the said estate of Bishops is hereby restored, and redintegrate to their ancient and accustomed honour, dignities, prerogatives, privileges, lands, teindes, as the same was in the reformed kirk, most amply and free, at any time before the act of Annexation; rescinding and annulling all acts of Parliament made in prejudice of the said Bishops in the premisses, or any of them, with all that hath followed, or may follow thereupon, to the effect they may peaceably enjoy the honours, dignities, privileges and prerogatives competent to them or their estate since the Reformation of religion."

Thus far however it concerned only the temporalities, there not being in the act a single word from whence it might be inferred that the Parliament restored the Bishops to their spiritual functions, or ancient jurisdiction. The general assembly pretended indeed, that the King and Parliament could make no alterations in the spirituals, without the kirk's consent: but they had no power to hinder the King and Parliament from giving the lands of the crown to whom they pleased, and from admitting into the Parliament such as they thought proper.

In 1609, the King, under colour of confirming the act of 1606, obtained of the Parliament another act, which in confirming the other, added a clause, whereby the Bishops were restored to all their former authority, privileges and jurisdictions. By virtue of this last act it was that the Bishops took possession of the government of the kirk, notwithstanding the conditions of the Montrose assembly, which they little regarded, and supposed to be annulled by this act. But the general assembly protested in form against this act, affirming the Parliament had not power without the kirk's consent, to restore a spiritual office that had been abolished. They protested also against the promotion of churchmen to civil posts, as pernicious to religion. Their protestation was rejected: but however it was printed and dispersed throughout the kingdom.

The general assembly's opposition had a great effect upon the people, who loved not the Bishops, and for fifty years had been used to the Presbyterian government. They complained, the Parliament had been gained to impose upon them episcopal government, which was odious to the whole nation, not only without consulting the kirk, but even against her will. This opposition convinced the King, that notwithstanding the authority of the Parliament, he should find it very difficult to reduce the people of Scotland to obedience, so long as the general assembly opposed the restoration of the Bishops. He resolved therefore to cause a general assembly to be held at Glasgow in 1610, where he took care to gain a majority of votes, and of which the Bishops were the chief directors. The assembly thus disposed, agreed that the Bishops should resume all their spiritual functions, with the government of the

church. After that, in 1612, the King called a Parliament, who, upon the consent of the Glasgow assembly, passed an act, whereby the Bishops were restored to all their spiritual rights.

The adversaries of the Bishops, astonished at this proceeding, were forced to be silent, the torrent being too strong, to be opposed. Besides, the general assemblies being grown less necessary, since the Bishops had the government of the church, the King very seldom gave them leave to meet, and when he did, it was after he had taken all necessary precautions to be assured that the Bishops would be the directors and managers. In 1617, he moreover obtained of the Parliament an act, whereby it was ordained, that the Bishops should be elected by the chapters, and consecrated with the accustomed rights, that is with those introduced of late years. As during the troubles in Scotland on account of religion, the people loudly complained of the restoration of the Bishops, the consent of the Glasgow assembly in 1610 was continually objected to them. For this reason the first general assembly that King Charles was obliged to grant in 1638, found no better method to evade this objection, than to declare the Glasgow assembly void from the beginning.

Such was the state of episcopacy in Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation to the reign of Charles I. who, at his accession to the throne, found it fully established, though contrary to the bent of the nation in general. James I. as we observed, had formed the design of putting the kirk of Scotland upon the same footing with the church of England. He had made great progress therein, and Charles I. pursued the same design with still more ardor than his father.

After James I. had entirely restored episcopacy in Scotland, he resolved to finish his work by degrees. To that purpose, he began with the five articles mentioned in the history of his reign, which he caused to be approved by the general assembly of Perth, by means as illegal perhaps as violent. The Bishops governed the presbyteries, by making themselves moderators, so that it was not possible to chuse any for commissioners to the assembly general, but such as they thought proper. However this be, the five articles being approved, the King, who by long experience was well acquainted with the genius and character of the Scots, thought it necessary, before all things, to curb the petulancy and boldness of the ministers, for fear they should raise disturbances in the kingdom. The people had for them a great veneration, which was even increased after the restoration of the Bishops, because these last were more careful to maintain their grandeur and power, than gain the love of their flocks. To compass his ends, the King set up in Scotland a high-commission, like that in England, but which, till then, was unheard of in Scotland. As the Scots had never given their King the title of supreme head of the church, as was done in England, there had been no occasion to establish a high commission in Scotland, to exercise the supremacy in the King's name. But James I. who was very apt to stretch his prerogative, readily believed, he had no less right to exercise the supremacy in Scotland than in England, though till now he had never thought of any such thing. Be this as it will, by means of this new court, which was at first very severe, he excommunicated and deprived the ministers for the least offence, and kept them so in awe, that not a man dared to stir. This, with the favours bestowed upon such as showed a readiness to countenance his designs, made him almost secure of success in his undertaking, which daily advanced. Nothing was wanting to complete it, but the causing the English liturgy and canons to be received in Scotland. So the King having convened a general assembly at Aberdeen, it was represented to them, that Divine Service was performed in the kirk of Scotland after an indecent manner, every minister having liberty to compose public prayers, and use what expressions he pleased, which was liable to great inconveniencies: that it would therefore be proper to compile a liturgy to be used in every church in Scotland, to the end the people might every where pray with one heart and one mouth. It must be observed, that it was not moved to receive the English liturgy, but only to compose one proper for the kirk of Scotland. Whereupon several members of the assembly believed, they might without danger agree, that a Common-Prayer-Book should be used, and the rather, as the Reformed churches of Geneva, Switzerland, France, and Germany, had their several liturgies, though very different from that of the English. This motion being approved, the assembly appointed commissioners to compose this new liturgy, and it may well be imagined, this nomination was agreeable to the King's desire. These commissioners, most of whom were Bishops, after spending a considerable time in framing this liturgy, only copied that which was set forth in England in the reign of Edward VI. and sent it to the King for his approbation.

The affairs of the Palatinate, and the Spanish marriage so engrossed King James during the last years of his life, that he could not effectually think of finishing the work he had undertaken in Scotland. As he knew the Scots perfectly, and their strong prejudice for presbyterianism, he doubtless thought proper to defer the execution of his design till he had ended his two principal affairs. He was apprehensive, that if any troubles should unfortunately happen to Scotland on account of the liturgy, they might divert him from what was then the principal object of his care.

Charles I. was no less eager than his father, to establish in Scotland the discipline of the church of England. But his circumstances in the beginning of his reign, did not allow him to apply himself to the finishing of this affair with all the speed he desired. His wars with Spain, and afterwards with France, his projects with regard to his prerogative, his continual quarrels with the Parliaments, required his whole application. Besides, it was not proper in these junctures to rouze the Scots, who indeed seemed quiet and submissive, but yet were very discontented, as the King well knew. He stayed therefore till he had concluded a peace with France and Spain, and rendered himself as it were, absolute by the dissolution of three Parliaments, by his resolution never to call any more, and by establishing his prerogative concerning taxes, without the concurrence of the Parliament. Then it was that he seriously thought of completing the reduction of the kirk of Scotland to a perfect conformity with the church of England. He had not however been idle with respect to Scotland during these first years of his reign. Though he had delayed the execution of his design, it was ever his thoughts, and he had taken some measures which seemed to warrant success.

I. He had either continued or renewed the high-commission, introduced by the King his father.

II. He had almost abolished the general assemblies, by not allowing any since his accession to the throne.

III. He had so supported and countenanced the Bishops, that they had the clergy entirely in their power, whom they ruled with a very heavy hand.

IV. He had gained a great number of the ministers by means of benefices and ecclesiastical offices or dignities, which were granted only to those whose compliance he could depend upon.

V. He had so filled the council of Scotland, in whose hands the administration of affairs is lodged in the King's absence, that there was scarcely a Privy-Counsellor but what was engaged to promote his designs.

VI. There was in this council several Bishops, and the Archbishop of St. Andrews was vested with the Chancellorship, the prime office of the kingdom.

VII. He had secured the Lords of Session, that is, of the College of Justice, and in a word, all who had places depending upon the court.

VIII. He had charged Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, to hold continual correspondence with the Bishops and council of Scotland, and take with them the necessary measures to accomplish the design.

It seemed therefore impossible, that the King should meet with any opposition from a dispersed people, without

out leaders, without support, and destitute of the assistance of their magistrates.

With all these advantages, Charles undertook to finish what still remained to be done in Scotland. To that end, after a revisal of the liturgy transmitted to the late King, he sent it back into Scotland, with orders to have it received in the kirk. 'But upon the objection, that this liturgy being word for word the same with that of the church of England, the Scots might take offence at the imposing upon them the liturgy of another kingdom, he thought proper to make some alterations, and ordered, that instead of the English Version of the Psalms, and of the Epistles and Gospel, the Scotch translation should be inserted in the liturgy of Scotland. After that, he believed it could not be complained of, with the least shadow of reason, that he had a mind to impose the English liturgy upon the kirk of Scotland.

During the revisal of the liturgy, the King sent into Scotland a book of canons, for the government of the kirk, and these canons enjoined a conformity to the liturgy, though it was not yet published, nor so much as known to the people. The pretence to introduce these new canons, was, that the acts of the general assemblies not being printed, but contained in many large manuscript volumes, remained unknown to the people. For this reason the King imagined, they would be obliged to him for his care in extracting the most material and principal things, in a little book which might be in every one's hands.

The liturgy being ready, the King sent it into Scotland, and appointed it to be read in all the churches of Edinburgh on Easter-day this year 1637. But upon farther consideration, this order was revoked. The King was told, it might be dangerous to surprize the people with the reading of the liturgy before they were prepared. That it was more proper to defer it some months, in order to see whether, in that interval, the mal-contents would attempt to oppose it. In that case, they might be oppressed, before they had time to take just measures, and the ill-success of their attempt would only serve to promote the King's design. This reason appeared so plausible, that the King ordered the reading of the liturgy to be deferred till Sunday the 23d of July the same year. During this whole interval, there was no unusual motion in Edinburgh, nor the least appearance that the King's orders would meet with opposition. To be still more secure, the council caused it to be published eight days before, in all the churches of the city, that the liturgy would be read the Sunday following. No person stirred the whole week, and all was so quiet in the city, that the council doubted not of success.

Nevertheless, the next Sunday, the Lord Chancellor, most of the Lords of the Council, some Bishops, the Lords of Session, or Judges of the Realm, and the Magistrates of Edinburgh, repairing to St. Giles's church, the cathedral of the city, when the Dean opened the the book to read the liturgy, the meaner sort of people, with clapping of hands, execrations and outcries, raised so hideous a noise, that it was not possible to hear a word. Whereupon the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was to preach, stepping into the pulpit, with thoughts to appease the people, was received with the same clamours and imprecations, and if a stool, thrown at his head, had not been diverted by the hand of one present, would have been in danger of being killed. The Lord-Chancellor and Judges found no more reverence. At last, the provost and bailiffs of the city came from their places, and with much difficulty thrust out of the church the enraged populace, and shutting the doors, the Dean read the liturgy, though continually interrupted by the noise without, and the stones thrown in at the windows. There were the same tumults in all the rest of the churches of Edinburgh, and yet no one was killed or wounded. Only the Bishop of Edinburgh ran some risk both in the church and in retiring to his lodging. This first tumult was raised only by the rabble, no person of condition or name appearing in it. The magistrates of Edinburgh openly disavowed these disorders, and promised the council to use their endeavours to discover and punish the authors and abettors. They offered likewise to take order for the security of the ministers who should be appointed to read the liturgy another time, and wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to clear themselves, desiring him to represent their innocence to the King.

Harvest approaching, many people left Edinburgh, and went into the country. Meanwhile, the magistrates of the city prayed the council that the liturgy might not be read, because they had observed the people were not yet disposed to receive it. But in October, after harvest, so great a concourse of people flocked to Edinburgh, that it was easy to see a fresh tumult was preparing. Wherefore the council published three proclamations. The first, to order all strangers to depart the city within twenty-four hours. A second, for removing the session from Edinburgh to Dundee. A third, for calling in and burning a seditious book, intituled, "A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies, obtruded upon the kirk of Scotland." The first and last were not much regarded.

On the morrow, the 18th of October, the people came together in a tumultuous manner in the streets of Edinburgh, and seeing the Bishop of Galloway as he was going to the council, a great multitude followed him all the way with continual cursings, but however did him no hurt. They even beset the council-house, demanding the Bishop's person, though it was in their power to have seized, or even to have killed him whilst he was in the street. The council finding themselves thus beset, sent to the magistrates to come to their relief; who answered, they were themselves surrounded in their town house by their own citizens, who threatened to tear them in pieces, if they did not immediately sign a paper, which for fear of their lives they were forced to do. The paper contained these three things: First, that the magistrates should join with the people in petitioning against the liturgy: Secondly, that by their authority they should presently restore to their pulpits Ramsey and Rollock, two silenced ministers, very much beloved by the people: Thirdly, that they should restore to his place one Henderson a silenced reader. Upon this the Earls of Traquaire and Wigton, the first of whom was Lord Treasurer, came to the town house to advise with the magistrates, what was best to be done for the safety of the Bishop of Galloway, who was still beset. After this consultation, the two Earls returning to the council were insulted by the populace. The Earl of Traquaire was thrown down, his hat, cloak, and white-staff taken from him, the people crying out, "God defend all those who will defend God's cause, and God confound the service book and all the maintainers of it." Presently after the provost came to the council, and declared, that though he had used his utmost endeavours, it was not possible to appease the people. At last, the Lords of the council applied themselves to some of the nobility and gentry and others who were now assembled to sign the petition against the service-book. These men had more credit with the populace than the magistrates, and prevailed with them at length to retire. This second tumult, wherein no person was killed or wounded, seemed however to be more important and dangerous, because in the first, none but the rabble were concerned, whereas in this it plainly appeared, the mutineers were countenanced by several Lords and Gentlemen, as well as by the better sort of citizens.

The tumult being appeased, a proclamation was published forbidding any meetings in the streets or elsewhere; a proclamation of no use, at a time when the council could not be ignorant how much their authority was contemned by those whom they would have inspired with fear. Accordingly, so far were the mal-contents from being terrified, that they sent their commissioners to the board, to require that the silenced ministers might be restored to them, and that they might have assurance for the punctual performance of what had been lately promised them by the magistrates. The council could easily see by this conduct, that the mal-contents had no design to stop here. And indeed, shortly

shortly after, the Lord-Chancellor received two petitions, one in the name of all the men, women, children, and servants of Edinburgh against the liturgy: the other from the noblemen, gentry, ministers, and burgesses of the same city, against the liturgy and book of canons.

The King thought not fit to answer these petitions, being on the contrary determined to punish severely the authors of the late tumults.* However he commanded the Privy-Council to publish a proclamation on this occasion, supposing, though without any foundation, it would be capable of satisfying the people.†

Some time after, the council having removed the session to Stirling, the King sent them another proclamation, with orders to have it publicly read in the principal towns of the kingdom.‡

This proclamation was not capable of satisfying the mal-contents. First, there was not a word concerning the subject of their petition, and by that they could perceive, the King had no design to suppress the liturgy and canons. Secondly, the King represented as a great condescension, the pardon he was pleased to grant for their fault in presenting a petition without his leave. This shewed them, that, according to the King's intention, obedience was their only course for the future. Thirdly, the King clearly intimated to them, he would receive no more petitions, since he declared, he would reject such as should by the matter or form be prejudicial to his authority. In short, they saw plainly, the King, in forbidding all meetings, sought only to disunite and hinder them from concerting measures to obtain their desires. So, on the morrow, the Earls of Hume and Lindsey, accompanied with a great croud of nobles and people, came and publicly read in Stirling a protestation against the proclamation, the presence and authority of the council not being capable of hindering it. The same protestation was publicly read at Lithgow and Edinburgh, immediately after the proclamation had been published there.§

Hitherto the King and the council of Scotland had flattered themselves that the mal-contents might be curbed by acts of authority. But this protestation plainly shewed they were too powerful to be compelled to obedience, by orders of the council, or by proclamations. The mal-contents before they could know the effect of their protestation upon the King, erected at Edinburgh, which was at their devotion, several tables (as they called them) to manage their affairs. There were four principal ones: the first of the Lords; the second of the gentry; the third of the boroughs; and

* There were, on June 14, this year, extremely severe proceedings in the Star-Chamber against some persons, which served very much to incense the whole nation against that merciless court.

I. William Prynn, for writing in his confinement in the Tower, books called the Quench-Coal, News from Ipswich, The unbishoping of Timothy and Titus.

II. John Bastwick, M. D. (born at Writtle in Essex, brought up at Emanuel College, and Padua, and who professed physic at Colchester,) for a book called, Flagellum Pontifices & Episcoporum Latialium, and another against the high-commission, intituled, his Litany.

Henry Burton, B. D. Rector of St. Matthew's in Friday-street, and formerly closet-keeper to the King, for a sermon preached on November 5, in all which books were contained severe invectives against the Bishops. For this they were all three fined 5000*l.* a piece. Prynn condemned to lose the rest of his ears, and to be stigmatized on both cheeks with the letters, S. L. for a seditious libeller; and the other two to lose only their ears; and all to be imprisoned for life; Prynn in Caernarvon, Bastwick in Launceston, and Burton in Lancaster castle. From whence they were afterwards removed, Prynn to Montorgueil castle in Jersey, Bastwick to the Scilly Islands, and Burton to Guernsey. The Lord Clarendon observes, that as these three men were of the three professions which had the most influence upon the people, though they had formerly been looked upon under characters of reproach, yet when they were exposed on scaffolds, as common and signal rogues, to have their ears cut off, and faces branded with hot irons, men began no more to consider their manners, but the men; and each profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education, and degrees, and quality, would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come.——But this was not all: for John Lilburn, for writing in Prynn's behalf, to whom he had been clerk, was condemned to be whipped from the Fleet-Prison, to Westminster-Hall, and to stand in the pillory. He is said to have received five hundred stripes with a treble cord. Also Williams, Bishop of Lincoln; upon a charge of disloyal words against the King, and for suborning witnesses, was fined 10,000*l.*, committed to the Tower, and suspended ab officio & beneficio. And Lambert Osbaldeston, Master of Westminster-school, for some letters of his to that Bishop, which were supposed to reflect on Archbishop Laud, was fined 5000*l.* to the King, and 5000*l.* for damages to the Archbishop, and to stand in the pillory in Dean's-Yard, but he made his escape. Bishop Williams was also fined 8000*l.* upon this account.——The jealousy of the church appeared in another instance less tragical. Archy, the King's fool, who, by his office, had the privilege of jesting on his master, and the whole court, happened unluckily to try his wit upon Laud, who was too sacred a person to be played with. News having arrived from Scotland of the first commotions excited by the liturgy, Archy, seeing the primate pass by, called to him, "Who's fool, now, my Lord?" For this offence, Archy was ordered, by sentence of the council, to have his coat pulled over his head, and to be dismissed the King's service.—Here is another instance of that rigorous subjection in which all men were held by Laud: some young gentlemen of Lincoln's-Inn, heated by their cups, having drunk confusion to the Archbishop, were at his instigation cited before the Star-Chamber. They applied to the Earl of Dorset for protection. "Who bears witness against you?" said Dorset. "One of the drawers," they said. Where did he stand, when you were supposed to drink this health?" subjoined the Earl. "He was at the door," they replied, "going out of the room." "Tush," cried he, "the drawer was mistaken: you drank confusion to the Archbirhop of Canterbury's enemies; and the fellow was gone before you pronounced the last word." This hint supplied the young gentlemen with a new method of defence; and being advised by Dorset to behave with great humility and great submission to the primate; the modesty of their carriage, the ingenuity of their apology; with the patronage of that noble Lord, saved them from any severer punishment than a reproof and admonition, with which they were dismissed.

† After mention in the proclamation of the Lords' petition, &c. it was said, "His Majesty in a just resentment of that foul indignity, the late insurrections at Edinburgh, hath been moved to delay the signification of his Majesty's gracious intentions, in giving to his subjects such satisfactory answers to their petitions, as in equity might be expected from so just and religious a Prince: but yet his Majesty being unwilling that his loyal and faithful subjects should be possessed with groundless and unnecessary doubts and fears, his Majesty is pleased out of his goodness to declare, that as he abhorreth all superstition of popery, so he will be most careful, that nothing be allowed within his Majesty's dominions, but that which shall tend to the advancement of true religion, as it is at present professed within his most ancient kingdom of Scotland; and that nothing is or was intended to be done therein, against the laudable laws of this his Majesty's native kingdom."

‡ The proclamation was to this effect: "We find our royal authority much injured, (by some late petitions and declarations given in to our council against the book of common-prayer, and canons of the church,) both in the matter and in the carriage thereof; whereby we conceive those of our nobility, gentry, and others, who kept and assisted these meetings, for contriving and forming the said petitions, to deserve and be liable to our high censure, both in their persons and fortunes; yet because we believe, that what they have done herein is out of a preposterous zeal, we are graciously pleased to dispense therewith, and with what may be their fault or error therein, to all such as, upon signification or declaration of our pleasure, shall retire themselves as becometh good and dutiful subjects: to which purpose our will and pleasure is, that you discharge all such convocations and meetings in time coming, under the pain of treason. And also that you command, charge, and inhibit all our lieges and subjects, that none of them presume, nor take in hand, to resort nor repair to our burgh of Stirling, nor to no other burgh where our council and session sits, till first they declare their cause of coming to our council, and procure their warrant to that effect. And as concerning any petitions that shall hereafter be given us, upon this or any other subject, we are likewise pleased to declare, we will not shut our ears therefrom, so that neither the form nor matter be prejudicial to our regal authority."

§ In this protestation the mal-contents said, "They had presented a supplication on the 23d of September, and another upon the 18th of October; as also a remonstrance, December the 19th, against the service-book, and the canons, as well as against the Archbishops and the Bishops, as their parties, having the same day presented a declinator against them, to prevent their being Judges in their own cause. But the council having refused to admit of this declinator, they found themselves obliged to make the following protestation:—

"I. That they might have immediate recourse to the King, to present their grievances, and in a legal way to prosecute the same before the ordinary competent judges.

"II. That the Archbishops and Bishops could not be reputed or esteemed lawful judges, till they had purged themselves of such crimes as were laid to their charge.

"III. That no proclamation, nor any act of council, past in presence of the Archbishops and Bishops, could any ways be prejudicial to the supplicants.

"IV. That neither they, nor any that had joined, or should join with them against innovations, should incur any danger in life, lands, or any political or ecclesiastical pains, for not observing such acts, books, canons, rites, judicatures, proclamation, introduced without or against the acts of general-assemblies, or acts of Parliament, and the statutes of the kingdom.

"V. That if any inconveniences should fall out thereupon, they could not be imputed to them, since the council refused to hear their just remonstrances.

"VI. That their requests tended to no other end, but to the preservation of the true reformed religion, and the laws and liberties of his Majesty's kingdom."

the fourth of the ministers. And the gentry had many subordinate tables, according to their several shires. These tables consulted of what they thought fit to be proposed at the general table, consisting of commissioners chosen from the other four tables. Never was Sovereign more punctually obeyed than this general table, by all who disapproved the innovations introduced into the church for thirty or forty years past, that is, by almost the whole kingdom.

The first thing that proceeded from these tables was the famous covenant, or general bond entered into by the Scots, for maintenance of their religion from all innovations.*

This covenant, like an alarm-bell, brought all the Scots together that were dissatisfied with the government, that is, almost the whole nation. It was subscribed by the great men and the people, except the Privy-Counsellors, the Judges, the Bishops, and such ministers as were dignitaries in the church. These were, a little before it, vested with all the authority both in church and state, the King verily believing, that to have those for him, who were in the public places and offices, was sufficient to awe the people. But when the breach was once made, by the publication of the covenant, the number, not the quality of adherents, was to be considered, and then the royalists were not above one in a thousand, so that the King, Council, Judges, and Bishops, were on a sudden without authority and power. To urge the laws was in vain: the covenant was the sole law that the people would follow with respect to religion, as being bound by a solemn oath. Thus, the King's authority being no longer regarded, and his promises mistrusted by the people, as tending, in their opinion, only to deceive them, it is not strange, that the King's after-endeavours to extinguish the flame should prove fruitless.

Though the standard of rebellion was, as it were, erected in Scotland, and the King did not well see how he should free himself from these difficulties, he could not yet desist from his project. He still hoped the gathering storm might, by some artifice, be dispelled. So prepossessed was he in favour of the royal authority, that, though he saw it little regarded, he imagined, his declaration and proclamations, worded, for the most part, in ambiguous terms, would be sufficient to reduce the Scots to their duty. But he did not consider, that before the breach, the people were in a manner obliged to shut their eyes, and seem not to see what they saw: but that, when the breach was once made, the mal-contents were too wise to be taken in his snares, and too bold or insolent to refrain from publishing the artifices that were intended to amuse them. The King deceived himself also in another thing. As the Scots perpetually pleaded their laws, he thought to silence them, by alledging on his side, the laws enacted within forty years, not considering that these same laws were the principal cause of their complaints, and what they desired to be annulled. So, in producing these acts of Parliament, whereby the innovations had been approved, he only confirmed their belief, that he designed to support them, and consequently, it was necessary to use some violent means to make him desist. The King had for him the laws in force, since they were never repealed; and the people believed, they might rightfully cause to be abolished those laws, imposed on them by corruption, artifice, and violence, complaining, that these new laws were enacted in violation of the old. Thus, both sides complained of the breach of the laws.

The mal-contents having resolved to improve the weakness of the King's party, and the advantage given them by their covenant, to abolish the innovations complained of, used not so much the most just and legal means, as those they believed most proper for their ends. On the other hand, the King constantly adhered to the acts of Parliament, by which these pretended innovations were established, feigning not to see, in that respect, the least cause of complaint against himself, or the King his father.

Things being come to the point above-mentioned, by the almost universal subscription of the covenant, the King resolved to send the Marquis of Hamilton into Scotland, to represent his person under the title of his high commissioner. He imagined this Scotch Lord, being vested with so eminent a character, would by his credit and industry reduce the people to obedience, without giving them any real satisfaction, being still very unwilling to desist from his project. The tables having notice of this, doubted not but the King's aim was to amuse and surprize them, and therefore they used all possible means to divert the impending danger. The high-commissioner was received by the mal-contents with great coldness and little respect, and they prepared, to withstand him vigorously, in case he offered to assert his authority.

Meanwhile, the King having sent to Scotland a ship laden with arms for Edinburgh castle, the tables resolv-

* For the better understanding what this covenant was, it should be observed, that in 1580, whilst the Duke of Lenox and Earl of Arran, the King's favourites, were suspected of ill designs against the Protestant religion, the general assembly thought it necessary to draw up a confession of faith, and caused it to be subscribed by all the subjects, and by the King himself, to whom they presented a very humble petition on that occasion. As James could not reject this request, without confirming the people's suspicions, which might have been of dangerous consequence, he subscribed the confession of faith himself, and ordered it to be subscribed by persons of all ranks. This was done in the year 1580 and 1581, and the subscriptions were renewed in 1590, with an additional clause, whereby the subscribers engaged to maintain the true religion and the King's person.

It was this confession of faith of 1580, that was revived this present year 1638, by order of the general table, and offered to all sorts of persons to sign. Hitherto, there was nothing that could give the King just cause of complaint, at least, as to the matter, since it was the same confession that the King his father, and the whole kingdom, had signed in 1580 and 1581. But the tables were not satisfied with the bare confession of faith, they added also an obligation, whereby the subscribers bound themselves by oath, to maintain religion as it was in 1580, and to reject all the innovations introduced since into the church. This was directly contrary to the King's designs. Part of the oath which, being annexed to the confession of faith, was called the covenant, that is, contract, agreement, or league among the subscribers, was as follows:

"Finally, being convinced in our minds, and confessing with our mouths, that the present and succeeding generations in this land are bound to keep the aforesaid national oath and subscription inviolable: we Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers and Commons under subscribing, considering divers times before, and especially at this time, the danger of the true Reformed religion, of the King's honour, and of the public peace of the kingdom, by the manifold innovations and evils generally contained, and particularly mentioned in our late supplications, complaints, and protestations, do hereby profess, and before God, his angels, and the world, solemnly declare, that with our whole hearts we agree and resolve all the days of our life constantly to adhere unto, and to defend the foresaid true religion, and forbearing the practice of all innovations, already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the kirk, or civil places and power of kirkmen, till they be tried and allowed in free assemblies, and in Parliaments, to labour by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the gospel, as it was established and professed before the aforesaid innovations: and because after due examination we plainly perceive, and undoubtedly believe, that the innovations and evils contained in our supplications, complaints, and protestations, have no warrant of the word of God, are contrary to the articles of the aforesaid confessions, to the intention and meaning of the blessed Reformers of religion in this land, to the above-written acts of Parliament, and do sensibly tend to the re-establishing of the popish religion and tyranny, and to the subversion and ruin of the true Reformed religion, and of our liberties, laws, and estates; we also declare, that the aforesaid confessions are to be interpreted, and ought to be understood of the aforesaid innovations and evils, no less than if every one of them had been expressed in the aforesaid confessions; and that we are obliged to detest and abhor them, amongst other particular heads of papistry abjured therein: and therefore from the knowledge and conscience of our duty to God, to our King and country, without any worldly respect or inducement, so far as human infirmity will suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of God for this effect, we promise and swear by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profession and obedience of the aforesaid religion; that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the utmost of that power that God hath put into our hands, all the days of our life. And in like manner, with the same heart we declare before God and men, that we have no intention or desire to attempt any thing that may turn to the dishonour of God, or the diminution of the King's greatness and authority; but on the contrary, we promise and swear, that we shall to the utmost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread sovereign the King's majesty, his person and authority in the defence and preservation of the aforesaid true religion, liberties and laws of the kingdom; as also to the mutual defence and assistance, every one of us of another, in the same cause of maintaining the true religion, and his Majesty's authority, with our best counsels, our bodies, means, and whole power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever, &c."

ed to seize them, fearing that the King intended to surprise them, whilst he should amuse them with negotiations. This resolution could not be executed, because the King's party, having notice, instantly unladed the vessel, and carried the arms to Dalkeith, where the council then was. For this reason the tables set a guard near the gate of the castle, to prevent these arms from being carried in. At the same time, the mal-contents received two ships freighted with arms for their service. The King would hardly digest this affront. But the mal-contents did not think it prudent to be exposed to a surprize, on pretence that the rupture between the King and them was not yet intire.

The high-commissioner being come to Edinburgh, offered these three prepositions to the consideration of the mal-contents.

I. What they should expect to hear in the King's name for accommodating their grievances?

II. What might be expected from them for returning to their former obedience?

III. That they should renounce and deliver up their late covenant.

To which they answered,

I. That they insisted upon a general assembly, and a Parliament.

II. That they could not return to his Majesty's obedience, since they had never departed from it.

III. That they would sooner renounce their baptism than the covenant.*

The Marquis had brought with him a declaration, which however he was to make use of but in case of necessity, because the King was unwilling to promise the least condescension to the Scots, unless forced. But the Marquis soon perceived it was not possible to bring the mal-contents to obedience, without amusing them at least with the hopes that the King would have some regard to their grievances. He therefore thought proper to publish the declaration, though it evidently appeared by the very expressions, that the King would not be obliged to any thing.†

The high-commissioner being better informed of the affairs of Scotland, by what he had seen with his own eyes, thought it necessary to go himself and acquaint the King. He made therefore a journey to court, and returned shortly after, with a power to call a general assembly, and a Parliament. But as for the assembly, he would know beforehand what persons it should be composed of, and what was to be debated. The tables rejected this limitation, as tending to render the assembly useless. They likewise told him, if the King refused to convene a general assembly, they believed they were sufficiently authorised to call one themselves. At ength, the King's high-commissioner presented to the tables eleven articles, as so many conditions on which he was so willing to call an assembly. As he probably had good spies, he knew pretty well what the tables intended to do in order to reap great advantages by a general assembly, and these conditions solely tended to render their measures ineffectual. The tables being composed of the most able persons in Scotland, easily discovered the high-commissioner's aim. They replied therefore to these articles, so as to show him it would be very difficult to surprise them. Nevertheless he was not discouraged, and under colour of complying with the mal-contents, reduced the eleven conditions to these two, which however contained the substance of the eleven, and tended to the same end.

"I. That no laymen should have voices in chusing the ministers to be sent from the several presbyteries to the general assembly, nor any but the ministers of the same presbytery.

"II. That the assembly should not go about to determine things established by act of Parliament, otherwise than by remonstrance or petition to the Parliament."

The tables rejected these two conditions, regarding them as so many snares to surprise them, since they could not accept them without being at the King' mercy.

The high-commissioner clearly perceiving, he had to deal with men who were upon their guard, and that it would be difficult to surprise them, resolved to take a second journey to England, to inform the King of the state of affairs. By putting the mal-contents in hopes the King would grant such a general assembly, as they desired, he obtained with great difficulty, that the election of commissioners should be delayed till his return, which was fixed to the 21st of September. During his absence, the tables expecting only new snares, or fresh delays from the court,‡ resolved that a general assembly should be held, either with the King's permission, if he would grant it, or without his consent, and that the election of commissioners should be the 22d of September. In this interval, they sent to all the presbyteries, directions in eight articles, not to chuse any suspected minister, and to elect every where lay-elders, who should be persons of authority, and more numerous than the ministers. In a word, they took all possible measures to have an assembly at their devotion, wherein they perfectly succeeded, the King's party being every where so weak, that they were not in condition to oppose it successfully.

The high-commissioner being returned to Scotland with new instructions, immediately ordered a proclamation to be published, containing in substance these three principal articles:

"I. That his Majesty revoked the service-book, the book of canons, the high-commission, and the five articles of Perth.

"II. That for the future none of his subjects, whether ecclesiastical or civil, should be liable to the trial and censure of the Parliament, or general assembly.

"III. That persons of all ranks should be required to sign the confession of faith of 1580, with the oath he

* After this, they set new guards upon the castle of Edinburgh; doubled the watch; and, hearing that the Lord Commissioners was to have the next Sunday, Divine Service in the King's palace at Holyrood house, they sent him word, that whosoever should read the English service in that chapel, should never read more, and that there were a thousand men ready to disturb it.

† What follows is the most material part of the declaration; "And for further clearing of scruples, we do hereby assure all men, that we will neither now, nor hereafter, press the practice of the Service-book, or the aforesaid canons, nor any thing of that nature, but in such "a fair and legal way, as shall satisfy all our loving subjects," that we neither intend innovations in religion or laws; and to this effect have given order to discharge all acts of council there anent. And for the high-commission, we shall so rectify it, "with the help and advice of our Privy-Council," that it shall never impugn the laws, nor be a just grievance to our loyal subjects; and what is further fitting to be agitated in general assemblies and Parliament, for the good and peace of the kirk, and peaceable government of the same, in establishing of the religion at present possessed, shall likewise be taken into our royal consideration, in a free assembly and Parliament, which shall be indicted and called with our best convenience."

The King must have been ill-informed of the disposition of the Scots, to imagine that a declaration with so many restrictions and ambiguous expressions should be capable of contenting them. This declaration was no sooner proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, but the tables caused an answer in form of a protestation to be publicly read in the same place, the substance whereof was:

I. That no proclamation or declaration could settle their fears, nor secure them from the re-entry of any evil or innovation.

II. That they positively insisted upon a general assembly and a Parliament, which the King did not promise to call.

III. That the proclamation did not mention their complaints and grievances, but under the name of disorders, faults, and misdemeanors, &c.

IV. That the King took it for granted he had abundantly and sufficiently satisfied their fears, by his two former proclamations, and by his present declaration.

V. That this proclamation supposed them guilty of an unlawful combination, or rebellion.

VI. That it did not disallow nor discharge any of the innovations complained of, but left liberty to any prelate or person to practise the same.

VII. That it plainly evidenced his Majesty's intentions of pressing the practice of those innovations in a legal way, that is, according to those laws which were the subject of their complaints.

VIII. That his Majesty did not promise to abolish, but only to rectify the high-commission, with the advice of his Privy-Council, implying the King's power, with consent of his council, to establish any judicatory within his kingdom, without consent of the three estates convened in Parliament.

‡ This it seems was the grand design of the court, as appears by one of the King's letters to the high-commissioner; "in a word," says his Majesty to him, "gain time by all the honest means you can, without forsaking your grounds."

had annexed, but very different from that of the covenant."

After publishing this proclamation, the high-commissioner summoned a general assembly to meet at Glasgow the 21st of November this year, 1638, and a Parliament at Edinburgh the 15th of May the next year, 1639.

Though the confession of faith which the King ordered to be signed, was exactly the same with that prefixed to the covenant, the oath or general-band annexed by the King, imported, that they swore to maintain the religion at present professed, which was utterly destroying the oath of the covenant, whereby the subscribers were bound, to reject all the innovations introduced since 1580. This snare was so palpable, and so very injurious to the King's affairs, that the council, to prevent its ill effects, were forced to publish a declaration, that the meaning of the oath was, that they swore to maintain the religion professed in 1580. But notwithstanding this, the tables caused a protestation against the proclamation to be publicly read, to show, as they pretended, that the King acted not with sincerity; that by certain ambiguous clauses, restrictions, and additions, he took away with one hand, what he gave with the other; and reserved to himself a liberty to maintain at a more convenient season, the innovations he seemed to depart from.

During the interval between the publishing of the proclamation, and the general assembly, the high-commissioner and council used all possible endeavours to make all sorts of people sign the confession of faith as sent by the King, and the tables on their part forgot nothing to oppose it. But there passed at this time, a thing of great importance, which must not be omitted. Many Lords, Barons, Gentlemen, Ministers, Burgesses, who were not commissioners to the general assembly, presented to the presbytery of Edinburgh, an information against David Lindsey, Bishop of Edinburgh, and at the same time against all the rest of the Bishops. The substance of this information, which contained several articles, some whereof doubtless were much aggravated, was, that Lindsey and his brethren had not performed the conditions required of them by the Montrose assembly. The design of this information was to prevail with the presbytery to summon, as they did accordingly, the Bishops to appear before the assembly which was to be held at Glasgow. For as the abolition of episcopacy was now resolved, it was necessary that the general assembly should have some ground or pretence to prosecute and try the Bishops. And for this the information was intended.

The general assembly met at Glasgow on the day appointed; and, besides a great concourse of people, all the nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present, either as members, assessors, or spectators: and it was apparent, that the resolutions taken by the covenanters, could here meet with no manner of opposition. A firm determination had been entered into, of utterly abolishing episcopacy; and, as a preparative to it, there was laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and solemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the Bishops, as guilty, all of them, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, cheating, incest, adultery, fornication, common swearing, drunkenness, gaming, breach of the sabbath, and every other crime that had occurred to the accusers. The Bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; the commissioner too protested against that court, as illegally constituted and elected; and, in his Majesty's name, dissolved it. This measure was foreseen, and little regarded. The court still continued to sit, and to finish their business. All the acts of assembly, since the accession of James to the crown of England, were, upon pretty reasonable grounds, declared null and invalid. The Acts of Parliament which affected ecclesiastical affairs were supposed, on that very account, to have no manner of authority. And thus episcopacy, the high-commission, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful: and the whole fabric, which James and Charles, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

A. D. 1639.] Hitherto we have endeavoured to show the rise of the troubles of Scotland, to the end it may be the better conceived, how far the English ought to have been concerned in the war which broke out presently after, between the King and the subjects of Scotland. There were two parties in England, the courtiers and rigid episcopalians, who being religiously attached to the hierarchy, verily believed, the Scots were in the wrong to reject so obstinately this hierarchy, established thirty years by acts of Parliament. These looked upon the Scots as rebels, and wished to see them punished as such. The other party consisted of Puritans: under which name were included all those that were dissatisfied with the government, and thought the King assumed a power which belonged not to him. This party, though without posts or employments, and continually oppressed, was much superior in number to the other. These, far from disapproving the conduct of the Scots, said, that the Kings, James and Charles, having manifestly introduced innovations into the kirk, the Scots could not be justly blamed for desiring, things might be restored to their former state.

The King's party in Scotland was extremely weak, and consequently he had no other way left, than to use the forces of England to reduce the Scots to obedience. Accordingly, he took this course.* As soon as he heard that the general assembly of Glasgow continued their session by their own authority, and that the people approved of their conduct, he resolved to levy an army in England, to reduce the mal-contents of Scotland.

The King thought not proper to call a Parliament to enable him to raise the forces he wanted. Experience had taught him, that he was not to expect any great assistance from the Parliament, unless he would alter his maxims, and redress the people's grievances, which he did not intend. On the contrary, he flattered himself that he should easily reduce the Scots, and then be still more absolute in England. He chose therefore to suppose a defensive war, and on that supposition summoned the nobility to attend him at York the 1st of April following, each with as many horse as he could raise, and to inform the court within a fortnight, of the number that could be brought.

But, as having troops was not sufficient without money to subsist them, the King used two ways, besides those already in practice, as ship-money and others, to increase his revenues. The first was to demand voluntary contributions of the clergy, by means of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud wrote for that purpose a circular letter to the Bishops and all the clergy, to exhort them to contribute liberally for the defence of the kingdom, which was in extreme danger of a Scotch invasion. He added, by way of postscript, that his Majesty expected from the clergy a larger sum than what they were wont to give in the usual way. The second means used by the King was, to put the Queen upon writing to the Catholics, to incite them to aid the King on this urgent occasion. These two means brought in very nearly what the King expected.

Besides the horse to be brought by the nobility to York, all the counties were obliged to find a certain number of foot, horse, dragoons, artillery-horses, and a certain quantity of ammunition. The whole amounted to nineteen thousand four hundred and eighty-three foot, twelve hundred and thirty-three horse,† besides the

* This was the course the Marquis of Hamilton had from the beginning advised him to take; namely, to send his fleet quickly with two thousand land soldiers in it, and send down arms to the northern counties of England; to garrison Berwick with fifteen hundred men, and Carlisle with five hundred; and to come himself in person with a royal army.

† Upon the review taken afterwards by the King, the foot were found to be in all 19,614. The horse 1800, and the dragoons 1460.

Thomas

the troops of the nobility, and thirteen hundred and fifty horses for the carriages. Moreover, the King equipped a fleet of sixteen men of war, the command whereof was given to the Marquis of Hamilton.

The King departed for York the 27th of March, his coronation-day, and on the 9th of April published a proclamation, to revoke sundry monopolies, licences, and commissions, which he had granted by his letters-patent.

Whilst the King was making his preparations, the Scots were not idle. They had also drawn forces together,* but their hopes were not so much built on their army as on their friends in England, and even at court. Some have suspected the Marquis of Hamilton, one of the King's favourites, of not having, at this juncture, faithfully served his master. As it was the King's interest to exasperate the English against the Scots, and persuade them that these last were in manifest rebellion; it was the Scots' interest on the contrary to show, they had never any ill design against England, and if they took arms, it was only in their own defence. They knew the success of the war depended upon the assistance England should freely give the King, and not upon the aid he should extort by force in virtue of his prerogative. And therefore their friends in England had advised them to mind two things especially. First, to clear themselves as fully as possible from the crime of rebellion, which the King laid to their charge. Secondly, to avoid every thing that might excite the English to engage in the war; for fear of giving the King the advantage of being able to say, they were undertaking an offensive war. They punctually followed these two advices, the former, by dispersing in England, by means of their emissaries, a great number of papers, wherein they set forth with all possible clearness the causes of their discontents, and the King's intentions. They forgot not to insinuate, that it concerned England no less than Scotland, to oppose the arbitrary power assumed by the King, as well in ecclesiastical as civil affairs. They followed the second advice, by obeying with intire submission a proclamation published by the King in Scotland, to forbid the Scotch army to approach within ten miles of the borders of England. By this obedience they evidently showed, the war was not offensive on their side. It is not unlikely, that some of their friends had counselled the King to publish this proclamation, on purpose to afford them an opportunity to give this proof of it.

But this was not the only advantage, the Scots reaped from the counsels given the King by their secret friends. He was persuaded, that their obedience to his proclamation was the effect of their fear; and was thereby induced to send another proclamation to Edinburgh, commanding the Scots to lay down their arms on pain of being declared guilty of treason, offering however pardon to all who should comply with his orders, and return to their duty. Nothing could be more prejudicial to him in Scotland, than such a proclamation, which showed he required a speedy obedience without any conditions; but the Magistrates of Edinburgh would not suffer it to be published. The same notion, that the Scots were intimidated, caused him to commit another error, in detaching the Earl of Holland with three thousand foot and a thousand horse, into Scotland by way of Kelsey. Lesley, General of the Scots, being informed of the Earl of Holland's march, sent five or six thousand foot and five hundred horse against him, who made him halt on a sudden. He sent however a trumpet to command them to retire, according to their promise. It was answered, he would do much better to withdraw himself; and indeed, he found it proper to take their advice. The Earl of Holland's march, which came to nothing, freed the Scots from their promise of not approaching the borders, and on the morrow, Lesley marched towards Kelsey, with about twelve thousand men.

The King began then to perceive that the obedience of the Scots was not owing to their fear, and that hitherto he had followed wrong counsels. Wherefore he took a sudden resolution to stand upon the defensive, and that very day, wrote to the Marquis of Hamilton, who was in the Frith with the fleet, to order him not to begin hostilities, though he had been sent there to take all possible advantages upon the Scots. But this resolution was taken too late, after what he had just done, at least if he had no other design than to make the public believe he had undertaken the war only in his own defence. But he had a stronger reason not to engage too far. For, upon notice of the Scots approach, most of his generals had advised him not to give battle, though he was much superior in number of troops, which he could ascribe only to their willingness to venture their lives in his service.

The two armies were so near each other, that a battle was expected every day, though, in truth, both sides were alike resolved to stand upon the defensive. But when it was least expected, the Lord Dumfermling, a Scotchman, came to the King's camp with a trumpet, and presented to his Majesty, in the name of the Scots, a very humble petition, intreating him to appoint commissioners to negotiate a peace. The King answered, he had sent a proclamation to Edinburgh, whereby he offered his subjects of Scotland the free enjoyment of their religion and laws, with a pardon to such as should return to their duty: that this proclamation had been rejected with contempt; but he desired it might be published in the Scotch army, after which, he would be graciously pleased to hear their petitions. Lord Dumfermling returning with this answer, the Scotch general ordered the proclamation to be publicly read in the army, which done, the King appointed six commissioners to treat with the Scots.

In the conference held the 11th of June, between the commissioners and both parties, the Scots desired three things; namely,

"I. That the acts of the late assembly at Glasgow should be ratified in the ensuing Parliament

"II. That all matters ecclesiastical might be determined by the assemblies of the kirk, and matters civil by Parliament.

"III. That his Majesty's ships and forces by land be recalled; that all persons, ships, and goods arrested be restored: and that all excommunicate persons, incendiaries and informers against the kingdom, who had caused these commotions for their own private ends, might be returned to suffer their deserved censure and punishment."

Upon this the King desiring the Scots to give in writing the reasons and grounds of their demands, the Lord Lowdon, one of the Scottish deputies, said, their desires were only to enjoy their religion and liberties according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of the kingdom, and that, they would not insist upon any point that was not so warranted; humbly offering all civil and temporal obedience to his Majesty, which could be required or expected of loyal subjects. The King replied, if this was all that was desired, the peace would soon be concluded: and indeed, he granted immediately what the Lord Lowdon demanded, in the very same words, and on the same terms.

Then the Scottish deputies gave in writing the reasons and grounds of their three demands, and added, it was also desired that Parliaments might be held at set times, once at least in two or three years, by reason of his Majesty's absence, which hindered his subjects in their complaints and grievances to have immediate access to his Majesty. They took occasion likewise to declare in this paper, that it had always been far from their thoughts to refuse due obedience to their native King, or to make an invasion upon England. They said, these were calumnies, the authors whereof they most humbly desired might be made a public example.

It was the 15th of June before the King returned his answer,

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel was General, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Lieutenant-General, and Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, General of the Horse.

* And seized Edinburgh and Dunbarton Castles; and applied to the King of France.

"I. That he could not ratify or approve the acts of the general assembly at Glasgow.

"II. That notwithstanding, he was pleased to confirm and make good whatsoever his commissioner had granted and promised in his name.

"III. That according to the petitioners' desire, all matters ecclesiastical should be determined by the kirk, and matters civil by the Parliament.

"IV. That a free general assembly should be held at Edinburgh the 6th day of August, and a Parliament at the same place the 20th of August next ensuing.

"V. That upon the Scots disarming and disbanding their forces, dissolving and discharging all their pretended tables and conventions, and restoring to every one, whatsoever had been taken and detained from them since the late pretended general assembly, his Majesty would presently after recall his fleet, and retire his land-forces, and cause restitution to be made to all persons of their ships and goods, detained and arrested since the aforesaid assembly."

Upon this answer the seven following articles were at last agreed on, the 17th of June, wherein however there was no mention of the principal reasons of the quarrel, because these matters were to be examined by the general assembly and Parliament of Scotland.

"I. The forces of Scotland to be disbanded and dissolved, within eight and forty hours after the publication of his Majesty's declaration being agreed upon.

"II. His Majesty's castles, forts, ammunitions of all sorts, and royal honours to be delivered after the said publication, so soon as his Majesty can send to receive them.

"III. His Majesty's ships to depart presently after the delivery of the castles, with the first fair wind, and in the mean time no interruption of trade or fishing.

"IV. His Majesty is graciously pleased to cause to be restored, all persons, goods and ships, detained and arrested since the first day of November last past.

"V. There shall be no meetings, treatings, consultations, or convocations of his Majesty's lieges, but such as are warranted by act of Parliament.

"VI. All fortifications to desist, and no further working therein, and they to be remitted to his Majesty's pleasure.

"VII. To restore to every one of his Majesty's good subjects their liberties, lands, houses, goods and means whatsoever, taken or detained from them by whatsoever means since the aforesaid time."

Pursuant to these articles the Scots disbanded their troops, but in such a manner, that they could easily reassemble them in case of necessity.

As the general assembly and Parliament were to meet in August, the King appointed the Earl of Traquaire to represent his person in quality of high-commissioner. This Lord, who was Treasurer of Scotland, was entirely devoted to him, and it was with him that the Scotish Bishops and Archbishops of Canterbury held, before the war, a strict correspondence, in order to accomplish the King's designs.

The assembly, when it met, paid no deference to the King's prepossessions, but gave full indulgence to their own. They voted episcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: he was willing to allow it contrary to the constitutions of the church. They stigmatised the liturgy and canons as popish: he agreed simply to abolish them. They denominated the high-commission, tyranny: he was content to set it aside. The Parliament, which sat after the assembly, advanced pretensions which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch; and, what probably affected Charles still more, they were proceeding to ratify the acts of assembly; when, by the King's instructions, Traquaire, the commissioner, prorogued them. And on account of these claims, which might have been foreseen, was the war renewed with great advantages on the side of the covenanters, and disadvantages on that of the King.

A. D. 1640.] The war being resolved, the King took measures to have a numerous army, by taxing, as usual, each county to find a number of troops. On the other hand, a sea-fight between the Spaniards and Dutch, near the coast of England, furnished the King with a pretence to renew his warrants for the payment of ship-money. As on this occasion the Dutch, who were the aggressors, had shown little regard to the Sovereignty of the sea assumed by the King, his Majesty loudly complained of the affront he had received, and upon this foundation seemed bent to equip a powerful fleet to preserve the dominion of the sea, and defend the kingdom. Wherefore he ordered ship-money, as well as the arrears of that tax, to be levied with great severity. The sheriff of Northamptonshire, having sent to court a petition of the county against ship-money, the council reprimanded him very sharply, commanding him to do his office on pain of exemplary punishment. On the other hand, Sir John Finch being made Lord Keeper* upon the death of the Lord Coventry, made a speech to the Judges, to exhort them to use in their circuits all their authority to promote this tax.

At last, the King appointed Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, General of the army against Scotland, and gave him for Lieutenant General Thomas, Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Ireland, lately made Earl of Strafford. As he always dreaded the correspondents the Scots had in England, and for that reason durst not trust his council with all his affairs, he appointed a secret council, consisting of three persons only, namely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Earl of Strafford. These three entirely directed the King's most important affairs, and were the persons, that after mature deliberation, advised him to call a Parliament. But as the King objected to them, that before the subsidies, which the Parliament should grant, could be payed, he should be reduced to great straits; the secret council provided against this inconvenience, by advising him to borrow of each of his counsellors or others, who should be willing to lend, the sums he should want to supply his present occasions. The Earl of Strafford alone subscribed twenty thousand pounds. The example of the counsellor being followed by some other Lords, the King was enabled to make preparations for the war, before he had received any aid from the Parliament. So, the Parliament was called for the 13th of April, and a few days after the King published a proclamation, to revoke the same patents which had served to establish monopolies, though they had been revoked once before without any effect.

The Earl of Traquaire had intercepted a letter written to the King of France by the Scotish mal-contents; and had conveyed this letter to the King. Charles, partly repenting of the large concessions made to the Scots, partly disgusted at their fresh insolence and pretensions, seized this opportunity of breaking with them. He had thrown into the Tower Lord Loudon, commissioner from the covenanters; one of the persons who had signed the treasonable letter. And he now laid the matter before the Parliament, whom he hoped to inflame by the resentment, and alarm by the danger, of this application to a foreign power. By the mouth of the Lord Keeper, Finch, he discovered his wants, and informed them that he had been able to assemble his army, and to subsist them, not by any revenue which he possessed, but by means of a large debt of above three hundred thousand pounds which he had contracted, and for which he had given security upon the crown lands. He represented, that it was necessary to grant supplies for the immediate and urgent demands of his military armaments: that the season was far advanced, the time precious, and none of it must be lost in deliberation: that though his coffers were empty, they had not been exhausted by unnecessary pomp, or sumptuous buildings, or any other kind of magnificence: that whatever supplies had been levied on his subjects, had been employed for their advantage and preservation, and, like vapours rising out

* He was created Baron of Fordwich, in Kent, April 7.

of the earth, and gathered into a cloud, had fallen into sweet and refreshing showers on the same fields from which they had at first been exhaled: that, though he devised such immediate assistance as might prevent for the time a total disorder in the government, he was far from any intention of precluding them from their right to inquire into the state of the kingdom, and to offer him petitions for the redress of their grievances: that as much as was possible of this season should afterwards be allowed them for that purpose: that, as he expected only such supply at present as the current service necessarily required, it would be requisite to assemble them again next winter, when they should have full leisure to conclude whatever business had this session been left imperfect and unfinished: that the Parliament of Ireland had twice put such trust upon his good intentions, as to grant him, in the beginning of the session, a large supply, and had ever experienced good effects from the confidence reposed in him: and that, in every circumstance, his people should find his conduct suitable to a just, pious, and gracious King, and such as was calculated to promote an entire harmony between Prince and Parliament.

This speech was not capable of hindering the Commons from proceeding in the examination of grievances, and thereby they perverted the order prescribed them by the King. He was extremely troubled to see the time pass away to no purpose, and that the Commons should so little regard him, as not to rely on his promise, to hearken to their grievances, when the affair of supply should be ended. In short, perceiving, the Commons were not much moved by whatever he could represent to them, he so managed, that the Lords demanded a conference, where they endeavoured to show, that the affair of supply ought to precede that of grievances. This conference served only to retard the King's affairs. The Commons taking offence, that the Lords should meddle with what did not belong to them, voted it to be a breach of privilege. Several days were spent in this contest, and many conferences held, in which, contrary to the King's expectation, much time was lost. Wherefore, on the 2d of May, the King sent a message to the Commons for a positive answer concerning the supply he expected. But as they made no haste to answer, on the 4th of May his Majesty sent Sir Henry Vane, Secretary of State, with the following message:—

"His Majesty (the better to facilitate your resolutions) this day has thought fit to let you know, that of his grace and favour he is pleased, upon your granting twelve subsidies to be presently passed, and to be paid in three years, with a provison, that it shall not determine the sessions, his Majesty will not only for the present forbear the levying any ship money, but will give way to the utter abolishing of it, by any course that yourselves shall like best."

The Commons having taken this offer into consideration, great debates ensued, many thinking the King's demand exorbitant. However, the Lord Clarendon, who was then a member of the House, affirms, that notwithstanding the clamours of those who opposed the court, the House was inclined by degrees to give the King some satisfaction. But as the House could not come to a resolution the first day, Sir Henry Vane was desired to acquaint his Majesty, that they hoped to return him an answer on the next. Meanwhile, the King was maliciously informed, that the Commons sought only to gain time, in order to vote on the morrow against the war with Scotland. The King, unfortunately, gave entire credit to this information, the falsehood whereof he perceived not till it was too late to repair his error. Where great evils lie on all sides, it is difficult to follow the best counsel; nor is it any wonder, that the King, whose capacity was not equal to situations of such extreme delicacy, should have formed and executed the resolution of dissolving this Parliament: a measure however, of which he soon after repented, and which the subsequent events, more than any convincing reason, inclined every one to condemn.

Next day officers were sent by the council to search the Lord Brook's pockets and study for papers, he being suspected of holding intelligence with the Scots. Henry Bellasis, knight of the shire for the county of York, and Sir John Hotham, were examined in council, and committed to the Fleet, for refusing to answer to questions concerning things done in Parliament. John Crew, Esq. afterwards Lord Crew, who had been chairman of the committee for the affairs of religion, refusing to deliver to the clerk of the House of Commons, such petitions and papers as he had received, was sent to the Tower.

The Lord Clarendon owns, the King had no sooner dissolved the Parliament, but he was heartily sorry for it.* Nevertheless, he published a long declaration to justify his conduct.

Though the Parliament was dissolved, the King continued the convocation, under the title of synod. Since the time of the reformation, it had been always customary to assemble the clergy, at the same time with the Parliament, and this assembly of the clergy, was called the convocation, and always begun and ended with the Parliament. The King not thinking himself bound to a strict observance of this custom, dissolved the Parliament, and continued the convocation, contrary to the opinion of several,† who believed that he thereby exceeded his power. But the judges of the realm determined, that notwithstanding the dissolution of the Parliament, the convocation subsisted, unless dissolved by the King's writ. It therefore continued a month longer; and, besides granting to the King a supply from the spirituality, and framing many canons, the convocation, jealous of like innovations with those which had taken place in Scotland, imposed an oath on the clergy, and the graduates in the universities, by which every one swore to maintain the established government of the church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Chapters, &c. These steps, in the present discontented humour of the nation, were commonly deemed illegal; because not ratified by consent of Parliament, in whom all authority was now supposed to be centered. And nothing, besides, could afford more subject of ridicule, than an oath, which contained an et cætera in the midst of it.

What still more inflamed the people's discontent, was the seeing the Popish recusants not only tolerated, but protected, countenanced, and considered as the best subjects. They resorted publicly to mass to Somerset house, and returned from thence in great multitudes, as though their churches had been allowed by authority. A public agent from Rome resided at London, Count Rozetti by name, who openly went to court in great pomp, and whose house was the general rendezvous of the Catholics. The Queen had prevailed with the King to receive this agent as a sort of nuntio, and by that, as well as by the avowed protection she afforded those of her religion, she so drew upon herself the people's hatred, that they were even wanting in that outward respect they ought to have paid her.

All these discontents were fomented by the Scots, who seeing themselves upon the point of being attacked, were extremely diligent by means of their emissaries, to incense the people against the King. In justifying their own conduct, they forgot not to insinuate to the English, that the tyranny which was intended to be established in Scotland, was in order to introduce the like into England. And that if the King laboured to support the hierarchy erected in the kirk of Scotland by his father and himself, it was not so much for the sake of episcopal government, as in order to establish

* He consulted, the same day, or the next, whether he might by his proclamation, recall them to sit again. Though the Lord Clarendon lays the blame upon Sir Henry Vane, yet Whitelock says, it was chiefly by Laud's, and the secret council's advice, that the Parliament was dissolved.

† Dr. Brownrigg, Dr. Hacket, and other members of this convocation, (in all thirty-six,) protested against the continuance of its session.

in that kingdom an arbitrary power, which would be one day fatal to the English. That there was even great danger, that after the accomplishment of his designs, he would restore Popery in his kingdoms, since he could refuse nothing to the Queen, to Laud, and the other enemies of the Protestant religion. The King himself, by his conduct, rendered those insinuations so plausible, that besides the Presbyterians, who were very numerous, there were many church of England men, who could not forbear dreading, that the King's zeal for the church was only to engage them to be subservient to his more hidden designs. Be this as it will, the kingdom was full of suspicions, fears, jealousies, divisions, so that if the King had been well informed, he might easily have seen there were but very few that served him willingly and cheerfully, in the war with Scotland.

The King foresaw, that it would not be possible for him to maintain his army, unless he had recourse to extraordinary methods to raise money. Accordingly, he made use of the following expedients, to supply in part what he had expected from the Parliament.

I. He ordered that the counties should advance coat and conduct money for their respective troops.*

II. He bought upon credit of the East-India merchants all their pepper, and sold it again for ready money.

III. He took forty thousand pounds' worth of the bullion, which the merchants had brought into the mint to be coined, which sum was afterwards punctually repaid.†

IV. He would have borrowed two hundred thousand pounds of the city of London, but had the mortification to meet with a denial. He was so displeased at it, that he resolved to be revenged. The city, having some time before settled a colony at Londonderry in Ireland, had obtained a patent from the King for certain lands in that country. The Londoners had no sooner refused to lend the King money, but the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs were cited before the Star Chamber, to answer to the charge of having abused the patent, by usurping more lands than the King had granted to the city. Upon this charge, whether well or ill grounded, the Londoners were condemned to forfeit their rights, and grievously fined, but upon payment of the fine, their patent was restored.‡ They had but too many opportunities afterwards to be revenged of the King in their turn. On the other hand, the writ to levy ship money having been sent to the city of London, as well as to all the other towns in the kingdom, it appeared that the Lord Mayor and the city council had neglected to levy this tax, or at least, they had not distrained any one person for non-payment, according to the tenor of the writ. For this reason, the council sent an order to the attorney general, to prosecute the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, in the Star-Chamber, for their contempt and default in the execution of the said writ.

Thus the King, instead of relinquishing this odious tax, continued to exact it with great rigour, though his affairs were then at a crisis, which should have inspired him with a dread, that in case the success of the Scotch war did not answer his expectations, he should be little able to support himself.

Part of the army designed against Scotland was now upon the frontiers, under the command of the Lord Conway, general of the horse, whilst the rest lay encamped near York. The Earl of Northumberland, who was to command under the King, remained sick at London, and the Earl of Strafford, who was lieutenant-general, had not been able to depart soon enough, because he was a very necessary member of the King's secret council. The Lord Conway being advanced as far as Newcastle, with three thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, was informed that Lesley, General of the Scots,§ was preparing to march at the head of two-and-twenty thousand men, in order to enter England. And indeed, he passed the Tweed the 20th of August, the very day the King departed from London for York, where he arrived on the 23d. Lesley pursuing his march, came the 27th to Newburn, on the north side of the Tyne, four miles from Newcastle. At his arrival, he found the Lord Conway posted with his troops on the south side of the river, where he had raised breast works over against the two fords, to oppose his passage. The Scots forced the passage of the Tyne, after a fight very faintly maintained by the English. The Lord Conway was seized with such terror, that he left Newcastle the next day, and retreated to Durham, where not thinking himself yet safe, he went and joined the King's army, which was advanced to Northampton. The King's troops had no sooner quitted Newcastle, but the Scots entered, and found there the artillery and stores ordered thither by the King, who designed that place for the magazine of his army.

The entrance of the Scots into England, and the taking of Newcastle, broke all the King's measures. Though in this first action he had not lost above three or four hundred men, this inconsiderable loss produced however great effects, all to the King's disadvantage.

I. The Earl of Strafford, having spoken a little too roughly to the officers and soldiers, who were returned from the defeat of Newborn, displeased the whole army, and thereby put the vanquished upon magnifying, in their own vindication, the valour and number of the Scotch troops. This could not but produce an ill effect in the King's army, which before was not very well inclined.

II. The English mal-contents were more at ease, and spoke more boldly against the government, knowing it was no proper season to silence them.

III. The Scots missed not this opportunity to show the English, by as moderate a conduct as the juncture could allow, that their design in entering England, was not to injure the English, but only to procure access to the King in order to lay their grievances before him. By this means they separated, as much as they could, the King's cause from that of the people of England, which did the King an unspeakable prejudice.

IV. The consternation caused by the Newburn defeat, and, on the other hand, the moderation of the Scots, who, notwithstanding the success of their arms, affected to desire only an accommodation, inclined the whole nation to a peace. None but the court party used their utmost endeavours, though in vain, to inspire the English with a desire of revenge.

V. As in the King's present circumstances, with an army of enemies before him, and numberless mal-contents in all the rest of the kingdom, as well as in his own army, it was not possible for him to raise money, by the same methods he had till then practised, there resulted a general opinion that a Parliament was absolutely necessary.

To this it was that the Scots and the English mal-contents desired to lead him, though against his will, knowing it was hardly possible that a new Parliament should be disposed in his favour.

The Scots had in England more correspondents than the King had till now imagined. They had dispersed two manifestos, of which one was intituled, "Six considerations of the lawfulness of their expedition into England," and the other, "Intentions of the Scots

---

* These troops were pressed out of the militia of each county. Their allowance was eight-pence a day; and their whole number amounted to 16,800. There were forces raised in the same manner to go by sea. London found 1200, Essex and Kent 700 a piece, &c. In all 10,000. The first were to be at the rendezvous the 10th of May, and the latter the 25th, or 27th.

† There was likewise a design to debase the coin, but it was laid aside by the remarks of Sir Thomas Rowe, in a speech at the council table.——These several methods, and particularly a voluntary loan of some Lords of the Council, and other gentlemen, brought the King in 300,000*l.*

‡ They offered, by way of composition, to build for the King, a stately palace in St. James's park, and to pull down Whitehall, and make a stately way by the Thames side, straight from Charing-Cross to Westminster Hall.

§ To maintain their army, the Scots imposed a tax of the tenth penny upon all the rents of Scotland.

and

and their army manifested to their brethren of England."*

These manifestos, which were doubtless owing to the counsels of some of the English mal-contents, produced such an effect upon the people, the army, and the Lords themselves, who were not only devoted to the court, that the King might very easily see how difficult it would be to support the war, and to what danger he would be exposed, if he hazarded a battle at such a juncture. Nothing was more disadvantageous to the King, than the extreme desire expressed by the Scots to end the quarrel by an agreement, which showed their aim was not to make war upon the English, whereas it was the King's interest to engage them both in a national quarrel. Wherefore the Scots did not fail to improve the advantage of their moderate conduct. As soon as they were masters of Newcastle, they sent a very humble petition to the King, beseeching him to give ear to their complaints, and cure their evils, by the advice of the Parliament of England. The King, who was pressed on all sides, had already summoned the nobility to meet him at York the 24th of September, to give their advice upon the present situation of his affairs. He therefore told the Scots, that their petition was expressed in such general terms, that he could not give them a positive answer. But if they would speak more plainly, and declare the particulars of their demands, he would give such answers as the Peers who were to meet at York should think proper. Upon this they sent their demands to the King, the 8th of September, namely:

"I. That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to command, that the last acts of Parliament may be published in his Highness's name, as our Sovereign Lord with the estates of Parliament convened by his Majesty's authority.

"II. That the castles of Edinburgh and other strengths of the kingdom of Scotland may, according to the first foundation, be furnished and used for our defence and security.

"III. That our countrymen in his Majesty's dominions of England and Ireland may be freed from censure for subscribing the covenant, and be no more pressed with oaths and subscriptions unwarrantable by your laws, and contrary to their natural oath and covenant approved by his Majesty.

"IV. That the common incendiaries which have been the authors of this combustion may receive their just censure.

"V. That all our ships and goods, with all the damage thereof, may be restored.

"VI. That the wrongs, losses, and charges which all this time we have sustained, may be repaired.

"VII. That the declarations made against us as traitors, may be recalled in the end, by the advice and counsel of the state of England convened in Parliament. His Majesty may be pleased to remove the garrisons from the borders, and any impediments which may stop free trade."†

Presently after it was publicly talked at London of presenting a petition to the King, to pray him to summon a Parliament. The privy-council, left by the King at London, having some notice of this design, endeavoured to prevent it by a letter directed to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen: but they could not succeed. So a petition was resolved and sent to his Majesty at York by some of the aldermen and common-council; and, within a few days, this petition was followed by another from twelve Lords, in behalf of themselves and divers others.

Presently after, the King having called the Yorkshire gentry together, proposed to them the payment of the trained bands for two months. This proposition being accepted, the gentlemen prepared an address to inform the King of their consent: but withal they besought his Majesty to endeavour to compose the differences with the Scots, and to summon a Parliament. The Earl of Strafford being desired to present the address to the King, refused it, unless the clause about calling a Parliament was left out, alledging, he knew, the King fully designed it. But the gentlemen were unwilling to leave out these words, and delivered their address themselves.

The King, perceiving by the petitions which were presented to him, that it was the nation's fervent desire, a Parliament should be called, did not doubt it would be the first advice, the Peers, when assembled, would give him. He resolved therefore to prevent this advice, by summoning a Parliament to meet on the 3d of November, for fear, if he delayed it any longer, he might be thought to be forced to it. The great council of the Peers being assembled at York the 24th of September, the King told them in his first speech, that he had taken this resolution. He also informed them, that the Queen, in a letter which she had written to him, had very earnestly recommended that measure.

When the King had thus addressed the Lords, he commanded to be read the reasons which had induced his council to advise the levying an army against the Scots, and the petition of the Scots, presented to the King since their taking of Newcastle, as also the King's answer, and their particular demands. Then, the Earl of Traquaire, by the King's order, explained these demands to the Peers, and endeavoured to show, how some of them subverted the fundamental laws of the kingdom of Scotland, others the just prerogative and dignity of his Majesty, and of which many were to the detriment of the King's profit, and prejudice of divers good subjects there. The result of the deliberations of the Peers was, that certain of themselves should be sent as commissioners to treat with the Scots, and endeavour to conclude a peace. Pursuant to this resolution, sixteen Peers were chosen for commissioners, to whom were added by the King as assistants, the

* In these two papers, they were extremely careful to show, that the motive of their armament and entry into England, was not to invade that kingdom, but only to defend themselves against some particular persons, their sworn enemies, among whom they named as the principal, the Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop of Canterbury. They said, in their present situation, their country being blocked up by sea and land, and their trade interrupted, it was not possible to expect any longer the coming of their enemies to attack them, without being exposed to certain ruin. They compared themselve to a man who, when his house is beset, and his enemies ready to assault it, sallies out himself and attacks them in hopes of averting, by a vigorous effort, the impending ruin. They maintained, it was the King that had broken the peace, and having granted that the general assembly should regulate the affairs of the kirk, and its regulations be ratified in Parliament, had, without any lawful cause, prorogued the Parliament, before what the general assembly had judged necessary, was confirmed. He had even denied to give audience to the deputies of the Parliament, and though he had agreed, other deputies should be sent to him, it was only to amuse them, since the war with Scotland had been already determined in the council, and the Parliaments of Ireland and England convened in order for supplies. They carefully represented the justice and equity of the late Parliament of England, in denying the King money for a war so notoriously unjust. In short, their aim was to demonstrate to the people of England,

I. The justice of their cause.

II. The artifices of their enemies to surprise them.

III. The necessity they were under, of taking arms in their own lawful defence, and to prevent their ruin.

IV. They said, notwithstanding their entry into England, the war was defensive on their part.

V. That they intended not to offer any injury or violence, or inrich themselves with the spoils of the English, but only to procure access to his Majesty, to present their grievances, which was denied them, unless they would entirely deliver themselves to the mercy of their enemies.

VI. They called God to witness, this was their intention, and the better to gain belief, they made use of the strongest expressions and most solemn oaths.

VII. Lastly, they forgot not to insinuate to the English, that they had the same cause to maintain, since the liberties of England were equally in danger with those of Scotland.

† It appears by this last article, how careful the Scots were to lose no opportunity to gain the people of England to their interest. Of this they also gave the following instance. As the Londoners had all their coals from Newcastle, and could by no means be without that trade, the Scots were no sooner masters of Newcastle, but they wrote to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, "That knowing how necessary the free traffic of coals was for their city, and other places of England, they had, as a testimony of greatest respect and good will to the city of London, sent two noblemen to declare to the masters of ships, who, possessed with needless fears, were hastening out of the river, that their purpose was not to stop, but to use their best means to continue that trade."—This letter answered the expectations of the Scots.

Earls of Traquaire, Morton, and Lanerick, secretary of Scotland, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Lewis Steward, and Sir John Burrough. It was farther agreed, that the treaty should begin at Rippon * the 1st of October, and that the Earl of Lanerick should signify this resolution to the Scots.

This article being dispatched, the King desired the Lords to consider of means to maintain the army during the treaty. The Earl of Strafford having informed the Peers of the number of troops the King had on foot, namely about four-and-twenty thousand men, declared that the payment of this army amounted to three score thousand pounds a month, and that to keep the army together for three months, no less would serve than the sum of two hundred thousand pounds. He added, if the army should disband, all Yorkshire would be lost in two days, and the whole kingdom endangered. Whereupon it was resolved, that a letter, subscribed by all the Peers present, should be sent to the city of London for lending the two hundred thousand pounds, upon such security as should be agreed on, each of the Peers offering to become bound.

The Scots having appointed their commissioners to treat with the English, the negotiation began at Rippon the 1st of October. But before the principal point of the treaty was considered, certain preliminary articles were to be settled, which the Scots proposed as absolutely necessary to a happy conclusion. They represented therefore, that their army had stopped at Newcastle by his Majesty's express order: that they subsisted by means of the contributions raised upon Cumberland, Newcastle, and Durham, and as the negotiation might last some time, it was necessary, before all things, to provide for the subsistence of their troops during the treaty. This was the principal article on which they insisted, as a preliminary to the treaty. The Scots would never suffer the Earl of Traquaire to assist at the treaty, because he was one of those they called incendiaries, against whom they demanded severe justice. After many debates, the commissioners of the two nations agreed at last, the 16th of October, on the following preliminaries.

"I. That the Scotch army should have for a competent maintenance, the sum of 850*l.* per diem; and that the payment thereof shall continue for two months, in case the treaty shall so long last; which payment to be made weekly upon the Friday of every week.

"II. The days of the returning of the army to be numbered within the days of the allowed maintenance.

"III. That the Scotch army shall content themselves with the aforesaid maintenance, and shall neither molest papists, prelates, nor their adherents, nor any other persons of whatsoever quality.

"IV. That the inhabitants of the said counties shall also have liberty to return peaceably to their own dwellings, and shall be refused no courtesy, it being always presupposed, that the fit lodging of their army shall be allowed.

"V. That the army be furnished with coals in a regular way, and not at the pleasure of the soldiers.

"VI. That there be a provision of forage, at the prices to be set down in a table, which must also contain the particular prices of all sorts of victuals, and other necessaries for the army, to be indifferently agreed upon by persons nominated on both sides.

"VII. That free trade and commerce between both nations be restored, and not to be interrupted, but upon the warning of three months. But no victuals, arms, nor ammunition, to be imported into Newcastle, &c.

"VIII. That victuals and other necessaries for the army be free of custom; and that his Majesty's custom of coals and other ware be left free to be levied by his own officers.

"IX. That there be a freedom to furnish necessaries for both armies, and liberty be granted for milling, brewing, &c.

"X. That the arrears of the contributions due to the Scotch army, be compleatly paid to October 16.

"XI. That there be a cessation of arms, according to the particulars to be agreed upon.

"XII. As for securing the sum of 850*l.* per diem above specified, there is a committee appointed, who have power to treat with Northumberland, the Bishopric of Durham, Newcastle, and (if need require) with Cumberland, and Westmoreland, about the payment of it.

"XIII. The Lords will, before their going from York, settle a committee, who shall have charge to see the contribution orderly raised and paid; and that there shall likewise be a committee nominated, to whom either the Scotch commissioners, or the committees of the country, may weekly give an account of the carriage of the business."

The Scots had the address to prolong the signing of these preliminaries till the 16th of October, after which, it still remained to agree on the conditions of the truce. It was therefore almost impossible to enter into a discussion of the articles, which were to be the chief subject of the treaty, before the third of November, the day appointed for the meeting of the Parliament. Wherefore the English commissioners, whether of themselves, or by the suggestion of the Scots, proposed to the King the removal of the treaty from Rippon to London; and the King was forced to consent to it, though he plainly perceived the Scots expected to find many friends at London, and even in the Parliament, as indeed was the case.

* York was named first, but the Scots refused to treat there, "As not secure for their commissioners, so long as the Earl of Strafford commanded there in chief, who had proclaimed them traitors in Ireland, before the King had done it in England." This was the first public appearance of the Scots' enmity against Strafford.

BOOK XX.

THE SECOND PART OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

A. D. 1640.] THE King's affairs at the meeting of the Parliament, were in a very bad situation. Instead of subduing the Scots, as he flattered himself, he had the mortification to see them enter England, force the passage of the Tyne, defeat a considerable body of his army, and render themselves masters of Newcastle. Moreover, he saw his own troops not very ready to serve him. They consisted principally of soldiers enlisted against their wills, in the several counties, and prejudiced, like the rest of the nation, against the government. Besides, the valour of the Scots being magnified by those who had been routed, and by the King's private enemies, inspired the English troops with some terror. Moreover, the King wanted money to pay them. His whole resource was the two hundred thousand pounds borrowed of the city of London, till it should please the Parliament to furnish him with the necessary supplies. However, he was so prejudiced and exasperated against the Scots, that he hoped the new Parliament would look upon their entrance into England as an invasion, as a war made, not upon the King, but the kingdom, and would furnish the means to drive them into their country, and chastise their audaciousness. But it was not long before he perceived his hopes were ill-grounded.

The Parliament met the 3d of November. There had never been a more numerous assembly, very few members being absent. Every one looked upon this as the fairest opportunity that could possibly offer, to cure the evils of the kingdom; and all the members, except such as were entirely devoted to the King, were ready to contribute to the restoring of the government to its true and ancient constitution. Accordingly this was what the people expected.

After the King had opened the session, the Lord Keeper Finch made his speech. He began with encomiums of the King and Queen, and then endeavoured to persuade the two Houses, that the calling of the Parliament was wholly owing to his Majesty, who had resolved it, before he received any petition on that subject. After that, he strove to shew, though in a very general manner, that the Scots had violated the late treaty, and the King, against his will, taken arms by the unanimous advice of his council, to reduce them to obedience. He concluded with informing both Houses, of what had passed as well in the beginning of the war as in the conferences at Rippon.

The Commons having returned to their House, chose for speaker William Lenthall, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, who was proposed by Sir Henry Vane, Secretary of State.* This choice being approved by the King, they appointed, according to custom, a committee to examine all questions that might arise about elections, returns, or other privileges of the House. Then it was resolved, that a committee of the whole House should meet on certain days of the week, for these five principal heads; religion, grievances, courts of justice, trade, and Ireland.

A great number of petitions upon these and other subjects were presented to Parliament within a few days after their meeting. Many members were also charged with similar petitions from their boroughs and shires, and several very mortifying speeches to the King and his ministers were made in the House. Mr. Pym, member for Tavistock, in the county of Devon, in a long studied discourse, divided into many heads after his manner, enumerated all the grievances under which the nation laboured; and from a complication of such oppressions inferred that a deliberate plan had been formed of changing entirely the frame of government, and subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom.

As Mr. Pym was one of the leading men in the House of Commons, he was extremely applauded. His speech was followed by another from Sir Benjamin Rudyard, who to intimate that there was a settled design to introduce Popery and arbitrary power into England, expressed himself after this manner:

"They have so brought it to pass, that under the name of Puritans, all our religion is branded; and under a few hard words against Jesuits, all Popery is countenanced. Whosoever squares his actions by any rule either divine or human, he is a Puritan; whosoever would be governed by the King's laws, he is a Puritan; he that will not do whatsoever other men would have him do, he is a Puritan; their great work, their master-piece, now, is to make all those of the religion, to be the suspected party of the kingdom."

The speeches were seconded with so great a number of complaints and petitions concerning grievances both public and private, that the House was divided into above forty committees, according to the different nature of the complaints. But before the particular examination of these grievances was begun, the Commons thought fit to desire the concurrence of the Lords to move the King, that he would be pleased to appoint a fast, which met with no opposition either from the Lords or the King.† Then they appointed a committee to examine what number of Papists were in and about London, and how they were armed. As the King had acquainted them with his design to publish a proclamation against recusants, this committee was empowered to examine the same after the publication, and see how it was executed.

Two days after, on the 9th of November, the House going upon the grievances, the Lord Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol, made on that subject a speech, which he concluded with this motion, "That a select committee may be appointed to draw out of all that has been

* The Lord Clarendon says, the King designed Sir Thomas Gardiner, recorder of London, to be speaker. But he could not get him elected. And no wonder, if it be true as Whitelock says, that such a spirit of opposition to the court proceedings, was in the hearts and actions of most of the people, that very few of that party had the favour to be chosen members of this Parliament.

† Dr. Cornelius Burgess, and Stephen Marshal, preached on that day before the House of Commons; and preached and prayed at least seven hours between them.

been complained of, such a remonstrance a may be a faithful and lively representation to his Majesty, of the deplorable estate of the kingdom." Probably, this motion had been resolved among the leaders, because they were apprehensive of the King's opposing the redress of grievances, and because in that case it was requisite to show the people the necessity of this redress, by informing them wherein consisted the grievances of the nation. The Lord Digby's motion being approved, the House appointed a committee of twenty-four to prepare the remonstrance. But because the King showed greater condescension than was expected, this remonstrance was not drawn till above a year after, and upon another occasion.

Sir John Culpeper, one of the members who had spoken upon the grievances, having chiefly insisted on monopolies, it was voted, that all such members as directly or indirectly had any share in, or benefit from, any project or monopoly, should be disabled to sit in the House, and that Mr. Speaker should issue out writs to chuse others in their room. There were afterwards four expelled the House upon that account.

During the four or five first days, the House of Commons was almost wholly employed in receiving petitions and complaints. Amongst the private petitions, the most remarkable were those of Bastwick, Burton, Prynn,* Lilburn, Leighton, Jennings, and Smart.† These men complained of the exorbitant pains and penalties inflicted on them by the Star Chamber, and High Commission. Within the space of about a year, the Commons found time to examine all these sentences one after another, and to punish the members of the Star Chamber, who had given their votes; by condemning them to pay all the costs and damages to the parties. The reparations to Bastwick, Prynn, and Burton, were fixed to above four thousand pounds each. All the other complaints of private persons, whether against the courts of justice, or the Star Chamber and High Commission, or certain Bishops and Deans, who laboured more than the rest, to introduce innovations in religion, were heard. The Commons took a pleasure to mortify in their turn, those who had stretched the prerogative royal, in persecuting the Puritans, or rather such as did not bear the yoke patiently, who were confounded, under that name, with the Presbyterians.

If the Commons endeavoured to do justice to private persons, who had suffered any injury during the first fifteen years of this reign, it may well be imagined, they neglected not to redress the grievances of the whole nation. This was their principal business during the first year of their session. Though the Parliament was composed of several parties, who had not all the same views, they were united with respect to the redress of grievances. Even those members who were most devoted to the King, durst not oppose the general sentiment, some because they thought the thing just, others not to lose their labour, and for fear of rendering themselves too suspected.

Among those who had most contributed to the public mischiefs, the Archbishop of Canterbury was considered as one of the chief and most worthy of punishment, as being author of the innovations in the church, promoter of the war with Scotland, persecutor of the Presbyterians, and head of the Arminians. The Earl of Strafford was likewise of this number, because he had so entirely devoted himself to the King, that in his two great offices of president of the court of York, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he had no other view than to stretch the prerogative royal, and increase the King's revenues. His proud and haughty carriage had no less offended the public than his actions, whereby he strove to establish an arbitrary power. He was accused of advising the King to transport his Irish army into England, to subdue the opposers of his will. Though he was highly in the King's favour, he had nevertheless made himself many enemies at court, and in the kingdom, who earnesly sought occasion to ruin him. The Lord Keeper Finch, was looked upon also as a pernicious counsellor, wholly devoted to the King, and ready for any attempt, to establish a despotic government. It was not doubted, but he was the man that had corrupted the judges in the business of ship money. Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary of State, was reckoned the patron of the Catholics, and it was by his means that the condemned priests and jesuits escaped one way or the other the sentence passed upon them. In short, the judges of the realm had rendered themselves extremely odious to the people, as well by the judgment they had given in Mr. Hampden's affair, as by numberless other acts of injustice to private persons. These were the principal authors of the grievances, whom the Commons intended to bring to exemplary punishment.

The Earl of Strafford was the first on whom the storm fell. The 11th of November, eight days after the opening of the Parliament, Mr. Pym, having desired, and obtained his desire of the Commons, that the doors of the House might be locked, and the outward room cleared of strangers, informed them, that there were several complaints against the Earl of Strafford, which afforded good ground to accuse him of high treason. Upon this information, the House immediately appointed a committee of seven, who withdrawing into another room, and conferring together, reported, presently after, that it was their opinion, there was just cause to impeach the Earl of Strafford. Then Mr. Pym was ordered to go to the House of Lords, and accuse the Earl of high treason, in the name of all the Commons. He had orders likewise to tell the Lords, that in due time the Commons would produce the articles of accusation, and in the mean time, desired the accused might be put into safe custody. The Earl of Strafford had that very day come from the army, and had taken his place in the House of Lords. Before his departure from the army, he had received notice that there was a design to attack him. But whether through pride, or a belief that having done nothing without the King's warrant, he was secure, he slighted the advice, and would be present in the Parliament. Indeed, some months before, the King's protection was more than sufficient to screen him from all danger. But the face of affairs was altered, and it is strange a person of so great a genius, and such good sense, could imagine the King was able to protect him in such a juncture.‡ However this be, upon the Commons' im-

* These three persons above were now, by order of Parliament, brought from their several places of confinement to London. Prynn and Burton landing at the same time, viz. November 28, at Southampton, were received with extraordinary demonstrations of esteem, had their charges borne, and liberal presents given them. This method and ceremony kept them company all their journey, and so many people met them upon their approach to London, that they were carried into the city by above ten thousand persons, with boughs and flowers in their hands.

† Leighton, a physician, father of Dr. Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow, for writing a book called "Sion's Plea against prelacy," (wherein he advised the Parliament "to kill all the Bishops, by smiting them under the fifth rib," and railed against the Queen, calling her a Canaanite and Idolatress,) was thrown into a noisome prison, fined ten thousand pounds, stood in the pillory twice, having one ear cut off, one nostril slit, and one cheek fired, with thirty-six lashes each time. Alexander Jennings of Buckinghamshire, for refusing to pay ship money, was imprisoned in the Fleet by warrant of the council, without any cause expressed, and the court of King's Bench had refused to discharge or bail him when brought thither by Habeas Corpus.——Peter Smart, canon of Durham, having in 1628, printed two sermons against innovations in the church of Durham, by Dr. Cosins, was by the high commission of York, deprived of his prebend and living, fined 500*l.* and imprisoned many years.

‡ Whitelock says, it was considered at York, whether the Earl should repair to the House, or continue in the north with the army. The Earl humbly desired his Majesty to excuse his going to the Parliament, alledging, "He should not be able to do him any service there, but rather be a means to hinder his affairs, and besides, in case they should fall upon him, he being at a distance, might the better retire from danger, &c." The King, notwithstanding all he could say, insisted upon the Earl's coming up to Parliament, and told him, "As he was King of England, he was able to secure him from any danger, and the Parliament should not touch one hair of his head." So, in obedience to the King's commands, the Earl came to London, but not, as Rapin says, the same day he was impeached, but a few days before. The Lord Clarendon says, it was believed he came to the House that day, to accuse the Lord Say, and some others, of having induced the Scots to invade the kingdom.

peachment, the Lords committed him to the custody of the black rod, and some days after sent him to the Tower.

Secretary Windebank was attacked next. Several petitions were presented against him to the House, whereof he was member, complaining, that as Secretary of State, he had issued out warrants under his own hand, for the discharge of prosecutions against priests, and for their release out of prison. All these petitions tended to show, that he lost no opportunity to countenance the Papists, and gloried in being reckoned their patron. He was summoned several times to come to the House, and answer what was laid to his charge. But he believed it more proper to avoid the impending storm, and withdraw into France. When he was out of danger, he sent the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, a letter, lamenting his misfortune, and intimating, that if he was guilty, it was only for having served the King faithfully, and obeying his orders.*

The convocation, their canons, oath, and the tax they had laid upon the clergy to aid the King in his war with Scotland, were next taken into consideration by the House. This affair was debated with great warmth. Several members made, on this occasion, speeches, tending to show, the King could not, by his authority, turn the convocation into a synod. They alledged for reason, that the clergy who composed it, could act but as members of the convocation, because to act as members of a synod, they ought to have been elected by the people, and it did not belong to the King to make this election as he pleased. That the convocation or synod had not power to make canons for the whole nation, without the consent of the people themselves, nor consequently without the intervention of the Parliament. That most of the canons were unjust in themselves, and tended to increase the clergy's power, to the prejudice of the King's authority, and the people's liberties. That by these canons the convocation assumed a power above the Parliament. That the oath they had imposed was strange, doubtful, contrary to the privileges of the Parliament, and the rights of the people, and obliged men to swear as necessary, things that were alterable, without any danger to religion. For instance, supposing it true, that Bishops are Jure divino, which the church of England never acknowledged, it could not be affirmed, that Archbishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, are of divine or apostolical institution, and yet people were made to swear, never to consent to the altering of the government of the church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. That by this oath, the representatives of the nation would be so tied up, that though the Parliament should have power to alter the government of the church, they could not even debate upon that subject, by reason of their oath. Upon these and many other reasons, the Commons voted unanimously,

I. That the clergy of England convened in a convocation or synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any constitutions, canons, or acts whatsoever, in matters of doctrine or discipline, or otherwise, to bind the clergy or laity of the land, without common consent in Parliament.

II. That the canons treated upon by the late convocation, do contain matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, to the rights of Parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence.†

Immediately after these resolutions, the House appointed a committee of thirty-six, to examine, who were the chief promoters of these canons, and how they had been executed: to consider how far, in particular, the Archbishop of Canterbury had been concerned, in the great design of subverting the laws of the land and religion: and to draw up a charge against him and such others, as should appear guilty of the same crime. The Scotish commissioners who were sent to London to continue the treaty, begun at Rippon, were in good understanding with the leading members of the Commons, and in all appearance, had been informed of the design to prosecute the Archbishop. Therefore, to make the blow fall the heavier on this prelate, by joining their complaints with those of the Commons, they presented next day to the Lords, a charge against him, to this effect:

"That he was the cause of all the troubles in Scotland, and the author and urger of introducing into Scotland, the book of canons, and the liturgy, as appeared by fourteen letters which they offered to produce: that the Scotch prelates having sent to him a book of canons, written upon the one side only, with the other side blank, he had made several interlinings, and filled up the blank pages with several directions; which changes and supplements were taken from the Romish rituals, that varied from the book of England. That they were contrary to the King's intentions, who in his large declarations had professed, that all the variations in the Scotch service from that of England, should be only in such things as the Scotish humours would better comply with. But that the Archbishop had no regard to this. On the contrary, the Scotish prelates having petitioned the suppression of some of the English ceremonies, as the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and some other things, he was so far from consenting, that he had added several others: that in the order of the administration of the communion in the book of England, he had made several alterations, which plainly showed his design of introducing Popery into Scotland: that he had kindled war between the King and the Scots; and been one of the chief causes of breaking the last pacification, and renewing the war: that he had inserted into the divine service a prayer against their nation, by name of traiterous subjects, having cast off all obedience to their anointed sovereign, and coming in a rebellious manner to invade England; that shame might cover their faces as enemies to God and the King."

On the morrow, Sir Harbottle Grimston made in the House a speech against the Archbishop, pretending to show, that all those who were concerned in the evils of the state, as the Earl of Strafford, the Bishops of Chester, Oxford, Ely, Bath, and Wells, had been raised by his means, and that there was not a single grievance but what flowed from him. Whereupon the Commons impeached, by Mr. Denzil Hollis, the Archbishop of high treason, and the Lords committed him to the custody of the gentleman-usher. Some time after he was sent to the Tower.

Then, the Commons sent a message to the Lords, to let them know, they had received informations of a very high nature against Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely; and having heard that he intended to make an escape out of the kingdom, they desired them to think of some way to prevent it. Whereupon, the Lords ordered the Bishop to give ten thousand pounds bail for his forthcoming, to which he consented.

Of those whom the Commons considered as the chief authors of the public grievances, there remained only the Lord Keeper Finch, and the judges. The first was declared a traitor by a vote of the House of Commons, notwithstanding the eloquent speech he was permitted to make at the bar of the House in his vindication. But before he was accused in form, he fled into Holland. However, he was impeached afterwards, though absent. Presently after his flight, the King made Sir Edward Littleton, Lord Keeper.

In fine, the Commons sent word to the Lords, that they had received informations against three judges,

* Sir Francis Windebank had been Laud's pupil, and was by his recommendation, made secretary on June 15, 1632. In his letter to the Earl of Pembroke are these words, "What I am guilty of none knows so well as his Majesty, whom I have served faithfully, diligently, painfully, and with as true and loyal a heart, according to my poor abilities, as any other whatsoever."

† It was voted likewise, Nemine Contradicente, that the several grants of the benevolence or contribution granted to his most excellent Majesty by the clergy in their late convocation, are contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy.

Sir John Bramston, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Sir Humphrey Davenport, Lord Chief Baron; and Justice Crowley; and desired the House, that they might put in good security for their appearance. Whereupon, the Lords obliged these three judges, each, to give ten thousand pounds bail. The other judges were also accused afterwards.

Thus they who were considered by the Commons as the principal authors of the public grievances, were disabled not only to continue to advise the King, but also to escape punishment, except the Lord Finch and Sir Francis Windebank, who saved their persons, by leaving their estates in England. Many others of an inferior rank, were variously punished, for exercising monopolies, inventing means to raise the King money, introducing or countenancing innovations in religion, prevaricating in the exercise of their offices, &c.

Whilst the Commons were employed in securing those, they intended to punish, they also prepared whatever was necessary to free the nation from all their grievances. Several speeches were made in the House, to show how prejudicial these grievances were to the public; and the principles which gave them birth were particularly insisted on, as being directly contrary to the constitution, and tending to the subversion of the government. Whereupon, it was voted that such a thing was illegal, and ordered that a bill should be prepared to abolish it. This was the subject of divers acts which were presented to the King for the royal assent from the 3d of November 1640, to the 10th of August 1641. The principal were these:

An act for a triennial Parliament: that is, to ordain that a Parliament should be held, at least every three years, though the King should neglect to call it, in order to prevent the inconveniences arising from a too long intermission of Parliaments; an act to abolish the Star Chamber and High Commission; an act to reduce the forests to the same state as under Edward I.; an act to repeal the statutes made in the reign of Edward II. concerning knighthood; an act to permit any subject to make salt-petre and gun-powder throughout the kingdom; and an act to abolish ship money. The necessity of these acts was so manifest, that the King must have either consented to them, or plainly declared he would govern with an absolute power. But he was not so unwise as to oppose them in his present circumstances.

Besides these acts, the Commons passed many general votes upon several other articles. This design was not only to stop the evil by means of these votes, but also to terrify all those who had been concerned in the grievances, in order to take from the King all hopes of support in his people. For after the House had voted, for instance, that such a monopoly was illegal, if any person concerned in that monopoly, behaved in a manner disagreeable to the Commons, or appeared too much attached to the King, an accusation against him was the certain consequence of such a behaviour. By that means, the King's most devoted friends chose rather to relinquish his interest than be liable to a charge, from which, they plainly saw, it was not in the King's power to secure them. This had very clearly appeared by the great examples of the Earl of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, Lord Keeper Finch, and Secretary Windebank, after whom no private person could hope for any protection from the King. Thus the Commons rendered themselves so formidable at the very beginning of the Parliament, that the King was suddenly deserted by all, without having other refuge than to consent to whatever was proposed by the Parliament. He hoped however, that when all the grievances were redressed, he should be, if not in the same state he had been for fifteen years, at least in the natural state of a King of England, according to the laws and the constitution of the government. But it will hereafter appear, how much he was mistaken in his conjecture.

The Commons used also another expedient to make themselves feared. As there were many people who, in conformity to the intentions of the court, had been concerned in the monopolies, or countenanced the innovations, or been subservient to introduce and support the occasion of any grievance, the Commons, upon the petitions presented to them against these men, sent for them to London, and examining them by a committee, declared them delinquents. As much as to say, that according to the opinion of the House, they were guilty of faults or offences for which they deserved to be prosecuted and punished according to law. This word delinquent, was very much in use during this Parliament. Thus, a great number of those who had been most noted for their adherence to the maxims of the court, or the principles of the Archbishop, were voted delinquents, and thereby kept in awe by the Commons, who according as they behaved well or ill to them, could prosecute or leave them unmolested. But the number of those who were declared delinquents was nothing in comparison of such as had reason to fear the like declaration, upon the least petition against them. Hence there followed an unanimous approbation of whatever was done by the House; some consenting because they thought the things just, and others out of fear of chastisement. This is what rendered the redress of grievances very easy to the Commons, and would have made it impracticable for the King to oppose it, though he should have had such a thought. The King reaped at least this advantage from his consent to the redress of grievances, that he gave occasion to many to believe he sincerely concurred in that work. But his enemies drew from thence a very different inference. They said, as the Parliament's measures were so well laid, that it would have been in vain for the King to oppose them; he was not to be thanked for a consent, to which necessity forced him, since, whilst it was in his power to hinder the redress of grievances, he had always refused to hearken to the instant desires of his Parliaments.

During the first whole month of this session, scarcely a day passed, but the House received petitions from divers counties, concerning grievances, amongst which that of ship money was never forgotten. At last, on the 7th of December, the day appointed to debate upon that affair, the Lord Falkland, afterwards Secretary of State, made a long speech to the House; when it was resolved upon the question, nemine contradicente,

I. That the charge imposed upon the subjects for the providing and furnishing of ships, and the assessments for raising of money for that purpose, commonly called ship money, are against the laws of the realm, the subjects' right of property, and contrary to former resolutions in Parliament, and to the Petition of Right.

II. That the extrajudicial opinions of the judges published in the Star Chamber, and enrolled in the courts of Westminster in these words,——in the whole, and in every part of them, are against the laws of the realm, the subjects' right of property, and contrary to former resolutions in Parliament, and to the Petition of Right.

III. That the writ following——and the other writs commonly called the ship writs, are against the laws of the realm, the right of property, and the liberty of the subjects, and contrary to former resolutions in Parliament, and to the Petition of Right.

After these resolutions, the House appointed a committee of sixteen, at the head of whom was the Lord Falkland, to go forthwith to the several judges, to know in what manner, and by whom they were solicited or threatened to give their extrajudicial opinion concerning ship money. It was ordered, that every one of the judges should be examined at the same time by two of the committee, and be told what had been voted in the House concerning ship money, and that the committee should ask such questions as they should think material, to the execution of this order.

Next day, the House ordered that the committee appointed to consider of the property of the subjects in their goods, should take into consideration some way of seeing the entering upon record, the King's several commissions for loans and excise, and the resolutions of former Parliaments thereon, and the addition that was offered by the Lords to the Petition of Right, with

the resolution of the House; and also the resolutions of the questions proposed in the House concerning ship money, that they might remain fair to posterity. It was also referred to the same committee to make a preparation of the vote passed about ship money, to be sent to the Lords; to draw up a charge against the Lord Finch, and the rest of the judges that gave their opinion upon that tax; and likewise to take into consideration their extrajudicial opinions and the judgments in the case of ship money; to inquire of the several denials of Habeas Corpus, and prohibitions, their extrajudicial proceedings and opinions concerning ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and the court of Admiralty; their denial of legal and ordinary proceedings in cases of justice, and the binding of the whole kingdom by any one man's particular case. The same committee had power to send for parties, witnesses, papers, records, or any thing else that might conduce to this business, and were to present the state of the whole matter to the House.

On the other hand, the 26th of February 1640-41, the Lords ordered to be brought to their House the record in the exchequer of the judgment in Mr. Hampden's case, and also the Rolls in the Star Chamber and other courts, wherein the extrajudicial opinions of the judges were entered, and caused them to be annulled in their presence. They ordered moreover, that a copy of what they had done should be delivered to the judges to be published at the assizes in every county within their circuits, and that an act of Parliament should be prepared concerning this matter.

All this produced at length charges against the Lord Keeper, and each of the judges, with an act to abolish ship money, to which the King gave the royal assent the 7th of August 1641.

Much the same method was taken with regard to the other grievances, and in the end, there was not one, public or private, but what was redressed within the nine first months of this session.

When the disputes concerning grace arose in Holland, James I. espoused the opposite party to Arminius, and used even threats to oblige the states of Holland to condemn Vorstius his successor. After that, he sent Bishops and Divines to the synod of Dort, to strengthen the contra-remonstrants. Meanwhile, the Arminians in England were forced to lie dormant, because the court was not their friend. Laud, then only a private doctor in the university of Oxford, had yet no credit, though shortly after the Duke of Buckingham procured him the Bishopric of St. David's in Wales. At the same time King James was vigorously pushing his design to stretch the prerogative royal, to which he met with great opposition, chiefly from the Puritans, who concerning grace were directly contrary to the Arminians. For this reason the King and Duke thought fit to caress and support the Arminians, in order to oppose them to the Puritans, the King's grand aim being to weaken that party, which was always ready to obstruct the execution of his designs. From that time the Arminian party became powerful. The heads were Neil, Bishop of Winchester, and Laud Bishop of St. David's who found means to gain the King's confidence, and to have the disposal of the church preferments. They improved this advantage to strengthen their party, by promoting to the benefices such as were most averse to the Calvinists, for so these began now to be called who embraced Calvin's opinion concerning grace, whether Presbyterians or church of England men. There were therefore three principal causes of the animosity of the court and its friends, against the Presbyterians.

The first was, that they rejected the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The second, that they were entirely against the King's design to stretch his prerogative, knowing the more power he had, the more they should be persecuted. The third, that they were all Calvinists as to the notions of grace. Though the King had not, perhaps, altered his opinion concerning that point, he deserted the Calvinists, because they were in other respects, for the most part, Presbyterians and Puritans. From that time the court and their agents counted among the Puritans, those who refused to conform to the church of England; all the Calvinists, Presbyterians, or others; all who opposed the King's designs with regard to the prerogative; and they were all, under the name of Puritans, equally obnoxious to the hatred of the King and his ministers. So, by this policy, many people who had no inclination for Presbyterianism, were made to become Puritans. At least, they were forced to join with the Puritan party, to hinder the court, on pretence of destroying Puritanism, from establishing by degrees an arbitrary power, which would have been fatal to the whole nation. For the King pretended, his will could be opposed but upon puritanical principles.

The reign of Charles I. was still more violent in this respect, than that of James. Laud being made Bishop of London, and afterwards, Archbishop of Canterbury, and one of the King's prime ministers, used all his industry and credit to humble the Puritan army, that is, not only the Presbyterians, but also the Calvinists, and such who would not patiently bear the yoke of servitude. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Norwich, and afterwards of Ely, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Cosins, prebendary of Durham, being all of the same principles, seconded him in this design. And as if the difference between the church of England and presbytery, had not been sufficiently marked, they added to the worship sundry innovations, and represented as absolutely necessary, things indifferent, which religion might well have dispensed with.

The wisest part of the nation had long since perceived the King's and the court's policy, and their artifices to pave the way to arbitrary power. But it had not been possible to avoid the effects of it, because the King had dissolved the Parliaments, the moment they were bent to examine the grievances. Thus the regal power had gained ground by degrees, no one being in a capacity to hinder its progress. But as soon as the King's affairs had taken a new turn, by the entrance of the Scots into England, and the taking of Newcastle, and when the King saw himself under an absolute necessity of calling a Parliament, most of the members resolved not to lose the opportunity of abolishing the persecution, introduced under the specious pretence of stopping the progress of Puritanism, but in reality for the better advancement of arbitrary power. Above all, the House of Commons considered the innovations, and the rigour wherewith people were made to observe them, as so many artifices of the court party, for the more easy attainment of their end. It must not therefore be thought strange, if most of the members being united with regard to the grievances, were so likewise for the abolishing of innovations, and punishing the authors, as having served for instruments to the King in the execution of designs, wherein religion was not solely concerned. This is what produced the charges against the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Bath, and Wells, and against Cosins, besides the brand of delinquents given by the Commons to a great number of ministers and others, who had countenanced the innovations.

Most of the members were united as to this point, because there was not one but what considered it as a branch of the design to subject the realm to the King's will and pleasure. But among this great number, there were real Presbyterians, who had more extensive views, and thought, no doubt of altering the government of the church, on pretence of the ill use which the Bishops had made of their power. These, though not very numerous in the Parliament, were supported by a great party in the kingdom, and particularly by the Scots, whose assistance was then absolutely necessary. But they took care not to discover their intentions. They were contented at first to join with those who only intended the redress of grievances, and to restore the government to its natural state. They hoped, as it happened indeed, that the strict examination of the grievances and innovations, would convince most of the members of the necessity to abolish the hierarchy, of which the court had made such great use in the

execution of their designs. They proposed to show on all occasions, that it was almost impossible to restore the civil government, whilst the King had in the clergy of the church of England, a support capable of raising insuperable obstacles to the reformation of the government. For this reason, on all occasions, the leaders of the Presbyterians were the most forward to speak against the grievances. They aggravated chiefly those that concerned the innovations in religion, which they openly ascribed to the design of introducing the Romish religion. All this was done with a view to cast upon the hierarcy, and the Bishops in general, the faults and ill conduct of some particular persons.

The other members who were of the church of England, though very opposite to the King, saw what was the intention of the Presbyterians. But they were kept in awe by the fear of losing the assistance of the Scots, who supported this party, and rendered it very considerable. Wherefore they durst nor displease the Presbyterian party, for fear of causing in the Parliament a division, which must be fatal to the common cause, and consequently very advantageous to the King. Besides, the men we are speaking of, did not believe the hierarchy to be absolutely necessary in the church, or that religion could not subsist without Bishops. Only the rigid Episcopalians, and the King's party were of this opinion, but they made not a majority. Those therefore who had only in view the reformation of the state, and not that of the church, could not, without great inconveniences, help having some condescension for the Presbyterians, for the reasons just mentioned. Perhaps they had no other view in their policy, than to gain time, till the civil grievances were redressed, without any design to go farther. But they had to deal with very able heads, who artfully led them beyond their first resolutions.

On the other hand, the Bishops perfectly knew the intention of the Presbyterians, and that in lessening the King's power, their design was to render him unable to oppose the change they were meditating. Wherefore they adhered the more firmly to the King's interest, and often, by the number of their voices, so managed it, that the upper house voted directly contrary to the resolutions of the lower. But thereby they procured the Presbyterians a considerable advantage. For these last took occasion from thence, to represent how advantageous it was for the King to have at his devotion so great a number of voices among the Lords, and consequently, how impossible it would be to succeed in the intended reformation, so long as the Bishops had votes in the Upper House. This led them at length to bring in a bill for the exclusion of all ecclesiastics from civil employments, and the Bishops in particular, from a right of sitting in the House of Lords.

Those who had only in view to restore the civil government, without meddling with the hierarchy, and whom we call the politicians, were greatly embarassed. They plainly saw, that sundry abuses had crept into the church, and would have readily agreed to their abolition, provided nothing more had been required. But it was proposed to go one step farther, and exclude the Bishops from the Upper House, in which they saw several inconveniences, with regard to the interest of the church of England, to which they were attached.

Then began to be debated the famous question, by what title do Bishops sit in Parliament? It was not denied, they had enjoyed this privilege from the beginning of the monarchy; but some pretended, they sat in Parliament as Barons only, on account of the crown lands granted them by the Anglo Saxon Kings, for which they did homage to the King like the rest of the Barons. Others maintained, they had a seat there as representatives of the clergy, who could not be bound by the laws made in Parliament, without giving their consent to them, according to the constant maxim of the kingdom, and the undeniable privilege which all English subjects had ever enjoyed. That the Lords gave their consent to the laws, for themselves; and the Commons for all the Commons of the kingdom, and therefore it was necessary, there should be in the Parliament representatives of the church and clergy, otherwise the maxim would be false, that no man can be bound by the laws to which he has not consented. They added farther, that the Parliament had always been thought to consist of three estates, of which the clergy had been always considered as one, whence they inferred, that to exclude from the Parliament one of its three estates, would be to subvert the constitution of the government.

To these arguments it was answered: though it should be true, that the clergy were an estate of Parliament distinct from the rest of the people, which was contested, it did not follow, that the Bishops represented the whole church: that there were in the Parliament two houses, one of the Lords, and the other of the Commons; and two houses in the convocation, the upper of the Bishops, and the lower of the inferior clergy; and therefore, according to this rule, the inferior clergy should likewise have representatives in the Parliament, that they might be deemed to give their consent to the laws, which however, was never pretended. Hence it was inferred, the Bishops did not represent the clergy, and added, that this supposed representation was a new thing, unheard of before, and that a few months since, the Bishops would have been very angry to be counted only bare representatives: that though it was necessary, the clergy should be represented in the Parliament, it would not follow, that they ought to be represented by the Bishops, as all the people of England were not represented by the Lords. That the abbots had formerly a seat in Parliament, not as representatives, but as being Tenants in chief, and when they were excluded, it was not said, that a breach was made in the constitution of the Parliament, either by the exclusion of the abbots, or dissolution of the monasteries.

These are the principal arguments alledged for and against the Bishops, with regard to their seat in Parliament. This question was the more difficult, as it had been never determined by what right the Bishops sat in Parliament. Very probably, from the beginning of the monarchy, till about the end of the reign of Henry III. the Parliaments consisted only of Lords, who were in possession of all the lands of the kingdom, for which they did homage to the King. And indeed it appears, the Lords, before that time, granted the King the money necessary for the support of the government, without any mention of the Commons. It may therefore be said, that the Lords sat in Parliament by a double title, namely, for themselves, and as representatives of the nation. But after the Commons were introduced into Parliament, and had a separate House, the Lords lost the last of these titles, and sat only for themselves, the rest of the people having other representatives. The Bishops and Abbots, who belonged to the body of the Lords, had probably their seat too by a double title, as possessors of baronies, and as representatives of the clergy, secular and regular. But as in introducing representatives of the Commons into the Parliament, representatives of the inferior clergy were not also introduced, the Bishops and Abbots may be said to preserve their double title to sit there, as possessors of baronies, and as representatives of the clergy. The dissolution of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII. rendered needless the representation of the regulars, who no longer subsisted; but it made no alteration in the Bishops' right, who, according to this supposition, represented the secular clergy, and continued to sit in Parliament, though the Abbots were abolished.*

The

* It seems to be plain, that the clergy never thought themselves represented by the Bishops, seeing that after the restoration, when the convocation dropped the privilege of taxing themselves, the inferior clergy had in lieu of that privilege, a right to vote for members of Parliament, and so have, ever since the year 1665, been represented by the Commons, like the rest of the freeholders. However, Mr. Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon) and others, made use of this argument, of the Bishops being the representatives of the clergy, in their

The heads of the Presbyterians never ceased to represent to the politicians the impossibility of restoring the government to its natural state, so long as the Bishops should sit in the House of Peers: that the King had found means to gain the clergy to his interest, by expressing a great zeal for the church of England, and an extreme aversion to the Presbyterians; that the clergy, and especially the Bishops, were entirely devoted to the King, in the belief that he was their protector and only support; that therefore they were persuaded he could not be too powerful, since this power would be so advantageous to the clergy; that there were convincing proofs of this truth in the conduct of Laud, Wren, and other clergymen, particularly Sibthorpe, Montague, and Manwaring, who had used their utmost endeavours to procure the King an unlimited power; that the clergy in general were still in the same dispositions, and could do for the future as much mischief as formerly, if care was not taken to humble their pride and power, by confining them within the bounds of their calling.

The politicians granted all these things, and besides, were not very well pleased with the Bishops and the rest of the clergy. But they were loth to yield, for fear the alteration proposed might produce others in church and state, which they did not care to meddle with. Meanwhile, after long weighing the inconveniencies which might flow from their acceptation or refusal, they resolved at last to sacrifice the Bishops' right, rather than run the risk of seeing all their projects fall to the ground, by the obstacles which the Bishops might raise. Whether this resolution was taken by the leaders at the beginning of the Parliament which is not unlikely, or whether it was necessary to use some time to prevail with the politicians, those who solicited the thing, judged that before it came to be publicly debated, it was convenient to breed prejudices against the Bishops in the minds of the people, and to cherish those already entertained. The House wanted not opportunities to execute this design. The bill to take from the Bishops their seat in Parliament was not voted in the House of Commons till the 11th of March 1640-1, and passed not the House of Peers till the 27th of May following. But before the moving of this bill, the Lower House had taken several steps tending to incense the people against the Bishops. The great number of petitions against the Bishops in general, against episcopal government, against some particular prelates and clergymen, against innovations, against the late convocation, served them for foundation to examine the conduct of the Bishops with all the rigour, their design required.* There is no clearer evidence of the Commons' design with regard to the Bishops, than their resolution on the 20th of November, seventeen days after the opening of the Parliament, namely, that on Sunday the 22d of the same month every member should be obliged to receive the communion, and bring with him a ticket of his name and the place for which he served, and that after the communion day none should sit in the House but those that had first received the sacrament. This resolution could be with no other view, than to prevent the Commons from being esteemed Presbyterians, and their resolutions disparaged on that pretence. Thus in the reign of Henry V. the House of Commons intending to give a mortal blow to the clergy, began with passing an act for burning heretics, lest the clergy should pretend that the House consisted only of such.

To show now all the preparations that were made in the House of Commons, before they proceeded in the bill we have been speaking of, we shall only briefly mention the petitions that were presented, the speeches that were made on this subject, and the several resolutions that were taken.

On the 10th of November, seven days after the opening of the Parliament, Sir Edward Deering made a speech in the House, to persuade them to enter upon matters of religion. He took occasion to present a petition from one Wilson, a minister, against the Archbishop who had suspended him, and concluded with saying, "Our manifold griefs do fill a mighty and vast circumference, yet so that from every part our lines of sorrow do lead unto him, and point at him the centre, from whence our miseries in this church, and many of them in the common-wealth do flow."

From this time, till the 25th of January, 1640-1, the House was chiefly employed in receiving and hearing a multitude of petitions against the Bishops and Clergy.† On that day, the King having marked the evil designs of the Commons against the Bishops, sent for both Houses to attend him at Whitehall, where he addressed them on the necessity of attending to the military and other affairs of the kingdom; and assured them of his willingness to concur in the Reformation of all innovations both in the church and the commonwealth. However, he spoke against the dismissal of the Bishops from Parliament; observing that, there was a great difference between the reformation and alteration of government; and though he was decidedly in favour of the former, he could not assent to the latter. This speech produced but little effect.

The next day, a complaint was brought to the Commons against Matthew Wren, for having, whilst Bishop of Norwich, by oppressions, innovations, and requiring certain oaths, compelled above fifty families of that city to withdraw out of England.

On the 1st of February, the Commons examined part of the London ministers' remonstrance against the Bishops. In the debate upon this subject, some smart repartees passed between Mr. Grimston and Mr. Selden. Mr. Grimston argued thus: "That Bishops are Jure divino, is a question; that Archbishops are not Jure divino, is out of question. Now that Bishops which are questioned whether Jure divino, or Archbishops, which out of question are not Jure divino, should suspend ministers that are Jure divino, I leave to you to be considered." To which Mr. Selden answered, "that the convocation is Jure divino, is a question; that Parliaments are not Jure divino, is out of question: that religion is Jure divino, there is no question. Now, Sir, that the convocation, which is questionable whether Jure divino, and Parliaments, which out of question are not Jure divino, should meddle with religion, which questionless is Jure divino, I leave to your consideration."

On the 5th, upon the complaint of the inhabitants of Wood-Church in Kent, against Mr. Bowen their minister, who being also a justice of peace, had, by colour of that office, done several things contrary to the laws, the House ordered, that the Lord Keeper should be desired to leave out the clergy of England and Wales, at the renewing of the commission of the peace.

On the 8th and 9th, the House resumed the debates concerning the Bishops, and many speeches were made for and against them.

The 13th of February, a bill was brought in for abolishing superstition, in the supposition, that Bishops had

their speeches against the taking away the Bishops' voices in the House of Peers; which certainly was no argument at all, the prelates, doubtless, as well as mitred abbots, sitting in Parliament on account of their baronies, like the rest of the nobility.

* The Lord Clarendon says, their way was to prepare a petition very modest and dutiful for the form; and for the matter, not very unreasonable; and to communicate it at some public meeting, where care was taken it should be received with approbation; the subscription of very few hands filled the paper itself, where the petition was written, and therefore many more sheets were annexed, for the reception of the number, which gave all the credit, and procured all the countenance to the undertaking. When a multitude of hands was procured, the petition itself was cut off, and a new one framed suitable to the design in hand, and annexed to the long list of names which were subscribed to the former.

† That which made most noise was the city petition for a total alteration of church government; a petition to which 15,000 subscriptions were annexed, and which was presented by Alderman Pennington, the city member. It is remarkable, that among the many ecclesiastical abuses there complained of, an allowance, given by the licensers of books, to publish a translation of Ovid's Art of Love, is not forgotten by these rustic censors.—The greatest vices, however, which the petitioners in general could reproach the greater part of the clergy with, were, bowing at the name of Jesus, placing the communion table in the east, reading the King's orders for sports on Sunday, and other practices, which the established government both in church and state had strictly enjoined them.

introduced into the church sundry superstitious practices.

The 1st of March the Commons appointed a committee to prepare reasons to be offered to the Lords, that all clergymen in England and Wales, should be put out of the commission of the peace.

The 9th it was moved in the House, that a bill be drawn against pluralists and non-residents.

The same day were presented from the committee, for the ministers, remonstrance against the Bishops, three heads for the debate and consideration of the House. The first concerned their secular employments, namely, their legislative and judicial power in Parliament; their judicial power in the star-chamber, and commissions for the peace; their employment as Privy-Counsellors, and temporal officers. The second related to their sole power in ecclesiastical things, as ordination and censures. The third concerned the greatness of the revenues of deans and chapters, the little use of them, and the inconveniencies thence arising. The House having debated upon the first of these heads, came to these resolutions:

I. That the legislative and judicial power of Bishops in the House of Peers, is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by bill, and that a bill be drawn to that purpose.

II. That the Bishops or any other clergymen, to be in the commission of the peace, or to have any judicial power, in the star-chamber, or in any civil court, is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away; and that a bill be brought in to that purpose.

The same day, the Lords ordered to be burnt two books, written by Dr. Pocklington, intituled, Sunday no Sabbath, and Altare Christianum.

The 15th, the Commons sent up to the Lords articles against Dr. Cosins, who was accused of introducing into the church of Durham divers innovations, tending to restore popery.*

The 21st of April, petitions against the hierarchy were presented by Nottinghamshire and Lancashire.

The 26th of the same month was read a second time a bill, for punishing and fining the members of the late convocation. The Archbishop of Canterbury's fine was of twenty thousand pounds. There were others of ten thousand pounds, of five thousand, three thousand, two thousand, and the least of a Bishop was of a thousand. The rest of the members were rated, each in proportion to his ecclesiastical revenues.

The same day was read a bill, for regulating abuses in ecclesiastical courts.

It was evident, that the Commons were projecting some great reformation, in the ecclesiastical state, and probably, the deans and chapters were first to be attacked, because their use did not appear so manifest. For this reason, Dr. Hacket desired leave to speak before the House, on the behalf of deans and chapters, which was granted him. But after he had done, Dr. Burgess was permitted also to answer his reasons. The two Universities presented likewise petitions to the House on the same account, but to no purpose.

At last, the bill against the Bishops and clergy exercising temporal jurisdiction, passed in the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. But this bill meeting with great opposition in the House of Peers, who put off the debate from day to day, the Commons caused a new bill to be brought into their house, for the taking away of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. which was read the first time. Whilst they were debating whether it should be read again or laid aside, a message came from the Lords, signifying, that they were ready to concur with them as to the former bill, except only taking away the Bishops' votes in Parliament. But the Commons, without taking any notice of this offer, ordered the new bill to be read a second time.

The second of June, at a conference between the two Houses, the Lords gave reasons why they did not judge it unlawful for the Bishops to sit in Parliament, alledging, that for their right to vote there, they conceived by the common and statute law, and ancient practice there was no question of it. As for any inconveniencies, they did not yet understand any such as might induce them to deprive the Bishops and their successors of their right. But for removing them from the star-chamber, council-table, or any office in secular affairs, they would fully concur with the Commons.

Next day, heads for a conference with the Lords were reported, containing nine reasons, why Bishops ought not to have votes in Parliament.†

Meanwhile the Commons ordered a bill to be prepared against the convocation, and another to abolish the high-commission.

The 7th of June the Lords voted for maintaining the Bishops' right to sit in Parliament.

The 11th, the affair of episcopacy coming again into debate, lasted from seven in the morning, till night,‡ and it was resolved by the Commons, that the preamble to the bill should be expressed in these words:—

"Whereas

---

* Cosins was extremely zealous for ecclesiastical ceremonies; and so far from permitting the communicants to break the sacramental bread with their fingers, a privilege on which the puritans strenuously insisted, he would not so much as allow it with an ordinary household instrument. A consecrated knife must perform that sacred office, and must never afterwards be profaned by any vulgar service.—— Cosins likewise was accused of having said, "The King has no more authority in ecclesiastical matters, than a boy who rubs my horses' heels." The expression was violent, but it is certain, that all those high churchmen, who were so industrious in reducing the laity to submission, were extremely fond of their own privileges and independency, and were desirous of exempting the mitre from all subjection to the crown.

† "I. Because it is a great hindrance to their ministerial function.

"II. Because they do vow and undertake at their ordination, when they enter into holy orders, that they will give themselves wholly to that vocation.

"III. Because councils and canons in several ages, do forbid them to meddle in secular affairs.

"IV. Because the twenty-four Bishops have dependence on the two Archbishops, and take their oath of canonical obedience unto them.

"V. Because they are but for their lives, and therefore are not fit to have legislative power over the honours, inheritances, persons, and liberties of others.

"VI. Because of Bishops' dependency and expectancy of translation to places of greater profit.

"VII. That the several Bishops have of late much encroached upon the consciences and liberties of the subject; and they and their successors will be much encouraged still to encroach; and the subject will be much discouraged from complaining against such encroachment, if twenty-six of that order be to be judges upon that complaint. The same reason extends to their legislative power in any bill to pass for the regulation of that power, upon any emergent inconveniency by it.

"VIII. Because the whole number of them are interested to maintain the jurisdiction of Bishops; which hath been found so grievous to the three kingdoms, that Scotland hath utterly abolished it.

"IX. Because the Bishops, being Lords of Parliament, it setteth too great a distance between them and the rest of their brethren in the ministry; which occasioneth pride in them, and discontent in others, and disquiet in the church.

"And as to their having votes a long time, the answer is, if it be inconvenient, time and usage are not to be considered with lawmakers: some abbots voted as anciently in Parliament as Bishops, yet are taken away."

Among these reasons the Commons only insinuated the principal in the 6th article, which however was universally known, namely, that the Bishops had been too much devoted to the King, and countenanced arbitrary power. To these reasons there was soon an answer in print, called, An Abstract, &c. (said to be done by the Archbishop of York,) and to that presently came forth a reply.

‡ In this long debate the authority of that very ancient parchment MS. copy of the Bible, the Codex Alexandrinus, was asserted by Sir Simon de Ewes, the celebrated antiquary. This invaluable MS. was transmitted to England by Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from King Charles I. to the Ottoman Porte. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, in Egypt, being removed from the city of Constantinople, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, brought with him a valuable collection of ancient books; and, possibly, not without apprehension of what might befal himself, and with him, his collection, among a people so little swayed by deference to Christian learning as the Turks; or by whatever other motive influenced, the Patriarch sent the most valuable article in his treasury as a present to his Majesty of England. It was placed in the royal library at St. James's, whence it was subsequently added to our national collection, the British Museum; of which it forms one of the glories. It consists

"Whereas the government of the church of England by Archbishops and Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, hath been found by long experience to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom, &c."

The 15th, the Commons voted that all deans and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and petty-canons, and their officers, shall be utterly abolished: that all the lands taken from deans and chapters shall be employed to the advancement of learning and piety, provision being made that his Majesty be no loser in his rents, first-fruits, and other duties; and that a competent maintenance shall be made to the several persons concerned, if such persons appear not to be delinquents.

The 21st, the House being resolved into a grand committee to debate the bill for abolishing episcopacy, Sir Edward Deering proposed, that there should be in every shire twelve Divines and a president, to whom might be given what title they pleased, whether that of Bishop or any other: but nothing was resolved thereupon.

The King could not but be very much displeased with the proceedings of the Commons, as well in the affair of grievances, as in that of episcopacy. The two things he had most at heart, since the beginning of his reign, were the stretching his prerogative, and maintaining the church of England in its full lustre, and the Bishops in all their authority. Nevertheless, upon these two points it was that the Commons seemed to affect to give him daily mortifications, not only by their speeches, but also by their votes and the bills they sent up to the Lords.

But besides grievances and episcopacy, there was another article, wherein the Commons showed no great complaisance to the King; and that was the affair of the Catholics. Charles followed the King his father's method; that is, he appeared to be entirely attached to the Protestant religion and church of England; whilst on the other hand, he protected and countenanced the Papists. But there was this difference between the father and son; King James's religion was always very doubtful, notwithstanding his outward profession of the Protestant religion; whereas King Charles was never accused of being a Papist, but by men of very warm and passionate tempers.*

The face of affairs being changed by the calling of the Parliament, and the King unable to protect the Papists, they were treated somewhat roughly. It was supposed, there was a settled design to introduce Popery, and that several Bishops and other clergymen were in the plot. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, and of Bath and Wells, Dr. Cosins, Secretary Windebank, and some others, were accused of being chiefly concerned in this affair, which was openly said to be managed by the Queen and her confidents. Though this charge was perhaps carried too far, with respect to private persons, it can hardly be denied, that they gave some cause for it by their proceedings. Their hatred to the Presbyterians made them not scruple to make too near approaches to Popery, in order to be at a greater distance from Presbyterianism. This, was the true cause of all the innovations introduced into the public worship, and of the inviolable attachment to the observance of certain indifferent or needless customs and ceremonies.†

The 30th of November, the Commons desired the General of the army to dismiss all popish officers; and moved his Majesty, that all commanders and other officers in any town or garrison that were papists, might be removed. The King answered, he knew of no papist that had the command of any place, but however, had given orders to be more particularly informed.

The 1st of December, the House ordered the preparing of a remonstrance to his Majesty, concerning the Pope's pretended nuntio. This was Count Rosetti, who exercised in England the function of nuntio, under colour, that it was necessary to the Queen for matters of conscience.

The 5th, the House sent an order to all the Justices

---

of four volumes: the first three contain the Old Testament; the fourth contains the New Testament; to which is annexed, the first Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, with a portion of the second: and this is the only copy known to exist of that performance. The writer of this manuscript is said to have been Thecla, an Egyptian lady who lived early in the fourth century. It had not been long in England, before its value, as an important document in behalf of Christianity became known. Mr. Patrick Young, the learned keeper of the King's library, at that time, soon discovered the Epistles of Clement, and was commanded by the King to publish them, which he did in 1633, with a Latin translation. The spirit of rivalship between the supporters of the Romish church, and those who protested against her errors, extended to indifferent things; and the Vatican copy, merely because it was at Rome, was preferred, by the learned Catholics especially, to the Alexandrian copy now in the hands of Protestants. To restore the balance of opinion, Dr. Grabe was commanded by Queen Anne, to publish the manuscript. He accordingly communicated to the world in 1707—1710, the Old Testament part of it; being the Septuagint translation. But the greatest honour done to this copy, or that could be done to any copy, and altogether original in its nature, was a fac simile edition of the New Testament, published in London in 1786, by Dr. Woide of the British Museum. In this edition the work is represented page for page, line for line, letter for letter, contraction for contraction, rasure for rasure, with a degree of similarity hardly credible. The ink was composed to suit the colour of the faded pigment; and the types were cut with the closest possible resemblance as to form, in alphabets exhibiting the variations of the original. Nothing like it had ever appeared in the learned world. Some years afterwards, Mr. Baber, of the British Museum, published the Book of Psalms with equal accuracy. Having proposed to publish the remainder of the copy, his statements were submitted to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and to Parliament, who, in the year 1814, most graciously patronized the undertaking. It has also received the full sanction of the Bishops. Only 250 copies are to be printed; the expence of which will be 7,339*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* Mr. Baber has engaged to finish the work in nine years, reckoning from the spring of the year 1814.

* Several things induced him to favour the Catholics, which gave his enemies some advantage.

I. The example of the King his father, who, throughout his whole reign, could never be prevailed with to execute the laws against them.

II. Though the papists would not take the oath of supremacy, they refused not to swear allegiance, and that was sufficient for him to reckon them good subjects.

III. In his project of humbling the Parliament, and reducing the Commons to the sole affair of supply, the Parliament's desiring the execution of the laws against the papists, sufficed to throw him upon a contrary course, in order to deprive them by degrees, of the custom of obtaining every thing by importunity.

IV. The Catholics having no other refuge but the King's protection, it was natural for them firmly to adhere to his person and interest, and the King thought himself obliged to grant them an extraordinary protection, in reward of their fidelity.

V. Nothing was more grating to the puritans, than to see the papists well received at court; and as the King hated the puritants he took a pleasure in mortifying them, by caressing their enemies.

VI. The Queen, for whom the King had a very great condescension, did not a little contribute to inspire him with a good opinion, if not of her religion, at least of its professors.

VII. Archbishop Laud, who was an Arminian, took care not to strengthen the Calvinistical-party, by incensing the King against the papists.

VIII. Lastly, Charles I. was naturally of an inflexible temper, and this quality, added to his maxims of government, made him impatient of whatever tended to curb his will.

These are probably, the reasons that induced the King to countenance the Catholics, during the first fifteen years of his reign. He carried his regard for them so far, that not only the penal laws enacted against them, were never executed, but the papists were all considered at court as the best subjects, whereas the puritans were regarded as enemies to the King and State.

† In the beginning of the Parliament, the King having published a proclamation against recusants, the committee, charged with examining it, reported, it was not according to his Majesty's intentions, or the expectation of the house. The committee added, that many recusants had letters of grace to protect their persons and estates.—In the continuation of this report, a few days after, the committee said, that upon the examination of the keepers of two prisons only, Newgate and the Clink, they found sixty-four Priests and Jesuits discharged in one year, some by privy-signet, others by warrants from the Lords of the Council, but most of them by warrants from secretary Windebank, without any mention of the King's pleasure: that upon examination of the clerk of the peace for Middlesex, and the clerk of the crown in the King's-Bench, it was found, that within the compass of seven or eight years there had been seventy-four letters of grace. Then they descended to particular circumstances, concerning the discharge of several persons condemned for treason, all by the order of Windebank: they said moreover, that they had discovered sixty-four letters of grace to stay the prosecution against papists, directed to several counties and judges. It was added, that indeed the King had power to pardon the condemned: but to command no further prosecution, was contrary to law.

of peace of Westminster, London and Middlesex, enjoining them to proceed against recusants according to law, notwithstanding any inhibition or restraint.

In January following, there was a sort of dispute between the King and the Commons, on account of John Goodman, a Jesuit, who had been condemned to die, but was reprieved by the King. The Houses had several conferences upon this subject, and at last agreed to join in a remonstrance to his Majesty, to move him, that the laws might be executed against Priests and Jesuits, and particularly against Goodman. The King, who desired to save this Jesuit, alledged, that he had been condemned merely for being in orders of a priest, and had never been condemned or banished before. But the two Houses represented to him, that this priest and Jesuit had been a minister in the church of England, and had been formerly twice committed and discharged. In short, the King replied, that if Goodman were put to death, the Protestants abroad, in Catholic countries, might suffer for it; but however, would leave it to both Houses to do as they thought fit. Next day, Goodman sent a petition to the King, which was immediately communicated to the House of Lords, wherein he said, that he was content to die, rather than live the subject of so great discontent between him and his people. As it does not appear that the Parliament insisted any more upon this matter, it is likely, the King obtained his desire, and saved the Jesuit's life. But this sort of victory failed not to do him some prejudice, in that his enemies took occasion from thence to represent, that there was no depending upon his proclamations or promises with respect to the papists, since they were never executed. It is not doubted but the Queen solicited strongly in Goodman's behalf.

The 11th of February 1640-1, notice was given to the Commons, that the papists were preparing to execute some great design,* and that by the Queen's order, all Roman Catholics fasted every Saturday, for the prosperous success of the same. Whereupon an order was made, that all Judges in their circuits should effectually put the laws in execution against Priests and Jesuits.

The 17th of May, the Commons ordered the Lord Mayor of London, and the justices of peace for London, Westminster, and Southwark to prevent papists from resorting to Ambassadors' houses, and the Queen's chapels.

The 21th, the members of the House had orders to bring in, by a certain time, the names of all recusants convicted in each county.

The 2d of June, was read in the House of Commons a bill, for disarming all the papists in the kingdom.

In January last, the Commons had begun to take into consideration the contribution raised among the Roman Catholics, for carrying on the late war against the Scots, at the instance of the Queen, who wrote a circular letter to exhort them to it. Walter Montague and Sir Kenelm Digby, who had written on the same occasion to some of the principal of the Popish party were sent for and examined, and the Commons seemed resolved vigorously to push this affair. But the Queen found means to appease them by a message, wherein she said, that she was moved to raise money in that manner for the King's assistance, merely out of her tender affection to him, and if it were illegal, she was ignorant of the law, but promised to be more cautious for the future. She said moreover, that understanding, the having one sent to her from the Pope was distasteful to the kingdom, she was desirous to give the Parliament satisfaction, and in convenient time would remove him. This convenient time was not yet come in June following, when the nuntio Rosetti was still with the Queen. But at last, the Commons having ordered him to be brought to the bar of their House to be examined, he hid himself, and on the morrow departed for Rome. Montague, Winter, and Sir Kenelm Digby, withdrew into France.

Father Philips, the Queen's Confessor, was also examined by the Commons, who afterwards brought an accusation against him to the Lords, and against the superior of the Capuchins belonging to the Queen. Probably, this accusation was only to frighten, and oblige them to retire.

The King had flattered himself, that the Parliament would espouse his cause against Scotland, and furnish him with means to drive the Scots out of the kingdom. This was the first, or rather the only thing he recommended in his first speech to both Houses. But to perceive how vain this hope was, it needs only to be considered, that the leading men of the party against the King, were the persons that encouraged the Scots to enter England, and that this party was so superior in the Parliament, that but few of the King's friend's durst open their mouths to support his interest. It was this Scotch invasion that compelled the King to call a Parliament, and enabled the Parliament to break all the King's measures, and oblige him to suffer the redress of grievances. In a word, it was solely by means of the Scots, that the Parliament had it in their power to restore the government to its ancient and natural state. They would therefore have acted against their own interest, and directly contrary to the end they proposed, if they had supplied the King with means to drive the Scots out of the kingdom. Accordingly, they took not one step tending to that purpose. On the contrary, it evidently appeared, that they considered the Scots as brethren, who, having the same interest as the English, were come to assist, and act in concert with them.

The 9th of November, six days after the opening of the Parliament, Sir William Widdrington, Knight of the shire for Northumberland, speaking concerning the matter of a petition, presented by that county, on account of the oppressions they laboured under from the Scotch army, called the Scots, invading rebels. The House was so offended at the expression, that Widdrington escaped imprisonment only by recanting, and promising to call them rebels no more. Nothing was more capable to show the King, how averse the Commons were from aiding him against the Scots. But this was not the only mark they gave of their intention. In the first place, they thought proper to give the Scots the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, in reward for their brotherly assistance to England. In the second place, they found means to prolong the negotiation of peace till the 7th of August, 1641, that is, till almost all the grievances were redressed, the Triennial bill passed, and another, that the Parliament should not be dissolved, but by an act for that purpose. All this was very remote from the hopes the King had flattered himself with, that he should have a sufficient supply to compel the Scots to return home.†

To finish in a word what relates to Scotland, we shall only say, that the King went thither in August, 1641,‡ staid there till the 19th of November, assisted in person at the Parliament, and gave the royal assent to all the acts presented to him.§

What

* Particularly that there were fifteen hundred in Lancashire, eight thousand in Ireland, and several thousands in south and north Wales, well furnished with arms, and well paid and provided for.

† The King had promised his Scottish subjects, that he would this summer pay them a visit, in order to settle their government; and, though the English Parliament was very importunate with him, that he should lay aside that journey, they could not prevail with him so much as to delay it. As he must necessarily in his journey pass through the troops of both nations, the Commons seem to have entertained great jealousy on that account, and to have now hurried on, as much as they fomerly delayed, the disbanding of the armies. The arrears therefore of the Scots were fully paid them; and those of the English in part. The Scots returned home, and the English were separated into their several counties and dismissed.

‡ A small committee of both Houses was appointed to attend the King into Scotland, in order, as was pretended, to see that the articles of pacification were executed; but really to be spies upon them, and extend still farther the ideas of Parliamentary authority, as well as eclipse the Majesty of the King. The Earl of Bedford, Lord Howard, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Armyne, Fiennes, and Hambden, were the persons chosen. Endeavours were used, before Charles's departure, to have a protector of the king appointed, with a power to pass laws without having recourse to the King. So little regard was now paid to royal authority, or to the established constitution of the kingdom.

§ The Scots thought that they had finished a very perilous undertaking, much to their profit and reputation. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters during a twelvemonth, the English

What has hitherto been said of the Parliament's behaviour to the King, is sufficient to show, how sensible the King must have been of the mortifications he daily received,* He had passionately desired to be revenged of the Scots, or at least to drive them out of the kingdom; and he saw that the Parliament had rewarded them for their coming. He hated the Presbyterians, and would have been glad to have had it in his power to root out Presbyterianism: but he saw, that on the contrary, the House of Commons openly took their part, and laboured to destroy episcopacy. His two principal ministers, in whom he most confided, were in the Tower, and he easily perceived the Commons intended not to stop there, since with regard to the Earl of Strafford, they were daily seeking means to make good their charge. Two other of his ministers, had been forced to fly, and the appearing to be still well affected to him, was sufficient to render any person the object of the persecution of the Commons.

It has already been seen after what manner the King governed for fifteen years, and the reader must be convinced, that he intended to alter the government, and procure for himself and successors, a power much more extensive than what was allowed him by the laws, and to which none of his predecessors, except Richard II. had ever pretended; not even Henry VIII. the most absolute of all the Kings of England, since William the Conqueror. But there was this difference between Henry VIII. and Charles I. Henry did whatever he pleased by way of Parliament; whereas Charles protended to rule without Parliaments, looking upon them as little necessary to the constitution of the government. Nothing was more contrary to his inflexible temper, than to be forced to stoop to a House of Commons, for whom he had before shown the utmost contempt. It is therefore no wonder, that in his sad situation, he should think of some way to free himself from this bondage. But a slight attempt to compass this end, served only to throw him into irretrievable ruin. This was the project of gaining the army, and causing them to declare for the King. The King approved of the project, without perceiving the consequences, having no minister about him, that had either the inclination or ability to give him good counsel. This plot to gain the army, is by some looked upon as a chimera, a mere fiction, to render the King odious. On the other hand, the Parliament considered it as a real conspiracy, and pretended to draw from thence an evident proof, that the King's compliance with respect to the redress of grievances, was all dissimulation, in expectation of an opportunity to restore himself by force, to the state he was in before this Parliament. This bred in the Parliament an invincible distrust of the King, and a resolution to put it out of his power to break his word, and the means they used to execute this resolution, occasioned the civil wars, of which we shall speak hereafter. Before we proceed to this plot, however, it will be requisite to say something of the Earl of Strafford's affair, with which this has some connexion.

The Earl had been impeached by the Commons the 11th of November, 1640; but his process could not be ready to be tried till the 22d of March, 1640-1. This trial lasted till the 12th of April, and then the Commons, who had been always present, perceiving, doubtless, that the sentence would not be so rigorous as they wished, resolved to proceed against the Earl by way of bill of attainder. They voted therefore, on the 16th and 19th of April, that it was sufficiently proved, that the Earl of Strafford had endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government into the realms of England and Ireland, and that this was high-treason. On the 21st of the same month, the bill of attainder passed, with the majority of 204 against 59.

A. D. 1641.] The bill met with such great opposition in the House of Peers, that it was very doubtful, whether it would pass, or be thrown out. For which reason, on the 24th was presented to both Houses a petition, subscribed by above forty thousand inhabitants of London, setting forth the causes of their suspicions and fears. And amongst others, that justice was not executed upon the Earl of Strafford, and that there was reason to dread some secret plot against the Parliament. The 28th of April, the Commons sent by Mr. Hyde a message to the Lords, that they had received information, that the Earl of Strafford had a design to make an escape out of the Tower: that the guard about him was weak, and therefore they desired he might be a close prisoner, and his guards strengthened, to which the Lords consented. The 1st of May, the King came to the Parliament, and in a speech to both Houses, said to this effect:—"That having been present at the trial of the Earl of Strafford, he could not in conscience condemn him of high-treason, though he thought him guilty of misdemeanors. Therefore he desired the Lords to find some way to bring him out of this great streight."

The Commons were much troubled and discontented with this speech, and immediately adjourned till May the 3d, on which day great multitudes of people † repairing to Westminster, insulted and threatened the Lords, as they were going to their House, crying out Justice, Justice.

The same day Mr. Pym made known to the House, "That there were divers informations given of desperate designs both at home and abroad, against the Parliament, and the peace of the nation; and that the persons engaged therein were under an oath of secrecy: that there was an endeavour to disaffect the army, not only against the Parliament's proceedings, but to bring them up against the Parliament to over-awe them: that there was also a design upon the Tower; and endeavours used for the Earl of Strafford to escape: that these combinations at home, had a correspondency with practices abroad; and that the French were drawing down their forces amain to the sea-side: and there was a cause to fear, their intent was upon Portsmouth: that divers persons of eminency about the Queen were deeply engaged in these plots: that it was necessary that the ports should be stopped; and his Majesty desired to command, that no person attending upon the King, Queen, or Prince, should depart without leave of his Majesty, with the humble advice of his Parliament."

The House fell into a serious debate of this matter, and were generally of opinion, that it was necessary to enter into a common resolution for the safety of the kingdom. However, there seems to be ground to suspect, that it was only an artifice to stir up the people, and induce the Lords to do as the Commons desired, from a fear of the imminent danger the kingdom was threatened with.

The Commons next came to several resolutions, to provide for the safety of the kingdom, and the town of Portsmouth in particular. They communicated to the Lords the informations they had received, the votes they had passed, and the protestation which they had sworn to on the behalf of the kingdom, desiring that every Peer might be ordered to take it.

It was very difficult for the Lords to refuse the Commons desire. In the first place, they had inspired the nation with such a terror, that no man durst oppose their resolves, for fear of being looked upon as having ill-de-

English Parliament had conferred on them a present of three hundred thousand pounds for their brotherly assistance. In the articles of pacification, they were declared to have ever been good subjects; and their military expeditions were approved of, as enterprises calculated and intended for his Majesty's honour and advantage. To carry farther the triumph over their sovereign, these terms, so ignominious to him were ordered, by a vote of Parliament, to be read in all churches, upon a day of thanksgiving, appointed for the national pacification: all their claims for the restriction of prerogative were agreed to be ratified: and what they more valued than all these advantages, they had a near prospect of spreading the presbyterian discipline in England and Ireland, from the seeds which they had scattered of their religious principles.

* May 2, was solemnized at Whitehall the marriage, between William, Prince of Orange, and the Lady Mary, King Charles's eldest daughter.

† A rabble of about six thousand out of the city, with swords, cudgels, and staves, pretending decay of trade, and want of bread. Whitelock.

signs, and exposed to inevitable ruin. Secondly, the people still continued to flock to Westminster, and openly threatened the Lords. Thirdly, the multitude presented the same day a petition to the Lords, demanding justice upon the Earl of Strafford, and that their Lordships would please to free them from the fears of the conspiracy. Fourthly, on the morrow, being the 4th of May, the people repaired to Westminster in greater numbers than the day before, and some incendiaries posted up against a wall in the Old Palace-Yard, the names of fifty-six members, calling them Straffordians, and betrayers of their country. Lastly, the same day the multitudes presented to the Lords another petition, saying, "That they understood the Tower was going to receive a garrison of men, not of the Hamlets, (as usually) but consisting of other persons under the command of a Captain, a great confident of the Earl of Strafford's, and that this was done to make way for the Earl's escape."

Upon this petition, the House sent six Peers to examine Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower, concerning the truth of this fact. Balfour answered, it was true, he had his Majesty's order to receive one hundred men * into the Tower, and Captain Billingsly to command them, and to receive only such men as the Captain should bring to him; but understanding now their Lordships' pleasure, he would receive no other guard into the Tower but the Hamlet men.

The Lords did farther declare, at a conference with the Commons, that they were drawing to a conclusion of the bill of attainder, but were so encompassed with multitudes of people, that they might be conceived not to be free, and therefore desired the Commons to join with them, to find out some way to send the people to their homes. Then they debated the Protestation, passed it, and took the same. It was taken by four hundred and thirty-three Commoners, and one hundred and six Lords, including the Bishops and Judges. The Commons having ordered Dr. Burges to acquaint the multitude with the protestation taken by both Houses, and that they were desired to return to their homes, they forthwith departed.

The same day, the Commons ordered a bill to be prepared for the continuance of this present Parliament, that it might not be dissolved without the consent of both Houses. They ordered likewise the protestation to be tendered to the whole kingdom.

The same day, May the 4th, the House was informed, that six or eight of the conspirators were fled, of whom Mr. Henry Jermin, and Mr. Henry Percy, members of the House, were two, and that they were gone towards Portsmouth. At the same time, information came that the Queen was preparing to go to the same place. These two successive informations causing strong suspicions, the Houses dispatched to Portsmouth one Lord and two Commoners, to propose certain queries to the Governor, and take care for the security of the town and haven. They agreed withal, to move the Queen to defer her journey to Portsmouth. They desired also the King to publish a proclamation, for calling in Jermin, Percy, and other fugitives, which the King promised to do. The same day, the Speaker sent, by order of the House, a letter to Sir Jacob Ashly, with a charge to communicate it to the army. The object of this letter was, to conciliate the army, and to assure them of speedily receiving their full pay.

Meanwhile, the committee, appointed to inquire into the conspiracy, made their report in the following manner:

"That this plot consisteth of three heads: the first was, the design upon the Tower. The second, to engage the army. The third, to bring in foreign forces. For the Tower, it appeared to be thus: Captain Billingsly being examined upon oath, confessed, that he was acquainted with Sir John Suckling: that the said Sir John lately offered him employment in one of the King's ships, then at Portsmouth; afterwards employment for Portugal: that this deponent having notice to meet at the privy-lodgings at Whitehall, did there receive orders to get an hundred men to serve in the Tower, under him. And if he did fail, he should answer it with his life. And afterwards meeting with Sir John Suckling, and acquainting him therewith, he told him he would furnish him with the said number. Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower, being examined, said, that he had command to receive Captain Billingsly with an hundred men into the Tower, who should be under his command. That the Earl of Strafford at that time expostulating with him about his escape, told him, he would attempt nothing in that kind without his privity; and that he should have the King's warrant for his indemnity; and that the warrant should be to command him to remove the Earl of Strafford from the Tower, to some other castle; and he would then take his opportunity to escape; that the Lieutenant of the Tower not giving any complying answer thereunto, the said Earl sent again to intreat him to come to him, and would have persuaded him to let him make an escape; saying, "Without your concurrence it cannot be done; and if you will consent thereunto, I will make you present payment of twenty-two thousand pounds, besides you shall have a good marriage for your son." To which the Lieutenant of the Tower replied, he was so far from concurring therein, that he was not to be farther moved in such a thing. Thus much the Lieutenant of the Tower delivered upon his oath.

"Colonel Goring, upon his examination in the House of Commons, did confess, that Sir John Suckling was the first person that ever made any overture unto him, concerning the army's marching towards London: Afterwards being in the Queen's lodgings, he met with Mr. H. Percy, which was about the beginning or middle of Lent last, and Mr. Percy told him, there was a consultation of officers to be had, concerning the good of the army; and desired him to go along with him to his chamber, where the meeting was to be. There were present at the same meeting, Commissary Wilmot, Colonel Ashburnham, Captain Pollard, Sir John Berkly, Daniel O'Neal, Mr. Jermin, and himself: that Mr. Percy said, there were propositions to be made which were of great concernment; and that it was necessary there should be an oath of secrecy taken before any thing was propounded: that the oath should be to this purpose: that we should neither directly nor indirectly discover any part of this consultation, nor ever to think ourselves dissolved from that oath, by any other oath which might be imposed upon us hereafter: Which oath was read out of a paper, when it was tendered unto them; and thereupon they were sworn, by laying their hands upon the bible; that he and Jermin were sworn together, for the rest had taken the oath before. Then three propositions were made to them:

"I. Concerning the Bishops' functions and votes.

"II. The not disbanding of the Irish army, until the Scots were disbanded also.

"III. The endeavouring to settle the King's revenue in its former proportion.—

"He farther said, that the whole number there met, were of opinion, that the army should not march towards London, till a declaration had been first sent up to the Parliament: that he, the said Goring, answered, it was a nice point to interpose in the proceeding of the Parliament; and did propound some difficulties to allay the business, to divert Commissary Wilmot, and those other persons from so dangerous a business: and said, that he did not think it was a design of folly to undertake it; for they must think the Scots would take the advantage upon the army's removal southwards, whose correspondence was so great with the city; and for them to begin to show their teeth, and not be able to bite, would argue little prudence; that they should either undertake it so as to go through with it, or let it alone: that he did ask them what ammunition they had to accommodate so great an army; and whether they could

* Whitelock says, it was two hundred men; and that Balfour confessed two thousand pounds had been offered him, to consent to the Earl's escape. He adds, that this design was discovered by three women, who hearkened at the key-hole of the Earl's door, and heard his discourse with Captain Billingsly.

command the ammunition in the Tower: that Wilmot, Pollard, and Ashburnham, then made answer, they had no purpose to go to London; for to surprise the Tower, was to conquer the kingdom: that this, among other passages, was part of the discourse at the first meeting.

"That shortly after there was another meeting of the same persons, and in the same place, in Mr. Percy's chamber, where there were propositions of another nature, desperate and impious on the one hand, and foolish on the other; and that he endeavoured by argument to divert them, by propounding an impossibility to effect the same: for how could the army, lodged in several quarters, unpaid, and at such a distance, march on a sudden to London, and surprise what they had in design?

"That Mr. Jermin was the person that first proposed the marching of the army towards London: that for his part he declared himself absolutely against it. That Mr. Jermin replied to him in private, 'You do not dislike the design, for you are as ready for any wild, mad undertaking, as any man I know; but you dislike the temper of those persons who are engaged in the business.'

"He did farther confess, that he propounded that Suckling might be admitted to the consultation: but Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Pollard, would not hear of it. And they three did then declare themselves against the army's marching towards London.

"Then he took occasion to say, that he did not acquaint some members of both Houses, whom he could name, that there were some of the army whom they did not think so well of, were more faithful and serviceable to the Parliament than they were aware of, which time would produce; and named them: and they did accordingly give testimony of his integrity, so far as general terms could discover the design. He confessed, that Mr. Jermin did make some offers unto him, to relinquish the government of Portsmouth upon some terms of advance: but he said, he did not conclude any thing, for he would first see the performance of what was offered; so had no farther discourse with him concerning that business. But he doth believe that Suckling and Jermin did confer together about the design. He said, they did not desire his opinion about a general; some were for Essex, some for Holland; but he, with Mr. Jermin, were for Newcastle.

"Being again examined upon his oath before the committee of Lords and Commons, and pressed more particularly to answer questions not before proposed unto him, he did confess, that meeting with Mr. Jermin in the Queen's withdrawing chamber, her Majesty came and told him, the King would speak with him; and meeting with his Majesty, he told him, he was minded to set his army in a good posture, being advised thereto by the Earl of Bristol (as he said) and his Majesty then commanded him to join with Mr. Percy, and some others in that business.

"As for the designs from beyond the seas, the Committee did make report to the House, that it was cleared unto them, that Jermin endeavoured to have got the possession of Portsmouth; that the King of France had drawn down great forces to the sea-side; that the governor of Calais had examined some Englishmen, whether the Earl of Strafford's head was cut off? And this was in point of time, the 1st of May, according to the English style, and Sir William Cartwright, Governor of Guernsey, wrote letters also, which came in great haste, that he understood the French had a design upon that Island, or some part of England. It also appeared to the committee, by divers of the letters which were opened coming from beyond sea, that they expected the Earl of Strafford there; and that they hoped the horse-leeches should be starved for the want of blood: and in some of those letters there was advice to the Cardinal to bestir himself betimes, to interrupt the heighth of the proceedings here in England. Also examinations of some priests were taken in Lancashire, and sent up to London, which were there taken the 3d of May, which did testify, that the priests did say, the Parliament should be suddenly dissolved; for the army was to march up thither with all speed, and they would be seconded by forces out of France; and that Montague did write out of France to Mr. Percy (which was also intercepted) that if he did perform what he had undertaken, he would be made a Knight of the Garter."

Founded upon these depositions, the House of Commons passed votes against Percy, Jermin, and Suckling.

Besides the depositions, there was Percy's letter after his flight into France, to his brother the Earl of Northumberland; of which the Parliament made great use. This letter showed plainly, there was really a project to gain the army, and engage them to serve the King against the Parliament, and knew that the King had approved of the same.*

The 16th of June, the committee appointed to examine the affair of the plot to seduce the army, made a second report to the House, and caused several depositions to be read. The House was further informed, that the officers who had undertaken to serve the King, had communicated to him the draught of a petition, which was to be directed to the King and Parliament from the army: that they hoped to get it subscribed by most of the officers, and that the King, after reading it, had approved of the same, and written at the bottom these two letters, C. R. in token of his approbation.

These are the grounds whereon was built the reality of this plot, which was extremely injurious to the King, by the distrust it bred in the minds of most of the members of Parliament, and of the nation in general. But it must be added, that King Charles's favourers call it a mere chimera, even to this day. We cannot help saying, that we believe there was some truth in it; but we are of opinion, that the heads of the contrary party to the King, greatly aggravated the circumstances and consequences, in order to cause to pass the more easily, the bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford, and the act for the continuance of the Parliament, to which the King gave the royal assent the same day, and in this same juncture. What confirms us the more in this opinion, is, the very arguments themselves alledged by the King's friends, to shew that it was a fiction to render the King odious. For they cannot help owing, there was a project to engage the army to declare for the King. They say only, that the end proposed by the authors of this project, was to hinder the army from being seduced to espouse the interest of the Parliament. But 1st, there appears not the least sign of this pretended sole end, either in the depositions of the witnesses, or in Percy's letter, or in the reports of the committee appointed to examine it. 2dly, The King, whom the Parliament so often reproached afterwards with this plot, never used this reason to excuse the authors. In the third place, it is not probable, the officers should have any such purpose, since at that time the army was too much displeased with the Parliament, to afford any ground to fear, they should be seduced to declare against the King. The most plausible thing they say, is, that there was never any express design to march the army to London, upon which however the Commons chiefly insisted. The denial of this circumstance was what the King solely adhered to. He called God to witness, he never knew of any such design. But he never denied positively his having been informed of a design to engage the army to his side. We must therefore carefully distinguish two things in this conspiracy, namely, the design of gaining the army, which clearly appears, and the design of marching the army to London. It appears by the depositions, that this design was proposed in the assembly of officers, but was not approved. So the King could affirm he knew not of it, be-

* Upon the reading of this letter Commissary Wilmot was committed to the Tower, Colonel Ashburnham to the King's Bench, and Captain Pollard to the Gate-house.

cause

cause indeed it was never resolved, though he was not ignorant of its having been proposed.*

If it is not supposed, that Charles I. from the beginning of his reign to the time of this last Parliament, had formed a design to establish in England an arbitrary government, it will be almost impossible to understand his history, and particularly this second part. But, upon this supposition, which appears incontestable, all difficulties vanish.

There is no doubt, when the Commons impeached the Earl of Strafford, his ruin was resolved by the leading men of that House. The Earl being looked upon as the most powerful, and most in favour of all the King's ministers, and as the principal author of the miseries of the kingdom, this was sfficient to make it thought requisite to sacrifice him to the public. Besides this, he had made himself many enemies, by his imperious behaviour, to which great ministers, who are secure of their master's favour, are generally but too liable. Moreover, he had deserted the people's interest, after having strongly supported it whilst a member of the House of Commons, and devoted himself entirely to the King. This sufficed to render him odious, and the Commons, when they impeached him, knew they could not do any thing more grateful to the people. He was therefore accused of high-treason, upon certain public evidence, and the inward conviction of most of the members. After his being sent to the Tower upon this impeachment, the House considered of the articles on which they were to ground this accusation, and when they were brought to the Lords, proofs were sought to support them.†

These articles, to the number of twenty-eight, tended to prove in general, that the Earl of Strafford had endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the state, and establish an arbitrary power. So, though each of the pretended crimes, whereof he was accused, could not be accounted high-treason, the House pretended, that all together manifestly showed his design, and the means he had employed to accomplish it.

The Parliament of Ireland hearing the Earl of Strafford was in the Tower, immediately sent a committee of both Houses to England, to lay before the Parliament remonstrances concerning the grievances endured by the Irish, under that Lord's administration.

This process was not ready to be tried till the 22d of March 1640-1, and lasted till the 12th of April. It would be too tedious to give a particular account of the proofs, depositions of the evidences, answers of the party accused upon each article, and replies of the Commons. To give a general idea of the thing, it will suffice to say in two words, that the impeachment running wholly upon the Earl of Strafford's pretended intention to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the greatest part of the crimes he was accused of, could be accounted high treason but on supposition of this same intention. And therefore the managers ‡ insisted upon every one of the articles in order to prove this intention, maintaining, that though each singly was not capable of proving it, they were, when joined together, of the utmost evidence. But besides, that each of these articles was not equally well proved, it remained also to decide, whether the intention could render a man guilty of treason. The counsel for the Earl of Strafford maintained that although by the law, the bare intention of killing the King was high treason, it did not follow that the intention could be considered upon the same footing, with respect to other treasons, which the law had not explained in the same manner. On the other hand the Earl of Strafford showed that none of the particular crimes he was charged with could be deemed treason, and that a hundred felonies could never make one treasonable crime. If the Commons had been satisfied with accusing the Earl of Strafford of felony, or misdemeanors, very probably they would have obtained a speedy sentence against him.§

But

* Whitelock's account of this matter, is thus: the officers put themselves into a junto of sworn secrecy, drew up some heads by way of petition to the King and Parliament: for money for the army; not to disband before the Scots; to preserve Bishops votes and functions; to settle the King's revenues. The army being tainted from hence, met, and drew up a letter, or petition, which was shewed to the King, and approved and signed by him with C. R. and a direction to Captain Legge, that none should see it but Sir Jacob Ashly; the main drift was, That the army might be called up to attend the safety of the King's person, and Parliament's security, or that both armies might be disbanded.

† The committee appointed to draw the articles of accusation against him, were, Mr. Whitelock the chairman, the Lord Digby, Sir Walter Earl, Mr. Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Stroud, Selden, St. John, Maynard, Palmer, Glynn. As some of the treasons charged upon him were of fourteen years' standing, the Earl desired three months' time to make his answer, but was allowed only till the 24th of February. ——The chief manager during the whole trial was Mr. Pym, of whom Dr. Welwood, tells the following story. When the Earl, then only Sir Thomas Wentworth, was upon making his peace with the court, he gave Pym some obscure intimation of it. Pym understanding his drift, stopped him short with this expression, "You need not use all this art to tell me, that you have a mind to leave us: but remember what I tell you, you are going to be undone; and remember, that though you leave us now, I will never leave you while your head is upon your shoulders.

‡ They were, George Lord Digby, John Hampden, John Pym, Oliver St. John, Sir Walter Earl, Jeoffery Palmer, John Mainard, John Glynn. Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, was Lord High-Steward upon this occasion. The place of the trial was Westminster-Hall; to which a theatre and seats were erected for both Houses of Parliament, and for the judges. The members of the House of Commons sat uncovered: and the Lords in their robes.

§ The articles of impeachment against Strafford regarded his conduct as President of the Council of York, as Deputy or Lieutenant of Ireland, and as Counsellor or Commander in England. But though four months were employed by the managers in framing the accusation, and all Strafford's answers were extemporary; it appears from comparison, not only that he was free from the crime of treason, of which there is not the least appearance, but that his conduct, making allowance for human infirmities, exposed to such severe scrutiny, was innocent and even laudable.—The powers of the northern council, while he was president, had been extended by the King's instructions beyond what formerly had been practised: but that court being at first instituted by stretch of royal prerogative, it had been usual for the Prince to vary his instructions; and the largest authority committed to it was altogether as legal as the most moderate and the most limited. Nor was it reasonable to conclude that Strafford had used any art to procure those extensive powers; since he never once sat as president, or exercised one act of jurisdiction, after he was invested with the authority so much complained of.——In the government of Ireland his administration had been equally promotive of his master's interests, and that of the subjects committed to his charge. A large debt he had paid off: he had left a considerable sum in the exchequer: the revenue, which never before answered the charges of government, was now raised to be equal to them. A small standing army, formerly kept in no order, was augmented, and was governed by exact discipline: and a great force was there raised and paid, for the support of the King's authority against the Scottish covenanters.—— Industry, and all the arts of peace, were introduced among that rude people; the shipping of the kingdom, augmented a hundred fold; the customs trippled upon the same rates; the exports double in value to the imports; manufactures, particularly that of linen, introduced and promoted; agriculture, by means of the English and Scottish plantations, gradually advancing; the Protestant religion encouraged without the persecution or discontent of the Catholics.—The springs of authority he had enforced without overstraining them. Discretionary acts of jurisdiction, indeed he had often exerted by holding courts-martial, billetting soldiers, deciding causes upon paper petitions before the council, issuing proclamations, and punishing their infraction. But discretionary authority, during that age, was usually exercised even in England. In Ireland, it was still more requisite, among rude people, not yet thoroughly subdued, adverse to the religion and manners of their conquerors, ready on all occasions to relapse into rebellion and disorder. While the managers of the Commons demanded, every moment, that the deputy's conduct should be examined by the line of rigid law and severe principles; he appealed still to the practice of all former deputies, and to the uncontroulable necessity of his situation.—So great was his art of managing elections and ballancing parties, that he had engaged the Irish Parliament to vote whatever was necessary, both for the payment of former debts, and for support of the new-levied army, nor had he ever been reduced to the illegal expedients practised in England, for the supply of public necessities. No imputation of rapacity could justly be made against his administration. Some instances of imperious expressions, and even actions may be met with. The case of Lord Mountnorris is the most flagrant and least excusable. It had been reported at the table of Lord Chancellor Loftus, that Annesly, one of the deputy's attendants, in moving a stool, had sorely hurt his master's foot, who was at that time afflicted with the gout. Perhaps, said Mountnorris, who was present at table, "it was done in revenge of that public affront, which my Lord Deputy formerly put upon him: but he has a brother, who would not have taken such a revenge." This casual, and seemingly innocent, at least ambiguous expression, was reported to Strafford, who, on pretence that such a suggestion might prompt Annesly to avenge himself in another manner, ordered Mountnorris, who was an officer, to be tried by a court-martial, for mutiny and sedition against his general. The court, which consisted of the chief officers of the army, found the crime to be capital, and condemned that nobleman to lose his head. In vain did Strafford plead,

But having solely impeached him of high treason, it belonged to the Peers to condemn or acquit him solely upon that sort of offence. In the reign of Edward VI. the Duke of Somerset was accused of high treason and felony. He was acquitted as to the former, but condemned for the latter.

The Earl of Strafford defended himself with all the ability, presence of mind, judgment and temper that could be expected from a person of his parts.* Accordingly the Commons easily found that the Lords would hardly be induced to condemn him. And therefore they thought fit to take another course to accomplish their ends.

The 19th of April it was voted by the Commons, that the endeavour of the Earl of Strafford to subvert the fundamental laws of the realms of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government in both those kingdom, was high treason. Two days after, a bill of attainder was brought in against the Earl.† The bill was read twice in the morning, and the third time in the afternoon, and passed with the majority of 204 against 59, after which it was sent up to the Lords.

Among the opposers of the bill, the Lord Digby distinguished himself by a very eloquent speech, wherein he endeavoured to show, that to condemn the Earl of Strafford in that manner was nothing short of murder.‡ Great exceptions were taken at this speech, and though the House seemed at first not much to regard it, they ordered, afterwards, that it should be publicly burnt by the hangman.

The bill of attainder produced not the effect the Commons desired. The Lords were in no haste to examine it, or to answer the impatience of the Commons. They had a mind first to consider the arguments for and against the bill. In this interval the Peers caused Sir William Balfour to be examined concerning the project of letting the Earl of Strafford escape. Several thousands of the inhabitants of London presented to both Houses a petition against the Earl, saying, he was sworn enemy of the city. The 29th of April Mr. St. John, in the name of the Commons, made a long speech to the Lords to prove that the bill of attainder was not contrary to law. May the 1st, the King came to the Parliament, and made a speech to both Houses; in which § as before observed, he declared that, although the Earl had been guilty of misdemeanors, he believed him to be altogether innocent of the crime of treason.

This speech produced a quite contrary effect to what the King had expected. Accordingly, the Earl of Clarendon intimates that the Lord Say advised the King

---

plead, in his own defence, against this article of impeachment, that the sentence of Mountnorris was the deed, and that too unanimous, of the court, not the act of the deputy; that he spake not to a member of the court, nor voted in the cause, but sat uncovered as a party, and then immediately withdrew to leave them to their freedom; that sensible of the iniquity of the sentence, he procured his Majesty's free pardon to Mountnorris; and that he did not even keep that nobleman a moment in suspense with regard to his fate, but instantly told him, that he himself would sooner lose his own right hand than execute such a sentence, nor was his Lordship's life in any danger. In vain did Strafford's friends add, as a further apology, that Mountnorris was a man of an infamous character, who paid court, by the lowest adulation, to all deputies, while present; and blackened their character, by the vilest calumnies, when recalled; and that Strafford, apprehending like treatment, had used this expedient for no other purpose than to subdue the petulant spirit of the man. These excuses alleviate the guilt, but there still remains enough to prove, that the mind of the deputy, though great and firm, had been not a little debauched by the riot of absolute power and uncontrouled authority.

* Dr. Welwood observes, that he expressed in his defence, such nervous and moving flights of eloquence, as came nothing short of the most celebrated pieces of antiquity. This appeared from his summing up his long answer extempore, with this pathetic conclusion: "My Lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges, a Saint in heaven has left me."——At this he stopped, pointing to his children that stood by him, and dropped some tears, then went on—"What I forfeit for myself is nothing, but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, wounds me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity; something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass. And now, my Lords, for myself I have been by the blessing of God, taught, that the afflictions of this present life, are not to be compared to that eternal weight of Glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so my Lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment, and whether that judgment be life or death."——Mr. Whitelock observes, "That certainly never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than this great and excellent person did; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors (some few excepted) to remorse and pity."

† Preparatory to this measure, a new proof of the Earl's guilt was produced, in order to remove such scruples as might be entertained with regard to a method of proceeding so unusual and irregular.—Sir Henry Vane, Secretary, had taken some notes of a debate in council, after the dissolution of the last Parliament; and being at a distance he had sent the keys of his cabinet, as was pretended, to his son, Sir Henry, in order to search for some papers, which were necessary for completing a marriage settlement. Young Vane, falling upon this paper of notes, deemed the matter of the utmost importance; and immediately communicated it to Pym, who now produced the paper before the House of Commons. The question before the council was: "offensive or defensive war with the Scots." The King proposes this deficiency. "But how can I undertake offensive war, if I have no more money?" The answer ascribed to Strafford was in these words. "Borrow of the city a hundred thousand pounds: go on vigorously to levy ship-money. Your Majesty having tried the affections of your people, you were absolved and loosed from all rules of government, and may do what power will admit. Your Majesty having tried all ways, shall be acquitted before God and man. And you have an army in Ireland, which you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience: for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months." There followed some counsel of Laud and Cottington, equally violent, with regard to the King's being absolved from all rules of government.—This paper, with all the circumstances of its discovery and communication, was pretended to be equivalent to two witnesses, and to be an unswerable proof of those pernicious counsels of Strafford, which tended to the subversion of the laws and constitution. It was replied by Strafford and his friends, that old Vane was his most inveterate and declared enemy; and of the Secretary himself, as was by far most probable, had willingly delivered to his son this paper of notes, to be communicated to Pym, this implied such a breach of oaths, and of trust, as rendered him totally unworthy of all credit: that the Secretary's deposition was at first exceedingly dubious: upon two examinations, he could not remember any such words: even the third time, his testimony was not positive, but imported only that Strafford had spoken such or such-like words: and words may be very like in sound and differ much in sense: nor ought the lives of men to depend upon grammatical criticisms of any expressions, much less of those which had been delivered by the Speaker without premeditation, and committed by the hearer for any time, however short, to the uncertain record of memory. That, in the present case, changing This kingdom into That kingdom, was a very slight alteration! The Earl's discourse could regard nothing but Scotland, and implies no advice unworthy of an English counsellor. That even retaining the expression, This kingdom, the words may fairly be understood of Scotland, which alone was the kingdom that the debate regarded, and which alone had thrown off allegiance, and could be reduced to obedience. That it could be proved, as well by the evidence of all the King's ministers, as by the known disposition of the forces, that the intention never was to land the Irish army in England, but in Scotland. That of six other counsellors present, Laud and Windebank, could give no evidence; Northumberland, Hamilton, Cottington, and Jackson, could recollect no such expression; and the advice was too remarkable to be easily forgotten. That it was no wise probable such a desperate council would be openly delivered at the board, and before Northumberland, a person of that high rank, and whose attachments to the court were so much weaker than his connections with the country. That though Northumberland, and he alone, had recollected some such expression as that "Of being absolved from rules of government," yet in such desperate extremities as those into which the King and kingdom were then fallen, a maxim of that nature, allowing it to be delivered by Strafford, may be defended upon principles the most favourable to law and liberty. And that nothing could be more iniquitous, than to extract an accusation of treason from an opinion simply proposed at the council table, where all freedom of debate ought to be permitted, and where it was not unusual for the members, in order to draw forth the sentiments of others, to propose counsels very remote from their own secret advice and judgment.

‡ The Lord Digby in his speech has these words:——"I am still the same in my opinions and affections as to the Earl of Strafford; I confidently believe him to be the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects that can be charactered."—"I believe his practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any subject ever ventured upon, and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God has given him the use, but the devil the application. In a word, I believe him still that grand apostate to the commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world, till he be dispatched to the other: and yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that dispatch." Thus far a nobleman, who for his zeal to the royal cause, became the most obnoxious to the Parliament.——The reason, it seems, of his being against the bill of attainder, was, because he believed the Earl's "advising the King to bring over the army from Ireland to reduce this kingdom, did refer to the kingdom of Scotland, and not to England," the thing then under debate, being how to reduce Scotland.

§ At the trial there was on the stage, a chair and cloth of state for the King, on either side whereof was a close gallery for the King, Queen, and Prince to be private. In this place his Majesty remained all the time of the trial.

to it, in order to draw him into a snare, and render the Earl of Strafford's ruin more certain.* The Commons were highly offended with it, saying, it was an unprecedented thing, that the King should meddle with bills before they were presented to him, and a means to take away the freedom of votes, and immediately adjourned till Monday, the 3d of May.

On that day it was that the rabble of London flocked to Westminster: and on the same day the House of Commons drew the protestation before mentioned, and on the morrow, the 4th of May, the Lords approved of the same, and on the 7th passed the bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford, there being not above forty-six Lords in the House, of the fourscore who had constantly attended the trial.† It is pretended that those who absented themselves, were terrified by the threats of the populace.

The King was then in the most uneasy situation. He loved the Earl of Strafford, and was convinced the Earl had done nothing but what was agreeable to his intentions and his maxims of government. He might be guilty with regard to the people on many accounts, but certainly he was not so with respect to the King, who had always approved his conduct. Besides, the King had protested in full Parliament, that he neither could nor would do any thing against his conscience, and that he did not believe in his conscience, the Earl was guilty. On the other hand, if he consented to the bill of attainder, after such a declaration, he would show that he was reduced to this extremity by the necessity of his affairs, so would not be thanked for it, and for the future would have nothing more to deny his Parliament. But in case he rejected the bill, he plainly perceived the consequences of his refusal, and that at least he should be accused of denying his people justice, contrary to the advice of both Houses of Parliament.

It is not unlikely that in this extremity some one advised the King to dissolve the Parliament. At least, the Commons imagined he had no other way to free himself from his present embarrassment. And therefore to deprive him of this refuge also, the same day, the 4th of May, they ordered the bringing in of a bill for the continuance of the Parliament, that it might not be dissolved without the consent of both Houses. This bill was read thrice and passed in the Commons the next day, and three days after in the Upper House, with the bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford.

The bill of attainder having passed the House of Lords, the King assembled his privy council, and sent for his lawyers. He laid before them his scruples and reasons for not consenting to the bill. But Juxon, Bishop of London, was the only person that ventured to advise the King, to reject a bill presented to him by both Houses. All the rest endeavoured to persuade him to satisfy his people, and that the life of any one person ought not to be put in the balance with the safety of the kingdom. As to his scruples, they told him, he might consult his Bishops, who would give him the properest advice. The King not meeting with the satisfaction he expected from his council, sent for some Bishops to advise with. It is affirmed, that Williams, Archbishop of York, said to him on this occasion, "That there was a private and a public conscience for a King; and that his public conscience might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do that which was against his private conscience as a man." And therefore in plain terms advised him, "Even for conscience sake to pass the act." But, what contributed, in a great measure, to determine him, was a letter from the Earl of Strafford, who, hearing of the streights the King was in, "Humbly besought him himself to pass the bill, to remove him out of the way towards a blessed agreement, which he doubted not God would for ever establish between him and his subjects." Adding, "That his consent would more acquit his Majesty therein to God, than all the world could do besides. To a willing man there is no injury." At last, the King, no longer able to withstand the pressing instances of the Parliament and his own counsellors, or rather the fear of the calamities he foresaw would befal both himself and posterity, if he refused to consent to the bill, signed a commission to four Lords to pass it in his name.‡ By the same commission he impowered these Lords to give the royal assent to the bill for the continuance of the Parliament, which was of much greater importance to him than the Earl of Strafford's life. This bill was brought in the 6th of May, and in five days passed both Houses, and received the King's approbation, on the 10th.

On the 12th of May, the second day after the royal assent to the bill of attainder, the Earl of Strafford was executed, and suffered death with great constancy.

Not long after his death, this same Parliament passed an act for restoring his children in blood and honour, and for settling his estate upon his heirs, and the act of attainder was repealed in the reign of Charles II.

The death of the Earl of Strafford was a great, though not the only, mortification to the King. After the Commons had made this trial of their strength, they resolved to complete the reformation of the government, which till now was but commenced. The King, on his part, endeavoured, though in vain, to cool the great ardour of the Commons, by granting or promising places to such as were most agreeable to them. He had made Sir Edward Littleton, Lord Keeper, in the room of the Lord Finch, who was forced to fly. For the same reason, Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London resigned his treasurer's staff, which was to be given to the Earl of Bedford. But the Earl died, whilst he was earnestly labouring to procure an agreement between the King and Commons. Oliver St. John, a leading man in the House of Commons, had been made solicitor general. The Lord Cottington was to surrender the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in favour of Mr. Pym, and the place of Master of the Wards in favour of the Lord Say. The office of Secretary of State, exercised by Windebank, was designed for Denzil Hollis. The Earl of Essex, the Lord Kimbolton, and Mr. Hampden, were likewise to have places.§ But the Earl of Bedford's death put an end to most of these projects. The King ceased not, however, after the death of the Earl of Strafford, to gratify the Commons, by making the Earl of Essex, Lord Chamberlain, having first removed the Earl of Pembroke; for the Earl of Essex was a great favourite of the Commons. But all this produced not the great alterations expected by the King.

The general aim of the Parliament was not only to redress past grievances, but also to free the kingdom from the fear of being exposed hereafter to the like calamities. Hitherto, they had only prepared matters by votes, which plainly showed their design, and by the protestation subscribed by both Houses. But they expected to meet in the House of Peers, with obstacles so much the greater, as the King had there a strong party. The affairs of church and state went hand in hand, so that scarcely a day passed, but the Commons gave the King some mortification, one while by pass-

* When the Earl of Strafford was told with joy by his friends, that the King had made a warm speech in his favour to both Houses, he received it as his doom, and told them, "The King's kindness had ruined him, and that he had little else to do but to prepare himself for death."

† The Lord Clarendon says, of the forty-six, eleven only dissented. According to Whitelock, there were but forty-five, of whom twenty-six voted the Earl guilty of high-treason, upon the 15th article, "For levying money in Ireland by force, in a warlike manner." And upon the 19th article, "For imposing an oath upon the subjects in Ireland."

‡ Notwithstanding his letter to the King, when his Majesty sent Secretary Carleton to the Earl, to acquaint him with what was done, and the motives of it, the Earl seriously asked the Secretary, whether his Majesty had passed the bill or not? As not believing, without some astonishment, that the King would have done it. And being again assured that it was past, he arose from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand on his heart, and said, "Put not your trust in Princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation." And it was likewise reported, that in order to bring the King to sign the bill, he was promised, the Earl's life should be spared. Some have concluded that this alledged letter of Strafford's was a forgery; but there is a mass of preponderating evidence, tending to prove its authenticity.

§ The Earl of Essex was to be governor, Mr. Hampden tutor to the Prince of Wales, and the Lord Kimbolton Privy-Seal.

ing bills or votes against the King's former proceedings, another while by prosecuting the authors of the grievances or innovations; sometimes by exclaiming against the forementioned conspiracy, and sometimes by increasing the yoke of the Papists.

All this tended to the end proposed by the opposite party to the King. It was supposed as a thing publicly known, that there had been a settled design to introduce Popery, and that some of the Bishops were concerned in the plot. Thus, by accusing the Papists of having ill designs, and by rigorously prosecuting them, this accusation was made, in some measure, to reflect on the Bishops and clergy. It was pretended, that the innovations introduced into the divine service, were a consequence of this design, and for that reason, by condemning them, the clergy, who had countenanced them, were rendered odious to the people. The accusations against particular persons, who had been most zealous to support these innovations, produced also the same effect. In short, nothing was omitted that could contribute to show the people the necessity of restoring the government to its natural state, and convince them, that the ecclesiastical hierarchy was more prejudicial than necessary to the church and state. With these two things the Commons were taken up for the space of three months, from the death of the Earl of Strafford, to the King's journey to Scotland.

First, with respect to the state, in this interval it was that bills were brought in to abolish the Star Chamber and court of York, to regulate the council table, to abolish ship money, and prevent vexatious proceedings concerning knighthood, against illegal imprisonments, and for ascertaining the bounds and limits of forests. Each judge in particular was accused. The tax imposed by the King on the shires, for the wages of the muster master, was declared contrary to law. The conspiracy to seduce the army was likewise examined, and Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Pollard, were expelled the House, and committed to prison. All the patents for monopolies, of which most were suppressed, were brought before the House. It was also examined, by what means a certain clause had been inserted in the Petition of Right, concerning tonnage and poundage, and care was taken to register a declaration on that head, to hinder posterity from being deceived by that surreptitious clause.

As to religion, besides what was done with respect to the Papists, the Commons declared illegal the oath by which ministers were bound to maintain the hierarchy in the church. A bill was brought in against pluralists. The canons made by the late convocation were condemned. A bill was passed to abolish the high commission. The suppression of deans and chapters was voted. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, was impeached. The protestation was ordered to be subscribed by the whole nation. An accusation was brought to the Lords against thirteen Bishops, who had assisted at the convocation. There was some difference between the two Houses concerning the protestation. The Lords would have left every man at liberty to sign it: but did not think proper to use compulsion. The Commons, on the contrary, looked upon the protestation as a Shiboleth, to distinguish the Ephraimites, and at last the Lords agreed to what the Commons desired.*

There was also another dispute between the two Houses, concerning the Star Chamber. The Lords were willing to agree, it should be reformed, but refused to consent to its abolition. Meanwhile, the Commons vigorously supporting the bill, they had sent up to the Peers, it passed at last, and the King gave his assent the 5th of July.

In this same interval, the officers of customs, who had collected the duties imposed on merchandises by the King's sole authority without consent of Parliament, finding they were likely to be attacked, offered of their own accord one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for an act of oblivion, and their offer was accepted.

The Lord Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol, and member of the House of Commons, was called by writ to the House of Lords the 10th of June. In the beginning of this Parliament, he had distinguished himself by his zeal for the redress of grievances: but his speech against the bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford, made him forfeit the good will of the Commons. Whether he was already gained by the King, or on this occasion first joined his party, his Majesty thought proper to screen him from the resentment of the Commons, by calling him to the House of Peers. He will hereafter appear the King's chief minister and counsellor, and a great enemy to the Commons, as they on their part never forgave his defection.

The Irish army ought to have been long since disbanded, as there was no occasion to keep it on foot, and the Commons had frequently desired it of the King. Nevertheless, this army subsisted the last, though the Commons had taken care for their payment. When they came to be disbanded, the King acquainted both Houses, that the Spaniard having desired to take this army into his service, and intimated the same by his ambassador, he had promised to send him four thousand men. The Lords made no scruple to agree to the King's engagement. But the Commons, ever full of fears and suspicions, thought not proper, that the King should keep these troops in the King of Spain's name, who would make them serve in the Low Countries, whence the King might draw them whenever he pleased. Besides, the French ambassador had desired the rest of the army for his master, to which the King had also consented. They thought it was an artifice of the King's to keep this Popish army, which was devoted to him, and on which he could much better rely than on that of England. Wherefore they prayed the King to call in his word. They had on this occasion several conferences with the Lords, where they alledged sundry reasons to support their opinion, without expressing the true one: but it was easily perceived. The King was much displeased with the Commons' opposition, whether he thought himself bound in honour to keep his promise, or really intended to preserve this army, by lending it to the Kings of France and Spain, in order to use it himself in case of necessity. What gives cause to suspect he had formed such a project is, that it does not appear the Kings of France and Spain had then any great occasion for these troops. Be this as it will, the King, without regarding the Commons' opposition, shewed that his intention was to perform his promise, and this affair was not yet ended when the King departed for Scotland. Some time after, he sent a message to the Lords, dated from Edinburgh, wherein he appeared resolved to stand to his engagement, let what would be the consequence. But the two Houses found means to render his resolution ineffectual, by publishing an ordinance, declaring, that whoever should assist in transporting these Irish troops into any foreign country, should be deemed an enemy to the state. This ordinance broke all the King's measures, not one owner of ships being willing to hazard inevitable ruin for his sake.

* One of the articles of the Protestation occasioning some disputes, the Commons explained more fully that article, which was thus worded: "I swear to defend the true Reformed Protestant religion, expressed in the doctrine of the church of England, against all popery and popish innovations within this realm, contrary to the same doctrine." Some persons insisting upon the first part of this clause, pretended, that there was no other doctrine of the church of England than what is contained in the thirty-nine articles drawn up in the reign of Elizabeth, of which one is "to preserve the government of the church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans," &c. Hence they inferred, that those who should take the protestation were bound to maintain episcopacy. But the Commons considering the whole clause as expressed in the protestation, declared, "That by these words was, and is meant, only the public doctrine professsed in the said church, so far as it is opposite to popery and popish innovations; and that the said words are not to be extended to the maintaining of any form of worship, discipline of government, nor of any rites or ceremonies of the said church of England." This clearly showed what was their intention with regard to the hierarchy.

As

As the Commons had undertaken to redress all grievances, that of the city of London, concerning the plantation of Londonderry, was considered, whilst the King was in Scotland. The House passed several votes upon this subject, and declaring illegal all the proceedings of the Star Chamber, reversed the sentence against the city of London, as unjust and given by incompetent judges. They declared, that when the King should be pleased to repay to the city the money he had received, the patent thereupon granted should be cancelled or surrendered.

After that, both Houses resolved to adjourn from the 9th of September, to the 20th of October, that the members might go to their homes, whence they had been absent ten months. As soon as this resolution was taken, a great number of both Houses retired into the country, to gain a little more time to repose themselves, so that there remained but twenty-two Lords in the Upper House, and a hundred and fifteen members in the Lower House. Then some one, willing to improve so favourable an opportunity, moved, that it was necessary to make some alterations in the Common Prayer Book. This motion occasioned a very warm debate. Mr. Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, strenuously defended the liturgy, so that, contrary to the expectation of the person who had raised the debate, nothing was resolved.

But some days after, the affair of innovation in the church was debated, and the House passed several votes, declaring, that certain innovations ought to be abolished. At the same time, the Lords seeing, that in the Lower House, the authenticness of the Common Prayer Book was questioned, voted, that it should be observed as before in all the churches, without any omission or alteration. This begot a conference between both Houses, wherein the Commons desired the Lords to consent to a declaration, for removing the communion table from the east end of the church, taking away the rails, leveling the chancels, pulling down the pictures, &c.

The Lords regarded not the desire of the Commons. But on the morrow, September the 9th, the day appointed for the adjournment, they communicated to the Commons, in a conference, an order dated January the 16th, 1640-1, enjoining that divine service should be performed without any alteration, as appointed by acts of Parliament, and a confirmation of the same order, pursuant to a resolution taken on the present 9th of September, desiring the Commons to concur with them in the publishing thereof.

The Commons absolutely refused to join in the publication of this order, thinking it unseasonable at such a juncture, to press the rigorous observance of the laws concerning divine service, when a great part of the people called for a reformation. Then they drew up a declaration, inserting that of the day before, to which the Lords had returned no answer, with an order of the Peers of the 16th of January, and the confirmation of the same order of the 9th of September, with the refusal of the Commons to concur with them, and ordered, that their declaration should be printed and published.

The same day, before the adjournment, the Commons appointed a committee of forty-seven to take care, during the recess, of the most weighty and urgent affairs. The Lords appointed a committee also, consisting but of seven Peers, which done, both Houses adjourned to the 20th of October.

During the recess, the committee, which had followed the King into Scotland, sent word to the committee of the House of Commons, that there was a sort of conspiracy in Scotland, and that the aim of the parties concerned, seemed to be, to interrupt the proceedings of the Parliament of that kingdom, and to destroy the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Argyle, and the Earl of Lanerick. As the committee received this notice but two days before the meeting of the Parliament, they only ordered the Lord Mayor of London to place convenient guards in several places of the city, fearing that the conspirators of Scotland might have correspondents in England, to disturb at the same time the peace of the kingdom.

The Parliament being met the 20th of October, Mr. Pym made a report to the House, of what the committee had done during the recess. Whereupon the Commons desired a conference with the Lords, where they represented to them:

"I. That a letter from the committee in Scotland, gave ground to think, that when there was a design in England, to seduce the King's army, and interrupt the Parliament, that there was the like design at that time in Scotland.

"II. That the principal party named in that design in Scotland, the Lord Crawford, is a person suspected to be Popishly affected; and therefore may have correspondence with the like party in England.

"III. That it has been lately published in England, that some things were to be done in Scotland before it broke out there. Therefore we may suspect some correspondence here."

Upon these grounds the Commons propounded to the Lords, that a strong guard should be kept in the cities of London and Westminster, and care taken for the defence of the whole kingdom; and that an express messenger be sent to the committee of both Houses in Scotland, to acquaint them, that the Parliament of England was ready to give the Scots all necessary assistance against those who should disturb the peace. The Lords approving of these proposals, instructions were sent to the committee agreeably to the Commons' desires.

The same day, the 20th of October, both Houses desired the Earl of Essex, whom the King had made general on the south of the Trent, to place a guard at Westminster, for the security of the Parliament, which was accordingly done.

The next day, a complaint was made to the Commons against some persons for not obeying the declaration of the 9th of September, published by order of the House; and, on the morrow, the bill for disabling persons in holy orders to exercise temporal jurisdiction was again debated, and several speeches made pro and con. At last, it was resolved to prosecute the Bishops who had assisted at the late convocation, and to push the bill for excluding the Bishops from their votes in Parliament. To that end, the House desired a conference with the Lords, where Mr. Pym and Mr. St. John explained the demands of the Commons, with the reasons to support them. This affair was carried no farther at that time, doubtless by reason of the obstacles which occurred in the Upper House, where the Bishops gave their voices, to decide whether they were to vote or not.

The Parliament seemed to have nothing more to do, all the grievances being in a manner redressed, and the armies disbanded. But after what has been said, it will not doubtless be thought strange, that the House of Commons should order the committee, which, at the beginning of the Parliament, was charged with preparing a remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, to resume and finish that work. Nothing would have been more needless than such a remonstrance, after the grievances were redressed, if it had not been intended on purpose to quarrel with the King, and afford a pretence to defer to another time the settling his revenues, which was the only thing that remained to be done, and which the King expected. We have already observed there was a party in the Parliament, who meant not to stop at the redress of grievances. It was this party that caused the remonstrance to be resumed, in expectation the King would be displeased with it, and take some step that should promote the execution of their project.

But whilst this remonstrance was preparing, an affair of such consequence unexpectedly happened, that the Commons were obliged for a time to lay aside all other business. This was the Irish rebellion, the news whereof came to London the 1st of November 1641.

Since the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when Tirloen's rebellion was happily quelled, the Irish had lived

peaceably under the dominion of James I. and Charles I. Not but that the Lords deputies had always an eye over them, considering them as men, whose fidelity was very suspicious; however, they had at least no occasion to complain, that they were worse used than in the former reigns. As to their religion, it is easy to imagine, they had suffered no new troubles under these two Princes, who thought of nothing less, than of persecuting the Catholics. Nevertheless, in March or April this year, 1641, the Irish formed the project of casting off the English yoke, of seizing upon all the fortified places, and of cutting the throats of all the English throughout the whole kingdom. The day appointed for executing this bloody design, was the 23d of October, on which day, they were to rise all over the island. This design was really executed, as projected, and it is said, on that and the following days, above forty thousand English Protestants were massacred by the Irish. But the project of seizing the same day upon the castle of Dublin, where was a great magazine of provisions and stores, was discovered by Owen O'Conally the night before, and prevented by the diligence of the Lords justices of Ireland, who governed in the absence of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, who had been appointed Lord Lieutenant some months before, and was yet in England.

This news being communicated to the Commons by the Lords of the privy council, filled the House with consternation and terror, and at the same time with indignation against the rebels. They immediately turned themselves into a grand committee, and passed the following resolves:

That 50,000*l.* shall be forthwith provided for the service of Ireland; that a conference be had with the Lords, to move them, that a select committee of the members of both Houses may be appointed to go to the city of London, and propose unto them the loan of that sum; that a select committee of both Houses may be named to consider of the affairs of Ireland, and of the sending of men and ammunition from hence into that kingdom; that Owen O'Conally, who discovered this great treason in Ireland, shall have 500*l.* presently paid him, and 200*l.* per annum pension, until provision be made for an inheritance of greater value; that the custody of the Isle of Wight be taken for the present from the Lord Weston, suspected of being a Catholic, and sequestered into another hand; that the persons of Papists of quality in the several counties of this kingdom, wherever they reside, may be secured; that the Lords be desired to join concerning the dissolution of the house of Capuchins, and the speedy sending them away, according to the former desires of this House; that the ambassadors may be sent to from both Houses to deliver up such priests of the King's subjects as are in their houses; that a list be brought in of the Queen's priests, and other her servants; that a proclamation be issued forth, commanding all strangers that are not of the Protestant religion, to deliver in tickets of their names, and an account of their stay here, within two days after the issuing forth of the said proclamation, or else to depart the kingdom forthwith, &c.

The Lords agreed to the proposed loan, and named some of their members to form a committee of both Houses. Whereupon the Commons appointed fifty-two to meet the Lords, and to be a standing committee for the affairs of Ireland.

Two days after the Commons voted again,

That the House holds fit that 20,000*l.* be forthwith supplied for the present occasions of Ireland; that a convenient number of ships shall be provided for the guarding of the sea coast of Ireland; that six thousand foot, and two thousand horse shall be raised with all convenient speed for the present expedition into Ireland; that the Lord Lieutenant shall present to both Houses of Parliament, such officers as he shall think fit to send into Ireland, to command any forces to be transported thither; that the magazines of victuals shall be forthwith provided at West-Chester, to be sent over to Dublin, as the occasions of that kingdom shall require; that the magazines of arms, ammunition, and powder, now in Carlisle, shall be forthwith sent over to Knockfergus in Ireland; that it be referred to the King's council to consider of some fit way, and to present it to the House, for a publication to be made of rewards to be given to such as shall do service in this expedition into Ireland, and for a pardon of such of the rebels as shall come in by a time limited, and of a sum of money to be appointed for a reward of such as shall bring in the heads of such principal rebels as shall be nominated; that letters shall be forthwith sent to the justices in Ireland, to acquaint them how sensible this House is of the affairs of Ireland; that the committee of Irish affairs shall consider how, and in what manner this kingdom shall make use of the friendship and assistance of Scotland in the business of Ireland; that directions shall be given for the drawing of a bill for the pressing of men, for this particular of Ireland.

Some days after both Houses published a declaration, to acquaint the public that they had resolved to assist the King with all their power to reduce the Irish rebels.

The King, who was still in Scotland, had received intelligence of what had passed in the north of Ireland, but did not know that the Irish had miscarried in their design upon the castle of Dublin. He immediately communicated his intelligence to the Parliament of Scotland, and demanded their assistance. The Parliament replied, "That Ireland being dependent on the crown of England, and his Majesty having already written to the Parliament of England, and sent to Ireland for farther information, no other course could be taken, and the rather as the Parliament of England might conceive jealousies; but that after fuller information, if the English should think the assistance of Scotland necessary, it should be ready, as soon as England."

The rebellion daily increased. The English themselves of the Pale joined with the Irish, having pretended for some time to be attached to the interest of England. These English of the Pale were descendents of the ancient conquerors of Ireland, who settled there in the reign of Henry II. and who at the time of the Reformation continued in the Roman Catholic religion. It was therefore necessary to send a strong force into Ireland to reduce the rebels to obedience. And yet, though the letters from the Lords justices for assistance were frequent and pressing, though the rebels continually increased in number and strength, though the King most earnestly pressed both Houses to send men, money, and ammunition to Ireland, though the Parliament shewed an extreme desire to reduce that kingdom, it is certain that the succours sent thither, were but small and fitter to continue than end the war. It would doubtless be thought strange to see so much ardour in words, and so little desire to show it in deeds, if the reason of this conduct was not known.

The disposition of the House of Commons, whilst the King was in Scotland, has been before shown. A resolution was taken to divest him of part of his power. The views of some were only to hinder him from abusing it for the future. Others added to this motive, the design of rendering him unable to oppose the change they were meditating, with respect to the government of the church. The order of the House to the committee to prepare the remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, was a clear evidence, they had some secret design which would show itself in due time. Whilst measures were taking to execute this design, the Irish rose in rebellion, at a time when they seemed to have the least reason, since the government had never been more gentle to them than in the present reign. They massacred in cold blood above forty thousand English Protestants,* and unfortunately for the King, spread

* Above one hundred and fifty-four thousand Protestants, were massacred in that kingdom, from the 23d of October, 1641, to the 1st of March following, according to the computation of the priests themselves that were present. But, according to Sir J. Temple there were, since the rebellion first broke out, unto the cessation made September 15, 1643, above three hundred thousand British and Protestants

spread a report that they had his authority for what they did. They called themselves the Queen's army, and dispersed all over the kingdom, copies of a supposed commission under the great seal, which they pretended to have from the King to authorise them to take arms.* It cannot be denied that all this was capable of making impressions on the minds of those who were already ill-affected to the King, and believed him capable of any thing to avoid the servitude that was preparing for him. Indeed, the sober and most considerate did not think it possible, or even probable, that the King should be willing to have his Protestant subjects of Ireland massacred. But they suspected that this rebellion, raised at such a juncture, was not wholly owing to the discontent of the Irish, and that very possibly the King had excited it, to find the Parliament employment, and divert them from the project they had formed. As to the massacre of the Protestants, they did not believe the King had any hand in it, but imagined it very possible, that after raising the rebellion, it was not in his power to restrain the Irish. The King on his part not knowing what was said against him in England, used his utmost endeavours to clear himself from this black imputation, by pressing the Parliament to send a speedy aid into Ireland. But these solicitations had a quite contrary effect, because it was believed that his aim was to leave England unprovided with troops, and to engage the Parliament in an Irish war, which must have been very expensive. This was the reason that the Commons proceeded with deliberation, and sent but inconsiderable succours into Ireland, being apprehensive, the Irish rebellion was a snare laid for them by the King, to cause them to consume the English troops and money.

The pretension of the Irish that they had the King's and Queen's authority, was of very ill consequence to the King. There were but too many who had an ill opinion of his zeal for the Protestant religion, and thought him capable of being induced by the Queen's solicitations to restore the Catholic religion in England. The former Parliaments had discovered their suspicions, and the King, instead of undeceiving them, had given them words only, which were followed with no effects. When therefore the news came, that the Irish Papists were in arms, and had massacred the Protestants, it was very natural to dread the like plot in England, which could not but be extremely prejudicial to the King. Though the Parliament did not seem to regard much the calumny spread against the King, they were full of distrust, and this distrust made them think it not proper to leave England without troops, money, and ammunition, in order to assist Ireland, lest England should be unprovided, in case the same plot was contriving there. It was even the interest of the leading men in the Parliament to feign a greater distrust than they really had, to strengthen the suspicions and fears of such members as were not fully persuaded. This served to convince them how necessary it was to curb the King's power, and render him incapable to execute his designs.

But though the party of those who were for lessening the regal power was numerous in the Parliament, they were not yet in condition to proceed as they pleased. Matters were to be prepared by degrees, one while by cherishing suspicions and fears, another while by engaging the House to take proper steps to lead them to their end, which was not known to all the members.

With this view it was, that under colour of thanking the Scots for their promised assistance to suppress the rebellion in Ireland, and of treating with them about it, they engaged the House to send to the committee in Scotland new instructions very mortifying to the King.

This was properly a preparative to the remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, which was to be brought into the House the first opportunity, and which was indeed read the 22d of November. It met with such strong opposition, that the debates lasted from three in the afternoon till three in the morning.† Many thought it needless to reproach the King with grievances, to the redress whereof he had without solicitation given a full consent, and that besides the uselessness of the remonstrance, it would serve only to open old wounds, to which a cure had been applied, and infallibly make the breach wider between the King and Parliament. But this very reason was precisely that which excited the others to cause the Remonstrance to be approved, because they wanted a dissention between the King and Parliament, in order to obtain the consent of both Houses to the diminution of the regal power.

This resolution was no sooner taken but Mr. Hampden, who was of the victorious party, moved for the immediate printing of the remonstrance, not thinking it necessary to communicate it to the Lords, since it ran only in the name of the Commons. His design was, that it should be dispersed among the people to excite them against the King, which was also the intention of his whole party. This motion, which was contrary to custom, since the remonstrance should have been at least presented to the King, before the publication was deliberated, produced a violent debate in the House, every one plainly perceiving the consequence. But at last, the same party that prevailed in the first, prevailed likewise in the second question, and the remonstrance was ordered to be printed. Some of the opposers offered to enter a protestation against it, but as it was not the custom of the House to admit of protestations, Mr. Palmer, who first cried, I do protest, was sent to the Tower, but was released within a few days, and took his place again in the House.

Three days after, namely, the 25th of November, the King being returned from Scotland, passed through the city of London, and dined at Guild-Hall. He was received in his capital with the same demonstrations of joy, respect, and submission as were given on the like occasions to his most popular predecessors; and had all reason to be pleased with the manner wherein every one strove to do him honour.‡ But the satisfaction he received from these public demonstrations of the affection of the Londoners, lasted not long.

As soon as the King came to Whitehall, the Earl of Essex surrendered his commission of Captain-General of the south part of the kingdom into his hands; and the next day the King dismissed the guards given by the Earl to both Houses at their request. The Commons appeared displeased at it, and desired the Lords to concur with them in petitioning the King, that the guards might be continued till they had satisfied his Majesty of the reasons, why a guard was necessary. The Lords consented to it, and the Earl of Warwick, and the Lord Digby, were ordered to move his Majesty accordingly, but they could not prevail. The King answered, he saw no reason to continue the guard; but however, he would command the Earl of Dorset, to appoint some of the train-bands, only for a few days, to wait on both Houses, and if in that time he should be satisfied there was just reason, he would continue them. Upon this answer, the Commons presented a memorial to the King, containing the reasons why they desired a guard, adding, they would not have it under the command of any person not chosen by themselves.

The Commons insisted no farther on this subject, but within a few days, sent a committee, to present to the King, then at Hampton-Court, the remonstrance, with a petition.§ This was, as it were, the alarm of the discord

Protestants cruelly murdered in cold blood, destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations. It seems Cardinal Richelieu was deeply concerned in this massacre.

* Sir Phelim O'Neale, having found a royal patent in Lord Caufield's house, whom he had murdered, tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he had forged for himself.

† Oliver Cromwell told the Lord Falkland, "That if the Remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more."

‡ Sir Richard Gournay, the Lord Mayor, a man of moderation and authority, promoted these favourable dispositions, and engaged the populace to give these marks of dutiful attachment to the King.

§ This Remonstrance was not addressed to the King; but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. The harshness of the matter.

discord between the King and the Parliament, as his enemies had plainly foreseen.

No sooner had the Remonstrance of the Commons been published, than the King dispersed an answer to it. In this contest he lay under great disadvantage. Not only the ears of the people were extremely prejudiced against him; but the last topics, upon which he could justify, at least apologize for his former conduct were such as it was not safe or prudent for him at this to employ. So high was the national idolatry towards Parliament, that to blame the past conduct of these assemblies, would have been very ill received by the generality

matter, it has been justly observed, was equalled by the severity of the language. It consists of many gross falsehoods, intermingled with some evident truths; malignant insinuations adjoined to open invectives; loud complaints of the past accompanied with jealous prognostications of the future. Whatever unfortunate, whatever invidious, whatever suspicious measure had been embraced by the King, from the commencement of his reign, is insisted on and agravated with merciless rhetoric; the unsuccesful expeditions to Cadiz, and the Isle of Rhé, are mentioned; the sending of ships to France for the suppression of the Hugunots; the forced loans; the illegal confinement of men for not obeying illegal commands; the violent dissolution of four Parliaments; the arbitrary government which always succeeded; the questioning, fining, and imprisoning members for their conduct in the House; the levying of taxes without consent of the Commons; the introducing of superstitious innovations into the church, without authority of law; in short, every thing which, either with or without reason, had given offence, during the course of fifteen years, from the accession of the King to the calling of the present Parliament. And though all these grievances had been already redressed, and even laws enacted for future security against their return; the praise of these advantages was ascribed not to the King, but to the Parliament who had extorted his consent to such salutary statutes. Their own merits too, they asserted, towards the King, were no less eminent than towards the people. Though they had seized his whole revenue, rendered it totally precarious, and made even their own temporary supplies be paid to their own commissioners, who were independent of him; they pretended they had liberally supported him in his necessities. By an insult still more egregious, the very giving of money to the Scots, for levying war against their sovereign, they represented as an instance of their duty towards him. And all their grievances, they said, which amounted to no less than a total subversion of the constitution, proceeded entirely from the form and combination of a Popish faction, who had ever swayed the King's counsels, who had endeavoured by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their superstition into England and Scotland, and who had now, at last, excited an open rebellion in Ireland. This very important document is here given at length.

Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, presented to the King from the House of Commons, the 1st of December, 1641.

"The Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having with much earnestness and faithfulness of affection and zeal to the public good of this kingdom, and his Majesty's honour and service, for the space of twelve months, wrestled with great dangers and fears, the pressing miseries and calamities, the various distempers and disorders which had not only assaulted, but even overwhelmed and extinguished the liberty, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom, the comfort and hope of all his Majesty's good subjects, and exceedingly weakened and undermined the foundation and strength of his own royal throne.

"Do yet find an abounding malignity and opposition in those parties and factions who have been the cause of those evils, and do still labour to cast aspersions upon that which hath been done, and to raise many difficulties for the hindrance of that which remains yet undone, and to foment jealousies betwixt the King and Parliament, that so they may deprive him and his people of the fruit of his own gracious intentions, and their humble desires of procuring the public peace, safety, and happiness of this realm; for the preventing of those miserable effects, which such malicious endeavours may produce, we have thought good to declare:

"The root and growth of these mischievous designs.

"The maturity and ripeness to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament.

"The effectual means which have been used for the extirpation of those dangerous evils, and the progress which hath therein been made by his Majesty's goodness, and the wisdom of the Parliament.

"The ways of obstruction and opposition, by which that progress hath been interrupted.

"The courses to be taken for the removing those obstacles, and for the accomplishing of our most dutiful and faithful intention and endeavours of restoring and establishing the ancient honour, greatness, and security of this crown and nation.

"The root of all this mischief we find to be a malignant and pernicious design of subverting the fundamental laws and principles of government, upon which the religion and justice of this kingdom are firmly established. The actors and promoters hereof have been,

"I. The jesuited papists, who hate the laws as they are the obstacles of that change and subversion of religion, which they so much long for.

"II. The Bishops, and the corrupt part of the clergy, who cherish formality and superstition, as the natural effects, and more probable supports of their own ecclesiastical tyranny and usurpation.

"III. Such counsellors and courtiers, as, for private ends, have engaged themselves to further the interests of some foreign Princes, or States, to the prejudice of his Majesty, and the State at home.

"The common principles by which they moulded and governed all their particular counsels and actions were these.

"First, to maintain continual differences and discontents betwixt the King and the people, upon questions of prerogative and liberty, that so they might have the advantage of siding with him, and under the notions of men addicted to his service, gain to themselves and their parties the places of the greatest trust and power in the kingdom.

"A second, to suppress the purity and power of religion, and such persons as were best affected to it, as being contrary to their own ends, and the greatest impediment to that change which they thought to introduce.

"A third, to conjoin those parties of the kingdom which were most propitious to their own ends, and to divide those who were most opposite, which consisted in many particular observations.

"To cherish the Arminian party in those points, wherein they agree with the papists to multiply and enlarge the difference between the common protestants, and those whom they call puritans, to introduce and countenance such opinions and ceremonies as are fittest for accommodation with popery, to increase and maintain ignorance, looseness, and prophaneness in the people. That of those three parties, Papists, Arminians, and Libertines, they might compose a body fit to act such counsels and resolutions, as were most conducible to their own ends.

"A fourth, to disaffect the King to Parliaments by slanders and false imputations, and by putting them upon other ways of supply, which in shew and appearance were fuller of advantage than the ordinary course of subsidies, though in truth they brought more loss than gain both to the King and people, and have caused the great distractions under which we both suffer.

"As in all compounded bodies the operations are qualified according to the predominant element, so in this mixt party, the jesuited counsels being most active and prevailing, may easily be discovered to have had the greatest sway in all their determinations, and if they be not prevented, are likely to devour the rest, or to turn them into their own nature.

"In the beginning of his Majesty's reign, the party began to revive and flourish again, having been somewhat damped by the breach with Spain in the last year of King James, and by his Majesty's marriage with France; the interests and counsels of that State being not so contrary to the good of religion, and the prosperity of this kingdom, as those of Spain; and the Papists of England having been ever more addicted to Spain than France, yet they still retained a purpose and resolution to weaken the Protestant parties in all parts, and even in France, whereby to make way for the change of religion, which they intended at home.

"I. The first effect and evidence of their recovery and strength, was the dissolution of the Parliament at Oxford, after there had been given two subsidies to his Majesty, and before they received relief in any one grievance, many other more miserable effects followed.

"II. The loss of the Rochelle fleet, by the help of our shipping, set forth and delivered over to the French, in opposition to the advice of Parliament, which left that town without defence by sea, and made way, not only to the loss of that important place, but likewise to the loss of all the strength and security of the Protestant religion in France.

"III. The diverting his Majesty's course of wars from the West-Indies, which was the most facile and hopeful way for this kingdom to prevail against the Spaniards, to an expenceful and unsuccessful attempt upon Calais, which was so ordered as if it had rather been intended to make us weary of war, than to prosper it.

"IV. The precipitate breach with France, by taking their ships to a great value, without making recompence to the English, whose goods were thereupon imbarred, and confiscate in that kingdom.

"V. The peace with Spain, without consent of Parliament, contrary to the promise of King James to both Houses, whereby the Palatine's cause was deserted and left to chargeable and hopeless treaties, which, for the most part, were managed by those, who might justly be suspected to be no friends to that cause.

"VI. The charging of the kingdom with billeted soldiers in all parts of it, and that concomitant design of German horse, that the land might either submit with fear, or be enforced with rigour to such arbitrary contributions as should be required of them.

"VII. The dissolving of the Parliament in the second year of his Majesty's reign, after a declaration of their intent to grant five subsidies.

"VIII. The exacting of the like proportion of five subsidies after the Parliament was dissolved, by commission of loan; and divers gentlemen and others imprisoned for not yielding to pay that loan, whereby many of them contracted such sicknesses as cost them their lives.

"IX. Great sums of money required and raised by privy seals.

"X. An unjust and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the subject by way of excise, and a commission issued under the seal for that purpose.

"XI. The Petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blasted, with an illegal declaration to make it destructive to itself, to the power of Parliament, to the liberty of the subject, and to that purpose printed with it; and the petition made of no use but to shew the bold and presumptuous injustice of such ministers as durst break the laws, and suppress the liberties of the kingdom, after they had been so solemnly and evidently declared.

"XII. Another Parliament dissolved 4. Car. the privilege of Parliament broken, by imprisoning divers members of the House, detaining them close prisoners for many months together, without the liberty of using books, pen, ink, or paper, denying them all the

lity of the people. So loud were the complaints against regal usurpations, that, had the King asserted the prerogative of supplying, by his own authority, the deficiencies of government, arising from the obstinacy of the Commons, he would have encreased the clamours with which the whole nation already resounded. Charles, therefore, contented himself with observing in general, that even during that period so much complained of, the people enjoyed a great measure of happiness, not only comparatively, in respect of their neighbours, but even in respect of those times which were justly accounted the most fortunate. He made warm protestations

comforts of life, all means of preservation of health, not permitting their wives to come to them, even in time of their sickness.

" XIII. And for the compleating that cruelty, after many years spent in such miserable durance, depriving them of the necessary means of spiritual consolation; not suffering them to go abroad to enjoy God's ordinances in God's house, or God's ministers to come to them to minister comfort to them in their private chambers.

" XIV. And to keep them still in this oppressed condition, not admitting them to be bailed according to law, yet vexing them with informations in inferior courts, sentencing and fining some of them for matters done in Parliament; and extorting the payments of those fines from them, enforcing others to put in security of good behaviour before they could be released.

" XV. The imprisonment of the rest, which refused to be bound, still continued, which might have been perpetual, if necessity had not the last year brought another Parliament to relieve them, of whom one (a) died, by the cruelty and harshness of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithstanding the imminent danger of his life did sufficiently appear by the declaration of his physician. And his release, or at least his refreshment, was sought by many humble petitions. And his blood still cries either for vengeance or repentance, of those ministers of state who have at once obstructed the course both of his Majesty's justice and mercy.

" XVI. Upon the dissolution of both these Parliaments, untrue and scandalous declarations were published to asperse their proceedings, and some of their members, unjustly; to make them odious, and colour the violence which was used against them. Proclamations set out to the same purpose; and to the great dejecting the hearts of the people, forbidding them even to speak of Parliaments.

" XVII. After the breach of the Parliament in the fourth of his Majesty, injustice, oppression and violence, broke in upon us, without any restraint or moderation, and yet the first project was the great sums exacted through the whole kingdom, for default of knighthood, which seemed to have some colour and shadow of a law, yet if it be rightly examined by that obsolete law which was pretended for it, it will be found to be against all the rules of justice, both in respect of the persons charged, the proportion of the fines demanded, and the absurd and unreasonable manner of their proceedings.

" XVIII. Tonnage and poundage have been received without colour or pretence of law: many other heavy impositions continued against law; and some so unreasonable, that the sum of the charge exceeds the value of the goods.

" XIX. The book of rates lately inhanced to a high portion; and such merchants that would not submit to their illegal and unreasonable payments, were vexed and oppressed above measure; and the ordinary course of justice, the common birth-right of the subjects of England, wholly obstructed and taken from them.

" XX. And although this was taken on pretence of guarding the seas, yet a new and unheard of tax of ship money was devised, and upon the same pretence. By both which there was charged upon the subject near 700,000*l.* some years; and yet the merchants have been left so naked to the violence of the Turkish pirates, that many great ships of value, and thousands of his Majesty's subjects, have been taken by them, and do still remain in miserable slavery.

" XXI. The enlargement of forests, contrary to Charta de Foresta, and the composition thereupon.

" XXII. The exactions of coat and conduct money, and divers other military charges.

" XXIII. The taking away the arms of the trained bands of divers counties.

" XXIV. The desperate design of engrossing all the gun powder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of London, and setting so high a rate upon it, that the poorer sort were not able to buy it; nor could any have it without license; thereby to leave the several parts of the kingdom destitute of their necessary defence; and by selling so dear that which was sold, to make an unlawful advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the subject.

" XXV. The general destruction of the King's timber, especially that in the forest of Dean, sold to Papists, which was the best storehouse of this kingdom for the maintenance of our shipping.

" XXVI. The taking away of men's right under colour of the King's title to land, between high and low water marks.

" XXVII. The monopolies of soap, salt, wine, leather, sea-coal, and in a manner, of all things of most common and necessary use.

" XXVIII. The restraint of the liberties of the subjects in their habitations, trades, and other interests.

" XXIX. Their vexation and oppression by purveyors, clerks of the market, and salt-petre men.

" XXX. The sale of pretended nuisances, buildings in and about London.

" XXXI. Conversion of arable into pasture, continuance of pasture, under the name of depopulation, have driven many millions out of the subjects' purses, without any considerable profit to his Majesty.

" XXXII. Large quantities of common and several grounds have been taken from the subject, by colour of the statute of improvement, and by abuse of the commission of sewers, without their consent, and against it.

" XXXIII. And not only private interest, but also public faith hath been broken, in seizing of the money and bullion in the mint, and the whole kingdom like to be robbed at once, in that abominable project of brass money.

" XXXIV. Great numbers of his Majesty's subjects, for refusing those unlawful charges, have been vexed with long and expensive suits; some fined and censured, others committed to long and hard imprisonments and confinements, to the loss of health in many, of life in some; and others have had their houses broken up, their goods seized, some have been restrained from their lawful callings.

" XXXV. Ships have been interrupted in their voyages, surprised at sea in hostile manner by projectors, as by a common enemy.

" XXXVI. Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in such ports as were for their own advantage, and forced to bring them to those places which were much for the advantage of the monopolizers and projectors.

" XXXVII. The court of Star Chamber hath abounded in extravagant censures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of monopolies, and other unlawful taxes, but for divers other causes, where there hath been no offence, or very small; whereby his Majesty's subjects have been oppressed by grievous fines, imprisonments, stigmatizing, mutilations, whippings, pillories, gags, confinements, and banishments; after so rigid a manner, as hath not only deprived men of the society of their friends, exercise of their professions, comfort of books, use of paper and ink, but even violated that near union which God hath established between men and their wives, by forced and constrained separation, whereby they have been bereaved of the comfort and conversation one of another for many years together, without hope of relief, if God had not, by his over-ruling providence, given some interruption to the prevailing power and counsel of those, who were the authors and promoters of such peremptory and heady courses.

" XXXVIII. Judges have been put out of their places for refusing to do against their oath and consciences: others have been so awed that they durst not do their duties, and the better to hold a rod over them, the clause, Quam diu se bene gesserit, was left out of their patents, and a new clause, Durante bene placito, inserted.

" XXXIX. Lawyers have been checked for being faithful to their clients: solicitors and attorneys have been threatened, and some punished for following lawful suits. And by this means all the approaches to justice were interrupted and forecluded.

" XL. New oaths have been forced upon the subject against law.

" XLI. New judicatories erected without law. The council table have by their orders offered to bind the subjects in their freeholds, estates, suits, and actions.

" XLII. The pretended court of the Earl Marshal was arbitrary and illegal in its being and proceedings.

" XLIII. The chancery, exchequer chamber, court of wards, and other English courts, have been grievous in exceeding their jurisdiction.

" XLIV. The estate of many families weakened, and some ruined by excessive fines, exacted from them for compositions of wardships.

" XLV. All leases of above one hundred years made to draw on wardship contrary to law.

" XLVI. Undue proceedings used in the finding of offices, to make the jury find for the King.

" XLVII. The common law courts, seeing all men more inclined to seek justice there, where it may be fitted to their own desires, are known frequently to forsake the rules of the common law, and straying beyond their bounds, under pretence of equity, to do injustice.

" XLVIII. Titles of honour, judicial places, serjeantships at law, and other offices have been sold for great sums of money; whereby the common justice of the kingdom hath been much endangered, not only by opening a way of employment, in places of great trust and advantage to men of weak parts, but also by giving occasion to bribery, extortion, and partiality; it seldom happening that places ill-gotten are well used.

" XLIX. Commissions have been granted for examining the excess of fees: and when great exactions have been discovered, compositions have been made with delinquents, not only for the time past, but likewise for immunity, and security in offending for the time to come, which under colour of remedy, hath but confirmed and increased the grievance to the subject.

" L. The usual course of pricking sheriffs, not observed, but many times sheriffs made in an extraordinary way, sometimes as a punishment and charge unto them, sometimes such were pricked out as would be instruments to execute whatsoever they would have to be done.

" LI. The Bishops and the rest of the clergy, did triumph in the suspensions, excommunications, deprivations, and degradations of divers painful, learned, and pious ministers, in the vexation and grievous oppressions of great numbers of his Majesty's good subjects.

" LII. The high commission grew to such excess of sharpness and severity, as was not much less than the Romish inquisition, and yet in many cases, by the Archbishop's power, was made much more

(a) Sir John Elliot.

heavy,

tations of sincerity on the Reformed religion; he promised indulgence to tender consciences, with regard to the ceremonies of the church; he mentioned his great concessions to national liberty; he blamed the infamous libels every where dispersed against his person and the national religion; he complained of the general reproaches thrown out in the Remonstrance, with regard to ill councils, though he had protected no minister from Parliamentary justice, retained no unpopular servant, and conferred offices on no one who enjoyed not a high character and estimation in the public. "If, notwithstanding this" he adds, "any malignant party shall take

heavy, being assisted and strengthened by authority of the council-table.

"LIII. The Bishops and their courts were as eager in the country; although their jurisdiction could not reach so high in rigour and extremity of punishment, yet were they no less grievous in respect of the generality and multiplicity of vexations, which lighting upon the meaner sort of tradesmen and artificers, did impoverish many thousands;

"LIV. And so afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miseries, departed out of the kingdom; some into New England, and other parts of America, others into Holland:

"LV. Whither they have transported their manufactures of cloth; which is not only a loss by diminishing the present stock of the kingdom, but a great mischief by impairing and endangering the loss of that peculiar trade of clothing, which hath been a plentiful fountain of wealth and honour to this nation.

"LVI. Those were fittest for ecclesiastical preferments, and soonest obtained it, who were most officious in promoting superstition, most virulent in railing against godliness and honesty.

"LVII. The most public and solemn sermons before his Majesty, were, either to advance prerogative above law, and decry the property of the subject, or full of such kind of invective;

"LVIII. Whereby they might make those odious who sought to maintain the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom; and such men were sure to be weeded out of the commission of the peace, and out of all other employments of power in the government of the country.

"LIX. Many noble persons were counsellors in name, but the power and authority remained in a few of such as were most addicted to this party: whose resolutions and determinations were brought to the table for countenance and execution, and not for debate and deliberation; and no man could offer to oppose them without disgrace and hazard to himself.

"LX. Nay, all those that did not wholly concur, and actively contribute to the furtherance of their designs, though, otherwise, persons of never so great honour and abilities, were so far from being employed in any place of trust and power, that they were neglected, discountenanced, and upon all occasions injured and oppressed.

"LXI. This faction was grown to that height and entireness of power, that now they began to think of finishing of their work, which consisted of these three parts.

"LXII. 1. The government must be set free from all restraint of laws concerning our persons and estates.

"LXIII. 2. There must be a conjunction between Papists and Protestants in doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies, only it must not yet be called Popery.

"LXIV. 3. The Puritans, under which name they include all those that desire to preserve the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and to maintain religion in the power of it, must be either rooted out of the kingdom with force, or driven out with fear.

"LXV. For the effecting of this, it was thought necessary to reduce Scotland to such Popish superstitions and innovations, as might make them apt to join with England in that great change which was intended.

"LXVI. Whereupon new canons and a new liturgy were prest upon them; and when they refused to admit of them, an army was raised to force them to it, towards which the Clergy and the Papists were very forward in their contribution.

"LXVII. The Scots likewise raised an army for their defence.

"LXVIII. And when both armies were come together, and ready for a bloody encounter, his Majesty's own gracious disposition, and the counsel of the English nobility, and dutiful submission of the Scots, did so far prevail against the evil counsel of others, that a pacification was made, and his Majesty returned with peace and much honour to London.

"LXIX. The unexpected reconciliation was most acceptable to all the kingdom except to the malignant party; whereof the Archbishop and the Earl of Strafford being heads, they and their faction began to inveigh against the peace, and to aggravate the proceedings of the states, which so incensed his Majesty, that he forthwith prepared again for war.

"LXX. And such was their confidence, that having corrupted and distempered the whole frame and government of the kingdom, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the only means to restore all to a right frame and temper again.

"LXXI. To which end they persuaded his Majesty to call a Parliament, not to seek counsel and advice of them, but to draw countenance and supply from them, and to engage the whole kingdom in their quarrel.

"LXXII. And in the mean time, continued all their unjust levies of money, resolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their will, and to establish mischief by a law, or else to break it, and with more colour to go on by violence, to take what they could not obtain by consent. The ground alledged for the justification of this war was this:

"LXXIII. That the undutiful demands of the Parliaments in Scotland was a sufficient reason for his Majesty to take arms against them, without hearing the reason of those demands, and thereupon a new army was prepared against them; their ships were seized in all parts both of England and Ireland, and at sea; their petitions rejected, their commissioners refused audience.

"LXXIV. This whole kingdom most miserably distempered with levies of men and money; and imprisonments of those who denied to submit to those levies.

"LXXV. The Earl of Strafford passed into Ireland, caused the Parliament there to declare against the Scots, to give four subsidies towards that war; and to engage themselves, their lives and fortunes for the prosecution of it; and gave directions for an army of eight thousand foot, and one thousand horse, to be levied there, which were for the most part papists.

"LXXVI. The Parliament met upon the 13th of April 1640. The Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop of Canterbury, with their party, so prevailed with his Majesty, that the House of Commons was pressed to yield a supply for maintenance of the war with Scotland, before they had provided any relief for the great and pressing grievances of the people; which being against the fundamental privilege and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble respect to his Majesty so far admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of supply into consideration, and two several days it was debated.

"LXXVII. Twelve subsidies were demanded for the release of ship-money alone: a third day was appointed for conclusion, when the heads of that party began to fear, the people might close with the King, in satisfying his desires of money: but that withal, they were like to blast their malicious designs against Scotland, finding them very much indisposed to give any countenance to that war.

"LXXVIII. Thereupon they wickedly advised the King to break off the Parliament, and to return to the ways of confusion, in which their own evil intentions were most like to prosper and succeed.

"LXXIX. After the Parliament ended, the 5th of May 1640, this party grew so bold, as to counsel the King to supply himself out of his subjects' estates, by his own power, at his own will, without their consent.

"LXXX. The very next day, some members of both Houses had their studies and cabinets, yea their pockets searched: another of them not long after was committed close prisoner, for not delivering some petitions which he received by authority of that House.

"LXXXI. And if harsher courses were intended (as was reported) it is very probable, that the sickness of the Earl of Strafford, and the tumultuous rising in Southwark and about Lambeth, were the causes that such violent intentions were not brought to execution.

"LXXXII. A false and scandalous declaration against the House of Commons was published in his Majesty's name, which yet wrought little effect with the people, but only to manifest the imprudence of those who were authors of it.

"LXXXIII. A forced loan of money was attempted in the city of London.

"LXXXIV. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their several wards, enjoined to bring in a list of the names of such persons as they judged fit to lend, and of the sum they should lend, and such Aldermen as refused so to do were committed to prison.

"LXXXV. The Archbishop, and the other Bishops and clergy continued the convocation, and by a new commission turned it into a provincial synod, in which, by an unheard-of presumption, they made canons that contain in them many matters, contrary to the King's prerogative; to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm; to the right of Parliaments; to the property and liberty of the subject; and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence; thereby establishing their own usurpations, justifying their altar-worship, and those other superstitious innovations, which they formerly introduced without warrant of law.

"LXXXVI. They imposed a new oath upon divers of his Majesty's subjects both ecclesiastical and lay, for maintenance of their own tyranny, and laid a great tax upon the clergy for supply of his Majesty, and generally they shewed themselves very affectionate to the war with Scotland, which was by some of them stiled Bellum Episcopale, and a prayer composed, and enjoined to be read in churches, calling the Scots rebels, to put the two nations in blood, and make them irreconcileable.

"LXXXVII. All those pretended canons and constitutions were armed with the several censures of suspension, excommunication, deprivation, by which they would have thrust out all the good ministers, and most of the well-affected people of the kingdom, and left an easy passage to their own design of reconciliation with Rome.

"LXXXVIII. The popish party enjoyed such exemptions from penal laws, as amounted to a toleration, besides many other encouragements and court-favours.

"LXXXIX. They had a Secretary of State, Sir Francis Windebank, a powerful agent for speeding all their desires.

"XC. A Pope's nuncio residing here, to act and govern them according to such influences as he received from Rome, and to intercede for them with the most powerful concurrence of the foreign Princes of that religion.

"XCI. By his authority the papists of all sorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy were convocated after the manner of a Parliament.

"XCII. New jurisdictions were erected of Romish Archbishops, taxes levied, another state moulded within this state, independent in government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent professors of our religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as were found in this posture, waiting for an opportunity by force to destroy those whom they could not hope to seduce.

"XCIII. For the effecting whereof, they were strengthened with arms

take heart, and be unwilling to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their country to their own sinister ends and ambition, under whatever pretence of religion and conscience; if they shall not endeavour to lesson my reputation and interest, and to weaken my lawful power and authority; if they shall attempt, by discountenancing the present laws, to lessen the bands of government, that all disorder and confusion may break in upon us; I doubt not but God, in his good time, will discover them to me, and that the wisdom and energy of my high court of Parliament will join with me in their suppression and punishment."

---

arms and munition, encouraged by superstitious prayers, enjoined by the nuncio, to be weekly made for the prosperity of some great design.

" XCIV. And such power had they at court, that secretly a commission was issued out, or intended to be issued to some great man of that profession, for the levying of soldiers, and to command and employ them according to private instructions, which we doubt were framed for the advantage of those who were the contrivers of them.

" XCV. His Majesty's treasure was consumed, his revenue anticipated.

" XCVI. His servants and officers compelled to lend great sums of money.

" XCVII. Multitudes were called to the council-table, who were tired with long attendances there for refusing illegal payments.

" XCVIII. The prisons were filled with their commitments: many of the sheriffs summoned into the Star-Chamber; and some imprisoned for not being quick enough in levying the ship-money; the people languished under grief and fear; no visible hope being left but in desperation.

" XCIX. The nobility began to be weary of their silence and patience, and sensible of the duty and trust which belongs to them; and thereupon some of the most ancient of them did petition his Majesty at such a time, when evil counsellors were so strong, that they had occasion to expect more hazard to themselves, than redress of those public evils for which they interceded.

" C. Whilst the kingdom was in this agitation and distemper, the Scots restrained in their trades, impoverished by the loss of many of their ships, bereaved of all possibility of satisfying his Majesty by any naked supplications, entered with a powerful army into the kingdom, and without any hostile act or spoil in the country they passed, more than forcing a passage over the Tyne at Newburne near Newcastle, possessed themselves of Newcastle; and had a fair opportunity to press on further upon the King's army.

" CI. But duty and reverence to his Majesty, and brotherly love to the English nation, made them stay there, whereby the King had leisure to entertain better counsels.

" CII. Wherein God so blessed and directed him, that he summoned the great council of Peers to meet at York upon the 24th of September, and there declared a Parliament, to begin the 3d of November then following.

" CIII. The Scots, the first day of the great council, presented an humble petition to his Majesty, whereupon the treaty was appointed at Rippon.

" CIV. A present cessation of arms agreed upon, and the full conclusion of all differences referred to the wisdom and care of the Parliament.

" CV. At our first meeting, all oppositions seemed to vanish, the mischiefs were so evident, which those evil counsellors produced, that no man durst stand up to defend them, yet the work itself afforded difficulty enough.

" CVI. The multiplied evils and corruptions of sixteen years, strengthened by custom and authority, and the concurrent interest of many powerful delinquents, were now to be brought to judgment and reformation.

" CVII. The King's household was to be provided for; they had brought him to that want, that he could not supply his ordinary and necessary expences without the assistance of his people.

" CVIII. Two armies were to be paid, which amounted very near to eighty thousand pounds a month.

" CIX. The people were to be tenderly charged, having been formerly exhausted with many burthensome projects.

" CX. The difficulties seemed to be insuperable, which by the divine providence we have overcome. The contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great measure we have reconciled.

" CXI. Six subsidies have been granted, and a bill of poll-money, (*a*) which if it be duly levied, may equal six subsidies more, in all six hundred thousand pounds.

" CXII. Besides, we have contracted a debt to the Scots of two hundred and twenty thousand pounds; yet God hath so blessed the endeavours of this Parliament, that the kingdom is a great gainer by all these charges.

" CXIII. The ship-money is abolished, which cost the kingdom above two hundred thousand pounds a year.

" CXIV. The coat and conduct-money, and other military charges are taken away, which in many counties amounted to little less than the ship-money.

" CXV. The monopolies are all suppressed, whereof some few did prejudice the subject above a million yearly.

" CXVI. The soap an hundred thousand pounds.

" CXVII. The wine, three hundred thousand pounds.

" CXVIII. The leather must needs exceed both, and salt could be no less than that.

" CXIX. Besides the inferior monopolies, which if they could be exactly computed, would make up a great sum.

" CXX. That which is more beneficial than all this, is; that the root of these evils is taken away, which was the arbitrary power pretended to be in his Majesty, of taxing the subject, or charging their estates without consent in Parliament, which is now declared to be against law, by the judgment of both Houses, and likewise by an act of Parliament.

" CXXI. Another step of great advantage is this, the living grievances, the evil counsellors and actors of these mischiefs have been so quelled;

" CXXII. By the justice done upon the Earl of Strafford, the flight of the Lord Finch, and Secretary Windebank;

" CXXIII. The accusation and imprisonment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of Judge Berkley; And,

" CXXIV. The impeachment of divers other Bishops and Judges, that is like not only to be an ease to the present times, but a preservation to the future.

" The discontinuance of Parliaments is prevented by the bill for a Triennial Parliament, and the abrupt dissolution of this Parliament by another bill, by which it is provided, it shall not be dissolved or adjourned without the consent of both Houses.

" CXXVI. Which two laws well considered, may be thought more advantageous than all the former, because they secure a full operation of the present remedy, and afford a perpetual spring of remedies for the future.

" CXXVII. The Star-Chamber;

" CXXVIII. The High-Commission;

" CXXIX. The courts of the president and council in the north, were so many forges of misery, and oppression, and violence, are all taken away, whereby men are more secured in their persons, liberties, and estates, than they could by any law or example, for the regulation of those courts of terror of the judges.

" CXXX. The immoderate power of the council-table, and the excessive abuse of that power is so ordered and restrained, that we may well hope, that no such things as were frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the public liberty, will appear in future times but only in stories, to give us and our posterity more occasion to praise God for his Majesty's goodness, and the faithful endeavours of this Parliament.

" CXXXI. The canons and power of canon-making are blasted by the votes of both Houses.

" CXXXII. The exorbitant power of the Bishops and their courts are much abated, by some provisions in the bill against the high-commission courts, the authors of the many innovations in doctrine and ceremonies.

" CXXXIII. The ministers that have been scandalous in their lives, have been so terrified by just complaints and accusation, that we may well hope they will be more modest for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the sight of their own folly, or outwardly restrained by the fear of punishment.

" CXXXIV. The forests are by a good law reduced to their right bounds.

" CXXXV. The encroachments and oppressions of the Stannary court, (*b*) the extortions of the clerk of the market;

" CXXXVI. And the compulsion of the subject, to receive the Order of Knighthood against his will, paying of fines for not receiving it; and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of those fines, are by other beneficial laws reformed and prevented.

" CXXXVII. Many excellent laws and provisions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation, and usurpations of Bishops; for reforming the pride and idleness of many of the clergy; for easing the people of unnecessary ceremonies in religion; for censuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable ministers, and for maintaining godly and diligent preachers through the kingdom.

" CXXXVIII. Other things of main importance for the good of this kingdom are in proposition, though little could hitherto be done in regard of the many other more pressing businesses, which yet before the end of this session we hope may receive some progress and perfection.

" CXXXIX. The establishing and ordering the King's revenue, that so the abuse of officers, and superfluity of expences may be cut off, and the necessary disbursements for his Majesty's honour, the defence and government of the kingdom, may more certainly be provided for.

" CXL. The regulating of courts of justice, and abridging both the delays and charges of law suits.

" CXLI. The settling of some good courses for preventing the exportation of gold and silver, and the inequality of exchanges between us and other nations, for the advancing of native commodities, increase of our manufactories, and well ballancing of trade, whereby the stock of the kingdom may be increased, or at least kept from impairing, as through neglect hereof it hath done for many years last past:

" CXLII. Improving the herring fishing upon our own coasts, which will be of mighty use in the employment of the poor, and a plentiful nursery of mariners, for enabling the kingdom in any great action.

" CXLIII. The oppositions, obstructions, and other difficulties

---

(*a*) This poll tax was raised for paying the Scotch army. And it was according to the following proportion. A Duke paid 100*l.* a Marquis 80*l.* an Earl 60*l.* Viscounts and Barons 40*l.* Knights of the Bath 30*l.* Knights Batchelors 20*l.* Esquires 10*l.* every gentleman that could spend 100*l.* a year, 5*l.* and others in proportion.

(*b*) Courts, wherein affairs relating to the tinners, and tin-mines, are decided. So called from the Latin word, Stannum.

Next day, the second of December, the King coming to the Parliament, the Speaker presented to him the bill for tunnage and poundage for some months only, wherein the King expressly owned, he had till then levied these duties without a legal power. He made on this occasion, a fine speech, full of his Majesty's praises for his goodness and affection to his people. After the Speaker had concluded, his Majesty addressed both Houses; particularly recommended the state of Ireland to the consideration of Parliament; and explicitly declared, that he sought his people's happiness; for their flourishing was his greatest glory, and their affections were his greatest strength.

It was not without great reason that the King resolved to

wherewith we have been encountered, and which still lie in our way with some strength, and much obstinacy, are these; the malignant party, whom we have formerly described to be the actors and promoters of all our misery, they have taken heart again:

" CXLIV. They have been able to prefer some of their own factors and agents to degrees of honour, to places of trust and employment, even during the Parliament:

" CXLV. They have endeavoured to work in his Majesty ill impressions and opinions of our proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own work, and not his: and had obtained from him many things very prejudicial to the crown, both in respect of prerogative and profit.

" CXLVI. To wipe out this slander, we think good only to say thus much; that all that we have done is for his Majesty, his greatness, honour, and support, when we yield to give twenty-five thousand pounds a month for the relief of the northern counties; this was given to the King, for he was bound to protect his subjects.

" CXLVII. They were his Majesty's evil counsellors, and their ill instruments, that were actors in those grievances which brought in the Scots.

" CXLVIII. And if his Majesty please to force those who were the authors of this war, to make satisfaction, as he might justly and easily do, it seems very reasonable, that the people might well be excused from taking upon them this burden, being altogether innocent, and free from being any cause of it.

" CXLIX. When we undertook the charge of the army, which cost above 50,000*l.* a month, was not this given to the King? Was it not his Majesty's army? Were not all the commanders under contract with his Majesty at higher rates, and greater wages than ordinary.

" CL. And have not we taken upon us to discharge all the brotherly assistance of three hundred thousand pounds, which we gave the Scots? Was it not toward repair of those damages and losses which they received from the King's ships, and from his ministers?

" CLI. These three particulars amount to above eleven hundred thousand pounds.

" CLII. Besides his Majesty hath received, by impositions upon merchandise, at least four hundred thousand pounds.

" CLIII. So that his Majesty hath had out of the subjects' purse, since the Parliament began, one million and a half; and yet these men can be so impudent, as to tell his Majesty, that we have done nothing for him.

" CLIV. As to the second branch of this slander, we acknowledge with much thankfulness, that his Majesty hath passed more good bills to the advantage of the subjects, than have been in many ages.

" CLV. But withal, we cannot forget that those venomous counsels did manifest themselves in some endeavours to hinder these good acts.

" CLVI. And for both Houses of Parliament we may with truth and modesty say thus much: that we have ever been careful not to desire any thing that should weaken the crown, either in just profit or useful power.

" CLVII. The triennial Parliament, for the matter of it, doth not extend to so much, as by law we ought to have required, there being two statutes still in force for a Parliament to be once a year, and for the manner of it, it is in the King's power, that it shall never take effect, if he, by a timely summons, shall prevent any other way of assembling.

" CLVIII. In the bill for continuance of this present Parliament, there seems to be some restraint of the royal power in dissolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the crown, but to suspend the execution of it for this time and occasion only; which was so necessary for the King's own security, and the public peace, that without it we could not have undertaken any of these great charges, but must have left both the armies to disorder, and confusion, and the whole kingdom to blood and rapine.

" CLIX. The Star Chamber was much more fruitful in oppression than in profit, the great fines being for the most part given away, and the rest stalled at long times.

" CLX. The fines of the high commission were in themselves unjust, and seldom or never came into the King's purse. These four bills are particularly and more specially instanced.

" CLXI. In the rest there will not be found so much as a shadow of prejudice to the crown.

" CLXII. They have sought to diminish our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments.

" CLXIII. The aspersions which they have attempted this way have been such as these;

" CLXIV. That we have spent much time and done little, especially in those grievances which concern religion;

" CLXV. That the Parliament is a burthen to the kingdom, by the abundance of protections which hinder justice and trade, and by many subsidies granted, much more heavy than any formerly endured.

" CLXVI. To which there is a ready answer, if the time spent in this Parliament be considered in relation backward to long growth and deep root of those grievances which we have removed, to the powerful supports of those delinquents, which we have pursued, to the great necessities and other charges of the common-wealth, for which we have provided.

" CLXVII. Or if it be considered in relation forward to many advantages, which not only the present, but future ages are like to reap by the good laws, and other proceedings in this Parliament; we doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent judgments, that our time hath been much better employed, than in a far greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together, and the charges which have been laid upon the subject, and the other inconveniences which they have borne, will seem very light in respect of the benefit they have and may receive.

" CLXVIII. And for the matter of protection, the Parliament is so sensible of it, that therein they intended to give them whatsoever ease may stand with honour and justice, and are in a way of passing a bill to give them satisfaction.

" CLXIX. They have sought by many subtle practices to cause jealousies and divisions between us and our brethren of Scotland, by slandering their proceedings and intentions towards us, and by secret endeavours to instigate and incense them and us one against another.

" CLXX. They have had such a party of Bishops and Popish Lords in the House of Peers, as hath caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of delinquents, hindered the proceedings of divers good bills passed in the Commons House, concerning the reformations of sundry great abuses and corruptions both in church and state.

" CLXXI. They have laboured to seduce and corrupt some of the Commons House, to draw them into conspiracies and combinations against the liberty of the Parliament.

" CLXXII. And by their instruments and agents, they have attempted to disaffect and discontent his Majesty's army; and to engage it for the maintainance of their wicked and traitorous designs; the keeping up of Bishops in votes and functions, and by force to compel the Parliament to order, limit, and dispose their proceedings, in such manner, as might best concur with the intentions of this dangerous and potent faction.

" CLXXIII. And when one mischievous design and attempt of theirs, to bring on the army against the Parliament, and the city of London hath been discovered and prevented;

" CLXXIV. They presently undertook another of the same damnable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavour to make the Scottish army neutral, whilst the English army, which they had laboured to corrupt and invenom against us, by their false and slanderous suggestions, should execute their malice to the subversion of our religion, and the dissolution of our government.

" CLXXV. Thus they have been continually practising to disturb the peace, and plotting the destruction even of all the King's dominions; and have employed their emissaries, and agents in them, all for the promoting their devilish designs, which the vigilancy of those who were well affected, hath still discovered and defeated, before they were ripe for execution in England and Scotland.

" CLXXVI. Only in Ireland, which was farther off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their work, and had brought it to that perfection, that they had possessed themselves of that whole kingdom, totally subverted the government of it, rooted out religion, and destroyed all the Protestants whom the conscience of their duty to God, their King and country, would not have permitted to join with them, if by God's wonderful providence their main enterprise upon the city and castle of Dublin had not been detected and prevented upon the very eve before it should have been executed.

" CLXXVII. Notwithstanding they have, in other parts of that kingdom, broken out into open rebellion, surprising towns and castles, committed murders, and rapes, and other villainies, and shaken off all bonds of obedience to his Majesty and the laws of the realm.

" CLXXVIII. And in general have kindled such a fire, as nothing but God's infinite blessing upon the wisdom and endeavours of this state will be able to quench.

" CLXXIX. And certainly had not God, in his great mercy unto this land, discovered and confounded their former designs, we had been the prologue to this tragedy in Ireland, and had by this been made the lamentable spectacle of misery and confusion.

" CLXXX. And now what hope have we but in God, whereas the only means of subsistence and power of reformation is under him in the Parliament?

" CLXXXI. But what can we the Commons, without the conjunction of the House of Lords; and what conjunction can we expect there, when the Bishops and recusant Lords are so numerous, and prevalent, that they are able to cross, and interrupt our best endeavours for reformation, and by that means give advantage to this malignant party, to traduce our proceedings?

" CLXXXII. They infuse into the people, that we mean to abolish all church government, and leave every man to his own fancy, for the service and worship of God, absolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto his Majesty; whom we know to be intrusted with the ecclesiastical law, as well as with the temporal, to regulate all the members of the church of England, 'By such rule of order and discipline, as are established by Parliament; which is his great council, in all affairs both in church and state.'

" CLXXXIII. We confess our intention is, and our endeavours have been to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power, which the prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the word

of

to testify an extreme zeal for the public good, since the remonstrance of the Commons plainly taught him, that endeavours were using to make him forfeit the love of the people. But herein he had one great disadvantage, in that, for his future behaviour, he could give no other security than his word, which, his enemies pretended to demonstrate, was not to be relied on. They chiefly urged, that though the King had solemnly given his assent to the Petition of Right, he had never executed what he promised. The inference they drew from this non-performance was so much the stronger, as the King had nothing to oppose to it but bare promises, which were of no more force than those he had made with regard to that petition.

As the King had earnestly recommended to the Parliament, the consideration of the affairs of Ireland, both Houses immediately appointed a committee to treat with the Scots about succours.* The Commons in particular passionately desired to negotiate with Scotland. In their present belief, that the King was willing to engage them to send an army into Ireland, in order to be more at ease in England, they could not find a more effectual way to break his measures, than to employ Scotish troops in the relief of that kingdom. As they had already taken the resolution, though secretly, of divesting the King of great part of his power, they easily foresaw, that a breach would infallibly follow, and then they should want the troops which the King had a mind to engage them to send into Ireland.

After the remonstrance, every thing manifestly tended to a rupture between the King and the Parliament, and the Commons lost no opportunity to infuse suspicions into the people against the King. To this end, Daniel O'Neal, who was concerned in the plot to seduce the army, was voted guilty of a second attempt, in June, or July last, to persuade the chief officers of the army to declare for the King, against the Parliament.

On the other hand, the rebels of Ireland having by the Lord Costelough, presented to the Lords Justices of that kingdom, a letter in the nature of a remonstrance, wherein they demanded the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary, the Commons made a great noise about it. They knew the Lord Costelough, with the Lord Taaff, were on their way to England, with propositions to be offered to the King concerning means for procuring the peace of Ireland. So, fearing, or pretending to fear, the King would grant liberty of conscience to the Irish papists, they desired a conference with the Lords. After which, it was solemnly declared by both Houses, that they would never consent to any toleration of the popish religion in Ireland, or in any other of his Majesty's dominions.†

At

---

of God, and to the laws of the land; to which end we passed the bill for the removing them from their temporal power and employments; that so the better they might with meekness apply themselves to the discharge of their functions; which bill themselves opposed, and were the principal instruments of crossing it.

" CLXXXIV. And we do here declare, that it is far from our purpose or desire, to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the church, leave private persons, or particular congregations, to take up what form of divine service they please; for we hold it requisite, that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin according to the word of God. And we desire to unburthen the consciences of men of needless and superstitious ceremonies, suppress innovations, and take away the monuments of idolatry.

" CLXXXV. And the better to effect the intended reformation, we desire there may be a general synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island; assisted with some from foreign parts, professing the same religion with us; who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the church, and represent the results of their consultations unto the Parliament, to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the kingdom.

" CLXXXVI. They have maliciously charged us, that we intend to destroy and discourage learning; whereas it is our chiefest care and desire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintainance for conscionable and preaching ministers throughout the kingdom, which will be a great encouragement to scholars, and a certain means, whereby the want, meanness, and ignorance, to which a great part of the clergy is now subject, will be prevented.

" CLXXXVII. And we intend likewise to reform, and purge the fountains of learning, the two universities, that the streams flowing from thence may be clear and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole land.

" CLXXXVIII. They have strained to blast our proceedings in Parliament, by wresting the interpretations of our orders from their genuine intention.

" CLXXXIX. They tell the people, that our meddling with the power of episcopacy, hath caused sectaries and conventicles, when idolatry and Popish ceremonies introduced into the church by the command of the Bishops, have not only debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the kingdom.

" CXC. Thus with Eliab, we are called by this malignant party the troublers of the state, and still while we endeavour to reform their abuses, they make us the authors of those mischiefs we study to prevent.

" CXCI. For the perfecting of the work begun, and removing all future impediments, we conceive these courses will be very effectual, seeing the religion of the Papists hath such principles as do certainly tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants, when they shall have opportunity to effect it.

" CXCII. It is necessary in the first place to keep them in such condition, as that they may not be able to do us any hurt, and for avoiding of such connivance and favour as hath heretofore been shewed unto them.

" CXCIII. That his Majesty be pleased to grant a standing commission to some choice men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their increase, their counsels and proceedings, and use all due means by execution of the laws, to prevent all mischievous designs against the peace and safety of this kingdom.

" CXCIV. That some good course to be taken discover the counterfeit and false conformity of Papists to the church, by colour whereof persons very much disaffected to the true religion, have been admitted into places of greatest authority and trust in the kingdom.

" CXCV. For the better preservation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, that all the illegal grievances and exaction be presented and punished at the sessions and assizes.

" CXCVI. And that judges and justices be very careful to give this in charge to the grand juries, and both the sheriff and justices to be sworn to the due execution of the Petition of Right, and other laws.

" CXCVII. That his Majesty be humbly petitioned by both Houses to employ such counsellors, ambassadors, and other ministers in managing his business at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cause to confide in, without which we cannot give his Majesty such supplies for support of his own estate, nor such assistance to the Protestant party beyond the sea as is desired.

" CXCVIII. It may often fall out, that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being counsellors, and yet not charge those men with crimes, for there be grounds of diffidence which lie not in proof.

" CXCIX. There are others, which though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminal.

" CC. To be a known favourer of Papists, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders questioned in Parliament; or to speak contemptuously of either Houses of Parliament, or Parliamentary proceedings.

" CCI. Or such as are factors or agents for any foreign Prince of another religion; such as are justly suspected to get counsellors' places, or any other of trust, concerning public employment for money; for all these and divers others, we may have great reason to be earnest with his Majesty, not to put his great affairs into such hands, though we may be unwilling to proceed against them in any legal way of charge or impeachment.

" CCII. That all counsellors of state may be sworn to observe those laws which concern the subject in his liberty, that they may likewise take an oath not to receive, or give reward or pension from any foreign Prince, but such as they shall within some reasonable time discover to the Lords of his Majesty's council.

" CCIII. And although they should wickedly forswear themselves, yet it may herein do good to make them known to be false and perjured to those who employed them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us.

" CCIV. That his Majesty may have cause to be in love with good counsel and good men, by shewing him, in an humble and dutiful manner, how full of advantage it would be to himself, to see his own estate settled in a plentiful condition to support his honour; to see his people united in ways of duty to him, and endeavours of the public good; to see happiness, wealth, peace and safety derived to his own kingdom, and procured to his allies by the influence of his own power and government."

* That is, with some Scottish commisioners, who were come from Scotland to treat with the Parliament, about succours for Ireland.

† The Commons, at this time, descended to the meanest trifles, to cherish the people's fears, and excite their suspicions. Upon information, that amongst some barrels of soap, sent by a merchant of London to Dorchester, there was found a barrel of gun-powder, the House appointed a committee to make a strict inquisition, as into a thing of the greatest consequence. About the same time, another affair happened, which gave some advantage against the King. The 8th of December, he sent to acquaint both Houses, that seven or eight priests, having been condemned that week, the French ambassador had desired him to change the sentence of death, into that of banishment, upon which he desired to have their advice. Some days after, the Commons voted, that the priests should be executed, and the Lords concurring with this vote, both Houses petitioned the King to order the execution. The King replied, he would banish the priests, if both Houses would give their consent. As they did not think proper to answer, the King suspended the execution. Two months after, the King communicated a letter to them, which Secretary Nicholas had received from Venice, wherein he was told, that

At this time, (December 1641,) two affairs successively employed the House of Commons, namely, the succours for Ireland, and the accusation presented to the Lords against the Bishops.

The King and Parliament equally granted the necessity of relieving Ireland, and all the advices from thence were a demonstration of it. The Irish army was at the gates of Dublin, and had cut in pieces a body of troops sent to Drogheda. So, in all likelihood, the Lords Justices, with their few troops, could not long resist the rebels. The Scotch commissioners that were come to London to treat with the Parliament, had offered an aid of five thousand men, who could easily be sent from Scotland into the North of Ireland, to make a diversion, and the Commons had prevailed with them to treat for ten thousand. The design of the Commons was to employ only Scotch troops in the reduction of Ireland, that England might not be unprovided. The King did not refuse the assistance of Scotland, but would have England send into Ireland the like number of English forces, on pretence, that there was danger of the Scots seizing upon Ireland when the Irish should be subdued. He had found means to gain the Peers, so that when the motion was made to the Lords, for sending ten thousand Scots into Ireland, they consented to it, provided the same number of English were also sent thither.

The Scotch commissioners complaining, by a memorial, that in a fortnight they had no positive answer to their offers, the Commons pressed the Lords to dispatch the affair, declaring, if they neglected it, the whole blame would fall upon them. They farther declared, that unless the bill for pressing of soldiers passed, it was impossible for England to raise troops for this service. Whereupon the Lords debated the three following questions, which were all resolved in the negative.

I. Whether this House shall consent to send ten thousand Scots into Ireland, before it can be ascertained that ten thousand English will be sent thither also?

II. Whether this House shall consent to send ten thousand Scots before the bill for pressing be passed?

III. Whether this House shall join with the Commons, in sending now ten thousand Scots into Ireland?

The Commons replied to these votes in a conference, that for a certainty their Lordships' desire of sending ten thousand English into Ireland, the Commons were not used to be capitulated with: that their actions are free, as well without conditions as capitulations, and desire it may be so no more: that they had already given sufficient certainty by a vote communicated to their Lordships, and see no necessity of voting it again: that they desire their Lordships would vote the sending ten thousand Scots, without any relation to the ten thousand English, and that speedily, the preservation of Ireland depending upon it: that they have the more reason to desire this, as the English troops cannot go, unless the bill for pressing passes. But this was not capable of making the Lords depart from their former resolutions.

Meantime, the Commons, who had already committed to prison the Lords Costelough and Taaff, (sent to the King with propositions about procuring the peace of Ireland) caused all their papers to be examined, in their distrust of the King, and no doubt in expectation of finding something which might do him a prejudice.*

At the same time, the King acquainted the Lords, that he would engage to raise ten thousand men for Ireland, if the Commons would promise to pay them. But they were far from accepting this proposition, knowing the King meant to grant the commissions, and would give them to such officers only as should be at his devotion. So the Commons chose rather to hazard the entire loss of Ireland, than send thither ten thousand English in such a juncture; and the Lords chose rather to run the risk of seeing all the English driven out of the kingdom, then of seeing the Scots in condition to seize it. The King perfectly knew the motive of the Commons' proceedings, whilst they were not ignorant, that the Lords acted wholly by the King's direction.

Meantime, the assistance for Ireland being still retarded by these quarrels, the Commons appointed a committee to examine, whence came the obstacles that occurred in this affair. It was really difficult for those who were not acquainted with the secret motives of the King and Commons, to know where the blame lay, that Ireland was not relieved, since they seemed equally desirous that speedy aid should be sent thither. The King's friends said, his Majesty's offer to raise ten thousand men, provided the Commons would engage to pay them, was a clear evidence, that the obstructions did not proceed from him. His enemies, on the contrary, affirmed, that the refusal of the Lords, or rather of the King who directed them, to accept of the aid of ten thousand Scots, on a frivolous pretence, plainly shewed, that the difficulties did not come from the House of Commons, since they were very ready to promise to pay these auxiliaries. Both King and Commons probably thought less seriously of assisting Ireland, than of drawing from the Irish rebellion private advantages, with regard to their differences. The King wished the Parliament would send a strong army into Ireland, that they might find it more difficult to raise forces in case of a breach with him, of which there was but too much appearance. The Commons, on their part had prevailed with the Scots to offer ten thousand men, in the belief, that if they were accepted, they should be freed from the trouble and danger of sending an English army into Ireland, and if they were refused, the delay of relief would be imputed to the King.

However this be, the House, upon the report of the committee, found that one great obstruction of relief to Ireland, was, that the Irish had been declared rebels by proclamation. Wherefore, on the 1st of January 1641-2, the King published a proclamation, wherein the Irish were expressly called traitors and rebels.†

The Commons did not take the least step, but what tended to their end of filling the people with fears and jealousies; whereas the King having yet formed no project, managed according to the present emergencies, without proposing to himself a fixed and certain end. Shortly after his return from Scotland, upon notice that there was to be a tumultuous concourse of people at Westminster, he sent a writ to the sheriff to set a guard near the Parliament. The Commons took offence at it, and after some inquiry, to show it was done by the King's order, dismissed the guard.

Two days after, the King published a proclamation, strictly commanding, that Divine service should be performed in all the churches of England and Wales, according to the law and statutes of the realm. This proclamation, which indeed contained nothing contrary to law, was however unseasonable, when the Commons

---

the Pope threatened to send an army into Ireland, if the priests were executed. Upon this menace, both Houses prayed the King once more to execute the said priests. But he thought not proper to grant their desire. His alledged reason was, the fear of reprisals, and that this rigour might be extremely prejudicial to the English Protestants in Ireland, who should fall into the hands of the rebels; but it was generally thought to be owing to the solicitations of the Queen. Be this as it will, the priests were not executed, for though, afterwards, the King left it to both Houses to save or put them to death, they did not think fit either to pardon or execute.

* The Lord Dillon of Costelough was pitched upon by the Irish Lords to carry over their desires to his Majesty concerning the means of quenching the flames of the rebellion. Accordingly he embarked, in company with the Lord Taaff, and at Ware their papers were seized by directions from the Parliament, and their persons committed; but afterwards they found means to escape, and waited upon his Majesty.

† There were only forty copies printed, which were all sent to Secretary Nicholas, according to an order received by the printer, to this effect:

"It is his Majesty's pleasure, that you forthwith print on very good paper, and send unto me, for his Majesty's service, forty copies of the proclamation inclosed, leaving convenient space for his Majesty to sign above, and to affix the privy signet underneath. And his Majesty's express command is, that you print not above the said number of forty copies, and forbear to make any further publication of them till his pleasure be further signified.

"For his Majesty's
Printer. "Ed. Nicholas."

publicly

publicly showed, that in the law concerning Divine service, there were things offensive to the consciences of many people. But the King had the misfortune to forget sometimes the situation of his affairs, and remember only his former state, when his proclamations met with a ready compliance.

The Commons had voted, as we observed, that a body of troops should be sent into Ireland. But as they were extremely jealous of the King, they sought an expedient to hinder him from being concerned in the raising of these forces. They were apprehensive, if these levies were made in the usual manner, that is, by inlisting volunteers, these troops would be too much at the King's devotion. This expedient was to levy soldiers by pressing, and to pass an act for that purpose. A bill was accordingly brought in, and sent up to the Lords. The preamble of this bill was contrary to the prerogative royal, and went to hinder the King from being concerned in levying these troops.* The King having notice of it, came to the Parliament, and in a speech to both Houses, offered to pass the bill without the preamble; by which means he said, that ill-timed question with regard to the prerogative would for the present be avoided, and the pretensions of each party be left entire.

Though it clearly appeared, that in this speech the King had no intention to violate the privilege of Parliament, but only to remove the obstacles which occurred on account of this bill, both Houses were equally offended. They appointed a joint committee to examine the King's speech, and upon their report, they unanimously voted: That the privileges of Parliament were broken by his Majesty's taking notice of the bill for pressing of soldiers, being in agitation in both Houses, and not agreed on; and that his Majesty, in propounding a limitation and provisional clause to be added to the bill, before it was presented unto him by the consent of both Houses, was a breach of the privilege of Parliament.

Pursuant to a declaration, founded on this vote, both Houses presented to the King an extensive petition, which the King within a few days answered in writing; to the effect, that he had no intention to infringe the privilege of Parliament, and meant only to hasten the relief of Ireland. Both Houses were satisfied, and the affair was carried no farther.

Six or seven days after, the King gave fresh occasion of complaint by removing Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower, from his place, with whom he had no reason to be pleased, on account of his evidence concerning the design of promoting the Earl of Strafford's escape. Every one saw, this was the sole cause of Balfour's disgrace. But perhaps his removal would not have been of so ill consequence to the King, had he not trusted that important place to Colonel Lunsford, known to be a man of profligate manners, and fit for any purpose. This change made the Commons believe, the King designed to secure the Tower, in order to awe the city and Parliament. As their jealousy of him was very great, and as, besides, it is certain, they sought occasions to persuade the people, the King had ill designs, they failed not to improve the present. The same day that Lunsford was put in possession of the Tower, a great number of the Londoners, some of whom were Common-council-men, presented a petition to the Lower House, representing, "That the whole state is deeply interested in the safe-conduct of the Tower, but more especially the city of London: that Colonel Lunsford is a man out-lawed, and most notorious for outrages, and therefore fit for any dangerous attempt. For which reason the petitioners, and many more who have intelligence of his having the office of Lieutenant bestowed on him, are put into such a height of fear and jealousy, as makes them restless till they have represented the same to the House of Commons, humbly desiring them to take this affair into such consideration, as may secure both the city and kingdom."

The Commons having taken into consideration the petition presented to them, desired a conference with the Lords, where they represented, "That Colonel Lunsford is an unfit person for so great a trust, as the Lieutenancy of the Tower. But if his Majesty think cause that there should be a Lieutenant of the Tower, the same being already under the command of the Earl of Newport, who is constable thereof by his Majesty's appointment, then that Sir John Conyers may be recommended to his Majesty for that place." The Lords answered, they could not concur with the Commons in an address to the King to remove Colonel Lunsford, because they conceived the same would be an intrenchment upon his Majesty's prerogative.

The Commons, vexed at the refusal of the Lords, unanimously voted, "That Colonel Lunsford was unfit to be Lieutenant of the Tower, as being a person the Commons could not confide in." At the same time they made a declaration, showing their reasons of fear and distrust, as the conspiracy to seduce the army, a former plot of possessing the Tower, the Irish rebellion, and the continual delays and interruptions they received in the House of Peers, by reason of the great number of Bishops and Popish Lords; and therefore they held themselves bound in conscience to protest, that they were innocent of the blood which was likely to be spilt, and the confusions which might overwhelm the state, if Lunsford were continued in his charge. Moreover, they hoped, that such of the Lords as had the same apprehensions, would take some course to make the same known to his Majesty. This declaration being communicated to the Lords, it was resolved by the majority of votes, that the debate thereof should be adjourned till the next Monday. But two-and-twenty Lords entered their protest against that vote.

The same day the Commons sent and desired the Earl of Newport, to reside within the Tower as constable, and to take the custody of that place.

Besides the inhabitants of London, whose petition had occasioned the Commons' declaration, the apprentices flocked together in great numbers, and presented a petition to the King, praying him to concur with the Commons in rooting out papists, innovators, bishops, as having all combined to subvert the government, and introduce popery.

On the morrow, the 26th of December, being Sunday, the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Gurney, seeing the apprentices begin to re-assemble, and knowing they intended to go the next day to Whitehall, for an answer to their petition, waited upon the King to inform him of it. He represented withal, that great mischiefs might ensue if Lunsford was not removed, adding, the people of London were resolved to attempt the Tower, to put him out. Whereupon the King that same evening took the keys from Lunsford, but at the same time discharged the Earl of Newport of the constableship of the Tower.†

Hitherto the Commons had endeavoured in vain to exclude

* In the preamble of the bill it was declared, "that the King had in no case, but the invasion from a foreign power, authority to press the free-born subject, which could not consist with the freedom and liberty of his person."

† The reason, or perhaps the pretence of that Earl's disgrace was, that the King had been told, that at a meeting at Kensington, whilst he was in Scotland, the Earl of Newport, upon discourse of some plots in that kingdom, should say, "if there be such a plot, yet there are his wife and children." But the Earl hearing such a rumour had reached the Queen, waited upon her Majesty, and with many protestations assured her, that never any such words were spoken, not the least thought conceived of any such thing, with which the Queen seemed to rest satisfied. Nevertheless, several months after, and the same day Sir William Balfour was removed from the Lieutenancy of the Tower, the King asked him, whether he had heard any debate at "Kensington, about seizing upon the Queen and her children?" The Earl strongly denied it; to which the King replied, "That he was sorry for his Lordship's memory." This is what the Earl of Newport possitively affirmed himself in the House of Peers.—The Lords being convinced, that the King, upon a false rumour, had entertained suspicions of the Earl of Newport, espoused his cause, and presented a petition to the King, praying him to declare the reporter of those words. The Earl of Bath, the 30th of December, reported his Majesty's answer as follows:

"It is true, that I have heard rumours of some proposition that should have been made at Kensington, for the seizing of the persons

exclude the Bishops from the Upper-House, and there was no likelihood that their solicitations would produce any greater effect for the future. They were therefore, either to relinquish their project, or take more effectual methods to obtain by force what would never have been obtained by fair means.

On Monday the 27th of this month, there was a great concourse of people at Westminster, where they who had presented the petition of the Londoners, the apprentices, and an infinite number of others, flocked, on pretence of waiting for the King's and the Parliament's answer. Among these multitudes, many were heard to cry aloud, No Bishops! No Bishops! This corresponded with the petition of the apprentices. The Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Williams, lately nominated to the see of York, coming with the Earl of Dover to the House of Peers, and observing a youth to cry out louder than the rest against Bishops, stepped to him and seized him, in order to have him committed to prison. But the people rescued the youth, and gathering about the Bishop, hemmed him in, that he could not stir, so that he was likely to be pressed to death. But at last, they let him go, still crying out as loud as they could, No Bishops!

At the same time, three or four officers, who had served in the late army against the Scots, walking near Westminster-Hall, one of them, Captain David Hide, drew his sword, saying, he would cut the throats of those round-headed cropped-eared dogs that bawled against the Bishops.* But the other officers refusing to second him, he was apprehended by the citizens, and brought before the House of Commons and sent to prison.

The same day Colonel Lunsford, with thirty or forty officers coming through Westminster-Hall, and meeting the multitudes, drew their swords and wounded some twenty apprentices and citizens. The news being carried into the city, great numbers of apprentices and others, ran to Westminster with swords and staves, which caused a dreadful uproar both in London and Westminster. The Lord Mayor, to prevent any farther disorders, commanded the city gates to be shut, and put the trained-bands in arms, whilst on the other hand, the King ordered some of the militia of Middlesex and Westminster to come by turns and guard his person.

The Lords seeing so great a tumult, ordered the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, to command the people to depart to their homes. But the people answered they could not, because Lunsford, with other swordsmen, lay in wait for them in Westminster-Hall, and had already wounded several. Whereupon the Lords appointed a committee to examine, what warrant Lunsford and the other officers had to come to Westminster, and likewise what notice had been given to any others to come in multitudes about the Parliament-House. They tried once more to send away the people, but not succeeding, desired the Commons to join with them in publishing a declaration against tumults, and in petitioning the King for a guard. The Commons answered, it was now so late, that they had not time to take this request into consideration. Meanwhile, upon information that some of the people were sent to prison, they appointed a committee to examine, by whose authority they were imprisoned, with power to release them, if it was thought proper. A clear evidence that this tumult was not disagreeable to the Commons.†

On the morrow, the 28th, the tumult continued in the same manner as the day before, and the Commons made no more haste to appease it. On the contrary, they adjourned the debate of the Lords' request till next day. At last, on the 29th, the populace being again assembled they acquainted the Lords, that they were ready to join in all lawful ways and means to appease the tumults, but for printing a declaration, it was a matter that would require some farther deliberation.

It is very evident, the Commons did not desire these tumults should be so soon ended, especially if what is said of Mr. Pym, one of the leading members, be true. For it is affirmed, he answered to one that persuaded him to endeavour to prevent these tumultuous assemblies, "God forbid the people should be hindered from expressing their just desires."

The tumults still continuing about the Parliament House, and the Commons not appearing very urgent to appease them, twelve Bishops met at the Archbishop of York's, to consult together upon what was to be done. Here, by the advice of the Archbishop, they resolved to go no more to the House of Peers, but present to the King and the Lords a protestation; in which they set forth, that though they had an undoubted right to sit and vote in Parliament, yet in coming thither, they had been menaced, assaulted, affronted, by the unruly multitude, and could no longer with safety attend their duty in the House. For this reason, they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and invalid, which should pass during the time of their constrained absence.

It must be observed, that among these twelve Bishops there were nine of the thirteen accused by the Commons, on account of the canons of the late convocation.

This protestation tended to dissolve the Parliament, without the King's interposing. For if, according to the protestation, the House of Peers could do nothing but what in itself was null, without the concurrence of the Bishops, it was no less certain, that the House of Commons could do nothing valid without the concurrence of the Peers; whence it followed, that the Parliament was become useless, or suspended, in the intention of the Bishops by this protestation. It appears also, that the King had the same thought, by his haste to communicate the protestation to the Lords, probably, before his council had examined it. Very likely, he imagined, the Lords would espouse the cause of the Bishops, as making, according to his notion, a third estate of Parliament, and that this affair might occasion the dissolution of the Parliament. But he found that this House of Peers, hitherto so favourable to him, was no longer in the same disposition, since the Bishops and Popish Lords were frightened away by the tumults. The majority of voices not being now for the King, the House looked upon this protestation with a very different eye from what the King expected. They desired a conference with the Commons, where the Lord Keeper told them in the name of all the Peers, "That this protestation containing matters of dangerous consequence, extending to the deep intrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of Parliaments, the Lords had thought fit to communicate it to the Commons, as a thing of great and general concernment."

The Commons had no sooner received the report of this conference, but they resolved to accuse the twelve Bishops of high treason, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws and the very being of Parliaments. They took care not to lose so fair an opportunity, of freeing themselves from the obstacles they continually met with from the Bishops in the Upper House, and besides, the Lords seemed disposed to come into their measures. So, that very moment, Mr. Glyn was sent to the House of Peers, to accuse in form the twelve

---

of my wife and children; and in things of so high a nature, it may be fit for any Prince to inquire, even where he hath no belief nor persuasion of the things; so I have asked Newport some questions concerning that business, but far from that way of expressing a belief of the thing, which Newport hath had the boldness and confidence to affirm; which I could easily make appear, but that I think it beneath me, to contest with any particular person. But let this suffice, that I assure you, I neither did nor do give credit to any such rumour. As for telling the name of him who informed me, I do stick to the answer which I gave to your last petition upon the like particular."

* The apprentices it seems wore the hair of their heads cut round; and the Queen observing out of a window, Samuel Barnardiston among them, cried out: see what a handsome young roundhead is there: and the name came from thence, and perhaps was first publicly used by Captain Hide.

† Cornelius Burgess, a puritan minister, used to say of the rabble, "These are my Bandogs, I can set them on, and I can fetch them off again."

Bishops

Bishops of high treason, and to desire they might be put into safe custody.* Whereupon, the Lords ordered the Black Rod to bring the twelve Bishops to the bar of their House, which was done by eight o'clock at night, and ten of them were committed to the Tower; Moreton, Bishop of Durham; and Wright, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, in regard of their age, remaining with the Black Rod.

On the morrow, the 31st of December, the Commons sent and desired the Lords to take into consideration the bill sent up some months since for taking away the Bishops' votes, to which the Lords answered, they would take the same into consideration in convenient time.

The same day the Commons sent a committee to the King, to represent to him, "That the House was under great apprehensions, by reason of a malignant party, who were continually forming pernicious designs: nay, that some of them had imbrued their hands in the blood of his subjects, at the gates of his palace, and in the face, and at the doors of the Parliament. That therefore they humbly besought his Majesty, that they might have a guard out of the city commanded by the Earl of Essex, of whose fidelity there could be no suspicion."

As the populace of London were dispersed, and the officers still kept about Westminster, the House was under some apprehension of insults from these reformadoes, and particularly Lunsford, who was a desperate man. So, the King desiring to have this message in writing, which had been delivered by word of mouth only, and not returning an answer the same day, the Commons ordered, that thirty or forty halberts should be brought into the House, for their better security.

Their fear was farther increased, upon notice, that the young gentlemen of the inns of court were assembled, and gone to Whitehall, to offer their service to the King, who had received them very graciously, and ordered them to be handsomely entertained at tables provided for them.

The King, on his part, was not without uneasiness. He was afraid, the tumultuous concourse of the people would be renewed on New-year's day; and therefore sent orders to the common council of London, to take good measures for prevention of the like disorders, as had happened on the foregoing days, in which he was punctually obeyed.

The Parliament having adjourned from Friday till Monday, because the morrow was New-year's day, and the next day, Sunday, it was the 3d of January before the King returned an answer to the Commons' message concerning a guard, which was to this effect:

"That it was with great grief of heart, that he found the Commons, instead of reaping the fruits of his grace and affection to his people, should suffer jealousies, distrusts and fears, to be so prevalent among them, as to induce them to declare them unto him in so high a measure as they had done: that he was wholly ignorant of the grounds of their apprehensions; but if he had any knowledge or belief of the least design in any, of violence against them, he would pursue them with the same severity and detestation, as he would do the greatest attempt upon his crown. And he engaged solemnly, on the word of a King, that the security of all and every of them, from violence, was, and should ever be, as much his care, as the preservation of himself and his children. And if this general assurance should not suffice to remove their apprehensions, he would command such a guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to him, who had charged him with the safety and protection of his subjects."

There were many members who wavered between their distrust of the King, and their fear of involving the kingdom in troubles, on a doubtful foundation. These however were easily persuaded to join in proceedings, which were represented to them as necessary precautions, without being told their real design; as for instance, to consent to the bill for excluding the Bishops.

Before the Bishops and Popish Lords had absented themselves from the House of Peers, the party just mentioned met with insuperable obstacles in that House. There were still many Lords, who, though opposite to the King, and extremely jealous of him, could not resolve to do any thing that struck at the government of the church and state, or at least that tended to alter the constitution. So, ever since the re-assembling of the Parliament, the Presbyterians had been only struggling, with the rest of the opposite party to the King, to induce them by degrees to concur in humbling the regal power. They had caused to be passed the remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, spread suspicions of the King concerning the rebellion of Ireland, and hindered the sending of an English army thither. Their intrigues had bred great distrust, concerning the Popish party countenanced and protected by the King; and produced mortifying addresses to the King upon the breach of the privileges of Parliament, and the lieutenancy of the Tower; tumultuous assemblies of the people at Westminster; the petition for a guard, as if the House of Commons was in great danger from the King's party. In a word, the Bishops, their principal enemies, were in the Tower. In all this Presbyterianism hardly appeared, and if some suspected it to be the chief cause of the troubles, at least, it was not easy to prove it.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, the Presbyterians still saw themselves very far from their end. They had sufficient credit to cause to pass in the House of Commons votes agreeable to the general design of the whole party: but were themselves very sensible, they durst not yet venture openly to discover their particular end, the destruction of the church of England, and the establishment of Presbyterianism. It was necessary before all things to disable the King to oppose it. For that purpose, the members of both Houses were to be gained, who still wavered between their distrust of the King, and the fear of involving the kingdom in great troubles, if the constitution should be attacked. These members were numerous enough to raise invincible obstacles to this project, by joining with the King's party.

Things being in this situation, the King, by the Lord Digby's advice, who was then his chief counsellor, took a step the most imprudent and most fatal to his affairs that he could possibly take in such a juncture. The 3d of January 1641-2, Sir Edward Herbert, Attorney General, coming to the House of Peers, acquainted them that the King had commanded him to accuse of high treason the Lord Kimbolton, and five commoners, namely, Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, John Pym, John Hampden, and William Stroud. At the same time he delivered the general articles of impeachment, given him by the King with his own hand, viz.

I. That they had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom of England, to deprive the King of his royal power, and to place in subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the lives, liberties, and estates of his Majesty's liege people.

II. That they had traitorously endeavoured, by many foul aspersions upon his Majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his Majesty odious unto them.

III. That they had endeavoured to draw his Majesty's late army to disobedience to his Majesty's command, and to side with them in their traitorous designs.

IV. That they had traitorously invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his Majesty's kingdom of England.

* The Lord Clarendon says, the Bishops' friends took so great offence at this indiscreet protestation, that though they desired to preserve their function, they had no compassion or regard for their persons, or what became of them; insomuch as in the whole debate, there was only one gentleman who spoke in their behalf, and said, "He did not believe they were guilty of high-treason; but that they were stark mad, and therefore desired they might be sent to Bedlam."

V. That they had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the rights, and the very being of Parliaments.

VI. That for the compleating of their traiterous designs, they had endeavoured, so far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them in their traitorous designs; and to that end had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the King and Parliament.

VII. That they had traitorously conspired to levy, and actually had levied, war against the King.

Then Mr. Attorney said, that he was further charged to desire on his Majesty's behalf:

I. That a select committee, under a command of secresy, may be appointed to take the examination of such witnesses as the King will produce in this business, as formerly hath been done in cases of like nature, according to the justice of this House.

II. Liberty to add and alter, if there should be cause.

III. That their Lordships would take care for the securing of the persons as in justice there should be cause.

It is hard to conceive what the King's aim could be in this extraordinary accusation, and what he could expect from it, considering the numberless difficulties which presented themselves.

After the reading of the articles of accusation, the Lord Kimbolton stood up and prayed, that as he had had a public charge, he might have a public clearing. But the Peers proceeded not so hastily as the King expected. The first thing they did, was to appoint a committee to examine the regularity of this accusation, and to search the records, whether there ever had been any such proceeding before, and whether an accusation against a Peer might be brought into their House by the attorney general. As to the accusation against the five commoners, they did not so much as take it into consideration, whether they should receive it, but contented themselves with acquainting that House, that some of their members were accused of high treason by the attorney general.

At the same time the Commons were informed, that several persons were at Mr. Hollis's and Mr. Pym's, sealing up their trunks, doors, and papers. The same thing was done in the houses of the three other parties accused. Whereupon the Commons ordered their serjeant to break open the seals, and apprehend those that put them on. Moreover they passed an order, "That if any persons whatever should come to the lodgings of any member of the House, and there offer to seal the doors, trunks, or papers, that then such member should require the assistance of the constable to keep such persons in safe custody, till the House should give further order. That if any person should offer to arrest or detain any member, without first acquainting the House therewith, it was lawful for such member to stand upon his guard of defence, and for any person to assist him, according to the protestation taken to defend the privileges of Parliament."

Presently after, the Commons represented to the Lords, in a conference, that the King had ordered the trunks, chambers, and studies of several of their members to be sealed up, and had set a guard in a warlike manner at Whitehall. And therefore they desired, that such a guard might be placed about the Parliament also as should be approved by both Houses, or else to join with them to adjourn to a place of safety. During this conference, a serjeant at arms came to the House of Commons from the King, and required the five members, accused by his Majesty. The serjeant being ordered to withdraw, the Commons appointed some of their members to wait upon the King, and acquaint him, "That his message was a matter of great consequence, that it concerns the privilege of Parliament, and of all the Commons of England: that they will take it into consideration, and attend his Majesty with an answer, with as much speed as the greatness of the business will permit: and in the mean time the five members shall be ready to answer any legal charge made against them." Then they dismissed the serjeant who had brought the message. At the same time they enjoined the five members to give their daily attendance on the House.

Meanwhile, the Peers had made an order, to open the doors and trunks of the members of both Houses which were sealed, and resolved to join with the Commons in a petition to the King, for such a guard as both Houses should approve. They had ordered moreover, that two of their body, with some members of the Commons, should go and represent to the King, that the privileges of Parliament had been violated.

The next morning, January the 4th, the Lord Falkland reported the King's answer to the message of the Commons concerning the breach of privilege. He said, the King asked him, whether the House did expect an answer? and before the Lord Falkland replied, told him, he would send an answer to-morrow as soon as the House was set. In the meantime he bade him acquaint the House, that the serjeant had done nothing but what he had directions from himself to do.

Presently after this report, the Commons sent and desired a conference with the Lords, to acquaint them, that there was a scandalous paper published, containing articles of high treason against the Lord Kimbolton, &c. and to desire that they would concur in punishing the authors and publishers thereof.

Then the gentlemen of the inns of court, who offered themselves to be a guard to his Majesty, were sent to and examined, upon a rumour that they were ordered to be ready the 4th of January. Those of Lincoln's-Inn answered, "That last week they went to Whitehall to offer their service to the King, upon hearing that his person was in danger. That yester-night, they had received a message from his Majesty by Sir William Killigrew and Sir William Flemming, that they should keep within to morrow, and be ready at an hour's warning if the King should have occasion to use them. That they brought to them likewise a paper of articles of accusation against the Lord Kimbolton and five members of the House of Commons. That they had only an intent to defend the King's person, and would do their utmost also to defend the Parliament; being not able to make any distinction between the King and his Parliament." The gentlemen of the other inns answered to the same effect.

In the afternoon the five accused members came into the House according as they were enjoined. They were no sooner in their places, but one Captain Langrish informed the House, that the King was coming with a guard of military men, commanders and soldiers.* As there was room to believe, the King intended to seize the five members, they were immediately ordered to depart the House. They were hardly gone out when the King appeared, and going up to the chair he said, "By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I must borrow your chair a little." When he was in the chair he looked round to see if he could discern any of the five members, and then made the following speech to the House, his guard waiting at the door:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you: yesterday I sent a serjeant at arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason; whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no King that ever was in England, shall be more careful of your privileges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of treason, no person hath a privilege. And therefore I am come to know if any of these persons that were accused are

* A certain member had also private intimations from the Countess of Carlisle, that endeavours would be used this day to apprehend the five members. The Lord Clarendon says, it was generally believed, that the King's purpose of going to the House, was communicated to William Murray, of the bed-chamber, by the Lord Digby, and that it was discovered by the said Murray.——According to Whitelock, it was supposed, that the Papists, by the means and influence of the Queen, persuaded the King to this rash action.

here: for I must tell you, gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused (for no slight crime, but for treason) are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the right way that I do heartily wish it: therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them wheresoever I find them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you shall send them unto me, as soon as they return hither.* But I assure you, on the word of a King, I never did intend any force, but I shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other.

"And now since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it.

"I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me; otherwise I must take my own course to find them."

The King was no sooner gone, but many members cried out aloud, so as he might hear them, Privilege! Privilege! and forthwith the House adjourned till the next day at one o'clock.

The Commons assembling on the morrow, the 5th of January, at the appointed hour, immediately voted, that the King had violated the privileges of the House, and that they could not sit any longer there, without a full vindication of so high a breach, and a guard for the safety of their persons. Then it was resolved to adjourn till the 11th of the same month, and a committee of twenty-four was appointed, during the adjournment, to sit at Guildhall, and to consider of all things concerning the good and safety of the city and kingdom, and particularly how their privileges might be vindicated, and their persons secured.† The committee for the Irish affairs was ordered likewise to sit at the same place during the adjournment. That done, a message was sent to the Lords, to acquaint them with what had passed the day before, with their adjournment and committee appointed to sit at Guildhall.

The same day the King, having ordered the Lord Mayor to assemble the common council, came to Guildhall. As he passed along the streets, he had the mortification to hear people cry, "Privileges of Parliament! Privileges of Parliament!" One Henry Walker, an ironmonger and pamphleteer, was even so insolent as to throw into his coach a paper, wherein was written, "To your tents, O Israel."‡ His Majesty being come to Guildhall, made the following speech to the common council.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I am come to demand such persons as I have already accused of high treason, and do believe are shrowded in the city. I hope no good man will keep them from me; their offences are treason, and misdemeanors of a high nature. I desire your loving assistance herein, that they may be brought to a legal trial.

"And whereas there are divers suspicions raised, that I am a favourer of the Popish religion; I do profess, in the name of a King, that I did and ever will, and that to the utmost of my power, be a prosecutor of all such as shall any ways oppose the laws and statutes of this kingdom, either Papists or Separatists; and not only so, but I will maintain and defend that true Protestant religion which my father did profess, and I will continue in it during my life."

This speech made very little impression. Meanwhile, the committee which sat at Guildhall, were diligently taking informations of what passed on the 4th of January, and preparing matters for their report to the House against their meeting. The committee was informed, that Sir John Byron, who was made Lieutenant of the Tower, in the room of Lunsford, had sent to Whitehall one hundred stand of arms, and two barrels of powder.

On the 7th, the city of London presented a petition to the King, which plainly showed they were more inclined to the Parliament than to him. "They represented their great fears and distractions, by reason of the progress of the rebels in Ireland, fomented by the Papists in England, and their adherents: the want of aid to suppress them, and the intimations received from abroad and at home, of a design to extirpate the Protestants: the putting out persons of honour and trust from being constable and lieutenant of the Tower: the preparations there lately made: the fortifying of Whitehall in an unusual manner: the endeavours used to the inns of court: the calling divers cannoneers into the Tower: the discovery of divers fireworks in the hands of a Papist: the misunderstanding between his Majesty and Parliament, by reason of misinformation: his Majesty's late going to the House of Commons, attended with a great multitude of armed men, besides his ordinary guard, for the apprehending of divers members, contrary to the privileges of Parliament."

This petition was very capable to show the King, how much he was mistaken in his opinion, that the city of London was well disposed in his favour. He returned however a very mild answer to each of the articles.

On the morrow, the 8th of January, the King published a proclamation, commanding all magistrates and officers of justice, to apprehend the accused members, and carry them to the Tower.

Whilst the committee was assembled at Guildhall, they took the information of two witnesses, who deposed, that they heard Captain Hide say things, which showed, he had some ill design against the House of Commons.

Then it was resolved, that the sheriffs of London and Middlesex should raise the Posse Comitatus for their safe coming to Westminster, the day the Parliament should meet. Whereupon the watermen came and tendered their service, to guard the committee by water to the Parliament house, which was accepted; but the offer of the apprentices to accompany them by land was refused.

Meanwhile, the committee having appointed a subcommittee to examine the affairs in question, they made their report, January the 10th, of what resolutions had been taken; namely,

That the publishing several articles of high treason against the Lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the House of Commons, was a high breach of the privileges of Parliament, a seditious act, tending to the subversion of the peace of the kingdom.

That the privileges of Parliament, so violated and broken, could not be fully and sufficiently vindicated, unless his Majesty would be pleased to discover the names of those persons who advised him to seal the chambers and studies of the accused members; to send a serjeant at arms to the House of Commons to demand them; to issue warrants under his own hand to apprehend them; to come in person to the House; to publish the articles of accusation in the form of a proclamation, to the end such pernicious counsellors might receive condign punishment.

The committee resolving to return on the morrow to the Parliament with a numerous guard, the King thought not proper to be exposed to the danger of receiving some affront from the populace; and therefore chose to withdraw to Hampton court, and two days after to Windsor.

January the 11th, the Commons being assembled at Westminster, the committee of twenty-four came thither by water, conducted by great numbers of sea-

* When the King was looking around for the accused members, he asked the Speaker, who stood below, whether any of these persons were in the House? The Speaker falling on his knee, prudently replied, "I have Sir, neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House please to direct me, whose servant I am. And I humbly ask pardon, that I cannot give any other answer to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me."

† Besides the twenty-four, all that would come were to have voices at this committee.

‡ The words employed by the mutinous Israelites, when they abandoned Rehoboham, their rash and ill-counselled sovereign.

men and others, whilst the trained bands of London marched through the city in arms, to guard them also by land.

Then it was that the King found he had taken wrong measures, and that his imprudent proceedings could not but grieve him, and ruin his affairs. He repented of what he had done, and wished he could appease the disorder raised by himself. To this end, the next day, January the 12th, he sent the following message to both Houses.

"His Majesty taking notice, that some conceive it disputable, whether his proceedings against the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Strode, be legal and agreeable to the privileges of Parliament: and being very desirous to give satisfaction to all men, in all matters that may seem to have relation to privilege, is pleased to wave his former proceedings, and all doubts by this means being settled, when the minds of men are composed, his Majesty will proceed thereupon in an unquestionable way, and assures his Parliament, that upon all occasions he will be as careful of their privileges, as of his life or his crown."

Had there not been a settled design against the King, this message would have been capable to pacify all, since he plainly showed, he repented of what he had done, and in some measure confessed his fault. But he had given his enemies too great an advantage, for them to neglect to improve it.

From this time, the question was not to know, whether it was necessary to limit the regal power, but to know within what bounds it should be confined; they who had hitherto been most moderate, having entirely lost their doubts concerning the King's sincerity. So, the party which was most opposite to him, being grown very superior in both Houses, and meeting with little opposition, they who wished to do the King service, thought it safest, either to absent themselves from the Parliament, or to keep silence, in the expectation of an opportunity to serve him effectually, if affairs should take a new turn; and thereby the opposite party became still more powerful.

In the present disposition of the Parliament, the King's last message was not a sufficient means to oblige his enemies to alter their measures. Especially, as by this message he did not desist from the accusation, but only from the manner of proceeding, though it was easy to perceive, he took this method only to come off with the less dishonour. Accordingly, the Commons did not much regard it. The 17th of January, they came to the like resolutions with those taken by the committee in London, and digested them into a declaration. They only added, the depositions of some witnesses concerning the number of armed men, who attended the King when he came to the House, and who, according to these depositions, were about five hundred; concerning the insolent behaviour of some of the officers who accompanied his Majesty; and the words they used at the door of the House, which seemed to denote, that they waited only for a signal to fall upon the members. There is no question, all these things were highly aggravated: but these aggravations were subservient to the end proposed by the Commons. They declared, however, "That they meant not to screen their members, when accused of treason or misdemeanors, and prosecuted according to law and the privileges of Parliament: on the contrary, they should be always ready to bring them to a speedy and due trial; being sensible, that it equally imported them, as well to see justice done against criminals, as to defend the just rights and liberties of the subjects and Parliament of England."

Before this declaration was published, the King had sent another conciliatory message to both Houses; but he was not capable of satisfying the Commons. On the contrary, the next day they caused Sir Edward Herbert the Attorney General to be examined at the bar of the House of Lords. His answers being sent to the Commons, they ordered him to be accused of several high crimes and misdemeanors, that is to say, of having violated the privileges of Parliament, in exhibiting to the House of Lords the articles he received from the King's own hand with an express command to exhibit them.

Two days after, both Houses petitioned his Majesty, that they might be informed what proof there was against the six members, to the end they might speedily be proceeded against in a Parliamentary way. The King answered, "He thought it unusual or unfit to discover what proof was against them, before he was certain of the way he was to proceed, lest a new mistake should breed more delays. That it should therefore be resolved, whether his Majesty was bound in respect of privilege, to proceed against them by impeachment in Parliament; or whether he was at liberty to prefer an indictment at common law, in the usual way, or have his choice of either."

This answer could not but embarrass the two Houses, since the King was willing to follow their directions in the prosecution of the six members. Accordingly they thought not proper to resolve upon either of the ways proposed by the King. They contented themselves with replying in a second petition, "That finding there was still no legal and Parliamentary proceedings against the accused members, they thought it their duty, once more to beseech his Majesty, to inform the Parliament what proof there was against them, that they might be called to a legal trial, it being the undoubted right and privilege of Parliament, that no member can be proceeded against without the consent of Parliament."

The King plainly perceiving, there would be no end, and that new difficulties would be perpetually started, endeavoured to terminate the affair at once by the following answer:

"That as he once conceived that he had ground enough to accuse them, so now his Majesty finds as good cause wholly to desert any prosecution of them. And for a further testimony of his Majesty's real intention towards all his loving subjects, (some of whom haply may be involved in some unknowing and unwilling errors) for the better composing and settling of all fears and jealousies of what kind soever, his Majesty is ready to grant as free and general a pardon for the full contentment of all his loving subjects, as shall by the approbation of both Houses of Parliament be thought convenient for that purpose."

It was not difficult to perceive, the King offered this general pardon only to have it said, that the six members were exempted from the rigour of the law by virtue of the pardon. But the Parliament not being satisfied with the King's offer, addressed a third petition to him, desiring, that according to two acts of the 37th and 38th years of the reign of Edward III.* his Majesty would be pleased to send the persons that had made suggestion or information to him of the crimes of the six members to the Parliament, that so the rights and privileges of Parliament might be vindicated, which of justice ought not to be denied.

The King returning no answer to this petition, the affair rested here, except that in April following, the House of Peers gave sentence against the Attorney-General, declaring him incapable of all offices, but that of Attorney General, and committing him to the prison of the Fleet during the pleasure of the House.

Though this affair seemed to be ended, the King was upbraided with it afterwards a thousand times. Though the Commons made a great noise about the breach of their privileges, that was not the thing which most incensed them. Their great grievance was, that the King had chosen, to accuse of high treason, five members of the House, who were the chief leaders and directors.

* By these acts it was enacted, that, "If any person whatsoever make suggestion to the King himself of any crime committed by another, the same person ought to be sent with the suggestion before the Chancellor or Keeper of the Great-Seal, the Treasurer, or the Great Council, there to find surety to pursue his suggestion, which if he cannot prove, he is to be imprisoned till he hath satisfied the party accused of his damages and slander, and made fine and ransom to the King."

Whilst

Whilst the affair of the accused members was in hand, the Commons continued to express an extreme distrust of the King. This distrust daily increased, till at last it produced an entire rupture.

January the 12th, the Commons sent an order to Sir John Byron, Lieutenant of the Tower, to come and answer to such questions as should be put to him, concerning the arms and ammunition sent to Whitehall, the day the King came to the House of Commons. But he excused himself, as having the King's express warrant not to go out of the Tower.

The King had answered the petition of both Houses concerning a guard, that he would appoint one or two hundred men out of the trained bands of the city (such as the Lord Mayor should be answerable for to him) under the command of the Earl of Lindsey. But the Commons refused this offer, and ordered, that two companies of the trained bands should every day attend upon the House as a guard, under the command of Serjeant Major Skippon.

The Parliament's distrust of the King was daily inflamed by successive accidents, which the King's enemies knew how to improve. Whilst things were in this state, the Parliament received information, that the Lord Digby, Colonel Lunsford, and other disbanded officers, were at Kingston-upon-Thames, with about two hundred horse. Whereupon it was ordered by both Houses, that the sheriffs, calling to their assistance the trained bands of the several counties of England and Wales, should suppress all unlawful assemblies gathered together to the disturbance of the peace of the kingdom. They were afraid, the King intended to secure Portsmouth, and perhaps, their fears were not groundless. However that be, they sent an order to Colonel Goring, Governor of Portsmouth, requiring him not to deliver up the town, nor receive any forces into it, but by his Majesty's authority signified by both Houses of Parliament. At the same time the Lords sent an express order to the Lord Digby, to give his attendance in the House. But he thought fit to withdraw out of the kingdom.* There had now been information, that he was the person who advised the King to accuse the six members of Parliament. Besides, the Commons were exasperated against him, on account of his speech against the bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford, whilst he was member of that House.

The Commons made much noise about the Kingston affair, to persuade the people, his Majesty intended to secure Portsmouth. They even caused several witnesses to be examined, but this affair was carried no farther. They were contented with sending for Admiral Pennington, who reported that the Lord Digby had shown him a warrant under the King's own hand, to convey him safely into France or Holland, and that he durst not disobey the order.

The Parliament's fears about Portsmouth made them think of Hull, a very important place in the county of York. The Commons, instead of concealing, affected rather to discover their fears. Wherefore they sent a message to the Lords, that there was at Hull a magazine of arms for sixteen thousand men, and ammunition proportionable. That the town being weakly garrisoned and the adjacent country full of Papists and disaffected persons they desired their concurrence in an order that some of the trained bands of Yorkshire should be put into Hull, under the command of Sir John Hotham, member of the House of Commons, with orders not to deliver up the place, or magazine, without the King's authority signified by both Houses. To this the Lords readily consenting, young Hotham, son to Sir John, was sent immediately to Hull to execute this order, till his father should be ready to take the government of that place.†

Since the accusation of the six members, scarcely a day had passed but the Parliament expressed their suspicions of the King, so that every thing manifestly tended to a rupture. The better to persuade the people that both Houses were apprehensive of some violence from the King, and not safe at Westminster, a bill was passed to enable them to adjourn to any place they pleased.

They ordered likewise the Earl of Newport, master of the ordnance, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, not to suffer any cannon or ammunition to be carried from thence. And for the better safe-guard of the Tower, the sheriffs of London and Middlesex were ordered to set a sufficient guard both by land and water about it. The same day the Commons caused some great saddles to be seized, that were to be sent to Kingston.

Moreover, Mr. Bagshaw of Windsor, member of the House of Commons, informed them, that the preceding night, as he was going to Windsor (where the King then was) he saw divers troops of horse, and that there came thither a waggon loaded with ammunition, and another waggon loaded with the same, was sent from thence to Portsmouth. Adding, there were at Windsor four hundred horse, with about forty officers. Whereupon Skippon was ordered to detach some horsemen towards Windsor for intelligence. But in all appearance there was no great discovery made, since nothing more was said of it.

After that, the Commons desired the Lords to join with them in a petition to the King, for the removal of Sir John Byron from the Lieutenancy of the Tower, and offered their reasons. But the Lords thought fit to decline it.

Meanwhile, the Lords being informed by the Earl of Essex, that the King had laid his commands upon him and the Earl of Holland, to attend his Majesty at Hampton-court as Lord Chamberlain, and groom of the stole, they would not dispense with their absence, alledging that their attendance in Parliament about the high affairs of the realm, was truer service to his Majesty, than any they could do him at court. The King soon after removed both these Lords from their places.

During these differences between the King and the Parliament, Ireland remained unassisted. The Commons would not pay ten thousand men, who should be levied by the King's commissions. They pretended, these troops should be raised by way of pressing, in order to chuse such for soldiers as should be least attached to the King, and that the King should not be concerned in the levies. The bill for pressing had been sent up to the Lords, who had not yet passed it, of which the Commons very much complained. At last, the Scotch commissioners seeing that the differences between the King and the Parliament retarded the conclusion of the treaty for which they were sent, bethought themselves of offering their mediation to the King and both Houses, to procure an agreement. But the King was offended at their offer, because they had not first communicated their intentions to him in private. The two Houses on the contrary, thanked them for this mark of their affection.

Meanwhile, the committee from the Irish affairs finding, that that kingdom wanted a speedy assistance, and that the treaty for the ten thousand Scots was not likely to be concluded soon enough, made a proposal to the Scotch commissioners, that the Scots should send into Ireland two thousand five hundred men, who were ready, till the treaty for the ten thousand should be ended; to which the commissioners of Scotland agreed. To that purpose, they propounded certain conditions, which were approved by both Houses. But the King objected to one of the conditions, which was, that Carrick-Fergus, a sea-port in the north of Ireland, should be delivered to the Scots. He said, it was too great a trust for auxiliary forces. Nevertheless, seeing the Parliament willing to confide in the Scots, he thought he should not refuse his confidence to his native sub-

* Sir Thomas Lunsford was committed to the Tower.

† A committee was also appointed to draw up a letter, or other declaration, to be presented to the Lords, and by both Houses to be published in print, and sent into all parts of the kingdom, advising them with all expedition to be in readiness, and good posture of defence, upon all occasions, to defend their several counties from invasion by the papists, or other ill-affected persons.

jects. Necessity obliged the King and both Houses to accept at length of the two thousand five hundred Scots, who were sent into the north of Ireland, where they did good service.

The Commons ceased not to show openly their distrust of the King. This they did in a solemn manner, by means of a speech delivered by Mr. Pym at a conference with the Lords. The Commons were so pleased with Mr. Pym's speech, that Mr. Speaker was ordered to give him thanks for it, and desire him to print it, that it might be dispersed among the people.* But the King took great offence at it, particularly, at what Mr. Pym said concerning passes granted for Ireland, "That since the stop upon the ports against all Irish Papists, by both Houses, many of the chief commanders, now in the head of the rebels, have been suffered to pass by his Majesty's immediate warrant." The King said, it was a black calumny, and demanded by a message, that the House should make him a solemn reparation, and disavow what Pym had asserted; but the Commons, who were not then disposed to oblige the King, answered, that what Mr. Pym had said was agreeable to the sense of the House.

But this dispute between the King and the Parliament was of little importance, in comparison of another at the same time, concerning the militia and command of the forts.

In January 1641-2, when the affair of the members accused, and the breach of privileges, was warmly debating, the King, not knowing how it might end, had formed the design of securing Hull. This place was very considerable, as well by its situation, as a large magazine of arms and ammunition, which could procure a great advantage to him, that should have it in his power, in case of a rupture. To this end, the Earl of Newcastle, by the King's order, came to Hull under a counterfeit name, to consult with some of the King's friends, and amongst others with Captain Legg, how to oblige the Mayor to deliver to him the town and magazine, or to obtain it by force, if the Mayor would not give his consent. The secret being discovered, the Peers ordered the Earl of Newcastle to attend the service of the House, which he did, after receiving the King's pleasure, without being asked at his return, where he had been. But some days after, the Commons, as we have said, moved that Sir John Hotham might be sent to Hull, to which the Lords agreed the more readily, as they were not ignorant upon what design the Earl of Newcastle had been dispatched thither. The order was therefore given to Hotham by both Houses, to command in Hull, without the King's being acquainted with it.

Shortly after, the affair of the militia being commenced, the King formed once more the design of securing Hull and Portsmouth. To that purpose, Colonel Goring, Governor of Portsmouth, whom the King had secretly gained, was to receive the Queen into Portsmouth, after which, he had orders to go and take the command of Hull. Probably, there was some course taken for the surrender of that place to him. This design was discovered, though it was communicated but to three persons, and the King thought not proper to pursue it, for fear of a disappointment.

Eight days after young Hotham's departure for Hull, where his father Sir John came within a few weeks, the King sent a message to both Houses, with the following proposal:

"That they will with all speed fall into serious consideration of all those particulars, which they should hold necessary, as well for the upholding and maintaining of his Majesty's just and regal authority, and for the settling of his revenue, as for the present and future establishment of their privileges; the free and quiet enjoying of their estates and fortunes; the liberties of their persons; the security of the true religion now professed in the church of England, and the settling of ceremonies in such a manner, as may take away all just offence; which, when they shall have digested, and composed one entire body, that so his Majesty and themselves may be able to make the more clear judgement of them, it shall then appear by what his Majesty shall do, how far he hath been from intending, or designing any of those things, which the too great fears and jealousies of some persons seem to apprehend, and how ready he will be to exceed the greatest examples of the most indulgent Princes in their acts of grace and favour to their people."

It is evident that the King had three views in making this proposition. The first, to find the House employment, and procure himself time to prepare, the second, to know at once how far the designs of his enemies reached, which could not but be advantageous to him and injurious to them, with regard to the people. His third view was, to show his subjects, how willing he was to consent to whatever should be capable of procuring a perfect reconciliation between him and his Parliament.

The Commons fully perceived the snare laid for them by the King; but they perplexed him no less by their answer to his proposition. They told him, in a petition, "That they returned to his Majesty their most humble thanks, resolving to take this message into speedy and serious consideration; and, to enable them with security to discharge their duties therein, they desired the Peers to join with them, in humbly beseeching his sacred Majesty to raise up unto them a sure ground of safety and confidence, by putting the Tower and other principal forts of the kingdom, and the whole militia thereof, into the hands of such persons as the Parliament might confide in, and as should be recommended unto his Majesty by both Houses of Parliament.

By this answer, the Commons made a preliminary of the most important point, to be settled between the King and the Parliament, and which being granted, would have put it in the Parliament's power to do whatever they pleased. In the second place, they insinuated to the people, that the Parliament's distrust of the King, must have been grounded upon strong presumptions, since there was no way to labour a reconciliation, and settle the rights of the nation, so long as the King should be master of the forts and militia.

* The more to excite the people, whose dispositions were very seditious, the expedient of petitioning was revived. A petition from the county of Buckingham was presented to the House by six thousand subscribers, who promised to live and die in the defence of the privileges of Parliament. The city of London, and the counties of Essex, Hertford, Surrey, and Berks, imitated the example. A petition from the apprentices was graciously received. One, even, was encouraged from the porters, whose numbers, amounted as they said, to fifteen thousand. The address of that great body contained the same articles with all the others, the privileges of Parliament, the danger of religion, the rebellion of Ireland, the decay of trade. The porters farther desired, that justice might be done upon offenders, as the atrociousness of their crimes had deserved. And they added, "That if such remedies were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and make good the saying, that necessity has no law."—Another petition was presented by several poor people, or beggars, in the name of many thousands more; in which the petitioners proposed as a remedy for the public miseries, "That those noble worthies of the House of Peers, who concur with the happy votes of the Commons, may seperate themselves from the rest, and sit and vote as one entire body." The Commons gave thanks for this petition. The very women were seized with the same rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the House, in which the petitioners expressed their terror of the papists and prelates, and their dread of the like massacres, rapes, and outrages, with those which had been committed upon their sex in Ireland. They had been necessitated, they said, to imitate the example of the women of Tekoah: and they claimed equal right, with the men, of declaring, by petition, their sense of the public cause; because Christ had purchased them at as dear a rate, and in the free enjoyment of Christ consists equally the happiness of both sexes. Pym came to the door of the House; and having told the female zealots, that their petition was thankfully accepted, and was presented in a seasonable time, he begged that their prayers for the success of the Commons might follow their petition. Such low arts of popularity were affected! and by such illiberal cant were the unhappy people incited to civil discord and convulsions!—In the mean time, not only all petitions, which favoured the church or monarchy, from whatever hand they came, were discouraged; and the petitioners were sent for, imprisoned and prosecuted as delinquents; and this unequal conduct was openly avowed and justified. Whoever desire a change, it was said, must express their sentiments; for how otherwise, shall they be known? but those who favour the established government, in church or state, should not petition; because they already enjoy what they wish for.

The

The King answered, concerning the Tower of London; "That having preferred a person of a known fortune, and unquestionable reputation to that trust, he did not expect he should be pressed to remove him, without a particular charge against him: that notwithstanding, if upon due examination any particular should be presented to his Majesty, whereby it might appear, that he was mistaken in his opinion of Byron, and that he was unfit for the trust committed to him, he would make no scruple of discharging him. But otherwise, he was obliged in justice to himself, to preserve his own work, lest his favour and good opinion might prove a disadvantage and misfortune to his servants, without any other accusation.

"For the forts and castles of the kingdom; he was resolved they should always be in such hands, (and only such) as the Parliament might safely confide in: but the nomination of any persons to those places (being so principal and inseparable a flower of his crown, vested in him, and derived unto him from his ancestors, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom) he would reserve to himself; and in bestowing of them, he should not be induced to express that favour so soon to any person, as to those whose good demeanor should be eminent in, or to his Parliament; and if he should at any time confer such a trust upon an undeserving person, he would always be ready to leave him to the wisdom and justice of his Parliament.

"As for the militia of the kingdom, which by the law was subject to no command, but of his Majesty, and of authority lawfully derived from him, when any particular course for the ordering the same should be considered and digested by his Parliament, and proposed to him, he would return such an answer, as should be agreeable to his honour, and the safety of his people, being resolved only to deny those things, the granting whereof would alter the fundamental law."

So general an answer was not capable of satisfying the Commons. It seemed even to intimate very clearly, that the King would not grant what was intended to be asked, and yet he removed Sir John Byron from the Lieutenancy of the Tower, and gave it to Sir John Conyers, recommended to him by the Commons. But this was a favour he readily granted, as it did not prejudice his rights. Nevertheless, a few days after, a petition was presented to him by both Houses; praying that he would be pleased forthwith to put the Tower of London, and all other forts, and the whole militia of the kingdom, into the hands of such persons as should be recommended by Parliament.

The Parliament always supposed the kingdom to be in extreme danger, and the papists and disaffected party, or rather the King himself, to have ill designs; though, after all, their supposition was founded only upon conjectures, of which the King had given some occasion, by endeavouring to secure Hull, as the House had been well informed. The King's answer to the petition was as follows:

"His Majesty having well considered of this petition, and being desirous to express how willing he is to apply a remedy, not only to your dangers, but even to your doubts, and fears, he therefore returns this answer, That when he shall know the extent of power, which is intended to be established in those persons whom you desire to be commanders of the militia in the several counties, and likewise to what time it shall be limited that no power shall be executed by his Majesty alone, without the advice of the Parliament, then he will declare, That (for the securing you from all dangers or jealousies of any) his Majesty will be content to put in all the places, both of forts and militia in several counties, such persons as both the Houses of Parliament shall either approve or recommend unto him, so that you declare before unto his Majesty the names of the persons whom you approve or recommend, unless such persons shall be named, against whom he shall have just and unquestionable exception."

The King seemed, by this answer, to grant entirely the desire of both Houses, and yet the sequel showed it was neither his intention nor thought. His design was to withdraw to York and levy troops in those parts, in order to seize Hull, with the magazine there. So that, very likely, from that time he thought of war, whether defensive or offensive. And therefore he had determined to send the Queen into Holland, under colour of conducting thither the Princess Mary her daughter, who had espoused the Prince of Orange, and of going to the Spa. But withal, he had put into her hands the crown-jewels, which were afterwards used in buying arms and ammunition.* When the Parliament presented this petition to him, he was upon the point of sending away the Queen, after which he intended to retire to York. It was not therefore his interest absolutely to reject the Parliament's request in such a juncture, for fear of raising a storm too soon, which might have obstructed the execution of his two designs, and especially that relating to Hull. A few days after, he gave the Lieutenancy of the Tower to Sir John Conyers, the better to persuade both Houses, he intended to satisfy them.

The Parliament did not doubt, the King was resolved to put the militia into the hands of such as should be recommended to him. And therefore they ordered the draught of an ordinance for regulating the militia, to be prepared, with the names of the commanders in each county, on a separate paper, and presented it to his Majesty, with a petition to desire his consent.

The King answered, the Queen and the Princess being upon their departure for Holland, he had not time to consider of so important an affair, but would send an answer at his return. He was then upon the road accompanying the Queen to Dover.

Meanwhile, the Parliament believing to have reason to suspect, the King only sought to amuse them, and fearing he had formed some private design, which he intended to execute before the regulation of the militia, presented another petition to him, in terms still more importunate. They expressed their great grief on account of his Majesty's answer to their just and necessary petition. They represented, that any delay, during dangers and distractions so great and pressing, was not less unsatisfactory and destructive than an absolute denial. They insisted, that it was their duty to see put in execution a measure so necessary for public safety. And they affirmed, that the people, in many countries, had applied to them for that purpose, and in some places, were of themselves, and by their own authority, provided against those urgent dangers, with which they were threatened.

The King seeing himself thus pressed, sought other evasions to amuse the Parliament, without openly declaring however that his intention was to deny the desire of both Houses. Besides, excepting to the preamble, which threw such dishonour upon him, and protesting the innocence of his intentions when he entered the House of Commons; he only desired that the military authority, if it were defective, should first be conferred upon the crown; and he promised to bestow commissions, but such as should be revocable at pleasure, on the same persons whom the Parliament had named in the bill. By a former message he had expressed his wishes, that they would lay before him, in one view, all the concessions which they deemed requisite for the settlement of the nation. They pretended that they were exposed to perils so dreadful and imminent, that they had not leisure for such a work. The expedient proposed by the King seemed a sufficient remedy during this emergence; and yet maintained the prerogatives of the crown entire and unbroken.—But the intentions of the Commons were wide of this purpose, and their panics could be cured by one remedy alone. They instantly replied, that the dangers and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and unless the King speedily complied with their demands, they should be constrained, for the safety of Prince and people, to dispose of the militia by

* She was reduced to so great wants, that she was compelled to coin, or sell, her chamber-plate, for the supply of her most necessary occasions.

the authority of the Houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly. They asserted that those parts of the kingdom which had, from their own authority, put themselves in a posture of defence during these prevailing fears and jealousies, had acted suitably to the declarations and directions of both Houses, and conformably to the laws of the kingdom. And whilst they thus menaced the King with their power, they invited him to fix his residence at London, where they knew he would be entirely at their mercy.—"I am so much astonished at this message," said the King in his prompt reply, "that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears! Lay your hands on your hearts, and ask yourselves, whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies: and if so, I assure you that this message has nothing lessened them.—As to the militia, I thought so much of it before I gave that answer, and am so much assured that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point.—For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall: ask yourselves whether I have not.—What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask what you have done for me.—Have any of my people been disturbed with fears and apprehensions? I offer as free and general pardon as yourselves can devise. All this considered, there is a judgment of Heaven upon this nation if these distractions continue.—God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the observance and preservation of the laws; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation."—No sooner did the Commons despair of obtaining the King's consent to their bill, than they instantly voted, that those who advised his Majesty's answer, were enemies to the state, and mischievous projectors against the safety of the nation; that this denial, is of such dangerous consequence, that if his Majesty persist in it, it will hazard the peace and tranquillity of all his kingdom, unless some speedy remedy be applied by the wisdom and authority of both Houses; and that such of his subjects as have put themselves in a posture of defence against the common danger, have done nothing but what is justifiable, and approved by the House.

The same day it was resolved in the House of Commons, "that the kingdom be forthwith put into a posture of defence, by authority of both Houses, in such a way as is already agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament."

In pursuance of this resolution, both Houses published an ordinance for settling the militia.*

The forces from abroad, mentioned in the ordinance below, were a chimera, framed to amuse the people, and make them believe, the King would cause the kingdom to be invaded by foreigners. For though, probably, the Pope and Cardinal Richlieu countenanced the Irish rebellion, it could not be affirmed, they had formed a design to invade England in favour of the King.

March the 9th, the King being at Newmarket, both Houses presented a declaration to him, which served for a full reply to his answer.†

In the present situation of affairs, it may be observed, the

---

* "Whereas there hath been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the House of Commons, which we have just cause to believe to be an effect of the bloody counsels of papists, and other ill-affected persons, who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland, and by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed not only to stir up the like rebellion and insurrections in this kingdom of England, but also to back them with forces from abroad.

"For the safety therefore of his Majesty's person, the Parliament and kingdom, in this time of imminent danger; it is ordained by the Lords and Commons now in Parliament assembled, That Henry Earl of Holland shall be Lieutenant of the county of Berks; Oliver, Earl of Bullingbrooke shall be Lieutenant of the county of Bedford, &c. and the said Lord Lieutenants shall severally and respectively have power to assemble and call together all and singular his Majesty's subjects, within the said several and respective counties and places, as well within liberties as without, that are meet and fit for the wars, and then to train and exercise, and put in readiness, and them, after their abilities and faculties, well and sufficiently from time to time, to cause to be arrayed and weaponed, and to take the muster of them in places fit for that purpose. And that they shall severally and respectively have power, within the several and respective counties and places aforesaid, to nominate and appoint such persons of quality, as to them shall seem meet, to be their Deputy-Lieutenants, to be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. And be it further ordained, That Sir John Gayre, Sir Jacob Garret, Knights, &c. shall have such power and authority within the city of London, as any of the Lieutenants before-named, are authorized to have by this ordinance, within the said several and respective counties, (the nomination and appointment of Deputy-Lieutenants only excepted.) And it is further ordained, that such persons as shall not obey in any of the premisses, shall answer their neglect and contempt to the Lords and Commons in a parliamentary way, and not otherwise, nor elsewhere: and that every the powers granted as aforesaid, shall continue, until it be otherwise ordered, or declared by both Houses of Parliament, and no longer."

† *May it please your Majesty,*

"Although the expressions in your Majesty's message, of the 2nd of this instant March, do give just cause of sorrow to us, your faithful subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, yet it is not without some mixture of confidence and hope, considering they proceeded from the mis-apprehension of our actions and intentions, which having no ground of truth or reallity, may, by your Majesty's justice and wisdom, be removed, when your Majesty shall be fully informed, that those fears and jealousies of ours, which your Majesty thinks to be causeless, and without any just ground, do necessarily and clearly arise from those dangers and distempers, into which the mischievous and evil councils about you have brought this kingdom; and that those other fears and jealousies, by which your favour, your royal presence and confidence have been withdrawn from your Parliament, have no foundation or subsistence in any action, intention, or miscarriage of ours, but are merely grounded upon the falsehood and malice of those, who, for the supporting and fomenting their own wicked designs against the religion and peace of the kingdom, do seek to deprive your Majesty of the strength and affection of your people, them of your grace and protection, and thereby to subject both your royal person and the whole kingdom to ruin and distruction.

"To satisfy your Majesty's judgment and conscience in both these points, we desire to make a clear and free declaration of the causes of our fears and jealousies, which we offer to your Majesty in these particulars:

"I. That the design of altering religion in this, and in your other kingdoms, hath been potently carried on by those in the greatest authority about you, for divers years together, the Queen's agent at Rome, and the Pope's agent or nuncio here, are not only evidences of this design, but have been great actors in it.

"II. That the war with Scotland was procured to make way for this intent, and chiefly invited and fomented by the papists, and others popishly affected, whereof we have many evidences, especially their free and general contribution to it.

"III. That the rebellion in Ireland was framed and contrived here in England, and that the English papists should have risen about the same time, we have several testimonies and advertisements from Ireland; and that it is a common speech amongst the rebels, wherewith concur other evidences and observations of the suspicious meetings and consultations, the tumultuary and seditious carriage of those of that religion, in divers parts of this kingdom, about the time of the breaking out of the Irish rebellion; the disposition of O'Conelly; the information of Mr. Cole, minister; the letter of Tristram Whitecombe; the disposition of Thomas Grant, and many others, which we may produce, do all agree in this: the public declarations of the Lords, Gentlemen, and others of the pale, that they would join with the rebels, whom they call the Irish army, or any other, to recover unto his Majesty his royal prerogative, wrested from him by the puritan faction in the Houses of Parliament in England, and to maintain the same against all others, as also to maintain episcopal jurisdiction, and the lawfulness thereof: these two being quarrels upon which his Majesty's late army in the North should be incensed against us.

"The great cause we have to doubt, that that late design, stiled the Queen's pious intention, was for the alteration of religion in this kingdom; for success whereof, the Pope's nuncio, the Count Rosetti, enjoined fasting and praying to be observed every week by the English Papists, which appeared to us, by one of the original letters, directed by him to a priest in Lancashire.

"The boldness of the Irish rebels in affirming they do nothing but by authority from the King; that they call themselves the Queen's army; that the prey or booty which they take from the English they mark with the Queen's mark; that their purpose was to come to England after they had done in Ireland, and sundry other things of this kind, proved by O'Conelly, and divers others, especially in the fore-mentioned letters from Tristram Whitecombe, the Mayor of Kingsale, to his brother Benjamin Whitecombe, wherein there is this passage, 'That many other strange speeches they utter about religion and our court of England, which he dares not commit to paper.'

"The manifold attempts to provoke your Majesty's late army, and the army of the Scots, and to raise a faction in the city of London, and other parts of the kingdom; that those who have been actors in those businesses, have had their dependance, their countenance and encouragement from the court; witness the treason whereof Mr. Jermin and others stand accused, who was transported beyond sea,

the King and the Parliament had but too much cause to mistrust one another, and that each laboured to procure such advantages as might enable them to attack or defend. As for the declarations, messages, answers, replies, these were only for the people, it being the interest of each to gain and amuse them. But herein the Parliament had a great advantage, by reason of the people's prejudice against the King, to which he opposed only general promises, whereof he could give no assurance. This was very advantageous to the Parliament, who pretended, that in order to trust in such promises, it was necessary the King should begin with divesting himself of what enabled him to break them.

When the committee of both Houses presented the declaration to the King, and after it was read in his presence, he returned an extempore general answer; similar, in substance, to the one preceeding; and, on the morrow, the King gave it to the committee in writing.

After that, the Earl of Pembroke, one of the committee, asking him, whether he would grant the militia, as

---

by warrant under your Majesty's hand, after your Majesty had given assurance to your Parliament, that your Majesty had laid a strict command upon all your servants, that none of them should depart from court; and that dangerous petition delivered to Captain Legge by your Majesty's own hand, accompanied with a direction signed with C. R.

"The false and scandalous accusation against the Lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the House of Commons, tendered to the Parliament by your Majesty's own command, endeavoured to be justified in the city by your own presence and persuasion, and to be put in execution upon their persons by your Majesty's demand of them in the House of Commons, in so terrible and violent a manner, as far exceeded all former breaches of privileges of Parliament acted by your Majesty or any of your predecessors; and whatsoever your intentions were, divers bloody and desperate persons which attended your Majesty, discovered their affections and resolution to have massacred and destroyed the members of that House, if the absence of those persons accused, had not, by God's providence, stopped the giving of that word which they expected, for the setting them upon that barbarous and bloody act; the listing of so many officers and soldiers and others, putting them into pay, and under command of Colonels; feasting and caressing them in an unusual manner at Whitehall, thereby maintaining them in the violent assaults and other injuries which they offered to divers of your subjects, coming that way in a lawful and peaceable manner; the carrying them out of town, after which they were told by the Lord Digby, that the King removed on purpose that they might not be trampled in the dirt; and keeping them so long in pay, endeavouring to engage the gentlemen of the inns of court in the same course; the plotting and designing of a perpetual guard about your Majesty; the labouring to infuse into your Majesty's subjects an evil opinion of the Parliament through the whole kingdom, and other symptoms of a disposition of raising arms, and dividing your people by a civil war; in which combustion Ireland must needs be lost, and this kingdom miserably wasted and consumed, if not wholly ruined and destroyed.

"That after a vote had passed in the House of Commons, declaring, that the Lord Digby had appeared in a warlike manner at Kingston upon Thames, to the terror and fright of your Majesty's good subjects, and disturbance of the public peace of the kingdom; and that therefore the Lords should be moved to require his attendance, he should nevertheless be of that credit with your Majesty, as to be sent away by your own warrant to Sir John Pennington, to land him beyond the sea, from whence he vented his own traiterous conceptions, that your Majesty should declare yourself, and retire to a place of strength in this kingdom, as if your Majesty could not be safe among your people; and withal took that transcendent boldness to write to the Queen, offering to entertain correspondence with her Majesty by cyphers, intimating some service which he might do in those parts, for which he desired your Majesty's instructions, whereby in probability he intended the procuring of some foreign force to strengthen your Majesty in that condition, into which he would have brought you; which false and malicious counsel and advice, we have great cause to doubt, made too deep an impression in your Majesty, considering the course you are pleased to take of absenting yourself from your Parliament, and carrying the Prince with you, which seems to express a purpose in your Majesty, to keep yourself in a readiness for the acting of it.

"The manifold advertisements which we have had from Rome, Venice, Paris, and other parts, that they still expect, that your Majesty has some great design in hand, for the altering of religion, the breaking the neck of your Parliament, that you will yet find means to compass that design; that the Pope's nuncio hath solicited the Kings of France, and Spain, to lend your Majesty four thousand men a-piece, to help to maintain your royalty against the Parliament: and this foreign force, as it is the most pernicious and malignant design of all the rest, so we hope it is, and shall always be farthest from your Majesty's thoughts, because no man can believe, you will give up your people and kingdom, to be spoiled by strangers, if you did not likewise intend to change both your own profession in religion, and the public profession of the kingdom, that so you might still be more assured of those foreign states of the Popish religion, for your future support and defence.

"These are some of the grounds of our fears and jealousies, which make us so earnestly to implore your royal authority and protection for our defence and security, in all the ways of humility and submission, which being denied by your Majesty, seduced by evil counsel, we do with sorrow, for the great and unavoidable misery and danger, which thereby is like to fall upon your own person, and your kingdoms, apply ourselves to the use of that power, for the security and defence of both, which by the fundamental laws and constitutions of this kingdom resides in us; yet still resolving to keep ourselves within the bounds of faithfulness and allegiance to your sacred person, and your crown; so as to the second sort of jealousies and fears of us expressed by your Majesty, we shall give a shorter, but as true and as faithful an answer.

"Whereas your Majesty is pleased to say, that for your residence near the Parliament, you wish it may be so safe and honourable, that you had no cause to absent yourself from Whitehall; this we take as the greatest breach of privilege of Parliament that can be offered, as the heaviest misery to yourself, and imputation upon us, that can be imagined, and the most mischievous effects of evil counsels: it roots up the strongest foundation of the safety and honour which your crown affords; it seems as much as may be to cast upon the Parliament such a charge, as is inconsistent with the nature of that great council, being the body, whereof your Majesty is the head; it strikes at the very being both of King and Parliament, depriving your Majesty, in your own apprehensions, of their fidelity, and them of your protection, which are the mutual bands and supports of government and subjection.

"We have, according to your Majesty's desire, laid our hands upon our hearts; we have asked ourselves in the strictest examination of our consciences; we have searched our affections, our thoughts; considered our actions, and we find none that can give your Majesty any just occasion to absent yourself from Whitehall, and the Parliament; but that you may with more honour and safety, continue there than in any other place.

"Your Majesty lays a general tax upon us; if you will be graciously pleased to let us know the particulars, we shall give a clear and satisfactory answer; but what hope can we have of ever giving your Majesty satisfaction, when those particulars which you have been made to believe were true, yet being produced, and made known to us, appeared to be false, and your Majesty notwithstanding will neither punish, nor produce the authors, but go on to contract new jealousies and fears upon general and uncertain grounds, affording us no means or possibility of particular answer, to the clearing of ourselves? For proof whereof, we beseech your Majesty to consider these instances:

"The speeches alledged to be spoken in a meeting of divers members of both houses at Kensington, concerning a purpose of restraining the Queen and Prince, which after it was denied and disavowed, yet your Majesty refused to name the authors, though humbly desired by both Houses.

"The report of articles framed against the Queen's Majesty, given out by some of near relation to the court; but when it was publicly and constantly disclaimed, the credit seemed to be withdrawn from it; but the authors being kept safe, will always be ready for exploits of the same kind, wherewith your Majesty and the Queen will be often troubled, if this course be taken to cherish and secure them in such wicked and malicious slanders.

"The heavy charge and accusation of the Lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the House of Commons, who refused no trial or examination, which might stand with the privilege of Parliament; yet no authors, no witnesses produced, against whom they may have reparation, for the great injury and infamy cast upon them; notwithstanding three several petitions of both Houses, and the authority of two acts of Parliament, vouched in the last of those petitions.

"We beseech your Majesty to consider in what state you are, how easy and fair a way you have to happiness, honour, greatness, plenty, and security; if you will join with the Parliament, and your faithful subjects, in defence of the religion and public good of the kingdom. This is all we expect from you, and for this we shall return to you our lives, fortunes, and uttermost endeavours to support your Majesty, your just sovereignty and power over us; but it is not words that can secure us in these our humble desires: we cannot but too well, and sorrowfully remember, what gracious messages we had from you this summer, when with your privity, the bringing up the army was in agitation; we cannot but with the like affections recall to our minds, how, not two days before you gave directions for the abovementioned accusation, and your own coming to the Commons House; that House received from your Majesty a gracious message, that you would always have a care of their privileges, as of your own prerogative, of the safety of their persons, as of your own children. That which we expect, which will give us assurance that you have no thought but of peace and justice to your people, must be some real effect of your goodness to them, in granting those things, which the present necessity of the kingdom doth enforce us to desire: and in the first place, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to put from you those wicked and mischievous counsellors, which have caused all these dangers and distractions, and to continue your own residence, and the Prince's, near London, and the Parliament, which we hope will be a happy beginning of contentment and confidence between your Majesty and your people, and be followed with many succeeding blessings of honour and greatness to your Majesty, and of security and prosperity to them.

"The Lords and Commons have commanded us to present unto your Majesty, this farther addition to their former declaration.

"That your Majesty's return and continuance near the Parliament, is a matter in their apprehension of so great necessity and importance, toward the preservation of your royal person and your kingdoms, that they cannot think they have discharged their duties, in the single expression

as was desired by the Parliament, for a time? No, answered the King, by God, not for an hour.* This answer did him great injury. His principal concern was to satisfy the people, that his word might be relied upon, and yet he showed, he had no intention to keep his promise to the Parliament, to grant the militia, when he should know for how long a term, since he refused to grant it even for an hour.

If the Parliament had hitherto placed but little confidence in the King's promises, this did not help to increase it. On the other hand, the harsh and disrespectful treatment of the King by both Houses, in their declaration, very much incensed him, and rendered a rupture unavoidable.

March the 15th, the King being at Huntingdon, sent a message to both Houses, to inform them, that he intended to reside at York for some time. He recommended to them withal the affairs of Ireland. As to the militia, he told them, "That as he had always been so tender of the privileges of Parliament, that he had been ready and forward to retract any act of his own, which he had been informed had trenched upon their privileges; so he expected an equal tenderness in them, of his known and unquestionable privileges; amongst which, he was assured it is a fundamental one, "that his subjects cannot be obliged to obey any act, order, or injunction, to which his Majesty hath not given his consent:" that therefore, he expected and required obedience from all his subjects, to the laws established, being resolved to keep the laws himself, and to require obedience to them from all his subjects."

Next day, the Commons passed the following votes, which were approved by the Lords.

"That the House should insist upon their former votes concerning the militia.

"That the King's absence, so far remote from his Parliament, was not only an obstruction, but might be a destruction to the affairs of Ireland.

"That when the Parliament, which is the supreme court of Judicature in the kingdom, shall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted; and a command, that it should not be obeyed, is a high breach of the privilege of Parliament.

"That a committee shall be appointed by the House to join with a committee of the Lords, to enquire where this message was framed.

"That those persons, that did advise his Majesty to absent himself from the Parliament, are enemies to the peace of this kingdom, and justly suspected to be favourers of the rebellion in Ireland, as are also those that advised his Majesty to this message."

It was at the same time unanimously resolved upon the question by the Lords in Parliament.

"That the ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the safety and defence of the kingdom of England and dominions of Wales, is not any way against the oath of allegiance.

"That the several commissions granted under the Great-Seal to the Lieutenants of the several counties, are illegal and void.

"That whosoever shall execute any power over the militia of this kingdom and dominion of Wales, by colour of any commission of Lieutenancy, without consent of both Houses of Parliament, shall be accounted a disturber of the peace of this kingdom.

"Moreover, both Houses voted with one common consent, that the kingdom hath been of late, and still is in so evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a popish party at home, that there is an urgent and inevitable necessity of putting his Majesty's subjects into a posture of defence, for the safeguard both of his Majesty and his people.

"That the Lords and Commons fully apprehending this danger, and being sensible of their own duty, to provide a suitable prevention, have in several petitions addressed themselves to his Majesty, for the ordering and disposing of the militia of the kingdom, in such way, as was agreed upon by the wisdom of both Houses to be most effectual and proper for the present exigencies of the kingdom; yet could not obtain it, but his Majesty did several times refuse to give his royal assent thereunto.

"That in this case of extreme danger, and of his Majesty's refusal, the ordinance agreed on by both Houses for the militia, doth oblige the people, and ought to be obeyed by the fundamental laws of this kingdom.

"That such persons as shall be nominated Deputy-Lieutenants, and approved of by both Houses, shall receive the commands of both Houses to take upon them to execute their offices."

These resolutions were taken with great precipitation, for the two Houses had not received the King's answer in full to their declaration of the 9th of March. But as by his last message the King had sufficiently shown, he intended not to depart from his right concerning the militia, they thought needless to wait for a more particular notification.

After receiving his Majesty's answer, both Houses sent a message to the King, at York, to inform him that the Lord Admiral's indisposition disabling him for commanding the fleet in his own person, they had recommended to his Lordship the Earl of Warwick to supply his place. But understanding since that his Majesty had appointed for that employment Sir John Pennington, they besought him not to prefer this last to the Earl of Warwick.

The King was very angry at this message, which was not by way of petition or declaration, and sent the Lord Keeper word, that his resolution was not to alter the person whom he had appointed. But he was not master: for, by the connivance of the Earl of Northumberland, who was Lord Admiral, the Earl of Warwick was acknowledged commander of the fleet, against the King's will.

About the same time a paper was dispersed, wherein the author examined, "How laws are to be understood, and obedience yielded? A question necessary for the present state of things touching the militia. His Majesty (says he) is intrusted by law with the militia; but it is good for the preservation of the people, and not against them. So that when there is a well-grounded suspicion that the King intends to employ the militia against the people, he is not to be obeyed, for it is not likely that the intent of the law is to invest the King with a power to be used against his subjects." The King having perused this paper, sent a message to the Lords to require them to find out the author of so pernicious a doctrine, and punish him according to his deserts.

Whilst the affair of the militia was in agitation, the King came to the gates of Hull with some troops: but Sir John Hotham denied him admittance. This proceeding of the King's served not to remove the Parliament's fears and suspicions, and the rather as having passed a bill for settling the militia, as the King desired, this bill had been rejected. The affair of Hull happening shortly after, the Parliament thought there was no more ceremony to be used, imagining the King

expression of their desire, unless they add some farther reasons to back it with.

"I. Your Majesty's absence will cause men to believe, that it is out of design to discourage the undertakers, and hinder the other provisions for raising money for defence of Ireland.

"II. It will very much hearten the rebels there, and disaffected persons in this kingdom, as being an evidence and effect of the jealousies and divisions between your Majesty and your people.

"III. That it will much weaken and withdraw the affection of the subjects from your Majesty, without which a Prince is deprived of his chiefest strength and lustre, and left naked to the greatest dangers and miseries, that can be imagined.

"IV. That it will invite and encourage the enemies of our religion, and the states in foreign parts, to the attempting and acting their evil designs and intentions towards us.

"V. That it causeth a great interruption in the proceedings of Parliament.

"These considerations threaten so great danger to your Majesty's person, and to all your dominions, that, as your Majesty's great council, they hold it necessary to represent to you this their faithful advice, that so whatsoever followeth, they may be excused before God and man."

* Adding, "You have asked that of me in this, was never asked of any King, and with which I will not trust my wife and children."

sought only to amuse them, and make them lose time. Meanwhile the King, five or six days after his disappointment at Hull, sent a message to the Parliament, dated April the 28th, containing his reasons for not consenting to the militia-bill, which was replied to by the Parliament.

It was time however for the declarations, answers, and replies concerning the militia, to end, since there was nothing new to be said on that subject. Besides, the Parliament's ordinance was now executing in all places, where the people were willing to obey it.* At last, May the 27th, the King published a proclamation, forbidding to carry into execution the ordinance of the Parliament, on pain to offenders, of being declared disturbers of the public peace. The Parliament, on their part, published a declaration, forbidding all persons to obey the King's proclamation, as being contrary to the laws.†

We have related without interruption the affair of the militia, which lasted however several months, that we might not be obliged to break the thread of the narration; this affair being of the utmost importance, since it was the most immediate cause of the civil wars which quickly ensued: but it was not the only affair during that time. Wherefore, it will be necessary to go back to the time when we began to speak of the militia, to see other affairs, no less material, and whereof some contributed no less to the rupture.

The King having passed in February the two acts, so earnestly desired by the Commons, namely, for the exclusion of the Bishops,‡ and for pressing of soldiers, sent the following message to both Houses:

"That his having passed these two bills, being of so great importance, and so earnestly desired by both Houses, will serve to assure his Parliament, that he desires nothing more than the satisfaction of his kingdom; yet, that he may further manifest to both Houses how impatient he is, till he find out a full remedy to compose the present distempers, he is pleased to signify:

"That he will by proclamation require, that all statutes made concerning recusants, be with all care, diligence, and severity, put in execution.

"That his Majesty is resolved, that the condemned priests shall be immediately banished, if his Parliament shall consent thereunto: and he will give present order, that a proclamation issue to require all Romish priests within twenty days to depart the kingdom; and if any shall be apprehended after that time, his Majesty assures both Houses, on the word of a King, that he will grant no pardon to any such, without consent of his Parliament.

"And because great and different troubles are observed to arise, concerning the government and liturgy of the church, his Majesty declares, that he will refer the whole consideration to his Parliament: but desires not to be pressed to any single act on his part till the whole be so digested and settled by both Houses, that his Majesty may clearly see what is fit to be left, as well as what is fit to be taken away.

"For Ireland, he will not refuse to venture his own person in that war, if his Parliament shall think it convenient, for the reduction of that kingdom.

"That he will most readily concur in any resolution their wisdoms shall find out, which may conduce to promote the trade of the kingdom."

The two Houses contented themselves with thanking his Majesty for passing the two bills, without returning any answer upon the other points.

The Queen being misinformed that there was a design to accuse her of high-treason, the Parliament had notice of it, and sent the Earl of Newport and the Lord Seymour to vindicate themselves from this aspersion.

Some letters of the Lord Digby, directed to the Queen, to Sir Lewis Dives his brother-in-law, and to Secretary Nicholas, being intercepted, the Parliament caused them to be opened. It was found, that the Lord Digby, who was then at Middleburgh in Zealand, advised the King to betake himself to a safe place, and desired the Queen to send him a cypher, that he might hold a correspondence with her. There were also in the letters some sharp expressions against the Parliament. The two Houses sent copies of these letters to their Majesties, assuring them, that they were far from reflecting any thing upon the Queen, only they besought her not to correspond with the Lord Digby. Some days after, it was resolved by the Commons, that the Lord Digby should be accused of high-treason.

February the 24th, a message was sent from both Houses to his Majesty, to acquaint him with the reasons why they desired, that the Prince of Wales should reside at Hampton-court. The chief was, that the Prince's removal might be a cause to promote jealousies and fears in the minds of his subjects. For the Parliament lost no opportunity to let the people see, there was occasion to be alarmed. The King intimated to them by this answer that he did not think himself accountable for his conduct, with regard to the Prince his son; and concluded with saying, "He could not imagine from what grounds these fears and jealousies proceeded; but if any information had been given to that purpose, he desired the same might be examined to the bottom; and then hoped their fears would be hereafter continued only with reference to his rights and honour."

About the same time, proposals were made to the Parliament, for the speedy raising of money for the reduction of Ireland. These proposals were, that to such persons as should be willing to advance money for that service, should be allotted, according to a certain proportion, the rebels' lands that should be confiscated, which was approved of by both Houses, and an act

* The Parliament did not deny, that in the ordinary course of the government, the right of settling the militia, and appointing those who were to command it under him, was solely in the King. But they affirmed, that in the present extraordinary case, it was incumbent on them to take care the kingdom perished not by the King's fault. The case they supposed was this, the King, for the space of fifteen years, had endeavoured to establish an absolute government, and had actually established it on divers occasions: he had pretended, that he might govern without Parliaments, and accordingly, had called none for twelve years together; during which interval, he had violated sundry laws, and ruled after an arbitrary manner. Being forced by the necessity of his affairs to call this present Parliament, he had seemed to acknowledge the injustice of his former conduct, by giving his consent to the good acts made for the redress of past, and the prevention of future, grievances. But at the very time that he expressed so great condescension for his subjects, and an outward repentance for his faults, he ceased not to devise means to become absolute as before. The Parliament inferred from this his conduct, that the King's condescension was only apparent; that at the first opportunity, he would revoke the acts he had consented to, and which he affected to term always, acts of grace, though they were really acts of injustice. Consequently, it was necessary to put it out of his power to recede from what he had done, if he should desire it. The only way to hinder such a design, was to put the militia of the kingdom into safe hands, who should not depend upon the King, and prevent him from having any power over the militia, for fear this power, either in him alone, or jointly with the two Houses, might enable him to break all the measures which should be taken, to hinder the execution of his designs.

† "The question is not, (said they) whether it belong to the King or no, to restrain the levying of the militia; but if the King shall refuse to discharge that duty and trust, whether there be not a power in the two Houses to provide for the safety of the Parliament, and peace of the kingdom? that though the law affirms that power to be in the King, it does not exclude those in whom the law hath placed a power for that purpose, as in the courts of justice; yet can it not be restrained by his Majesty's command, by his Great Seal, or otherwise; much less can the power of Parliament be concluded by his Majesty's command.—That though the King is the fountain of justice and protection, yet the acts of justice and protection are not exercised in his own person, but by his courts and his ministers; who must do their duty therein, though the King, in his own person, should forbid them; and therefore, if judgments should be given by them against the King's will, and personal command, yet are they the King's judgments. Thus also, the High-Court of Parliament declares the King's pleasure in those things that are requisite thereunto, and what they do herein hath the stamp of royal authority, although his Majesty do in his own person oppose or interrupt the same: for the King's supreme and royal pleasure is exercised and declared in this high-court of law and council, in a more eminent and obligatory manner, than it can be by any personal act or resolution of his own.—That by the constitution and policy of this kingdom, the King by his proclamation cannot declare the law, contrary to the judgment and resolution of any of the inferior courts of justice, much less against the high-court of Parliament; for if it were admitted, that the King by his proclamation may declare a law, thereby his proclamations will in effect become laws, which would turn to the subverting of the law of the land, and the rights and liberties of the subject."

‡ The bills were passed by commission. The King signed the commission for passing the first, at Canterbury, as he was on his way to Dover, whither he accompanied the Queen.

was passed accordingly, to which the King gave the royal assent.

The Queen departed for Holland about the end of February.

March the 16th, the King being at Strafford in his way to York, issued a proclamation, for strictly executing the laws against papists. This proclamation served only to show, that hitherto these laws had been ill executed. But the King had a mind thereby to repel the imputation of his protecting and countenancing the Catholics, so much insisted upon by his enemies among the people, as if this protection was a proof of his design to introduce popery.

The King, as was said, intended to secure Hull, with the magazine there; but his intention was yet a secret, and means were devising to put it in practice. To this end, very probably, he sent a message to the Parliament, to acquaint them, that he had firmly resolved to go into Ireland, and head the English troops. That therefore he intended to raise by his commissions, in the counties near West-Chester, a guard for his own person, (when he should come to Ireland) consisting of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, to be armed from his magazine of Hull, the charge of paying whereof he desired them to take upon them. The King hoped to reap some advantage, either from the approbation, or the denial. If the Parliament consented to it, the King found he should be able to employ this pretended guard of two thousand two hundred men, to render himself master of Hull. If his proposition was rejected, he flattered himself, at least, that he should thereby convince the people of his sincere desire to reduce Ireland, and dispel the rumours that were spread on that head, which would afford him opportunity to throw all the blame on the Parliament. Accordingly this was the only use he afterwards made of this offer, which was but a stratagem, as the Earl of Clarendon owns in his history. But whether both Houses considered this proposition of the King, as a snare, or as a real and sincere offer, they thought not fit to consent to it. Indeed, as things then stood, it was by no means proper to set the King at the head of an army in Ireland, and still less, that he should raise in England, a guard of two thousand two hundred men, when they were labouring with all their power to take from him the command of the militia, upon the foundation of the jealousies conceived of him. For though hitherto they had been contented to accuse only his counsellors, and a malignant party, of contriving plots against the state, it was but an artifice to accuse him himself. So, as they neither could nor would approve of the King's proposition, they presented a petition to him; and, after a reply from the King, and a rejoinder from the Parliament, the affair rested.

Notwithstanding the King's ill success in his secret undertaking, he persisted in his design to free himself, by force, from the slavery to which it was intended to reduce him, perceiving, it would be impossible for him to succeed any other way. To this end, doubtless, he sent the Queen to Holland, and having but little money to give her, put into her hands the crown jewels, which were used in buying arms and ammunition.

When the Parliament sent Sir John Hotham down to Hull, the King complained not of it, whether he was apprehensive of being reproached with attempting to secure that place, or to amuse the Parliament, and hinder them from taking greater precautions. Meanwhile, both Houses finding the King at a distance from London, and fearing for Hull, on account of the magazine there, petitioned him, to order the magazine to be removed to the Tower of London. The King answered, "He rather expected, that both Houses would have given him an account, why a governor and garrison had been placed in Hull without his knowledge, than to be moved to consent for the removal to the Tower of a magazine (which were his own proper goods) upon such general reasons, as gave no satisfaction to his judgment: that in short, he would not agree to the removal of these arms, till he knew for what service they were intended: and if any attempt should be made in this matter without his approbation, he should esteem it as the greatest violation of his right." A little after, some gentlemen of the county of York petitioned the King, that the magazine might not be removed, by reason they conceived the kingdom, and particularly the north, to be in danger. This petition was probably begged, since affairs were not yet in such a situation, that private persons should dare to present an address to the King, directly contrary to that of the Parliament, had they not been encouraged thereto. At last, finding the King would not consent to it, the Parliament ordered most of the magazine to be brought to the Tower without asking his approbation any more.

The King's design to make himself master of Hull, broke out the 23d of April, when the affair of the militia was agitated with great heat on both sides. The day before, he had sent to Hull the Duke of York his second son, with the young Elector Palatine his nephew, under colour of seeing the place, and very likely these two Princes had a pretty numerous retinue. Hotham and the Mayor received them with all the respect due to their rank. The Princes were entertained the first day by the Mayor, and invited to dine with the governor on the morrow, being St. George's day. But the entertainment was disturbed by an officer, Sir Lewis Dives, who came a little before dinner, and told the governor, that his Majesty intended to dine with him, being then within four miles of the town, with a train of above three hundred horse.* Hotham, surprised at this message, consulted with some of his friends, and it was resolved among them, that a messenger should be dispatched to the King, humbly to beseech him to forbear to come, forasmuch as he could not, without betraying the trust committed to him, set open the gates to so great a guard as he came attended withal. The messenger returning with a doubtful answer, and certifying of the King's advance to the town, Hotham drew up the bridge, shut the gates, and commanded the soldiers to stand to their arms round the walls. The King being come to Beverly-gate, called for the governor, who appearing on the walls, he commanded him to open the gate. The governor answered, "He was intrusted by the Parliament for the securing of the town, for his Majesty's honour, and the kingdom's use, which he intended by God's help to do; proffering, however, that if his Majesty would be pleased to come in with twelve more, he should be welcome, otherwise he could not, without betraying his trust to the state, admit entrance to so great a guard." But the King, refusing to enter on these terms, repeated several times his command to open the gate, and still received the same answer. Presently after, the Duke of York, and the Prince Elector, went out of the town, and came to the King, who was pleased to give the governor one hour more to consider what he did. But Hotham persisting in his resolution, the King offered at last to enter with thirty horse only, which was refused. In short, about five in the evening, the King returning to the gate, commanded Hotham once more to open it, and upon his refusal, caused him to be proclaimed traitor by two heralds he had brought with him. This done, he retired to Beverly, where he passed the night. The next morning, he sent a herald to Hotham, to summon him once more to open the gates of Hull, with promise of pardon for what was past but could not prevail; so that he was forced to return to York.

The King was extremely troubled at this disappointment, and seeing no other way to palliate his proceedings, he resolved expressly to deny, he had ever intended to become master of Hull. By this supposition, he meant to represent Sir John Hotham's action as a manifest treason, and accordingly demanded an authentic reparation of the Parliament. He cited the laws

* Lord Clarendon says, the King came attended with two or three hundred of his servants, and gentlemen of the county.

and

and statutes which placed in the King the care of defending the realm, and the command of the forts and magazines. But he constantly supposed the kingdom to be in a state of tranquillity, as it was when these laws were made, which was by no means the present case. He pretended, the forts and magazines were his own proper goods; and particularly, that of Hull, being purchased with his own money, could not be withheld from him, without rendering his condition worse than that of his meanest subject.

But the Parliament did not grant these suppositions. They pretended, that the forts and magazines were committed to the King, as a trust to be employed for the preservation, and not for the destruction of the people, and that the King's claim to the property of the forts and magazines was groundless. It is no wonder, that upon such different principles, the papers should abound on both sides, without producing any great effects. The King, however, had this advantage, that the Parliament could not evidently prove their assertions against him, and that the authority assumed by both Houses was founded only on bare suspicions of the King's ill designs, which would have rendered it plausible, had they been averred.

The Parliament openly supported Sir John Hotham; so that after many messages, declarations, answers, and replies, the King had no way left to become master of Hull, but by surprise or force. The last of these ways was not very practicable, because he could depend but on a very small number of troops, and had no artillery, arms, or ammunition. He therefore attempted to take Hull by correspondence. In the execution of this design, he made use of Mr. Beckwith, a gentleman of Beverly, who had a son-in-law, officer in Hull. But this officer discovered the plot to the governor, who sent the King word, he might save himself the trouble of carrying on the contrivance, and at the same time sent an express to the Parliament. Beckwith retiring to the King at York, the Parliament dispatched a messenger to seize and bring him to London: but the messenger was not permitted to execute his orders.

From that time, the King and the Parliament prepared for war. But as each stood in need of the people to bear the expence, so each used all possible endeavours to gain them, by demonstrating the justice of the contrary party, and by striving to convince them, that their good was only intended.

The Queen was now busy in Holland in procuring artillery, arms, ammunition, and several officers of the English troops in the Dutch service. Most of the Yorkshire gentlemen, the largest county in England, were for him, and he did not question, but by their means he should engage the whole county to declare in his favour. With this assistance, he hoped to prevent the Parliament, and raise a sufficient number of forces to take Hull, before the Parliament should be able to oppose it. He expected also, that when he was master of Hull and Portsmouth, and had received arms from Holland, many, who were still restrained by the fear of wanting protection, would openly take his part. Moreover, he gave private notice to all his friends, that it was time to repair to York, and ordered letters to be sent in his name to such members as adhered to him, to absent themselves from the Parliament, and retire to York, or to other places where they could be serviceable to him.

All these measures could not be taken so privately but the Parliament had some information, and therefore the King endeavoured to give them some colour, to hinder his designs from being discovered. After his disappointment at Hull, he summoned all the Yorkshire tenants in chief, to appear at York the 12th of May.

Shortly after, both Houses sent a committee to York, under pretence of bringing the King a message about Hull and the militia, but, in reality, to be spies upon his actions. This message was the more disagreeable to him, as after having returned an answer, and dismissed the committee, they told him they had orders to stay at York.

The 12th of May, his Majesty made a speech to the gentry of the county of York, wherein he protested, "That the enjoying of quiet was the chief cause of his coming among them in the north, and not to make that part of the kingdom a seat of war, as malice would make them believe." He added, "that both Houses of Parliament did, by their messengers, brave him even in York; and that, as his magazine of Hull was going, directly against his will, to be taken from him, and the militia to be put in execution against law and his consent; and lastly, as Sir John Hotham's treason was countenanced, none could blame him for apprehending danger. Therefore he was resolved to have a guard, in which he desired their concurrence and assistance."

The Yorkshire gentry being variously disposed, it was not possible for the hearers of the King's speech, to agree in the same answer. It is even said, some violence was used by the court, to exclude from the debate such as were known to be opposite to the King, and that these were forced to assemble elsewhere. For this reason the King received four different answers to his proposition, two whereof were favourable, and the other two besought him to hearken to the advice of his Parliament. The guard however was raised, and the command thereof given to the Prince of Wales.

The King would have also removed the courts of justice from Westminster to York, and even sent a proclamation to the Lord Keeper Littleton for that purpose, with orders to publish it. But the Parliament having notice of it, forbade him to execute the orders.

Serjeant Major General Skippon being an excellent officer, and the King knowing the Parliament designed to employ him, sent for him to attend him at York. But the Parliament gave him orders to the contrary, which Skippon obeyed. This doubtless was foreseen by the King, but he was very glad to show that the Parliament desired a war, since they so haughtily contradicted his orders,

The Earl of Bristol, though he had no great reason to be pleased with the King, made his last effort to procure an accommodation, by a speech in the House of Peers. He represented, that the thing was not impossible, if it was sincerely endeavoured. After having enumerated all the mischiefs of a civil war, and the calamities it is usually attended with, he moved to appoint a select committee of both Houses, truly to state all the differences between the King and the Parliament, with the most probable ways of reconciling them; what the King ought to do to satisfy the people, and what security he should give. He added several other things, which plainly showed, he inclined to the King's side; and because, withal, he mentioned religion but very slightly and in general terms, his speech had no great effect.

The same, or the next day, the Commons voted:

"I. That it appeared, that the King, seduced by wicked counsels, intended to make war against the Parliament, who, in all their consultations and actions, had proposed no other end unto themselves, but the care of his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person.

"II. That whensoever the King made war upon the Parliament, it would be a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of the government.

"III. That whosoever should serve or assist him in such wars, would be traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and had been so adjudged by two acts of Parliament, and ought to suffer as traitors, 11 Rich. II. 1 Hen. IV."

May the 22d, the Lord Keeper Littleton delivered the great seal to be carried to the King, and followed it himself the next morning, before the Parliament had any knowledge of it.

The 23d, both Houses sent a petition to the King, to desire him to disband the horse and foot raised under colour of a guard for his person. They told him, if he did not dismiss these forces, they should be obliged to preserve the peace of the kingdom by the most proper

per means. The King returned a very sharp answer to this petition, reproaching both Houses, that they had raised a guard for themselves, and ordered the sheriffs to oppose with the power of the counties, such as should be drawn together by the King's command.*

The Earl of Bristol, in his speech to the Lords, the 20th of May, observed, that it was not impossible to propound and settle the differences between the King and the Parliament; but that the great difficulty consisted in finding such security, as might stand with the King's honour, and the people's satisfaction. He chiefly insisted upon this, that the King offering to give reasonable security, they were not to reject the offer, and charge themselves with the events of a war. As this offer, though made in very general terms, appeared plausible, the Parliament was apprehensive, it would make some impression on the people. And therefore, they judged it necessary, to show that the King, by this general offer, did however offer only his word for security, which could not be a firm foundation of a good agreement. To this end, they sent him, the 2d of June, nineteen propositions, which they considered as proper to establish a good peace, and strict union between the King and the Parliament. They required, that no man should remain in the council, who was not agreeable to Parliament; that no deed of the King's should have validity, unless it passed the council, and was attested under their hand; that all the officers of state and principal judges should be chosen with consent of Parliament, and enjoy their offices for life; that none of the royal family should marry without consent of Parliament or council; that the laws should be executed against Catholics; that the votes of Popish Lords should be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church government should have place, according to advice of Parliament; that the ordinance, with regard to the militia, be submitted to; that the justice of Parliament pass upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted, with such exceptions as should be advised by Parliament; that the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of Parliament; and that no Peer be made but with consent of both Houses.—— "Should I grant these demands," said the King in reply, "I may be waited on bareheaded; I may have my hand kissed; the title of Majesty may be continued to me; and the King's authority, signified by both Houses, may still be the style of your commands; I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead:) but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a King."

It is easy to see, that neither the Parliament propositions, nor the King's answer, were proper to beget an accommodation. Accordingly, it may be affirmed, that neither side thought of any such thing. When the King published his answer, he had received some arms, ammunition, and pieces of ordnance from Holland, and besides that, was preparing to besiege Hull. Though great part of the arms were now removed to London, he hoped still to find there sufficient for his most urgent occasions. Moreover, this place, which was one of the strongest in the kingdom, could be of great service to him, to keep the adjacent country in his interest.

On the other hand, the Presbyterian party, who then prevailed in the Parliament, had almost attained their desire, that is, had brought things to a rupture, which gave them room to hope, they should quickly have opportunity to accomplish the rest of their project. Indeed, this rupture between the King and the Parliament being supposed, it was manifest, the kingdom was to be governed by the Parliament and the King, separately, and not jointly, as before, that is, they would each govern those of their party; in which case, the Parliament would have no more occasion for the King's consent, who would be looked upon as an enemy, and consequently, they might ordain whatever they pleased, without any opposition. This was precisely the point to which all the proceedings of the Presbyterian party had tended, without their discovering themselves however, any more than was necessary to support the expectations of their adherents.

The Parliament having received advice from Holland, that the Queen had pawned or sold some of the crown jewels at Amsterdam, published the 2d of June, an order, declaring, that whosoever was concerned in the selling or pawning these jewels, or in the bringing any money to the King, by way of bill of exchange, or otherwise, should be accounted an enemy to the state. But the Queen had already laid out the money in purchasing arms and ammunition, which she had conveyed to the King, in a small ship called the Providence, which, the very day the Parliament published this order, safely arrived in Burlington bay, after having been warmly pursued by part of the Parliament's fleet, commanded by the Earl of Warwick.†

Some time before, the King, finding a war unavoidable, had ordered his friends in both Houses, to absent themselves from the Parliament. He hoped, by lessening so considerably the number of the members, to lessen the credit of the Parliament. But this policy turned not to his advantage. It is true, both Houses were considerably lessened in number. But withal, the King's party there grew so weak, that they could no longer oppose the resolutions taken against the King. Though the two Houses were not sorry to be rid of these spies, they believed it was necessary to take some measures, either to hinder a greater desertion, or to convince the people, it was not their fault if the Parliament was not so numerous as hitherto. The Commons therefore ordered all the sheriffs of the kingdom, to give notice to the representatives to attend the House by the 16th of June, on the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, to be employed in the wars in Ireland, and on pain of undergoing such farther punishment as the House should think fit.

But the Lords went still farther, for they ordered nine of their members,‡ who had repaired to the King at York, to appear at the bar the 8th of June as delinquents. These nine Lords having sent their excuse by a letter, the Commons forthwith prepared an impeachment against them, and sent it up to the Lords. The 20th of July the Peers pronounced sentence against the nine Lords, declaring, they should not sit or vote in the House during the present Parliament, and should stand committed to the Tower during the pleasure of the House.

On the 10th of June, both Houses gave a more evident proof of their design; for upon receiving advice, that the King was actually giving out commissions to levy forces, they published proposals for the bringing in of money or plate, at eight per cent, for the defence of the kingdom.

The King having notice of what the Parliament had done for the speedy raising of money, wrote to the Lord Mayor of London, commanding him to publish his letter, wherein he forbade the citizens to lend any money to both Houses. This letter occasioned their publishing a declaration, the aim whereof was to show the people, that the Parliament was under an absolute necessity of preparing for their defence. They said, his Majesty having so often threatened them about Hull and the militia, they could not but consider his preparations as a design to levy war against his Parliament.

The King made to this declaration a long answer, full of reproaches of the illegal proceedings of both Houses against

* This order was dated May 17, and was repeated again May 28, together with an order to all high sheriffs, justices of peace, and other officers, within one hundred and fifty miles of York, to stay all arms and ammunition going to that city.

† The Providence ran ashore upon Holderness coast in Kenningham Creek. There were on board of her, sixteen pieces of ordnance, and great store of arms and ammunition. Two or three thousand arms, and two hundred barrels of gun-powder, says Lord Clarendon.

‡ Spencer Compton, Earl of Northampton; William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire; Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth, and Henry Cary, Earl of Dover; and Robert Lord Rich, Charles Howard Lord Andover, Charles Lord Grey of Ruthen, Thomas Lord Coventry, and Arthur Lord Capel.

against him. He did not deny, that he intended to have justice in the cases of Hull and the militia, or lose his life in acquiring it; and affirmed, that this was no proof of a design to make war against the Parliament, but only of his intention to defend himself against their attacks. The Parliament said the same thing on their part, and each endeavoured to cast the blame of the war on the opposite party. In short, the Parliament, weary of these paper skirmishes, prohibited, by a printed order, the publishing any declarations or papers in the King's name, that should be contrary to the ordinances of the Parliament.*

The King, before he came to an open declaration, had a mind to execute two designs he had formed. The first was, to become master of the fleet; the second, to besiege Hull. The project of the fleet was solely founded in the expectation, that the captains of the ships would declare for him as soon as commanded. In this belief, he wrote to each captain in particular, requiring him, without delay, and without demanding the orders of his superiors, to bring away his ship to Burlington Bay, and yield no further obedience to the Earl of Warwick. He sent withal a letter to the Earl of Warwick, to discharge him from the command of the fleet. The letters to the captains were to be delivered, as indeed they were, before that directed to the Earl of Warwick. The King dispatched at the same time a messenger to London, to carry to the Earl of Northumberland a revocation of his commission of Admiral, under the Great Seal. The Earl of Warwick, who was then on shore, having notice of what passed in the fleet, went immediately on board his ship, and summoned all the captains to attend him at a council of war. All obeyed, notwithstanding the King's orders, except five, who united together to make their defence, in case they should be attacked. The rest protested to their Admiral, they would obey his commands. As soon as he had secured these last, he caused them to come to an anchor round the five others, to force them to submit. But three of them thought fit to come in upon a summons. The two that still remained obstinate, suffered themselves to be shamefully taken by unarmed boats, and were sent to London. Thus the King was disappointed of his aim, for which, though of great importance, he had not doubtless taken very proper measures.†

After this fruitless attempt, the King believed it in vain to dissemble any longer, and that he must at last begin the war. To that end, he ordered the Earls of Newcastle to secure the town of Newcastle; which was performed, though with some difficulty, and then he caused also Tinmouth castle to be seized. At the same time, he sent many Lords and Gentlemen into their respective shires to levy forces, and by a patent under the Great Seal, appointed the Earl of Hertford, his Lieutenant-General of the western counties. He kept near his person the Earl of Lindsey, to be, under him, General of his army. Sir Jacob Ashley was General of the foot; and the place of General of the horse, was reserved for Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, and brother to the Elector Palatine, who was daily expected.

Though the King had pretended to raise only a guard for his person, it was found however, that in the beginning of July, he had about three thousand foot, and seven or eight hundred horse, with which he resolved to march to Hull. He stayed some days at Beverly, and published a proclamation, to signify his intention to besiege Hull, and the reasons that induced him thereto. Three days after, he sent a proclamation to the Parliament, with a message, requiring them, that the town of Hull might be forthwith delivered to him.

Before the Parliament received this message, they had resolved to present a petition to his Majesty, to pray him, in a very humble manner, to forbear all preparations for war; to remove his forces from about Hull; to dismiss his troops; to send away his garrisons from Newcastle, Tinmouth, and other places; for which they promised also, on their part, to discontinue all the preparations they had been forced to make for their defence. The King returned a long answer in writing to this petition. He made likewise some propositions to both Houses, allowing them to the 27th of July for a full and positive answer.

The Parliament having returned an unsatisfactory answer to the propositions, the King resolved to begin the siege of Hull. But this enterprise was so unsuccessful, that after having been some time before the town, without making any progress, he was obliged to raise the siege, or rather blockade, and return to York. The Earl of Clarendon says, the King undertook the siege of Hull, upon the assurance given him by Sir John Hotham, that he would surrender the town at the first

* It has been observed, that each party was now willing to throw on its antagonist the odium of commencing a civil war; but both of them prepared for an event, which they deemed inevitable. To gain the people's favour and good opinion, was the chief point on both sides. Never was there a people less corrupted by vice, and more actuated by principle than the English during that period: never were there individuals who possessed more capacity, more courage, more public spirit, more disinterested zeal. The infusion of one ingredient, in too large a proportion, had corrupted all these noble principles, and converted them into the most virulent poison. To determine his choice in the approaching contests, every man hearkened with avidity to the reasons proposed on both sides. The war of the pen preceded that of the sword, and daily sharpened the humours of the opposite parties. Besides private adventurers without number, the King and Parliament themselves carried on the controversy, by messages, remonstrances, and declarations; where the nation was really the party to whom all arguments were addressed. Charles had here a double advantage. Not only his cause was more favourable, as supporting the ancient government in church and state against the most illegal pretensions: it was also defended with more art and eloquence. Lord Falkland had accepted the office of secretary, a man who adorned the purest virtue with the richest gifts of nature, and the most valuable acquisitions of learning. By him, assisted by the King himself, were the memorials of the royal party chiefly composed. So sensible was Charles of his superiority in this particular, that he took care to disperse every where the papers of the Parliament together with his own, that the people might be the more enabled, by comparison, to form a judgment between them. The Parliament while they distributed copies of their own, were anxious to suppress all the King's compositions.—To clear up the principles of the constitution, to mark the boundaries of the powers entrusted by law to the several members, to shew what great improvements the whole political system had received from the King's late concessions, to demonstrate his entire confidence in his people, and his reliance on their affections, to point out the ungrateful returns which had been made him, and the enormous encroachments, insults, and indignities, to which he had been exposed; these were the topics, which, with so much justness of reasoning and propriety of expression, were insisted on in the King's declarations and remonstrances. In some of these declarations, at first supposed to be penned by Lord Falkland, but which Lord Clarendon subsequently ascribed to the King himself, is found the first regular definition of the constitution, according to our present idea of it, that occurs in any English composition; at least any published by authority. The three species of government, monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical, are there plainly distinguished, and the English government is expressly said to be none of them pure, but all of them mixed and tempered together. This style, though the sense of it was implied in many constitutions, no former King of England would have used, and no subject would have been permitted to use. Banks and the crown-lawyers against Hambden, in the case of ship money, insist plainly, and openly, on the King's absolute and sovereign power, and the opposite lawyers do not deny it: they only assert, that the subjects have also a fundamental property in their goods, and that no part of them can be taken but by their own consent in Parliament. But that the Parliament was instituted to check and controul the King, and share the supreme power, would, in all former times have been esteemed very blunt and indiscreet, if not illegal language. We need not be surprised that government should long continue, though the boundaries of authority, in their several branches, be implicit, confused, and undetermined. This is the case over all the world. Who can draw an exact law between the spiritual and temporal powers in Catholic states? What code ascertained the precise authority of the Roman Senate, in every occurrence? Perhaps the English is the first mixed government, where the authority of every part has been very accurately defined; and yet there still remain many very important questions between the two houses, that, by common consent, are buried in a discreet silence. The King's power is indeed more exactly limited: but this period, of which we now treat, is the time at which that accuracy commenced. It appears from Warwick and Hobbes, that many royalists blamed this philosophical precision, and thought that the veil was very imprudently drawn off the mysteries of government. It is certain, that liberty reaped mighty advantages from these controversies and inquiries; and the royal authority itself became more secure, within these provinces which were assigned to it.

† Sir John Pennington, it seems, having refused to undertake the business, each captain, as is said above, had orders to bring away his ship; but Pennington altered his mind, the dispatches were altered too, and the captains were commanded in their letters to follow Pennington's orders, who not coming time enough, the project came to nothing. Had the first letters gone, the five ships above-mentioned might have gone off.

shot, but that it was not possible for Hotham to perform his word.*

The King as before observed, had, some months since, gained Colonel Goring, Governor of Portsmouth, who, feigning to keep the place for the Parliament, held it indeed for the King. He received money from both sides, to reinforce the garrison and raise new works, the Parliament not mistrusting him, and the King relying on his word. At last, about the time the King was before Hull, Goring openly declared for him. This happened in the beginning of August, but three weeks after the Parliament had issued orders for levying an army, to be commanded by the Earl of Essex.† This army not being yet ready, both Houses, though astonished at Goring's defection, were not however discouraged. As it was of the utmost importance to recover this place, the strongest in the kingdom, before the King should be able to relieve it, they hastily dispatched a committee, whom they empowered to assemble the militia of the neighbouring counties, to block up Portsmouth by land, whilst the Earl of Warwick, by their order, blocked it up by sea. Happily for the Parliament, Goring, though he had received from them three thousand pounds, and the like sum from the King, had neglected to lay in the necessary provisions for a siege, and particularly corn and salt, so that in the very beginning of the blockade, he perceived, he could not resist long. This made him resolve to capitulate. He surrendered the place to the committee, only for liberty to retire into Holland, and for his officers to repair to the King.

During the blockade of Portsmouth, the King not doubting but Goring was in condition to defend that place, published at last a declaration that had long been prepared, wherein he summed up all the complaints he had already made against both Houses; declared both Houses guilty of high-treason, and forbade all his subjects to obey them: at the same time was also published a proclamation, requiring all men who could bear arms, to repair to him by the 25th of August, at Nottingham, where he intended to set up his royal standard, which all good subjects were obliged to attend.

Whilst the day appointed for the setting up of the standard was expected, the King endeavoured to augment the number of his forces. He gave out fresh commissions, and sent the Earl of Hertford and some other Lords and Gentlemen to manage his concerns, and raise troops, in the western parts. For himself, he departed from York, some days before the 25th of August, and in his way took Lincoln, whence he drew the arms of the trained-bands for his troops, after which he came to Nottingham, and the next day reviewed his horse.

The review was no sooner ended, but he was informed that two regiments of foot were marching to Coventry by the Earl of Essex's orders. Whereupon he hasted thither with his cavalry, consisting of seven or eight hundred horse, in hopes of preventing the Parliament's forces, and possessing himself of that city. Accordingly he arrived there the day before the two regiments: but the Mayor of the city, though without a garrison, shut the gates against him, and fired upon his men. He was very sensibly touched with this indignity; but as there was no remedy, he was forced to return to Nottingham, leaving the command of his cavalry to Commissary-General Wilmot.

The next day, his horse being upon a plain of five or six miles extent, where nothing incumbered them, had a clear view of a body of twelve hundred of the enemies' foot, guarded only by one troop of horse. Wilmot, it seemed, could not have wished for a fairer opportunity to attack with advantage this body of foot, who had nothing to secure them. But, for what reason it is not known, instead of attacking the enemies, he thought only of avoiding them, and even retreated with some precipitation. This was a bad omen to a war just commenced.

At last, on the 25th of August, the King caused his standard to be erected on a turret of Nottingham castle, having with him only some unarmed trained-bands. His proclamation had produced so little effect, that few were come to attend the royal standard. It happened, even, the very day the standard was erected, to grow so tempestuous, that it was blown down, and could not be fixed again in a day or two. This was looked upon by many as a fatal presage of the war.‡

* The Lord Digby coming privately to the King at York, from beyond sea, and not finding matters as he expected, resolved to go back to the Queen, and hasten the supply of arms, but was taken at sea by the ships that were chasing the Providence, and brought disguised like a Frenchman into Hull, where discovering himself to Sir John Hotham, he prevailed with him, according to the Lord Clarendon, to promise to surrender the town, if the King would come before it, and make but one shot. And this, he says, induced the King to march to Beverly, in order to besiege Hull, before he had any thing in readiness for such an undertaking.

† Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford; was, on July 14, appointed General of the horse.

‡ Carte, in his life of the Duke of Osmond, informs us, that when the bust of Berneni was carried to the King's house, at Chelsea, his Majesty, with a train of nobility, went to take a view of it, and that, "As they were viewing it, a hawk flew over their heads, with a partridge in his claws, which he had wounded to death. Some of the partridges blood fell on the neck of the statue, where it always remained, without being wiped off."

BOOK XX.

COMPRISING THE THIRD AND LAST PART OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

THE King had imagined, that the setting up of his standard would draw great numbers of people to Nottingham, who would come and offer him their service: but he was very much disappointed. He had with him but three hundred foot, and some trained-bands drawn together by Sir John Digby, sheriff of the county. His cavalry consisted only of eight hundred horse, and his artillery was still at York, whence it was difficult to bring it, many things being yet wanted to prepare and form it for marching, and there were no foot to guard it. Nevertheless, as he had given out many commissions, and ordered his forces to repair to Nottingham, he expected them in that town, though not without danger, the Parliament having at Coventry five thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. Thus the King was in a very melancholy state before the war was well begun. He had appointed the Earl of Lindsey for General; but had yet no army. The Princes Rupert and Maurice his nephews, brothers of the Elector Palatine, having come to offer him their service in the beginning of September, he made Prince Rupert, General of his horse, quartered at Leicester, whither the Prince went and took upon him the command.

The King, it is certain, was in extreme danger at Nottingham. The town was not in condition to make a long resistance, and the King having scarcely any forces, if the Parliament's troops, which were within twenty miles of the place, had marched directly to him, he must have been forced to retire with dishonour to York, unless he would have hazarded his being made prisoner. All those about him saw the danger; but it was not easy to avoid it, without quitting Nottingham, which could not but be very prejudicial to him. For this reason it was moved in the council, to send a message to both Houses, with some overture to incline them to a treaty. The intent of this proposition, was doubtless to intimate to the King, that his affairs were in such a situation, that peace alone could free him from the perplexity and danger he was exposed to. But the mover of this advice could hardly think, that a bare offer of peace was able to effect it, after what had passed before the rupture. Very likely, therefore, his design was that, in proposing a peace, something more should be offered, than what had been offered before. The King easily perceived the intimation, and was so offended at it, that he broke up the council, that it might be no longer urged.

However, the next day the same motion was renewed, but under a different view. As it was doubtless perceived, that what had offended the King, was the plain meaning of proposing a peace, namely, that his Majesty must depart from some of his pretensions, care was taken to remove this odious meaning, and it was advised only to send a message to both Houses, in order to gain time. The King still opposed it, alledging, to offer peace in such a juncture, would be dicovering his weakness: that his enemies would reject the offer with insolence, and nothing but dishonour would thereby reflect on himself. But it was represented to him, that such a message might do good, but could do no harm: that indeed, both Houses, very likely, would reject the offer, but they would thereby render themselves odious to the people, who were desirous of peace, and who would be the more inclined to serve his Majesty, for his endeavours to procure it: that if the overture was accepted, the King would have an opportunity of demonstrating, that the war, on his part, was purely defensive: in short, that the bare offer of peace would of course retard the preparations of the Parliament, because men's minds would be in suspense, whilst the King's levies might be continued by virtue of the commissions already sent out.*

The King yielded to these reasons, because the point was not to offer any new conditions, but only to lay a snare for the Parliament, and retard their preparations. This was the sole motive of the message, wherein the King proposed nothing new, and which, however, he represented afterwards as an evident sign of his sincere desire of peace. Some pretend, that his Majesty's message, and the Parliament's refusal, contributed much to facilitate the King's levies, and undeceive the people of their good opinion of the intentions of both Houses. If the bare overture of a treaty was capable of keeping people in suspence, and retarding the Parliament's levies, it might also have the same effect with regard to the King's.†

Be this as it will, the message was sent three days after the setting up of the standard, by the Earl of Southampton, Sir John Culpepper, and some others.‡

He propounded to both Houses, "That some persons might be by them enabled, to treat with the like number authorized by him, in such a manner, and with such freedom of debate, as might best tend to the peace of the kingdom. And he assured them, that nothing should be wanting on his part, which might advance the Protestant religion, oppose popery, secure the laws of the land, and confirm all just power and privileges of Parliament. If this proposition should be rejected, he protested, he had done his duty so amply, that God would absolve him from any of the guilt of that blood which must be spilt."

As the war was sufficiently proclaimed by the erecting of the standard, it seems, the King should have demanded a safe-conduct for his messengers. But though he had neglected to take this precaution, they pretended to go and sit in their respective places, without any

* The Earl of Southampton, a nobleman greatly distinguished for his talents, was the chief author of the advice.

† It is judiciously observed by Acherly, that those on whom the Parliament's representations prevailed, were generally people of the midland counties, and the traders in the southern parts of the kingdom, who had smarted most by the arbitrary acts of power, such as seizures of goods, prosecutions for ship-money, loans, tonnage and poundage, illegal imprisonment, &c. Those on whom the King's representations prevailed, were generally his subjects in the farthest parts of the nation, in Wales, Cornwall, Cumberland, &c. who were the least sensible, and had been the least afflicted with the late pressures and sufferings; after the King's departing from the known laws.

‡ The Earl of Dorset, and Sir William Uvedale, knight.

previous notice. The Lords, offended at the Earl of Southampton's boldness, called upon him to withdraw, and ordered him to send his message in writing, and wait for an answer out of London. The Commons also obliged Culpepper to deliver his message at the bar, at which the King took great offence.

The answer of both Houses to his Majesty's message was, "That notwithstanding their endeavours to prevent the distracted estate of the kingdom, nothing had followed the proclamations and declarations against both Houses of Parliament, whereby their actions were declared treasonable, and their persons traitors. So that until those proclamotions were recalled, and the standard taken down, they could not, by the fundamental privileges of Parliament, give his Majesty any other answer to his message."

The King's messengers being returned to Nottingham with this answer, "His Majesty," says Lord Clarendon, "was contented to make so much farther use of their pride and passion, as to give them occasion, by another message, to publish more of it to the people." He said in his reply: "That he never designed to declare both Houses of Parliament traitors, or set up his standard against them, and much less to put them and the kingdom out of his protection; he utterly professed against it before God and the world. But he promised, that if a day were appointed by them for the revoking of their declarations against all persons as traitors or otherwise for assisting him, he would, with all cheerfulness, upon the same day, recal his proclamations and declarations, and take down his standard."

The two Houses answered, "That his Majesty not having taken down his standard, recalled his proclamations and declarations, whereby he had declared the actions of both Houses of Parliament to be treasonable, and their persons traitors, and having published the same since his message, they could not recede from their former answer. That if his Majesty would recall his declarations, and return to his Parliament, he should find such expressions of their fidelities and duties, that his safety, honour, and greatness could only be found in the affections of his people, and the sincere counsels of his Parliament, who deserved better of his Majesty, and could never allow themselves, representing likewise the whole kingdom, to be ballanced with those who gave evil counsels to his Majesty."

Both Houses perceiving, that the King's aim was to keep the people in suspense by an uncertain expectation of peace, published a declaration, protesting, they would never lay down their arms till his Majesty had left the delinquents to the justice of the Parliament.

The King failed not, to make use of the answers of both Houses to his two messages, in a third which he sent to them, saying, "That let all the world judge who had used most endeavours to prevent the present distractions, either he who had condescended to desire and press it, or the two Houses, who had refused to enter into a negotiation. That for the future, if they desired a treaty of him, he should remember that the blood which was to be spilt in this quarrel was that of his subjects, and therefore would return to his Parliament, as soon as the causes which had made him absent himself from it should be removed."

Both Houses finding, the King's design was to render their refusal to treat, odious to the people, returned a stronger and more particular answer to this message than they had made to the two first; which, in its turn, drew forth a more detailed rejoinder from the King.

During these paper skirmishes, both sides prepared for war. The Earl of Essex having ordered his forces to assemble at Northampton, departed from London the 9th of September to head the army; and having reviewed them, found about sixteen thousand men well armed, and well appointed with a good train of artillery. Then the King, perceiving he could no longer remain at Nottingham with safety, marched towards the borders of Wales with his troops,* which were yet so few in number, that they did not deserve the name of an army. He was unresolved in what place to expect the forces that were to come to him from several parts: but intended to secure, if possible, Shrewsbury or Chester, without knowing however, whether either of these towns would receive him, the Parliament having in all those parts very active and vigilant agents, who employed all their pains to procure them adherents. For this reason the King marched but very slowly. When he came to Wellington, about seven miles from Shrewsbury, he drew his little army together, and caused his military orders for the discipline thereof to be read before them; after which he took occasion to make a speech to his soldiers, and the better to satisfy them of his good intentions to the public, he made the following protestation.

"I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion established in the church of England, and by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

"I desire to govern by all the known laws of the land, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be by them preserved, with the same care as my own just rights. And if it please God, by a blessing upon this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from this rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the known laws of the land to my utmost power, and particularly to observe inviolably the laws consented to by me in this Parliament.

"In the meanwhile, if this time of war, and the great necessity and straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and man to the authority of this war, and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of the peace of this kingdom.

"When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no aid or relief from any man, or protection from heaven: but in this resolution, I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of God's blessing."

The King was not contented with making this protestation to his army, but moreover, in all the considerable places he passed through, he assembled the inhabitants, and endeavoured to convince them of the sincerity of his intentions.

From Wellington the King marched to Shrewsbury, having received the agreeable news that the town had declared in his favour, and the inhabitants would give him a joyful reception. Here he resolved to fix his head quarters, and appoint the rendezvous of his army. This was a very convenient place to expect the troops which were levying for him in Wales, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, and to send for his ordnance, which had not been able to follow him to Nottingham, for want of horses. This had forced him to make use of a hundred draught horses sent by the Parliament to Chester, to be transported into Ireland. He desired to have the Earl of Leicester's consent, who was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and was then with him at Nottingham. But the Earl constantly refusing to give any orders about these horses, bought with the Parliament's money, the King gained one Errington, a servant of the Earl's, who took them and delivered them to the King. This the Parliament taxed the King with. As for arms, the King not having a sufficient quantity for all the troops that were to come from divers parts, had taken the arms of the militia in all the places through which he passed: but it was by way of loan, that is, he obtained the consent of the officers of the militia to take away their arms, on promise of restoring them. As soon as the King came to Shrewsbury, (September 20,) the number of his troops so considerably increased, that in a few days he had an army of ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with which

* He marched from Nottingham to Derby, Stafford, Leicester; and so to Shrewsbury, where he set up a mint.

he

he was entirely secured from the danger he was in, whilst his army was forming.

It is something strange, that the Earl of Essex should neither molest the King while at Nottingham, nor in his march to Shrewsbury. The King made an advantage of this error, to assemble all his forces at the latter town, and provide himself with money, which he wanted extremely. His friends at London had taken care of this last article, and privately sent considerable sums to Oxford. Moreover, the University, which had always been firmly attached to the King, had engaged to deliver to him all the plate belonging to the colleges, which was very considerable. The point was only how to convey this aid safely to his Majesty. To that end, the King sent thither Sir John Byron, with a small detachment of horse, not daring to give him a stronger, for fear of raising a suspicion, that it was for some considerable affair. Byron coming to Oxford, received the money and plate, and returned towards Shrewsbury by way of Worcester, taking all possible precautions not to be attacked in his march. For this aid of money, which the King could not be without, was of the utmost importance to him. Wherefore, the better to secure it, he detached Prince Rupert with a body of horse, who marched on the other side of the Severn to Worcester to meet Byron, and guard him to Shrewsbury.

In the meantime, the Earl of Essex, after staying some days at Northampton, and securing Warwick, resolved to fix his head quarters at Worcester. To that purpose, he sent Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes before, who came to Worcester at break of day, some hours after Sir John Byron had entered with his convoy. Fiennes, at his arrival being told, that there were some of the King's horse in the town, the number whereof he did not know, hastily retreated, without making any attempt. Presently after, Prince Rupert arrived, and to secure Byron's convoy, who was resting himself in order to march on, passed through the town, and posted himself, with his horse, at some distance on the other side. As he did not believe there were any enemies in those parts, he was not very careful to hinder many of his troopers from staying in the town. When he came to the place he had chosen, he alighted with his brother Prince Maurice, and most of the officers, reposing themselves on the ground. On a sudden they perceived, within musket shot, five hundred horse of the enemy marching up a narrow lane. These were a body commanded by Colonel Sandys, whom the Earl of Essex had sent before to take possession of Worcester. Prince Rupert instantly mounting his horse, without a moment's hesitation, charged these troops, as they came out of the lane, and the charge was so vigorous, that the enemy was entirely routed, and Sandys slain, with thirty of his men. This action gained the Prince a great name, not only for the valour he shewed, but chiefly for his sudden and very seasonable resolution, in attacking his enemies when they least expected it. This action, how little important soever it was, failed not to strike great terror into the Parliament's troops, chiefly by reason of Prince Rupert's activity and courage, who afterwards gave them cause to be confirmed in their high opinion of his valour. But though he had gained some little advantage, he did not think fit to expect the enemy at Worcester. He went from thence some hours after, and safely conducted the convoy of money to Shrewsbury, where the King immediately ordered the plate to be coined. The next day, the Earl of Essex possessed himself of Worcester, and making some stay there, secured in the meanwhile, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol.

The King finding himself at the head of an army little inferior in number to the Earl of Essex's, and perceiving, it was not sufficient to remain in quiet at Shrewsbury, whilst the enemy was taking, without resistance, the principal towns in the heart of the kingdom, believed he ought to seek means to put a speedy conclusion to the war. There were two: one was to fight the enemies, the other, to gain some marches upon them, and appear before London, before they could arrive. The King took the latter course, in the expectation that he should raise an universal consternation in London, which might afford his friends opportunity to serve him effectually. So, on a sudden beginning to march the 12th of October, with his army, which was not much incumbered with baggage, there being not one tent, and but little artillery, he quartered that night at Bridgenorth, ten miles from Shrewsbury, next day he came to Wolverhampton, the third day to Birmingham, and the fourth to Kenelworth, where he rested one day. It was two days before the Earl of Essex had notice of his march, and began to follow him. It evidently appears by the King's route, that if he was not in quest of the enemies, at least he feared them not, since he could not be ignorant how easy it was for the Earl of Essex, either to put himself in his way, or overtake him. In all likelihood, he imagined the Earl would not dare to hazard a battle, or that being much more incumbered with baggage and artillery, his march would be considerably retarded. Be this as it will, it was not till the 22d of October, that the two armies came within six miles of one another, without having received any notice of each other's march, till that day. But what is still more surprising, is, that the King, to whom speed was so necessary, had so little advanced in five days; since, leaving Kenelworth the 17th, he was on the 22d, but four miles north of Banbury, and that the Earl of Essex, who departed the 15th from Worcester, should be only at Keinton the 22d, which is not above twenty miles. The King, who till then knew not where the Earl of Essex was, lay encamped near a village called Edgcot, where he had intelligence the 22d in the night, that the enemies were at Keinton, about six miles distant. He found then it would be very difficult to execute his design upon London, whilst he should be so closely followed by the enemies. And therefore he resolved to give them battle. To that end, he drew up his army on Edge-hill, whence might be seen all Keinton plain, where the Parliament's army stood in battle array, the 23d in the morning. The fight began not, however, till three in the afternoon.* The Earl of Essex had a strong reason not to be in haste. Not imagining himself so near a battle, he had left behind two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, with his artillery, and consequently, delay could not but be advantageous to him.

Prince Rupert, who commanded the King's right wing of horse,† marching down the hill, and advancing to charge the enemy's left wing, on a sudden, Sir Faithful Fortescue, who commanded a troop of the Parliament's horse, moving forward with his whole troop from the gross of the cavalry, and joining Prince Rupert, with his highness, charged those he had deserted.‡ This unexpected accident inspired the Parliament's horse with such a terror, each man looking upon his companion as upon an enemy, that they were entirely routed, and pursued above two miles from the field of battle. By this unadvised pursuit, the King was in danger of the same fate which his predecessor Henry III. had at the battle of Lewes. The Parliament's right wing stood their ground no better than the left. They ran away full speed, and were pursued with the same fury and imprudence. What was moreover fatal to the King, was, that his reserve of a regiment

* Lord Clarendon says, though the horse were ready, the foot were quartered at such a distance, that many regiments marched seven or eight miles to the rendezvous, so that it was one o'clock before the King's forces moved.

† The left wing was commanded by Commissary-General Wilmot, assisted by Sir Arthur Aston. The Earl of Lindsey led the foot, and next to him was his son the Lord Willoughby, with the King's regiment.——On the Parliament's side: their right wing, which consisted of three regiments of horse, was commanded by Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Balfour, and the Lord Fielding. Sir John Meldrum's brigade led the van, Colonel Essex was in the middle, and Colonel Ballard, and Hollis, and the Lord Brooke, in the rear. In the left wing were twenty-four troops of horse, commanded by Sir James Ramsey.

‡ Sir Faithful Fortescue was come from Ireland to hasten supplies, and had a troop of horse raised for him for that service, but his troops had been disposed into the Parliament's army, and he was now Major to Sir William Waller.

of horse, thinking the victory unquestionable, by the flight of the enemies' cavalry, with spurs and loose reins followed the chase, and could not be hindered by their commanders.

All this while the foot of both armies were engaged without victory's inclining to either side. But at last, Sir William Balfour, to whom the Earl of Essex had given the command of the reserve, turned the scale. As soon as he saw the King's horse employed in the pursuit of the flying troops, he went and charged the foot in the flank, and put them into such disorder, that the King, with the two Princes his sons, were in danger of being made prisoners. The Earl of Lindsey, the King's general, was taken, having been shot in the thigh, of which he died the next day, and the standard, which was always near the King's person, was lost by the death of the standard bearer, Sir Edmund Verney, but it was recovered afterwards.*

The return of Prince Rupert with his horse, prevented the King's entire defeat. For Balfour, who had only a small body of reserve, seeing the cavalry returning from the chace, suddenly quitted the fight, and secured himself near the Earl of Essex's foot. Could the King and Prince Rupert have persuaded their horse to charge the Parliament's infantry, who had scarcely any cavalry to support them, probably they would have routed them, and obtained a complete victory. But the horse that were returned from the pursuit in extreme disorder, could never be brought to charge the enemies, who stood in good order, though they were in great danger. As soon as the Earl of Essex saw the enemies' cavalry returning, he had drawn off his infantry from the battle, and ranged them in the best manner he could, in order the better to support the charge of the King's horse, who, in all appearance, would come and attack them. But it was not his business to renew the fight. It was sufficient for him to keep his ground, as he did, till night, which freed him from his uneasiness.

When the battle began, there remained not above two or three hours, and as the King's horse had spent some time in the pursuit of the runaways, and after their return, could not be prevailed with to renew the fight, it was too late for the King to rally his infantry, who were in great disorder, and whereof above two thirds were missing. Both armies kept their posts all night, and in the morning neither thought themselves in condition to renew the battle. It is true, the forces left behind by the Earl of Essex, arrived in the night with his artillery. However, as he had no other cavalry than the five hundred horse that were newly come, and the small body commanded by Balfour, he did not think he ought to hazard a second battle against a body of cavalry that had been victorious the day before, and were still facing his army. The King, on his side, finding himself without infantry, and considering that his troops had suffered very much by the cold, which was extremely sharp that night, believed it sufficient to let his enemies see he feared them not. In this disposition, the two armies faced each other the whole day, without any desire to engage. At last, the Earl of Essex ordering his baggage to be drawn off, the King retired to the quarters he had taken the day before the battle, and the Earl of Essex marched towards Warwick. The number of the slain on the field of battle was about five thousand. What the Earl of Clarendon says, that two days after, the King reviewing his army, found there were not above three hundred men lost, is hardly credible, even according to his own description of this battle. But without dwelling upon the particular circumstances of the battle, which were extremely disguised or exaggerated by both parties, who equally claimed the victory, the consequences demonstrate, that they might have more justly owned, that each had been worsted.† Three or four days after the battle, the King took Banbury castle, where was a garrison of eight hundred foot, and a troop of Horse. But if the circumstances of taking this place be well considered, it will be found, that it was far from being a consequence or effect of victory. For first, the King summoned the castle, contrary to the opinion of all his generals, who believed his army little able to undertake the siege. Secondly, he alledged for reason, that he could not determine what course to take, till he was informed of the intention of the enemies, and that if they designed to attack him, he could not fight in a more advantageous place. In short, Banbury castle surrendered at the first shot, which leaves it uncertain, whether the King would have persisted in the siege in case of resistance, and whether the Earl of Essex would have suffered him to do it unmolested. The taking of Banbury determined the King to withdraw to Oxford, the only place in those parts at his devotion, by means of the university, whose members were extremely attached to his interest.

Though the Parliament also claimed the victory, they were very sensible they had no great reason to triumph. The news concerning the battle of Edge-hill or Keinton, being very various at first, the King's friends at London, industriously magnified all the circumstances which might give room to believe that the King was victorious, in order to dispose the people to peace. When both Houses had perfect information of the success of the late battle, what public demonstrations soever they made, to cause the people to believe their army victorious, they were very sensible, such victories were little capable to oblige the King to throw himself into their arms, though the people had been amused with such hopes. Then the King's adherents who were still in the House of Commons, observing the consternation expressed by most of the members, grew more bold, and scrupled not to propose a peace, as the only means to free themselves from trouble.

The day before the battle, both Houses had published a declaration; protesting, in the first place, "That no private passion or respect, no evil intention to his Majesty's person, no design to the prejudice of his just honour and authority, engaged them to raise forces, and take up arms; that his Majesty had refused to receive an humble and dutiful petition, which they had directed the Earl of Essex to deliver to him; that they were fully convinced, that the King was so engaged to the Popish party, that all hopes of peace were excluded; that great numbers of Papists had in shew conformed themselves to the Protestant religion, in order to qualify themselves for posts in the King's army; that his Majesty endeavoured at first to keep off all jealousies and suspicions, by many fearful oaths and imprecations, concerning his purpose of maintaining the Protestant religion, and the laws of the kingdom, causing some professed Papists to be discharged out of his army, and none to be received that would not come to church, receive the sacrament, and take the oaths. But that afterwards his confidence in the priests did more clearly appear: persons imprisoned for priests and jesuits having been released out of the goal of Lancaster, and commissions granted to professed Papists; that the Lord Herbert, son to the Earl of Worcester, a notorious Papist, was made general of the King's troops in all South Wales; that those who raised forces for his

* It was rescued by Captain John Smith, Lieutenant of the Lord John Steward's troops, newly returned from the execution of the runaways. He was knighted for it, and made standard-bearer.

† In this battle were killed on the King's side, Robert Bartu, Earl of Lindsey; the Lord Stewart, the Lord Aubigny, son to the Duke of Lenox, Sir Edmund Verney, &c. On the Parliament's side, perished the Lord St. John of Bletzo, and Colonel Charles Essex. The Lord Willoughby was taken prisoner, in endeavouring to rescue his father the Earl of Lindsey. Upon the news of this battle (says Whitelock) all counties were alarmed and frighted, being a strange thing in England.——With relation to this battle, Denzil Lord Hollis tells a remarkable story, from his own knowledge, concerning the famous Oliver Cromwell; and that shows, (as he observes) "he was as errant a coward, as he was notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical." This was his base keeping out of the field at Keinton battle; where he, with his troop of horse came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard twenty or thirty miles off.

Majesty

Majesty in the north of England, did arm and employ Papists; that men had been sent to Hamburgh and Denmark to raise forces there, and to bring them over to join with the Earl of Newcastle, and the army of Papists which was intended to be raised in Newcastle; that the King had received in his court divers Papists in Ireland; some of which were indicted of high treason for their rebellion there; namely, the Lord Taaffe, &c. that divers English traitors were the chief counsellors, and actors in this unnatural war, as the Lord Digby, Oneal, Wilmot, Pollard, Ashburnham, &c. that divers jesuits and priests, in foreign parts, made great collections of money for the relief of the Papists in Ireland, and the furthering of his Majesty's designs against the Parliament; for all which reasons they were resolved to enter into a solemn oath and covenant, and expected that their brethren of Scotland would help and assist them, according to the act of pacification between the two kingdoms."

The King answered this declaration with two others, which were published after the battle of Edge-hill. In the first he said:

"That notwithstanding the solemn protestation of both Houses, of having no evil intention to his person, yet they had used their utmost power, by the strength of their army, to have destroyed him. That if he refused to give admittance to the petition sent by the Earl of Essex, it was because it was sent by persons whom he had particularly accused of high treason. He denies his ever having had any inclination to the Papists, or that he had released any priests or jesuits out of the gaol of Lancaster. He says, that the Papists supposed to have commissions were not so much as known to him, and that they had no command, to his knowledge, in his army. He expressly denied, that he ever sent to raise forces in Hamburgh or Denmark. He affirmed, the Parliament entertained several Papists in their troops, and of this he spoke knowingly, as having taken several of them prisoners at the battle of Edge-hill."

The second declaration was intituled, "His Majesty's declaration to all his loving subjects, after his late victory against the rebels on Sunday the 23d of October, 1642." This title was prefixed on purpose to cherish the fears, which the King's friends were endeavouring to infuse into the people, on account of the pretended victory lately obtained by the King against the Parliament's army. The intent of this declaration was to vindicate the King upon three principal articles; namely,

I. That his Majesty favoured Popery, and employed Papists in his army.

II. That his design was to root out Parliaments.

III. That it was his intention, by the commission of array, to take away part of gentlemen's estates from them. As to the first, he said:

"That although he should employ Papists, no one would wonder, who considered the hardships and streights he was driven to, and the little scruple the Parliament made to employ Popish officers and soldiers, who served in great numbers in their army; the industry they used to corrupt their loyalty; the private promises they allured them with to their service, even to the assuring them, that all the penal laws should be repealed. That notwithstanding the artifices of his enemies, and the weakness of his own condition, he could not prevail with himself to recall his proclamation, against receiving into his army such as had not taken the oaths. He owned, however, that he had swerved from this general rule, in favour of some of eminent abilities in command and conduct."

Presently after, both Houses returned an answer to this declaration, the substance whereof was as follows:

"That it was astonishing, the King, having affirmed so positively, that a far greater number of Papists served in their army than in his, should not have been pleased to name a single instance: that they should have been glad of knowing their names, as it would have afforded means to remove those of that religion, who under the profession of Protestants, might have crept into the army without their privity."

Then they pretended to shew the absurdity of saying, that the Parliament endeavoured to corrupt the loyalty of the Papists, with the promise of repealing the penal laws, and alledged divers instances of their severity against them, during the sitting of the present Parliament.

But for a demonstration, said they, that the King acted not with sincerity, when he alledged, in his vindication, that he had ordered no recusant to be received into his troops, and that this order was a mere illusion, they named several Popish officers, who had commissions under the King's own hand, which commissions then remained in the House of Commons. Moreover, they annexed to this declaration a petition, presented to the King by the Popish inhabitants of the county of Lancashire, desiring leave to provide themselves with arms for his service, and the King's answer granting their request.*

The

* This petition, and his Majesty's answer, seem so decisive, that they ought to be inserted in their own terms.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Petition of us the inhabitants of Lancashire, whose names are under-written, in behalf of ourselves, and divers others being recusants,

Humbly sheweth,

"That whereas we, and the rest of this county, your Majesty's most loyal subjects, are disarmed, and not sufficiently provided for the defence of your royal person and our own families; our most humble supplication to your Majesty is, that we may be received into your most gracious protection from violence, have our arms, taken from us, re-delivered in this time of actual war, and by your Majesty's special directions, be enabled further to furnish ourselves with competency of weapons for the security of your royal person, (if we be thereunto required) our countries and families, who now are, not only in danger of the common disturbances, but also menaced by unruly people to be robbed: and when, by the Almighty's assistance, your Majesty's kingdom shall be settled, in case we be again disarmed, that a full value of money in lieu thereof may be restored."

THE KING'S ANSWER.

To our trusty and well-beloved, Sir William Gerrard, Baronet; Sir Cecil Trafford, Knight; Thomas Cliston, Charles Townley, Christopher Anderton, and John Clansfield, and other of our subjects, Esquires in the county of Lancashire.

Charles R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas by reason of the laws and statutes of our realm, by which all recusant convicted are to be without arms, your arms have been taken from you: So that now, in this time of imminent danger, wherein there are armies raised against our commands, and contrary to our proclamations, and are marching against us, and divers of our good subjects, for obeying our lawful commands, and opposing the rebellious proceedings of others ill-affected, they are by a strong hand seized upon and imprisoned, their houses plundered, and their goods taken away; and the like is threatened to ourselves, who, as all other our subjects, ought to have our protection against unlawful violence and force: and the laws made for disarming recusants, were made only for a provision to prevent danger in time of peace, and were not intended to bar you from a necessary use of arms in time of actual war, for your own safety, or for the defence of our person against all rebels and enemies, which by your duty and allegiance you are bound unto; which is not, nor ever was meant to be discharged, or taken away by any act: and whereas, the arms which were taken from you, ought by law to have been kept and preserved, to have been made use of by you in such time of open war, or by such others as you should provide, yet under the specious pretence of disarming recusants, and persons ill-affected, your arms have been disposed and dispersed into the hands of several persons ill-affected, and for the most part, fomenters and exciters of the commotions now raised in this kingdom; our will and command therefore is, and we charge and require you, upon your allegiance, and as you tender the safety of our person, and the peace and welfare of our kingdom, that you, with all possible speed, provide sufficient arms for yourselves, your servants, and your tenants, which we authorize and require, during the time of open war raised against us, to keep and use for the defence of us, and of yourselves, and of your country, against all forces and arms raised, or to be raised against us, or against our consent, or contrary to our proclamations, by colour of any order, or ordinance, or authority whatsoever: and we shall (according as we are bound to all our subjects) use our utmost powers for the protection of you and yours, against all injuries and violence. And whensoever these arms which you shall provide (after it shall please God to put an end to these dangers and distractions) shall be taken away from your custody, by reason of our laws now in force, we do hereby assure you, we will allow you for the same, so much as you shall have dispensed in provision thereof."

These two papers demonstrate, that the King actually employed papists in his service, even at the beginning of the war, and before any effusion of blood: for this petition was presented to him, whilst he

The King and the Parliament were in this state of animosity, when his Majesty's private friends in the House of Commons moved to sue for peace, under colour of the Parliament's inability to continue the war, after their late loss at Edge-hill. The King, on his part, to confirm the opinion his friends were striving to infuse into the people, that the Parliament's army was entirely routed, and to encourage his well-wishers in London to join with those in the Parliament, sent an offer of pardon to the cities of London and Westminster; thereby insinuating to the inhabitants, that such an offer could not but proceed from the superiority he had acquired by his victory. He practised the same thing with regard to some other towns. It is certain, there was then a great agitation in London, caused by the King's friends, who under pretence of dreading a war, which, according to them, was so unfortunately begun, used their utmost endeavours to induce the people openly to demand a peace. Against these secret practices, it was the business of the leading men in the Parliament to provide. And as they were no less able than their adversaries, they quickly found means to baffle this project. Instead of opposing the motion to sue to the King for peace, they supported it with all their power. They said, "That the Parliament had not taken arms for the sake of going to war, but only to procure a good peace, the most desirable thing in the world: that both houses ought not to be ashamed to make the first advances, and humbly sue for peace to their sovereign, but withal, care was to be taken, that a too great zeal for peace might not be a means to leave them at the mercy of their enemies: that in order to make such a peace as was necessary to the welfare of the kingdom, the King was to be told, that they were not yet reduced to the point, of being forced to accept of such terms as he should please to impose, and therefore, if they would have a peace wherein every man might find his safety, it was necessary to take good measures for the continuance of the war: that among all the means which could be used, they saw none more proper, than to invite their brethren of Scotland to their assistance, pursuant to the treaty between the two nations. Not that they actually wanted them, the Parliament's affairs not being reduced to such an extremity, that foreigners were to be hastily introduced into the kingdom, but that the Scots would doubtless so answer their request, as to convince the King, this refuge would not fail the two Houses in case of need: that thereby they should become more formidable, and if the King was really desirous of a peace, he would be forced to grant it upon reasonable terms, which was all that ought to be expected."

As this advice was very plausible, and besides, proposed by men in whom the majority had great confidence, it was approved by the House. Indeed, none could be ignorant, that by the peace which the King had hitherto offered, and which his friends moved to sue for, could be meant only a peace that should put him in possession of all his prerogatives, and that his word should be taken for security that he would abuse them no more. But though the members of Parliament doubted not that the King would grant an act of oblivion, such as they should desire, they did not believe, that such a peace could be advantageous to the kingdom, because they did not believe the King's word to be a sufficient security. Besides, the Presbyterians were no better pleased than they had been hitherto, with a peace which would of course restore episcopacy in all its former lustre. Wherefore things not being yet brought to that state, that the Parliament should be induced to wish for such a peace, it was resolved,

I. That his Majesty should be addressed for settling the peace of the kingdom.

II. That the preparations of forces and other necessary means for defence should be prosecuted with all vigour, if an honourable and safe peace might not be obtained.

III. That the Scots should be applied to for assistance, if there should be occasion.

These resolutions entirely broke all the measures of the King's friends, who had flattered themselves, that the pretended victory of Edge-hill would produce some great effect.

Pursuant to these resolutions, the Parliament took care to recruit the Earl of Essex's army, and to that end it was ordained, that such apprentices as should be listed for soldiers, should reckon the time spent in the wars, as part of their apprenticeship. Whereupon great numbers of apprentices engaged in the Parliament's service.

After that, both Houses sent a declaration into Scotland, wherein they did not demand indeed an immediate aid; but said, "That they did not doubt but the Scots would assist them, if there should be occasion, according to the treaty of amity and alliance between the two nations. That therefore they desired them to raise such forces, as they should think sufficient to secure their own borders against the attempts of the army of Papists, levied by the Earl of Newcastle in the north of England. To engage them the more to what they desired, they said, the enemies of the Protestant religion were so prevalent with his Majesty, that he had rejected all the petitions presented to him. That the present war was for the maintainance of religion, against the efforts of those who had projected its destruction, and that in order to preserve it more effectually, they had willingly embraced the invitation of the Scots, to a nearer degree of union in matters of religion and church government, which they had accordingly resolved to pursue."

It was now some months, since the Scotch commissioners residing at London, had intimated in a memorial presented to the Parliament, that the Scots passionately desired an union of the churches of England and Scotland in the same worship and discipline. As this proposition was expressed by way of wish only, and besides was worded in such a manner, that it might be understood, either that the Scots desired the English to embrace the worship and discipline of the church of Scotland, or that they themselves were willing to conform to the church of England, the Parliament had, in the same ambiguous terms, civilly answered, that they also wished the same thing, and would heartily concur in accomplishing the project. This answer was doubtless framed by the leading Presbyterians, to serve as a corner stone, of which they hoped one day to make good use. But it was not yet time to declare their intention more openly, for fear of losing all the church of England men that were against the King. Probably these men would have been alarmed, if they had clearly known, that the Presbyterians meant to establish their worship and discipline upon the ruins of the church. For the same reason also, in the declaration above mentioned, both Houses, or rather the directors, thought not proper to speak more plainly, and in saying, that both Houses intended to pursue this union, the proposition was left in all its ambiguity, though it was easy for the Scots to perceive, that in time they should receive satisfaction. For it is not to be imagined, there were none but Presbyterians in the Parliament's party, though this may be the notion some would give us of that party, their aim being to insinuate, that the war between the King and the Parliament was properly a religious war, and that the Parliament's sole design was to destroy the church of England, and establish Presbyterianism in its room. As this design was unjust in itself, they would infer, that the war against the King was unjust. This reasoning would be solid and convincing, were it true, that the opposite party to the King had proposed to themselves no other end. But as it is certain, the Presbyterians were not the only persons that had cause to complain of the King, it is no less so, that the party of his enemies consisted not of Presbyterians

was yet at Shrewsbury. For a greater conviction, both Houses annexed also to their declaration, a list of the names of twenty-eight officers, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Serjeants, Majors, Captains, and Lieutenants, that were papists, and actually in the King's service, in the Earl of Newcastle's army.

alone, but also of a very great number of church-men, who saw, that under colour of destroying Presbyterianism, an arbitrary power was about to be established. It is easy to conceive, that these men were ill-affected to the King, had joined with the Parliament, and as yet were attached to their party. But it is inconceivable, that the Presbyterians, who at the beginning of the Parliament made so inconsiderable a figure in both Houses, as well as in the kingdom, should be grown so very numerous in the space of two years, or that the members of the church of England, who complained of the King's former administration, should have entirely renounced the church, and embraced Presbyterianism. It is certain therefore, though the Presbyterian party, considered as a religious party, had prevailed in the Parliament, there were however in that same party, considered as enemies to the King, many church-men who had no other view than the reformation of the civil government, and the security of the nation's liberties. These were the men the Parliament were to manage, for fear of alarming them, till they could be engaged to turn Presbyterians, whether by the superiority the Parliament should acquire in the course of the war, or by the absolute necessity they should be under of relinquishing the people's liberties, or of recurring to the assistance of the Scots, which could be obtained but by changing the government of the church. On the other hand, the church of England men could not take it ill, that the Parliament managed the Scots, since their assistance might happen to be absolutely necessary. The ambiguous expressions therefore in the declaration, with respect to the union of the two churches, served to manage all those who were concerned for the Parliament's affairs. The Scots were gladly suffered to think, that the proposition was understood in the sense they themselves gave it, and the church of England men were told, that the Parliament was properly bound to nothing, in promising to endeavour an union, because there was no more reason for the church of England to conform to that of Scotland, than for this last to conform to that of England. That however great advantage would accrue from this pretended engagement, in that the King, from the apprehension of seeing the Parliament closely united with Scotland, would be induced to make peace upon reasonable terms.

Though on this occasion, the King's enemies had gained some advantage in the Parliament, his friends did not think themselves vanquished. They plainly saw, that so long as both Houses should be able to act with freedom, the King's adversaries would always be superior, and that it was scarcely possible to take away this freedom without an extraordinary assistance. Wherefore, whilst men were still in the agitation occasioned by the battle of Edge-hill, they sent the King word, that if he would appear before London with his army, they did not question, such commotions would be raised in the city, as would turn to his advantage, in which his friends would not fail to exert themselves to the utmost of their power. This made him resolve to march to London. To that end, he ordered a body of horse to go before, who advancing to Reading, the Parliament's troops, quartered there, were seized with such a terror, that they entirely abandoned the place, and the King came thither soon after with his army. Both Houses were alarmed when they heard the King was within thirty miles of London. So, whether for that reason, or with design to amuse him, they sent and desired a safe conduct for a committee of Lords and Commons to attend his Majesty with a petition for peace, pursuant to a resolution taken some days before. The King granted a safe conduct for the committee, excepting only Sir John Evelyn, because he was proclaimed traitor.* In the mean time, both Houses had advice that the Earl of Essex was marching towards London with the utmost speed. For this cause they were in no haste to send the committee to the King, on pretense of his scrupling to admit Evelyn. It is hard to conceive why the King, who could not be ignorant, that the execution of his project depended upon his diligence, stayed long enough at Reading to give the Earl of Essex time to come to London as soon as himself. However this be, he marched the 11th of November to Colebrook, fifteen miles from London. Meanwhile the Earl of Essex's army arrived about the same time, in the neighbourhood of London. But whether it was not ready soon enough, or the Parliament was alarmed, the committee was sent to his Majesty the same day, with a very humble petition, to appoint a place for a treaty. The King returned a gracious answer to this petition, testifying, he wished for nothing more than a peace, and to that end, was content to enter into a treaty. The committee returning to London with this answer, the Parliament immediately sent orders to their forces not to exercise any hostility. But presently after the departure of the committee, the King began to march towards Brentford, seven miles from London, and arriving there the 12th in the morning, attacked the town, where some of the Parliament's troops were quartered, and became master of it, after some resistance.† Immediately after he sent a message to both Houses to inform them, that since his answer to their petition last night, he had received advice, that the Earl of Essex was drawing his forces out of London towards him, which had obliged him to march to Brentford: that however he was still desirous of peace, and expected their committee at Brentford that night, or early the next morning.

The Earl of Essex's army was indeed arrived near London the 7th, and the Earl himself was actually in the House of Peers the 12th, during the assault of Brentford. Whereupon both Houses ordered the Lord Mayor to send out the trained bands, to join with the Earl of Essex's army, and by that it became much superior to the King's.‡ The same day the general made the necessary preparations for battle; but the King not thinking fit to expect him, retired towards Kingston.

The Parliament complained, the King had deceived them under the false show of desiring to treat of a peace, since immediately after the departure of the committee, he marched to surprise Brentford. The King justified himself two ways. He said first, that not only there was no truce agreed upon, but none so much as desired. Secondly, that after the committee's departure, he received certain information, that the Earl of Essex had sent forces to Kingston, Acton, and other places, to surround him, which had obliged him to advance to Brentford. The former of these reasons was the best, for there being no cessation of arms, he might justly take all advantages as he thought proper. But he insisted the least upon this, for being disappointed, he would not have it appear that his design was to become master of London, or at least to raise commotions there in his favour, for fear of exposing his friends to a strict inquisition. The latter was not of the same force. For if he was afraid of being surrounded at Colebrook, he did not avoid that inconvenience, by advancing eight miles nearer London. He rather made it greater by that march, unless he advanced with design to attack the enemy, which did not appear by his conduct.

It is extremely probable, that the King, when he left Oxford, intended to surprise London, or hoped, that his friends would so manage, that he should be received there without opposition, before the Earl of Essex could arrive. But he either lost too much time at Reading, or was prevented by the Earl's expedition.

* This committee consisted of Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Wenman, Mr. Pierrepoint, and Sir John Hippesley.

† Part of Colonel Hollis's regiment were quartered there, who made a vigorous defence, but would, in all probability, have been most of them cut off, if the Lord Brook's and Colonel Hampden's regiment had not come to their relief, and maintained a fierce and bloody fight till night, wherein many were slain, others driven into the river, and many taken prisoners. So that they quitted the town in the night, and the King possessed it.

‡ The whole army, of horse and foot, consisted of about twenty-four thousand men.

This war continued all the winter in several parts of the kingdom, there being scarcely a county free from it.

In the beginning of December, the Earl of Newcastle, who had levied an army for the King in the northern parts, began his march towards York. He was stopped at the passage of the river Tees, which parts the Bishopric of Durham from Yorkshire, by young Hotham, who had with him a detachment of the little army commanded by the Lord Fairfax in that county for the Parliament; but the Earl forced the passage, and came to York, with about eight thousand men.

There were likewise during this winter, in the same county, two pretty warm actions. The first at Tadcaster, where the Lord Fairfax was intrenched, and where he was attacked by the Earl of Newcastle, who, after an obstinate dispute, was obliged at last to retreat. The second was at Gisborough, where Hugh Cholmley defeated six hundred of the King's party, commanded by Colonel Slingsby, who was taken prisoner, with a good number of his men. Some days after, Sir Thomas Fairfax, the general's son, attacked the town of Leeds, defended by Sir William Savil, with fifteen hundred men, carried it by storm, and took five hundred prisoners. These were the most remarkable actions in the north.

In the south, Sir William Waller, commander for the Parliament, blew up Farnham castle, and made the garrison prisoners of war. Shortly after he took Winchester, and then Chichester, after an eight days' siege.

In the midland counties, several notable actions, though little decisive, were also performed. The 5th of December, Wilmot, Commissary-General of the King's horse, the Lord Digby, and others, attacked the town of Marlborough, fortified by the Parliament, where was a numerous garrison. The town being carried by storm, was plundered and burnt, and about a thousand of the garrison slain and taken prisoners. February the 2d, Prince Rupert took Cirencester by storm, and made twelve hundred prisoners. March the 1st, the Lord Brooke attacked some of the King's forces intrenched in the close of the cathedral of Lichfield, and was there slain; but after his death his men carried the close.* The 19th of the same month, a battle was fought at Salt Heath near Stafford, which was maintained on both sides four hours, till at last the Earl of Northampton, who commanded the King's forces, being slain, the Parliament's troops became victorious.

The same day Sir William Waller surprised the Lord Herbert, who was besieging Gloucester, killed five hundred of his men, and took above a thousand prisoners. After that, he took Chepstow in Monmouthshire, and then the town of Monmouth itself.

We proceed now to what passed in the western counties, from the beginning of the war, to March the next year, 1643.

From the time the King was at Beverley, after having failed in his attempt upon Hull, he sent the Marquis of Hertford into the west, to try to raise a party capable to give the Parliament's forces a diversion. He granted him a commission to command all the western parts, and the Marquis made Sir Ralph Hopton his general of horse. The Marquis being come into Somersetshire, fixed his quarters at the Bath, where he could raise but few men, by reason of the vigilance of the committee of the militia, who greatly obstructed his levies. At last, the Earl of Bedford, who commanded in those parts for the Parliament, having drawn together much more numerous forces than were those of the King, the Marquis of Hertford was obliged to retire into Wales. He sent however Sir Ralph Hopton with about one hundred and fifty horse into Cornwall, to endeavour to gain that county to the King's interest. The Earl of Bedford neglected to pursue this little troop, not doubting but the committee of the militia would be able to disperse them, and went and joined the Earl of Essex. This passed before the battle of Edge-hill.

Hopton was well received in Cornwall, and seconded by Sir Bevil Greenvil, a Cornish gentleman, who so ordered it, that the county declared for the King. Then Hopton drew together three thousand of the trained bands, and marched towards Launceston, whence they chaced the committee of the militia, who had assembled some troops. But endeavouring to lead these trained bands into Devonshire, they refused to march out of their county. For which reason he dismissed them, having first driven the committee from the little town of Saltash. Meanwhile, with the assistance of the gentlemen of the county, he found means to levy fifteen hundred regular troops, with whom he became absolute master of all Cornwall, and even made incursions into Devonshire.

The Parliament having intelligence of Hopton's progress in Cornwall, ordered all their forces in Dorset and Somerset to join with those of Devon, and gave the command of this army to the Earl of Stamford. The Earl heading these troops, sent Ruthen, a Scotchman, Governor of Plymouth, with a detachment into Cornwall. He was no sooner there, but was met by Sir Ralph Hopton, who put him to rout, killed many of his men, and took above twelve hundred prisoners. Ruthen, after his defeat, retired to Saltash, where he endeavoured to fortify himself, and the Earl of Stamford threw himself into Tavistock.†

Hopton taking advantage of the terror he had struck into the Parliamentarians, divided his forces into two bodies; with one of which he marched towards Ruthen, and beat him out of Saltash, and thereby remained again master of Cornwall. The other body moved towards Tavistock, which the Earl of Stamford also quitted, and retiring to Plymouth, enabled Hopton with the more ease to fix quarters in Devonshire. But shortly after, both parties having agreed to observe an exact neutrality in the two counties of Devon and Cornwall, in order to remove the war into other parts, Hopton retired with his forces into Cornwall.

Money being the sinews of war, it is not strange the King and the Parliament should do their utmost to raise all they could. But the wonder is, that they should upbraid each other with the expedients made use of to that end. According to the laws of the land, the King cannot levy money upon the subject, without consent of Parliament; but it is no less certain, that the Parliament cannot impose taxes without the royal assent. Taxes are laid by acts, to which the King and both Houses must necessarily give their approbation. But what is to be done when the King and Parliament are at war with one another? Neither of them, according to the laws, must levy money upon the people, and then it will be almost impossible to wage war, or else both must be left at liberty to raise it, without regarding each other's consent. This was what the King and the Parliament practised, and yet they reproached each other with breach of the laws. If we believe the authors who wrote in favour of the King, his Majesty had no other money than what he was supplied with voluntarily by gift or loan.‡ If he sometimes taxed the counties in his power, it was always with the consent of the inhabitants. But this is a kind of artifice to deceive the reader. For it means nothing more, than that some of the leading men of a town or county were gained, by whom it was resolved to give the King

* Lord Brooke had taken possession of Lichfield, and was viewing from a window St. Chad's Cathedral, in which a party of the royalists had fortified themselves. He was cased in complete armour, but was shot through the eye by a random ball. Lord Brooke was a jealous puritan, and had formerly said, that he hoped to see with his eyes the ruin of all the Cathedrals of England. It was a superstitious remark of the royalists, that he was killed on St. Chad's Day, by a shot from St. Chad's cathedral, which pierced that very eye by which he hoped to see the ruin of all cathedrals.

† This battle was fought on Bradoc-down near Liskeard. The chief of the Cornish gentlemen that helped Sir Ralph Hopton to raise his forces, were Sir Bevil Greenvil, Sir Nicholas Stanning, John Arundel, and John Trevannion, all members of Parliament.

‡ And by these means, says Lord Clarendon, the King was able to pay his foot, though it amounted to above 3000*l.* weekly.

such

such a sum, after which it would have been in vain for the rest to oppose it, or refuse to pay their share. The Parliament proceeded in much the same manner. They demanded for the maintenance of the war, contributions, which they termed voluntary, but which were very far from being so. This very clearly appeared in an ordinance of the 29th of November, for assembling such as had not freely contributed. The King, considering this ordinance as an express breach of the law, issued a proclamation, enjoining all his subjects not to submit to it. He published another of the same nature, to command all persons not to execute the ordinance of Parliament for paying tonnage and poundage to the two Houses. All this was founded upon the laws, requiring the royal assent for the imposition of taxes. But such were the times, that a strict observance of the laws was become impracticable. The Parliament answered this last proclamation, not by acknowledging, the laws were violated by their ordinance, but by saying, that the statute urged by the King, was made to hinder the King from imposing any tax, without consent of both Houses, and not to divest the Parliament of a right to impose what they thought proper. It is easy to perceive, that this was only a cavil, since the King's consent was no less necessary for imposing a tax, than that of both Houses. Or rather, they had no right, neither the one nor the other, separately, if the laws had been kept to. And yet the King, in the next February, published another proclamation, ordering that the customs upon goods imported, should be paid him at Oxford, which, in all appearance, was not performed.*

The King, as before observed, had sent the Earl of Newcastle into the north, to gain to his party the Bishopric of Durham, with the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and to levy an army. The Earl happily executed the King's design. He so managed, that these four counties entered into an association to furnish him at the common expence, with men and money, so that he raised an army of eight thousand men. As soon as the Parliament was informed of this association, they ordered the like to be entered into by the counties that owned their authority, and appointed generals to command their forces. The Lord Fairfax was made general of Yorkshire; Sir William Brereton, of Cheshire; Sir William Waller, of Hampshire; the Lord Grey, of Lancashire; Major-General Brown, of Berkshire; the Earl of Denbigh, of Shropshire; Colonel Middleton, of Wales; and the Earl of Manchester, of Essex and the counties adjoining, called the eastern counties, namely, Essex, Cambridge, Isle of Ely, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, and the city of Norwich.† By means of these associations, the Parliament had forces always ready. The King frequently tried to prevent these associations in counties where he knew he had a good number of friends, as for instance, in Kent, and some others. But when both Houses perceived the King's practices were likely to prevail in any of the counties where they were superior, they obliged them to associate with others, and furnish their quota.

Besides these associations between the counties of the same party, there were also at the beginning of the war, private agreements between neighbouring counties of different parties, to observe, between them, an exact neutrality. These agreements were founded on the common advantages of the contracting counties, as they removed the war from their own doors, and settled a mutual commerce between them, which they could not well be without. We have given an instance in the counties of Devon and Cornwall. The like agreement was made between the two parties in Yorkshire and Cheshire. But the Parliament refused to authorise these private agreements, because they were too advantageous to the King, who in the end would have been able, by this means, to assemble all his forces in one place, whereas he was obliged to disperse them throughout the whole kingdom. Besides, the King's party had so well managed his concerns, that these agreements were made only in places where it was for his advantage; as for example, in Yorkshire, where the sole view was to stop the inroads of the garrison of Pontefract castle, which very much annoyed the city of York.

The King retiring to Oxford, after the Brentford affair, carried thither the prisoners taken at Brentford and Edge-hill. Within a few days after his return, he granted to Sir Robert Heath a commission of Oyer and Terminer, to try some of these prisoners, among whom was Captain John Lilburn, who with some others was condemned to die, for being taken in arms against the King. The Parliament having notice of this sentence before its execution, declared, that if any prisoner of war should be put to death at Oxford, or elsewhere, they would inflict the like punishment upon such prisoners as were or should be taken hereafter. This declaration saved the lives of the condemned, the King not thinking proper to expose his officers to the same fate.

A. D. 1642-3.] Though the measures of the King's friends to oblige the Parliament to make peace were broken, they were not discouraged. As the King, after the business of Brentford, had fortified Reading, and left there a strong garrison, they pretended, the inhabitants of London had cause to be extremely alarmed at their neighbourhood. So under colour of preventing the danger, they drew a petition, to which they procured as many hands as possible, to desire leave of both Houses to present to the King some propositions which he might consent to with honour. Many of the inhabitants of Westminster, and of the parishes of St. Martin's and Covent Garden, known to be the King's adherents, prepared also a similar petition. It was a very uncommon thing, and of dangerous consequence, for private persons, without the interposition or approbation of the magistrates, to take upon them to make overtures of peace to the King. Accordingly, the Parliament would not receive their petition, but ordered even that the authors should be brought to justice. Probably, they did not expect, the Parliament would make use of their mediation for a peace: but in publishing this petition, wherein they called themselves the richest and most considerable inhabitants of London, their aim was to insinuate to the people, that the honest part of the citizens wished for peace upon more moderate terms than the Parliament, but were restrained by the magistrates. The two Houses fully perceiving the motives of this petition, ordered it so, that the mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, sent a very humble petition to the King, wherein they took care to clear themselves from all disloyalty, and expressed an earnest desire of peace. To that purpose, they besought his Majesty to return to his Parliament, accompanied with his royal, not martial attendance; to the end whatsoever was amiss in church and state might be reformed by the advice of both Houses, and such a peace obtained, as should be for the honour of his Majesty, and the welfare of his subjects. This petition showed, that the city of London desired no other peace than what the Parliament should please to agree upon with the King. It had this advantage of the first, that it came from the Mayor and Common Council, whereas the other was subscribed only by private hands.

The King was really persuaded, that the Londoners desired and would accept of such a peace as he should be pleased to grant, but that the magistrates, in concert with the Parliament, did their utmost to prevent it. This petition being presented to him the 10th of January 1642-3, he returned a very gracious answer, and gave it in writing to the committee of Aldermen. He said, "That he never entertained any misapprehension of the loyalty of his City of London, or of the inhabitants in

* According to some authors, the Parliament raised in all upon the nation, during the course of the civil war and afterwards, above ninety-five millions, five hundred and twelve thousand pounds. And, according to Mr. Walker, there was levied, from the year 1641 to 1647, above forty millions in money, and money-worth. In March 1642, they made an ordinance for raising thirty-four thousand, one hundred and eight pounds, thirteen shillings per week.

† These were afterwards generally called the associated counties.

general: but could not say the same with regard to their magistrates, and particularly Alderman Pennington their pretended Lord Mayor, and two or three more, who endeavoured, with all their power, to prevent the people, and excite them to rebellion. Then he enumerated all the outrages exercised at London upon himself and the laws, and assured them he was ready to return, when they should be in a fit posture to receive him with honour and safety, and had apprehended the disturbers of the public peace, that they might be proceeded against by course of law, as guilty of high-treason." The King greatly flattered himself with respect to his papers, which he really believed to be unanswerable. But the wonderful effects he hoped from thence did not always answer his expectations. In this belief, when he delivered his answer in writing to the committee of Aldermen, he told them, it was his desire, that it should be publicly at a common-hall and before the people. The Lord Mayor, with the consent of both Houses, willingly gave his Majesty this satisfaction, and his answer was accordingly read in public. But the Parliament had sent a committee of Lords and Commons to be present at the reading, and afterwards to reject the King's answer. This did Mr. Pym, one of the committee, in a set speech, the design whereof was to show, that the King's whole answer was full of scandalous and injurious aspersions upon the city and Parliament. So the King had little reason to be satisfied with the success of his answer, on which however, he had much depended, imagining it would be capable of sowing discord between the people of London and the magistrates.

Some days after, the King sent to the sheriffs of London a declaration, grievously complaining of Pym's speech, and of the publication of a pamphlet in the city in his name, as if he retracted his former promises. He required also the master and wardens of the several companies of the city, to summon all their members, and read this declaration with his fore-mentioned answer, publicly in their several halls. He declared that Isaac Pennington not being regularly elected according to their charter, or lawfully admitted, could not be looked upon as Lord Mayor of London, and ordered the sheriffs to commit him to safe custody, with some other aldermen. But the Parliament perceiving, the King's aim was to incite the people of London against their magistrates, commanded the sheriffs not to execute this order.

As the King frequently sent private agents to London, to correspond with his friends there, and to be fully informed of what passed in the city and Parliament, both Houses thought proper, in order to render this practice more difficult, to declare, that all persons coming from the King's quarters to London, without a safe conduct, should be treated as spies.

During this winter, before the opening of the second campaign, the contest about the number of papists in the service of the King and of the Parliament was renewed, on occasion of some papers published by the Earl of Newcastle and the Lord Fairfax against each other. The Earl of Newcastle did not deny that he had papists in his army; but maintained, they were few in number, and besides, it was lawful to employ them, since it was not because of their religion, but for their loyalty. On the other hand, he affirmed, there were great numbers in the Parliament's army, and appealed for the truth of what he said to their muster-rolls.*

Since the Queen was in Holland, she had not been idle. She laboured effectually to procure the King officers, arms and ammunition, which was facilitated by the Prince of Orange her son-in-law's credit. September 1642, both Houses sent an agent, Walter Strickland, to the Hague, to complain to the States-General of the preparations making in Holland for the King, and of the supplies that were sent him. But Strickland was received very coldly, by reason of the Prince of Orange's credit in the assembly of States. Besides, the States-General did not consider him as a public minister, because hitherto the Parliament had never sent agents abroad in their own name. They were contented therefore to depute one of the members of their assembly, to know what he had to say. Strickland put into their hands a declaration from the Parliament, which was long neglected, the States-General not vouchsafing to return any answer. At length, Strickland having presented it to the States of Holland, they promised to observe a strict neutrality, and engaged the province of Zealand to take the same resolution. They even arrested some ships laden with ammunition and soldiers for the King. Then the States-General returned in answer: "That they would expressly forbid every body to transport any weapons or warlike ammunition into England, and would gladly employ their mediation for putting an end to the troubles."

But this could not hinder the indirect supplies that were sent to the King, by reason of the Prince of Orange's great credit. During the winter, General King, a Scotchman, brought his Majesty ordnance and ammunition, and General Goring brought over some English officers that were in the service of the States. It is true, that from time to time the English ships seized some of those vessels that were sent to the King. Strickland made frequent complaints of these supplies: but the States-General took no notice of them. They even granted the Queen, who was preparing to return to England, so large and general a passport, that by virtue thereof she might transport into England troops, ordnance, arms and ammunition, in what quantities she pleased. Nevertheless the States of Holland, whom it concerned to keep fair with the Parliament, stopped one of the Queen's vessels laden with ammunition; whereupon she delivered in a protestation. In all probability, they had a mind thereby to manage both parties, the Parliament, by seizing one of the ships, and the Queen, by stopping but one out of many. The supply, however, brought to the King by the Queen was very considerable. She arrived about the middle of February in Burlington-Bay, and from thence went to York, where she made some stay.†

The King constantly insisted upon the laws of the land; urged that they ought to be observed in time of war as in time of peace; and, by virtue of the prerogative, he pretended to adjourn the Courts of Justice to Oxford during Hilary-Term, but the Parliament would not consent.

On the other hand, the counties being divided between the two parties, the Parliament addressed his Majesty, representing the inconveniencies that would follow the holding of the assizes in the several counties, some whereof were for the King, and some for the Parliament, and besought him to agree to their being deferred to a more convenient season. But the King positively refused it, under colour of the necessity of punishing malefactors at all times. Had he gained this point, he might have condemned as rebels all those that had taken arms against him, for the Judges must have administered justice according to the law, which not supposing an open war between the King and the Parliament, condemns, without distinction, all that are in arms against the King. But the case the kingdom was then in, being wholly extraordinary and unexpected, the Parliament pretended, the laws could not be executed in that respect, without some restriction and explication. For this reason, they desired the assizes might be suspended, till some means might be agreed upon, for the impartial

* The Earl says, in one of his papers, "That the Parliament had had, for many months, great numbers under their pay, both English, French, and other nations, whom, at the time of their enrollment, and even since, they did know to have been professed Papists: whereas, it was notoriously known, that before this course was taken on the other party, his Majesty and his ministers did not admit to, nor continue any soldiers in pay, who were suspected to be that way inclined, or did refuse the oaths of allegiance and supremacy."

† The day after her Majesty's landing, four of the Parliament's ships came into the road, and firing upon the vessels that were landing the ammunition; the balls reached the town, near the place where the Queen was resting herself after her voyage. Whereupon, she was forced to remove to an obscure lodging behind a hill. The Marquis of Montrose, and the Lord Ogilby, with two troops of horse, conducted her to the Earl of Newcastle, who entertained her at York.

rendering

rendering of justice. But finding, the King refused to consent to it, they published an ordinance, forbidding the assizes to be held till further order.

Though the war was begun in April 1642, and a battle, with several skirmishes, had been fought, the King could hardly be persuaded, that the very persons who were in arms against him, could or dared refuse the obedience that was due to him. Of this notion he gave an evident proof in March 1642-3, on the following occasion. The city of Bristol being in the hands of the Parliament, the King had gained Mr. Robert Yeoman's the last year sheriff, and one of the principal citizens, and sent him a commission to raise forces, and appoint what commanders he thought proper, Yeoman's design being to surrender the city to the King. To that purpose, he joined with one Bourchier, another citizen, and they both formed a plot, into which many of the inhabitants entered, to seize the city for the King. This plot being discovered the very night it was to be executed, the conspirators were imprisoned, and the Parliament sent down a commission to Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes the Governor, to call a council of war, and proceed against the prisoners by Martial Law: the conspirators being condemned to die, the King wrote to the Governor by General Ruthen, Earl of Forth, that if he put these men to death, some prisoners in his hands should undergo the same fate. Fiennes returned the General a civil answer: but in showing him however, the difference between prisoners of war, and secret spies and conspirators, he threatened, in his turn, there would be frequent opportunities, in the course of the war, for the Parliament to use reprisals. Whereupon the King wrote a thundering letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol, commanding them, as well as all the inhabitants, to rise against the governor and garrison, and rescue the condemned prisoners. It was easy to foresee the Mayor would ill obey this order. Accordingly, the prisoners, Yeaman, and Bourchier, were executed, without the King's thinking proper to proceed in the like manner against the prisoners in his power.

Nothing is more proper to show the real dispositions of the King and Parliament, than the treaty at Oxford in March and April 1643, concerning a peace.

Both Houses of Parliament having considered, that the King made some advantage of the inclination he had constantly shown for peace, sent and desired a safe-conduct for commissioners they intended to send to him, which the King granting, the commissioners presented to his Majesty certain propositions as proper to serve for foundation to a peace.* Rushworth has preserved in his collections two speeches made in the council upon this occasion; the Earl of Bristol's to persuade the King to continue the war, and the Earl of Dorset's to shew the advantages and necessity of a peace.† It is not said, what was the result of the council's deliberations; but it may be judged by what followed, that the King relished the Earl of Bristol's reasons better than the Earl of Dorset's.

A. D. 1643.] The Parliament having no guard against the artifices of the King's friends, who were strenuously endeavouring to persuade the people, that the war was waging only for the sake of some of their members, could not better contradict them, than by openly suing to the King for peace, and by publishing the terms on which they were ready to conclude it. They meant to show by these terms, that it was not the private interest of some of their members that put them upon action, but solely the welfare and security of the nation: however, they knew at the same time the King would not accept them. His Majesty, on his part, was obliged to show he wished for peace, since he had always pretended to take arms only in his own defence. The King continually insisted upon restoring the laws to their former vigour, and the Parliament, upon security for the observance of the same laws, and thereby both rendered a peace impracticable. The substance of the propositions presented to the King by the Parliament was to this effect:

"I. That the armies on both sides be disbanded, and his Majesty be pleased to return to his Parliament.

"II. That he leave delinquents to a legal trial and judgment of Parliament.

"III. That the papists be disbanded and disarmed.

"IV. That his Majesty be pleased to give his royal assent to the following bills:

"I. For taking away superstitious innovations.

"II. For the utter abolishing of all Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, &c.

"III. Against scandalous ministers.

"IV. Against pluralities.

"V. For consultation with godly, religious, and learned Divines. That his Majesty be pleased to promise to pass such other bills for settling of church-government, as, upon consultation with the assembly of the

---

* The commissioners on this occasion, were Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland; Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; and Henry Rich, Earl of Holland; with the Viscounts, Wenman and Dungarnon; and Sir John Holland, Sir William Litton, Knights; William Pierrepoint, Bulstrode Whitelock, Edmund Waller, and Richard Winwood, Esquires. They had their first access to the King in Christ-Church garden, where he was walking with the Prince, and divers of the Lords attending him. All kissed his hand, and Waller approaching the last, his Majesty said, "Though you are the last, yet you are not the worst, nor the least in my favour." The discovery of a plot then in hand in London to betray the Parliament, wherein Waller was concerned, did manifest the King's courtship to Waller, to be for that service.

† The substance of the Earl of Bristol's reasons was as follows:

"I. That the Parliament had declared divers of the greatest and most eminent among the nobility delinquents of the highest nature; so that there could not be an accommodation without the utter ruin of themselves and their families.

"II. But granting that this article were removed, his Majesty could not condescend with his honour to beg peace of his subjects.

"III. That no mention could be found in the history of Spain of intestine and civil wars, because they were truly subjects, and their sovereign truly a sovereign. But since in England the state would neither be so to the King, nor suffer the King to be so to them, he thought they should be compelled to it.

"IV. That it was no dishonour for subjects to condescend to their King, but it was an excessive diminution to his Majesty's royalty, to submit himself to his subjects.

"V. His opinion therefore was, that his Majesty should neither propound to the Parliament, or receive from them, any conditions for peace, but such as should absolutely comply with the regal dignity and prerogative, and such as might be no way prejudicial to his Majesty's servants and counsellors, or their estates.

"VI. That there was an army on foot which could by force compel that, which fair words could not effect."

On the other side the Earl of Dorset represented:

"I. That peace, and a sudden one, was absolutely necessary between his Majesty and the Parliament.

"II. That he would not advise them to embrace a peace that should be more disadvantageous than the war, a peace which would destroy the estates and families of the nobility. But it was to be considered, that the Parliament declared only against delinquents, such as they conjectured had miscounselled his Majesty, and were the authors of the tumults in the common-wealth. But this declaration of theirs, except such crimes could be proved against them, was of no validity; the Parliament would do nothing unjustly, nor condemn the innocent; and certainly innocent men needed not fear to appear before any judges whatsoever. He who should, for any cause, prefer his private good before the public utility, was but an ill son of the common-wealth.

"III. That the business of the kingdom was to study to reconcile all differences between his Majesty and his Parliament, and so to reconcile them, that they should no way prejudice his royal prerogative, of which the Parliament being a loyal defender (knowing the subject's property dependent on it) would never endeavour to be an infringer; so that if doubts and jealousies were taken away, by a fair treaty between his Majesty and the Parliament, no doubt a means might be devised to rectify differences.

"IV. That in Spain, the subjects were scarcely removed a degree from slaves, nor the sovereign from a tyrant. But in England the subjects had, by a long and received liberty, made their freedom result into a second nature: neither was it safe for the Kings to strive to introduce the Spanish government upon the free-born nation, nor just for the people to suffer that government to be inforced upon them; which he was certain his Majesty's goodness never intended.

"V. Granting that his Majesty had an army of gallant and able men, yet he had infinite disadvantages on his side; the Parliament having double his number, and surely persons of as much bravery, nay, and sure to be daily supplied when any of their number failed; a benefit which his Majesty could not boast of, they having the most populous part of the kingdom at their devotion; all, or most of the cities, considerable towns, and ports, together with the mainest pillar of the kingdom's safety, the sea, at their command, and the navy; and, which was most material of all, an unexhausted Indies of money to pay their soldiers, out of the liberal contributions of coin and plate, sent by people of all condition, who accounted the Parliament's cause their own.

"VI. All which things considered, he concluded it necessary, to beseech his Majesty, to take some present order for a treaty of peace between himself, and his high court of Parliament."

said Divines, shall be resolved on by both Houses of Parliament.

" VI. That his Majesty be pleased to give his consent, that an oath may be established by act of Parliament, to be administered in such manner, as by both Houses shall be agreed on; wherein they shall abjure and renounce the Pope's supremacy; the doctrine of transubstantiation, purgatory, worshipping of the consecrated host, crucifixes, and images; and that the refusing the said oath, being tendered in such manner as shall be appointed by act of Parliament, shall be a sufficient conviction in law of recusancy.

" And that his Majesty be pleased to consent to,

" I. A bill for the education of the children of papists by protestants.

" II. To a bill for the true levying of the penalties against recusants, in such manner as both Houses of Parliament shall agree on.

" III. To a bill whereby the practice of papists against the state may be prevented.

" VI. That the Earl of Bristol, and the Lord Herbert, may be removed from his Majesty's councils and court, and that they may not bear any office, or have any employments concerning the state or commonwealth.

" VII. That the militia be settled in such a manner as shall be agreed on by both Houses.

" VIII. That his Majesty be pleased to appoint for Judges, [here were inserted the names] with the clause Quam diu se bene gesserint.

" IX. That all such persons as have been put out of the commissions of peace, &c. since the first day of April 1642, may again be put into them; and that such persons may be removed, as shall be excepted against by both Houses of Parliament.

" X. That his Majesty be pleased to pass the bill presented to him, to vindicate and secure the privileges of Parliament from the ill consequence of the late precedent, in the charge and proceeding against the Lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the House of Commons.

" XI. That his Majesty's royal assent may be given unto such acts as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament, for the satisfying and paying the debts and damages, wherein the two Houses of Parliament have engaged the public faith of the kingdom.

" XII. That his Majesty be pleased to enter into a strict alliance with the States of the United Provinces, and other neighbouring Princes and States of the Protestant religion.

" XIII. That in the general pardon which his Majesty hath been pleased to offer to his subjects, all offences and misdemeanors committed before the 10th of January 1641, which have been, or shall be questioned in Parliament before the 10th of January 1643, shall be excepted; which offences and misdemeanors shall nevertheless be taken and adjudged to be fully discharged against all other inferior courts: that likewise there shall be an exception of offences committed by any persons, which have had any hand in the rebellion of Ireland: and an exception of William Earl of Newcastle, and George Lord Digby.

" XIV. That his Majesty will be pleased to restore such members of either House of Parliament to their several places, out of which they have been put since the beginning of the Parliament; that they may receive satisfaction and reparation for those places; and that all others may be restored to their offices and employments, who have been put out of the same upon any displeasure conceived against them, for any assistance given to both Houses of Parliament, or obeying their commands, or forbearing to leave their attendance upon the Parliament without licence, or for any other occasion arising from the differences betwixt his Majesty, and his Parliament."

As the King had talked very much of his offer in August last, to treat of a peace, and of the refusal of both Houses, he did not think it adviseable absolutely to reject these propositions. He consented therefore, that they should be discussed in a treaty; but gave six others on his part; namely,

" I. That his Majesty's own revenue, magazines, towns, forts, and ships which have been taken or kept from him by force, be forthwith restored unto him.

" II. That whatsoever had been done or published contrary to the laws of the land, or derogatory to his Majesty's power and rights be renounced and recalled.

" III. That whatsoever illegal power hath been claimed and exercised by both or either House, over his subjects, as imprisoning their persons without law, stopping their Habeas Corpus's, and imposing upon their estates without act of Parliament, be disclaimed, and all such persons so committed forthwith discharged.

" IV. That a bill be framed, for the better preserving of the Book of Common Prayer from the scorn and violence of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, with proper clauses for the ease of tender consciences.

" V. That all such persons, as, upon the treaty, shall be excepted out of the general pardon, shall be tried, per Pares, according to the usual course and known law of the land.

" VI. And to the intent this treaty may not suffer interruption by any intervening accidents, that a cessation of arms and free trade for all his Majesty's subjects be first agreed upon."

Some days after, the King sent a message to both Houses, to desire that his last proposition might be first taken into consideration, to the end that during the cessation of arms, the peace might be treated of with the greater tranquillity; to which they consented.

It was the 28th of February before both Houses sent the terms to the King, on which they proposed to conclude a suspension of arms, during the treaty; namely,

" I. That all manner of arms, ammunition, victuals, money, bullion, and all other commodities, passing without such a safe-conduct as may warrant their passage, may be stayed and seized on, as if no such cessation were agreed on at all.

" II. The same with regard to all manner of persons passing without such a safe-conduct.

" III. That his Majesty's forces in Oxfordshire shall advance no nearer to Windsor than Weatly, and in Buckinghamshire no nearer to Aylesbury than Brill; and that in Berks the forces respectively shall not advance nearer the one to the other than now they are: and that the Parliament-forces in Oxfordshire shall advance no nearer to Oxford than Henley; and those in Buckingham no nearer to Oxford than Aylesbury: and that his Majesty's forces shall take no new quarters above twelve miles from Oxford any way; and that the Parliament forces shall take no new quarters above twelve miles from Windsor any way.

" IV. That no siege shall be begun or continued against Gloucester, and that his Majesty's forces now employed in the siege shall return to Cirencester, and Malmsbury, or to Oxford, as shall be most for their conveniency; and the Parliament-forces which are in Gloucestershire, shall remain in the cities of Gloucester, Bristol, and the castle and town of Berkley, and retire nearer to Windsor, as they shall see cause; and that those of Wales which are drawn to Gloucester, shall return into their quarters, where they were before they drew down to Gloucester.

" V. That in case it be pretended on either side, that the cessation is violated, no act of hostility is immediately to follow; but first, the party complaining is to acquaint the Lord General on the other side, and to allow three days after notice given, for satisfaction. And in case satisfaction be not given, or accepted, then five days' notice to be given before hostility begin: and the like to be observed in the remoter armies by the commanders in chief.

" VI. Lastly, That all the other forces in the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, and not beforementioned, shall remain in the same quarters and places, as they are at the time of the publishing of this cessation,

tion, and under the same conditions as are mentioned in the articles before, and that this cessation shall not extend to restrain the setting forth, or employing of any ships for the defence of his Majesty's dominions."

The King replied to these propositions by a message to both Houses, complaining "That he had been left without an answer almost a month, from the 3d to the 28th of February. He conceived, that the articles of the cessation now presented to him, were so strict, that such of his good subjects who were not of his army would receive no benefit by the suspension, which he would ever insist upon: and therefore he returned the articles, with such alterations as he doubted not but both Houses would consent to, since they sufficiently manifested, how solicitous he was for the good of his people, and how desirous to prevent any more effusion of his subjects' blood. He desired the cessation might begin the 12th of March, or sooner, if the conditions should be sooner agreed on, and was willing the same should continue for twenty days, in which time he hoped by the treaty a full peace might be established throughout the kingdom.

It must be observed, that the King, in this negotiation, proposed to himself three advantages, as will hereafter evidently appear.

I. To gain time to make his preparations.

II. To set on foot, by means of a cessation of arms, a free commerce and correspondence between the quarters of both armies, and particularly, between London and Oxford, which would help to provide himself of many things necessary for the ensuing campaign, by sending for them from London or elsewhere.

III. To convey safely from York the forces and ammunition that were come from Holland.

All this was concealed under the pretence of procuring the ease of his people by a free commerce throughout the kingdom.

Though both Houses were by no means pleased with the King's alterations in their articles, yet as he offered to treat upon that subject, they desired a safe-conduct for six commissioners, namely, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Say, and four Commoners. The King immediately granted it, excepting the Lord Say, because he was proclaimed traitor. When he sent the safe-conduct, he signified to them by a message, that he was content his proposition concerning the magazines, &c. and theirs for disbanding the armies, should be first treated of and agreed, and then the second of his Majesty's, and the second of theirs, and so in order: and that the time of the treaty might not exceed twenty days.

The Parliament's five commissioners repairing to Oxford, presented to the King fresh articles concerning the cessation of arms. But they were so little different from the first, that the King was not satisfied with them. And therefore he delivered to the commissioners the following objections against the last articles.

I. They are in effect the same his Majesty formerly excepted to, and there is not the least mention of freedom of commerce between his subjects, and consequently they have no ease or benefit by this cessation, though that is his Majesty's chief aim.

II. The putting the ships that may be employed under the command of persons approved of by his Majesty, is not consented to by these articles; and by that means the conveying of any number of forces from one place to another (which is an act of hostility) remains free to both Houses.

III. The army raised by the Parliament is spoken of, as if his Majesty were no part of the Parliament, or himself to have raised that army. Now in order, to prevent any inconveniencies that might arise upon real differences or mistakes, upon the latitude of expressions and to avoid delays, his Majesty desired that the committee might have liberty to debate any such differences and expressions, and yet no such power is given in these articles, and the committee confessed to his Majesty, they have no liberty, but are strictly bound to the very words of the articles now sent.

IV. His Majesty's desire, that during the cessation none of his subjects might be imprisoned otherwise than according to the laws of the land, is in no degree consented to.

V. His Majesty's desire against violence is not at all taken notice of, nor is his desire against plundering any way satisfied; his Majesty not only meaning thereby the robbing of the subject by unruliness of the uncommanded soldiers, but particularly the violence and plundering used to his subjects, for not submitting to impositions required from them by ordinances of one or both Houses, which are contrary to the known laws of the land.

VI. Besides, as there is no consent given to those alterations offered by his Majesty, so where an absolute consent may be supposed, because the very words of his Majesty's articles are wholly preserved, yet by reason of the relation of somewhat going before that is varied by them, the sense of those words is wholly varied too. So that upon the matter, all the propositions made by his Majesty (which did not in terms agree with those presented to him) are utterly rejected. For these reasons his Majesty desires, that the committee now sent may speedily have liberty to debate and agree upon the articles of cessation."

Both Houses perceiving, the King concealed under the little alterations he had made in their articles, more than appeared at first sight, thought proper to tell him, they were not wholly ignorant what advantages he intended to draw from such a cessation of arms as he proposed. To that end, they sent him their reasons in writing, which were replied to, in writing, by the King, at great length. The two Houses having examined the King's answer, sent their committee new instruction, wherein they said, "His Majesty's expressions were so doubtful, that they did not think good to consume any more time in debates upon the cessation, and the rather, as the remainder of the whole time for the treaty was but seven days, and if the cessation were presently agreed, it would not yield any considerable advantage to the kingdom. Wherefore they should desire his Majesty, to give a speedy and positive answer to their first proposition concerning the disbanding, that so the people might not have the shadow, but the substance of peace."

These instructions being communicated to the King, he returned an answer, wherein he endeavoured to show, it was not his fault that a cessation of arms was not concluded. He pressed again, that whatever was thought doubtful in the articles might be expounded, whatever was excepted at might be debated, a cessation concluded, and power given to the committee to that end. Considerable discussion ensued; but it will here suffice to remark, that the conferences went no further than the first demand on each side; and the Parliament finding that there was no probability of coming to any agreement, suddenly recalled their commissioners.

During the course of this negotiation, the King had frequent conferences in private with the commissioners. Whitelock relates in his Memorials, that in one of these conferences, the commissioners (of whom he was one) having been with the King till midnight, and pressed him with their reasons upon a very material point, his Majesty was prevailed with to give a satisfactory answer, which would have much conduced to a happy success of the treaty, and told them, "He was fully satisfied, and promised to let them have his answer in writing according to their desire;" but because it was then too late to draw it up, he ordered them to wait on him the next morning at such an hour. Accordingly they came, but instead of that answer, which they expected, the King gave them a paper quite contrary to what was concluded the night before, and very much tended to the breach of the treaty. Whitelock says, he was informed by some of the King's own friends, that after the commissioners were gone from his Majesty, and his council also withdrawn, some of his bed-chamber (and they went higher) hearing from himself what answer he had promised, and doubting it would tend to such an issue as they did not wish, they being rather for the continuance

tinuance of the war, never left persuading the King, till they prevailed with him to change his former resolutions, and give him order for his answer to be drawn directly contrary to what he had promised; it being that Prince's misfortune to prefer always the opinions of others to his own. Which is an observation confirmed also by the Lord Clarendon in his character of King Charles I.*

It was not without reason that the King desired a cessation of arms, on the terms by him proposed, though for never so short a space, and that he insisted upon a communication of quarters. He found himself at Oxford unprovided with ammunition, and the Queen, who was at York, had brought him a good quantity; but the difficulty was to convey them to Oxford with a strong guard. If therefore the cessation of arms had been concluded with the clause of communication of quarters, nothing would have hindered the King from sending for his ammunition to York, without the Parliament's being able to complain. For though in the first article of the proposed cessation, it was allowed to stop all persons carrying ammunition, it was not said, that such a conveying was a breach of the suspension. Since therefore by the article of communication of quarters, the King might have drawn as many of his troops as he pleased from York to Oxford, he might likewise, if this article had been granted have sent for his ammunition with a guard, which the Parliament's forces could not have attacked without breaking the truce, when the guard should have passed into their quarters.

At the beginning of April, when the treaty was negotiating at Oxford, the King detached Prince Rupert with twelve hundred horse, and seven or eight hundred foot, to establish a communication between York and Oxford, by securing certain places, between these two cities. The Prince marched by Birmingham, a town of the Parliament's, and taking it by storm, made the inhabitants pay a large fine, as a punishment for assisting the garrison to repulse him.†

After this little conquest, the Prince marched directly to Lichfield, where he entered without difficulty, the town being open in several places. But the Cathedral, with the close, was a sort of fortress, which he was obliged to besiege in form, it being strongly garrisoned. At last, he drained the moat, and sprung two mines, one whereof taking effect, he furiously stormed the place, which was bravely defended by the garrison: but the dread of not being able to stand a second assault, caused them to desire to capitulate. The Prince granted them an honourable capitulation, being very glad to be freed from the trouble of continuing the siege, which had lasted ten days. He intended to push his conquests farther to the north, in order to make a line of communication between York and Oxford: but the King recalled him from Lichfield, wanting him to raise the siege of Reading.

The treaty at Oxford being broken off the 15th of April, the Earl of Essex marched that day from Windsor, and on the next, appeared before Reading. His army consisted of sixteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and the garrison of three hundred horse, and three thousand foot. The King was so possessed with the notion, that the Parliament's soldiers served them unwillingly, and by constraint, that he issued out a proclamation, offering pardon to such as were in the Earl of Essex's army, a precaution entirely fruitless. At the beginning of the siege, the Governor, Sir Arthur Aston, being wounded in the head, and forced to keep his chamber, the command devolved to Colonel Richard Fielding, the eldest Colonel in the garrison.

The King no sooner heard of the siege of Reading, but he sent away a detachment of horse, under the command of Commissary Wilmot, who found means to throw into the town five hundred men and some powder. But this supply not appearing sufficient to Colonel Fielding, he demanded to capitulate, and a truce was agreed on, during which the besiegers and the besieged mutually gave hostages.

At the same time the King coming with his army within a few miles of Reading, detached Ruthen his General, lately made Earl of Forth, who with a thousand musqueteers, vigorously attacked a post,‡ by which the King must necessarily pass, in order to relieve Reading. The Earl of Forth was in hopes, that whilst he attacked this post, the garrison would sally out upon the besiegers. But as, without knowing it, he had made his attack just as the truce was agreed on, there was no sally from the town. So, not being able to force the pass, he retreated to the King.

Meanwhile, Fielding having negotiated a capitulation with the Earl of Essex, found means, before it was entirely concluded, to go in the night to the King, and tell him, he hoped to have liberty to march away with all their arms and baggage. The King approved of the capitulation, which was signed the next day, and the town surrendered to the besiegers. But by one of the articles, which probably Fielding did not tell the King, and which perhaps was not yet agreed on, the Earl of Essex excepted the deserters, who could not obtain liberty to march out with the rest of the garrison. When the King's troops came out of the town, and were passing through the enemies' guards, the soldiers were insulted, and some waggons plundered, contrary to the articles of the capitulation.

The King was very well pleased with saving the garrison of Reading, and indeed that was his principal view in permitting Fielding to capitulate. But when the garrison came to Oxford, several officers complained, that Fielding was too hasty in surrendering a place which could have held out much longer. Some even accused him openly of betraying the King. Whereupon he desired to be tried by a council of war, which was granted him. The King, who perhaps had too readily consented to the capitulation, and was incensed at him, when he understood that the place was capable of making a longer defence, could not however find fault with his capitulating, since it was done with his approbation. But his admitting the article whereby the deserters were excepted, was charged to him as a crime, and they published a declaration, protesting he had consented to that exception, being very far from refusing protection to any who should leave the enemy, and betake themselves to his service. Fielding was likewise accused of not paying punctual obedience to the King's orders. However this be, Fielding was sentenced by the council of war to lose his head; which sentence, after long intercession, was remitted by the King; but his regiment was given to another. This sentence occasioned great dissention in the King's army.

The Earl of Clarendon says, the King having received wrong intelligence, that the Earl of Essex, after the taking of Reading, was marched directly to Oxford, resolved to retire into the north to join the Earl of Newcastle. But it was only a false alarm. The Earl of Essex was so little able to besiege Oxford, that he was forced on the contrary to remain above six weeks at Reading, without being able to act, by reason of the sickness which infested his army.

* Whitelock observes farther upon this treaty, that their instructions were very strict, and tied them up to treat with none but the King himself, who, he says, manifested on this occasion, his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him, wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and give a most clear judgment upon them. He says also concerning the commissioners, the Earl of Northumberland demeaned himself with much courage and wisdom. Mr. Pierpoint acted his part with deep foresight and prudence. Sir William Ermyn was a gentleman of good understanding and conversation, and would give his opinion upon good reason. Sir John Holland, a gentleman of excellent parts as well as person, shewed a very good judgment and testimony of his abilities. Mr. Whitelock (that is, himself) was put upon very much labour, being employed in drawing up all the papers to the King, which were transcribed afterwards by the secretaries.

† In the too eager pursuit of the enemy William Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, who from the beginning of the war had been a volunteer in Prince Rupert's troop, was wounded, so that he died within two or three days.

‡ Cavesham bridge, defended by the Lord Roberts's and Berkley's regiments.

Whilst the treaty for peace was negociating at Oxford, Sir William Waller continued his conquests along the Severn, where having defeated the Lord Herbert of Ragland, son to the Marquis of Worcester, he became master of Hereford. But in assaulting Worcester, he was repulsed, after which he went and joined the Earl of Essex before Reading.

The taking of Reading seemed to be a good omen, to the Parliament, for the rest of the campaign; but the great mortality among the Earl of Essex's soldiers, suffered him not to improve this advantage. After the surrender of Reading, both Houses thought of no less than besieging Oxford, where the King was in great distress for want of warlike stores. In all appearance, the intelligence he had received, that the Earl of Essex was going to march thither, came from some friends at London, who knowing it was the Parliament's design, did not question, it would be put in execution. Meanwhile, the King received some ammunition in May, and as his enemies were not in condition to make any attempt, he remained quiet at Oxford.

At length, after a six weeks stay at Reading, the Earl of Essex marched towards Oxford, rather out of condescension to the Parliament, than in expectation of making any progress, by reason of the ill state of the army. He advanced however to Thame, within ten miles of Oxford, where he stopped. There was in his army a Scotch Colonel named Hurry, who had served in Germany with the Earl of Forth, the King's general, with whom he had a secret correspondence. As soon as the Earl of Essex approached Oxford, Hurry quitted the Parliament's service, and went over to the King, who received him very graciously. After that, he informed Prince Rupert of the situation of the quarters of the Parliament's army, and persuaded him to make an attempt upon the enemy. So the Prince going from Oxford in the evening with a body of horse, took a long circuit, and at break of day came to Wickham, where beating up the quarters of two regiments, one of horse, the other of foot, he cut them in pieces. Then he attacked another quarter with the same success, after which he resolved to retire by a bridge, where he had left a guard. But the Earl of Essex having now taken the alarm, had detached some troops to intercept the Prince, who was to cross Chaldgrave field, and enter a lane, which led to the bridge. The Earl of Essex's horse not giving the Prince time to reach the bridge, he chose rather to expect them in an open field, than enter the lane with the enemy in his rear. He charged therefore these horse with such bravery, that he put them to flight, towards a body of foot, which the Earl of Essex was leading himself. Whilst the horse were flying, the Prince passed the lane and bridge, and entered Oxford in triumph.* Upon the first alarm at the head-quarters, Mr. Hambden, Colonel of foot, mounted his horse, and rode as a volunteer in the regiment ordered to intercept the Prince. He was shot in the shoulder in this action, and within few a days died of the wound. He was a person very eminent in his party, both for his courage as an officer in the army, and for his wisdom and capacity as a member of Parliament. He had given proof of his firmness in his famous trial concerning ship-money.

After this loss, the Earl of Essex, whose army was in a very ill state, thought not proper to remain longer at Thame. He put his troops into quarters of refreshment at St. Albans, Uxbridge, and the neighbouring parts, till they should be recruited and furnished with many things they wanted, which the Parliament did not seem much to regard, whether from inability, or some other reason.

From that time, the King's military affairs began to flourish, and the Parliament was extremely embarrassed. The Queen joined the King the 13th of July, and brought him two thousand foot, a thousand horse, a hundred waggons laden with ammunition of all sorts, six pieces of cannon, and two mortars. On the other side, Sir William Waller, sent into the west by the Parliament, had the ill fortune to be defeated, and his army was so dispersed, that it was no longer serviceable. In this juncture it was that the King resolved to besiege Bristol, by Prince Rupert, with whom was joined the Cornish army that had vanquished Sir William Waller.

The 22d of July, Prince Rupert encamped before Bristol, and the same day, with the assistance of some sailors, who had been gained, he seized the ships in King-road, laden with goods of great value, which the inhabitants of Bristol had thought to secure there.

On the morrow, the Prince holding a council of war, it was resolved to proceed by assault, and not by approach. The walls must have been very weak, otherwise, it can hardly be conceived, that the besiegers should resolve to storm two days after their arrival, especially as there was a numerous garrison in the place. However this be, the next day both armies attacked the city, each at three several places, so that the garrison were forced to divide themselves into six bodies to defend the walls. The Cornish army was repulsed with great slaughter in their three assaults. The two divisions of Prince Rupert's were likewise repulsed: but the third, commanded by Colonel Washington, had better success, the Colonel finding means to make a breach in the wall large enough for the Prince to enter with his horse. But this advantage only put him in possession of the suburbs, beyond which was the city-wall, much stronger than what he had passed. However, he marched up the street to Frome-gate, where he was forced to halt, and where he lost many of his men, who were shot by the inhabitants from the walls and windows.

What the Prince had gained was so inconsiderable, that probably, the siege would still have cost much time, and many lives, if the governor had not lost his presence of mind, and ordered a parley to be beaten. The Governor was Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, who at the beginning of this Parliament, had made in the House of Commons several fine speeches against the King, but who, in all appearance, was not very skilful in the art of war. The Prince immediately granted the desired capitulation, thinking himself very happy to gain a place of that importance in so short a time. This capitulation was ill observed by the King's soldiers, who stripped those of the garrison, and made themselves more than amends for the breach of the capitulation at Reading. Fiennes was imprisoned for his cowardly surrender at Bristol, and some months after condemned to die by a council of war. But he was reprieved by the Earl of Essex, and passed the residue of his days abroad.

The taking of Bristol infusing fresh hopes into the King, he was willing to improve the present opportunity, whilst the Parliament had no army ready to oppose his progress. He resolved therefore to besiege Gloucester, the possession whereof would have been of great consequence to him. By it he would have been master of all the Severn, from Bristol to Shrewsbury, and of the whole country between that river and Wales, where there would have been only Hereford; which, probably would have quickly surrendered, By this means, he would not only have extended his quarters into a very good country, but also secured a communication from Cornwall to the northern counties. For as the Parliament had no army in the west, since Waller's defeat, the communication of the western counties with Bristol could not be interrupted. The taking of Gloucester would have opened a communication from Bristol to Shrewsbury, and from thence to the north, by means of Lancashire, which was more for him than for the Parliament. Besides this, the taking of Gloucester would have secured him the possession of Wales, where the Parliament would have had no entrance but by sea. If therefore even some of his friends have blamed him for undertaking this siege, it may be affirmed, the ill success was the best foundation of their opinion. Lord Clarendon says, the King having sent a messenger to

* With near two hundred prisoners, seven cornets of horse, and four ensigns of foot. Among other persons of note, Colonel Gunter was slain.

Colonel Massy, Governor of Gloucester, to persuade him to deliver the place, Massy in public answered in a high stile, but in private bade the messenger tell the King, "that if he came himself to besiege the town, he would not hold it against him, for it would not stand with his conscience to fight against the person of the King."* But the sequel showed, either that Massy had altered his mind, or the King had taken a mere compliment for a positive promise, since in the defence of this place Massy was very far from expressing the least inclination to favour the King.

Nothing shows more clearly how advantageous to the King the taking of Gloucester would have been, than the Parliament's alarm when they heard the first news of his marching to form the siege. Whereas before, the Earl of Essex's army was suffered to decay, all endeavours were used to recruit it, the moment the King's intention was known. Care was taken to complete the regiments by fresh levies of soldiers, raised in London with all possible expedition. And to facilitate these levies, the Parliament ordered the shops to be shut up till Gloucester should be relieved, and moreover, the Earl of Essex's army was strengthened with a numerous body of the city trained-bands. These things were done with that diligence, that in fifteen days the Earl of Essex was ready to march to the relief of the besieged.

The King came before Gloucester the 10th of August, with about eight thousand horse and foot, and immediately ordered the approaches to be begun, which however were not so vigorously pushed as was expected, by reason of the frequent sallies of the besieged. Besides, the King was obliged to go to Oxford, which made him lose some days. The Earl of Essex beginning to march the 26th of August, arrived in a few days near Gloucester, and, advancing to Presbury Hills, drew up his whole army in view of the city, expecting the King would come and give him battle. But the King not thinking fit to run any hazard, raised the siege, which could not be done without great disorder. The Earl of Essex marching into Gloucester, found the besieged reduced to a single barrel of powder, and no better provided with other stores. After staying there three days,† he departed towards London, passing through Tewkesbury in his way. He marched two days before the King knew he was gone, and surprised the town of Cirencester, where lay two regiments.‡ After that he crossed north Wiltshire, a deep and inclosed country, which obliged him to make very short marches.

As soon as the King had notice of the enemies' march and route, he departed also in order to follow them, sending Prince Rupert before with all his cavalry, consisting of five thousand horse. It is likely, his intention was that the Prince should post himself between London and the Parliament's army, whilst he followed, and put the army between him and his cavalry. Be this as it will, Prince Rupert came up with the Earl of Essex, as he was marching over Auborn-Chace, intending to have reached Newbury that night. There ensued in this place a sharp conflict, Prince Rupert having charged the Earl's rear, who were put into some disorder. This conflict obliged the Earl of Essex to quarter at Hungerford. The next day he continued his march towards Newbury, but found that the King had prevented him by two hours, and posted himself near the town. Prince Rupert, after the action of the foregoing day, went and joined the King.

The two armies, being too near each other to part without blows, prepared for battle, and the fight began,§ Prince Rupert, as usual, performing wonders with his horse. He quickly made the Parliament's cavalry give way: but took care not to commit the same fault he had done at Edge Hill, by pursuing the runaways too far. After he had routed the enemies' horse, he charged their infantry, who, though destitute of the assistance of the cavalry, received him with such intrepidity, that he could make no impression on their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about. It was fought all the rest of the day with pretty equal success. But in the night the King retired with his army, and left the way open to the Earl of Essex to proceed to Newbury. Next day, the Earl of Essex seeing the coast clear, pursued his march, and passing through Newbury, arrived at Reading as he had before resolved. Prince Rupert, who followed him, seeing him entered into the narrow lanes, attacked his rear, put them in disorder, and took some prisoners: but prevented not the Earl from continuing his march. He remained two days at Reading to refresh his troops, and without leaving a garrison in the place, which was possessed by the King's forces after his departure, returned to his old quarters. The King lost in this battle above twenty officers of note, and among others the Earl of Sunderland, the Earl of Caernarven, and Lord Falkland, Secretary of State, who would be present at the fight, though he had no call, not being a military officer. ‖

After the battle, the King retiring to Oxford, and the Earl of Essex to Windsor, neither had much share in the actions of the rest of the campaign.

About the beginning of May, whilst the King's troops were at Launceston, few in number, and very short of provisions, the Earl of Stamford, the Parliament's General in the west, entered Cornwall with an army of seven thousand men. He posted himself on the top of a hill near Stratton, whence he sent a party of twelve hundred horse, under the command of Sir George Chudleigh, to Bodmin, a town in the middle of the county, in order to keep in awe and hinder the militia from joining the King's forces as they had once before done. Sir Ralph Hopton, who commanded for the King at Launceston, and had but three thousand men, easily saw he should be driven out of the county, unless he found means to avoid it by some notable action. This made him resolve to march against the enemies, though they were much superior in number, and advantageously posted. The Earl of Stamford thought himself so secure from any attack, that though he had frequent notice of the enemies' approach he could not believe it. Indeed, it would have been rash in Sir Ralph Hopton, to attack him with so great advantage, had there been any other way to save the county for the King. However that be, the 16th of May, approaching the hill on which the Earl of Stamford was encamped, he ordered him to be attacked at four several places.¶ As the assailants were

---

* Lord Clarendon does not say, the King sent a messenger, but that Colonel Legge, under whom Massy had served in the King's army, sent him a letter of kindness and overture, as was proper in such a case from one friend to another. To which letter Massy returned an answer in a high stile, but told the messenger in private as above.

† And in that time, says the Lord Clarendon, which was as wonderful as any part of the story, caused all necessary provisions to be brought in to them, out of those very quarters in which the King's army had been sustained, and which they conceived to be entirely spent: "So solicitous were the people to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for them."

‡ And took forty loads of provisions, six standards, three hundred common soldiers, and four hundred horses, the said forces being designed for Kent, to raise an army there for the King, and Sir Nicholas Crispe to command them.

§ Essex had been forced to lodge in the field all night.

‖ Being dissuaded by his friends to go into the fight, he said, "He was weary of the times, and foresaw much misery to his country, and did believe he should be out of it ere night." His death, says Whitelock, was lamented by all that knew or heard of him; being a gentleman of great parts, ingenuity and honour; courteous and just to all, and a passionate promoter of all endeavours of peace between the King and Parliament. He was slain in the 34th year of his age. Whitelock's account of Newbury fight is briefly this: Essex finding his soldiers full of mettle, and resolved to force their way, he led them in person, and first charged the enemy with his own regiment and the Lord Roberts's brigade of horse; the fight began about six a-clock in the morning, Sept. 20, and held with very hot service till ten or eleven at night. The Parliament's forces beat the enemy from all their advantages, got the hill from them on which they were posted, pursued them to Newbury, and out of the town again, but the night coming on, they could pursue them no further; and though the King's forces (especially the horse, consisting most of gentlemen) made a gallant resistance, yet this place not being proper for their fight, their foot were thus beaten, and in the night marched away, leaving Essex master of the field, whose soldiers had the pillage of the dead bodies.

¶ The four divisions of the little army were led on, the first by the Lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton; the second by Sir John Berkley and Sir Bevil Greenvil; the third by Sir Nicholas Slanning and Colonel Trevannion;

were resolved to conquer or die, they gained, though with great difficulty, the top of the hill, which their enemies were at length forced to relinquish, after sustaining the charge many hours. In this action the Earl of Stamford had only three hundred men killed, but left seventeen hundred in the hands of the enemy. Among these prisoners was Major-General Chudleigh, who being carried to Oxford, turned to the King. The Earl of Stamford, whether to excuse his defeat, or upon other grounds, openly complained, that Chudleigh had betrayed him, and in the heat of the battle turning against him, charged him with the body under his command.

After this battle the Earl of Stamford throwing himself into Exeter, his army being dispersed, and the party of horse sent to Bodmin, thinking proper to retire to Plymouth, Hopton remained master of Cornwall. Shortly after, he was informed by a messenger from Oxford, that the Parliament had resolved to send Sir William Waller into the west, with forces to join the remains of the Earl of Stamford's army and some levies that were to be raised in that country, and that the King on his part was sending thither the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice with a body of troops, who were now upon their march. This made him think, it would be very proper for his little Cornish army to join the Marquis's forces. He marched therefore into Devonshire, leaving a party at Saltash to defend Cornwall from any incursions of Plymouth, and advanced to Tiverton, where he expected orders from the Marquis. Presently after, hearing the Marquis of Hertford was come to Chard, a town in Somersetshire, on the edge of Devonshire, with seventeen hundred horse and one thousand foot, he went and joined him, and the two bodies together formed an army of seven thousand men. Taunton, a large town in Somersetshire, was the first, the Marquis of Hertford resolved to attack. But the garrison saved him the labour, by retiring to Bridgewater, on account of a sedition raised by the inhabitants. On the morrow, the Parliament's troops quitted also Bridgewater, and in a few days Dunstar castle was surrendered to the King.*

The Marquis of Hertford having staid about Taunton some days, heard at last that Sir William Waller was within two days' march of him, drawing troops together with the utmost diligence, and expecting more from London and Bristol. Whereupon he resolved to attack him, without giving him time to strengthen his army any more. Whilst he was preparing to execute this design, the committee of the Militia, who were levying forces in those parts to join them with Waller's, perceiving a favourable opportunity, beat up one of the Marquis's quarters, who was now advanced to Somerton, and gave so brisk an alarm to the King's troops, that the Marquis was forced to draw out the whole army. Then the Parliament's forces retired to Wells: but seeing they were pursued, quitted Wells, and posted themselves on the top of Mendip hill, which overlooks the city. The Marquis of Hertford being come to Wells stayed there, the day being far spent. But Prince Maurice, Sir Ralph Hopton, and the Earl of Carnarvon, taking the enemies' retreat for a flight, went out with two regiments of horse to pursue them, and marched directly to them. Whereupon the Parliament's forces being mostly foot, and few in number, retired in order to join a detachment of horse sent by Waller to support them. But the Earl of Carnarvon, who was farthest advanced, gave them no time to retreat in good order. As they were obliged to pass through a lane, he entered after them, and pursued them beyond, till he met with Waller's horse, who stopped his career, and compelled him to retire in his turn with great precipitation. Prince Maurice coming to his relief, a warm action ensued, wherein the Prince received two cuts in his head, and was beaten off his horse, but was fortunately relieved. Night obliged both parties to retire, the King's to Wells, and the Parliament's to Bath.

Some days after, the Marquis of Hertford, knowing Waller's army daily increased, marched towards Bath to try to draw him to an engagement. But Waller having his reasons to defer it, because he still expected fresh supplies, the Marquis advanced to Marsfield, five miles beyond Bath to Oxford. Whereupon Waller, whose chief business was to hinder him from joining with the King, marched out of Bath, and drew up his army on Lansdown, expecting the enemies, who failed not to move towards him. As the Marquis of Hertford was in a country so disaffected to the King, that only force could procure him any supply or relief; and as besides, he was advanced beyond Bath on purpose to engage them to fight, he was unwilling to lose the opportunity. In this action, which was called the battle of Lansdown, of his two thousand horse the Marquis of Hertford lost above fifteen hundred. But on the other hand, he drove Waller from his post, and compelled him to give way, about demi-culverin shot. Next day, Waller retired to Bath, and the Marquis entirely remained master of the field.†

But this inconsiderable advantage, gained with the loss of almost all his horse, threw him into a very ill situation. He had been sent into the west to drive Sir William Waller from thence, and yet, after the battle, Waller was between the King's army and the western counties, where the Marquis could penetrate but by a second battle, which he was not in condition to hazard, being without horse. This made him resolve to march to the Devizes, leave there his infantry under the command of Sir Ralph Hopton, and break through to Oxford, with the Prince and the remainder of the horse, in expectation of returning from thence with a body of cavalry strong enough to bring off the foot he should leave at the Devizes, which was but thirty miles from Oxford. This resolution was pursued. But as soon as he had quitted his infantry at the Devizes, Waller came before the town with his whole army, and invested these troops, who were in a very ill state by reason of the scarcity of provisions. As he was sensible, the besieged could not remain long in such a state, he made them an overture of capitulating with him, which Hopton gladly embraced, in the uncertainty whether any supplies would come from Oxford, or would arrive soon enough. He entered therefore into a treaty with Waller: but with intention to prolong it as much as possible, and not yield to the last extremity, as expecting every moment to be relieved from Oxford. Waller was so confident that they were at his mercy, that he had sent the Parliament word, "That their business was done, and by the next post, he would send the number and quality of his prisoners."

Meanwhile, the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice being come to Oxford, and having represented to the King the distress of his troops at the Devizes, his Majesty immediately sent the Lord Wilmot with fifteen hundred horse, who came within two miles of the Devizes before the capitulation between Hopton and Waller was signed.

Waller was no sooner informed of the enemies' approach, but he drew up without drum or trumpet his whole army on Roundway Down, over which the King's troops were necessarily to pass in order to join those in the town. Wilmot, finding he could not execute his design without fighting, drew up within musquet shot of Waller's army. But perhaps he would have thought of it more than once, before he attacked with fifteeen hundred horse an army so superior in number, had not

Trevannion; the fourth by Colonel Basset and Colonel William Godolphin. In memory of this battle, Sir Ralph Hopton was afterwards created Lord Hopton of Stratton. As for the twelve hundred horse sent to Bodmin, under the command of Sir George Chudleigh, father to the Major-General, upon the news of the defeat, Sir George, with as many as he could keep together, got into Plymouth.

* By Mr. Lutterel the owner, who thereupon was made governor of it by the Marquis.

† In this battle, fell Sir Bevil Greenvil. This was the first time the King's horse had turned from an enemy, occasioned, it seems by a regiment of cuirassiers commanded by Sir Arthur Haslerig, which were so completely armed, that they were called the Regiment of Lobsters. Just after the battle, Sir Ralph Hopton was miserably hurt by the accidental blowing up of some powder.

Waller begun the fight, by charging the enemy with a regiment of cuirassiers lately sent from London, and which till now had been deemed invincible.* This regiment was vigorously repulsed, and retreating in disorder, infused such a terror into Waller's troops, that they made but a faint resistance. Meanwhile Hopton seeing from the town the disorder of the enemies, came out with his foot, and bravely seconding Wilmot, who for his part did not give the enemies time to recover themselves, they quickly put the whole army to rout, killed five or six thousand men, and took nine hundred prisoners. Waller, after his defeat, escaped to Bristol. He complained very much of the Earl of Essex, who, lying then at Thame, suffered Wilmot to pass without sending a party after him, or giving the alarm to Oxford, which would have caused Wilmot to be recalled. The Earl of Essex on the other hand, who was no friend to Waller, could not forbear saying some reproachful things on his defeat. This bred such enmity between them, that it might have been very prejudicial to their party, had not the Parliament taken care to reconcile them.

After so complete a victory, the Lord Wilmot returned in triumph to Oxford, and the Marquis of Hertford, taking the command of the army, appeared before the city of Bath, the gates whereof were opened at the first summons. Presently after, the King, having resolved to besiege Bristol, ordered the Cornish army to join Prince Rupert at the siege. As soon as he was master of Bristol, he resolved to send an army into the west, under the command of Prince Maurice, and to keep the Marquis of Hertford near his person. To that end, he gave orders to the Earl of Carnarvon, who was to serve under Prince Maurice, to advance towards the west with a party of horse, whilst the Prince should follow with the infantry, of which the Cornish army made the best part. The Earl of Carnarvon marched first into Dorsetshire, which declared for the Parliament, and took Weymouth, Dorchester, and Portland castle. Here Prince Maurice came and joined his cavalry. When he was at the head of the army, he suffered his troops to use such licence, and so ill observed the articles made upon the surrender of the towns, that the Earl of Carnarvon, out of indignation quitted his command in this army, and returned to the King before Gloucester. Meanwhile Prince Maurice, after staying some time in Dorsetshire, entered Devonshire, and laid siege to Exeter, which was surrendered by capitulation by the Earl of Stamford.

After the taking of Exeter, the Prince applied himself chiefly to increase the number of his forces by fresh levies, whilst the Parliament had no army in that country able to withstand him. In a short space, he assembled seven thousand foot, with horse in proportion, besides three thousand men commanded by Colonel John Digby before Plymouth, the blockade of which place he had, till the Prince should come and besiege it. There had lately been discovered at Plymouth a plot framed by Sir Alexander Carew, knight of the shire for Cornwall, and governor of the fort and island of St. Nicholas, on which depended the security of the town, to deliver the island and fort to the King. Carew was apprehended and sent to London, where some time after he was condemned to die by a court-martial.†

When Prince Maurice had compleated his levies, instead of going to Plymouth, he laid siege to Dartmouth, which employed him more than a month. During that time, the inhabitants of Plymouth, whom the discovery of Carew's plot had thrown into a great consternation, recovered themselves, and resolved upon an obstinate defence. This resolution was confirmed by a supply of five hundred men sent by the Parliament by sea, with a Scotch governor, an experienced warrior. So, Prince Maurice, when he came before the place, found the conquest of it much more difficult than he had expected. He continued however the siege, notwithstanding the winter, which was now begun.

Since the Earl of Newcastle's arrival at York, with his army levied in the north, the Lord Fairfax had been obliged to keep at some distance from that city, to avoid being attacked by an army much more numerous than his own. All the northern parts from York to the borders of Scotland were for the King. The southern part of Yorkshire was for the Parliament, and the war was waging in the middle parts of the country to the right and left. But little else was transacted, besides the taking of small towns, which served only to enlarge the quarters of one or other army.

In May 1643, the Earl of Newcastle took two or three of these places. In the same month, the Lord Fairfax having detached fifteen hundred men, under the command of his son Sir Thomas Fairfax, ordered Wakefield to be attacked, where lay three thousand men of the King's party. This assault was made about four in the morning, with such vigour and conduct, that the King's troops were driven from the town, and many taken and slain. Amongst the prisoners was General Goring the commander.‡

Presently after, the Earl of Newcastle had his revenge. Having taken Howley house, he marched from thence towards Bradford, and in the way was met on Atherton-moor by the Lord Fairfax, whom he entirely routed. Fairfax, with the remains of his army, threw himself into Hull, where Sir John Hotham had been lately apprehended by order of Parliament, and the Lord Fairfax was made governor of that important place.

In June, Gainsborough, a town in Lincolnshire, was taken by the Lord Willoughby of Parham, commander for the Parliament in those parts, who there made the Earl of Kingston prisoner. But being informed that the Earl of Newcastle was preparing to recover Gainsborough, he sent his prisoner in a pinnace to Hull. The Earl was unfortunately shot by some of his own party, who would have stopped the pinnace. Meanwhile, the Earl of Newcastle began his march to besiege Gainsborough, and at his approach, detached a party of horse to invest the town. Oliver Cromwell arriving at the same time, with design to supply the town with provisions, defeated this detachment, pursuing them even in sight of their main body, which he did not think to be so near. As he was not in condition to face this army, he retreated in good order, and after throwing supplies into the town, retired at a greater distance. Shortly after, the Earl of Newcastle retook Gainsborough, and possessed himself of Lincoln, where he put a strong garrison; after which, he besieged Hull, whilst the King was before Gloucester.

The Lord Fairfax, assisted by Sir John Meldrum, a Scotchman, defended the town of Hull with great bravery and conduct for five weeks, though he was vigorously attacked. At last, October the 11th, the besieged made a great sally, and after a very obstinate fight, which was several times renewed, drove the besiegers from their trenches, and seized their cannon. This obliged the Earl of Newcastle, now created Marquis, to raise the siege.

The same day this famous sally was made at Hull, a great body of horse, part of the Earl of Newcastle's army, commanded by the Lord Widrington, were routed at Horn castle, by the Earl of Manchester, who had with him Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Cromwell.

The rest of the military actions during the winter, after this campaign, having a necessary connection with the affairs of Scotland and Ireland, we must speak of what passed in these two kingdoms in the course of this year.

The affairs of the Parliament not being in a situation to afford a prospect of any great advantages upon the King this campaign, the Scots began to prepare to as-

* This was the regiment of Lobsters before mentioned, which, according to Rushworth, rashly led on by Sir Arthur Haslerig, leaving the foot, charged the King's forces very disadvantageously, and so were presently routed.

† He was beheaded on Tower-hill, December 23, 1644.

‡ With about fifteen hundred men, and twenty-seven colours of foot.

sist them, in case there should be occasion. To that purpose, about the beginning of May, it was moved by some of the leading men, that there might be a joint meeting of the council, the conservators of the peace, and the commissioners for public burthens. In the hands of all these was lodged the authority of the kingdom, when there was no Parliament. This motion was readily complied with, all the public offices and posts being filled with men of that party. In this assembly it was proposed, that, considering the danger the kingdom was in, by reason of armies levying in the north of England, Scotland should be put in a posture of defence. As this could not be done without a Parliament, or a convention of estates, it was urged, that there was an absolute necessity of immediately summoning such a convention. The Marquis of Hamilton, and several others, strongly opposed it, alledging, that for them to appoint a convention without the King's order, was an encroachment upon the royal prerogative in the highest degree: that his Majesty had promised to call a Parliament in the year 1644, and therefore to hold a convention of estates before that time, without his privity, was directly contrary to the laws of the land. But their arguments were in vain. It was carried by the majority, that the Lord Chancellor should summon a convention of estates, against the 22d of June.

The King having notice of what was projecting in Scotland, immediately sent thither the Earls of Roxborough, Kinnoul, and Lanerick. These three Lords arrived at Edinburgh the 15th of May, and brought the Marquis of Hamilton a patent, creating him a Duke. Besides this, they presented to the council a declaration from the King, wherein he endeavoured to display the justice of his cause against the Parliament of England. He vindicated his innocence with regard to all the aspersions cast upon him, particularly concerning religion, and represented very pathetically, the wrongs and injustices done him.

Shortly after, the King hearing that a convention of estates was summoned without his order or privity, easily perceived, this step was not taken without an intention to support it. He chose therefore to permit them to assemble, but with express orders to limit their consultations to the best ways and means of supplying the Scottish army in Ireland, and to relieving public burthens by pressing a speedy payment of the brotherly assistance due from England. But the convention was by no means inclined to be thus restrained. When the estates met, the first thing in debate was the limitation in the King's letter of license. The Duke of Hamilton, with the King's other friends,* voted it "No convention but as regulated by his Majesty's letter;" but all the rest voted it "A free convention."† The King pretended afterwards, the Duke of Hamilton and his brother the Earl of Lanerick had not served him with sincerity, and if they had pleased, they might have hindered the convention from meeting. Some time after, these two Lords repairing to Oxford, he ordered them to be apprehended, but the Earl of Lanerick found means to escape, and his brother the Duke was sent down to be imprisoned in the castle of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall.

The convention of estates met the 22d of June, and the general assembly of the kirk, the 2d of August. It is observable, it was in June that an ordinance of the Parliament of England, was published for calling an assembly of divines and others, to be consulted by both Houses, for settling the government and liturgy of the church of England, and that this assembly held their first session the 1st of July, a few days after the meeting of the convention of estates in Scotland. The sequel shewed with what design this assembly was appointed.

The precaution taken by the Scots was not ineffectual. They seem to have foreseen what happened soon after. For in the interval between the proposing a convention of estates, and the time of their meeting, the Earl of Essex's army was seized with sickness after the taking of Reading; the city of Bristol fell into the King's hands; and Sir William Waller's forces were routed at Roundway-down. If the King's successes had not received a check, by the raising of the siege of Gloucester, and the battle of Newbury, it is very visible, the Parliament's affairs were in a very ill situation about the end of July and the beginning of August, that is, at the time the convention of estates, and the general assembly met in Scotland. Accordingly, both Houses failed not to improve the precaution taken by the Scots, and which, in all appearance, had been suggested to them. As they saw their affairs were declining, they applied, without farther consideration, to the convention of Scotland for assistance, and sent commissioners, with full powers to treat. These commissioners who came to Edinburgh whilst the King was approaching Gloucester, found the estates of Scotland as well disposed as they could wish. They had brought with them two declarations, one directed to the convention, the other, to the general assembly. The first was, only to desire the speedy assistance of the estates, and to inform them, that their commissioners had instructions to treat with them, not only concerning the satisfaction to be made for the desired aid, and also about settling the accounts between the two kingdoms. In the second, both Houses acknowledged the great zeal and love, manifested by the general assembly of the churches of Scotland, in their endeavours for the preservation of the true Protestant religion, from the attempts of the Popish and prelatical party, to the necessary reformation of church government in England, and the more near union of both churches. And therefore they exhorted the assembly to send into England some of their body, for the furtherance of that work in conjunction with the assembly of divines now sitting at Westminster. They declared also, that besides their instructions in the civil matters of both kingdoms, the commissioners had received directions to resort to and consult with the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland, in every thing relating to the reformation of the church of England; and to that end, Mr. Marshal, and Mr. Nye, ministers of God's word, were appointed to assist the commissioners with their advice.

With these declarations the commissioners found no difficutly in their negotiation. On the contrary, the general assembly addressed to the estates a declaration, containing the reasons which ought to induce them to assist the Parliament of England. The assembly and convention having respectfully appointed a committee to treat with the English commissioners, it was agreed at the first conferences, that the best and speediest means for accomplishing the union and assistance desired, was that both nations should enter into a mutual covenant or league. This covenant was prepared in a very short time, so that, August the 17th, it was presented to the estates and the general assembly, and approved by both the same day. On the morrow, being the 18th, it was sent to England by the Lord Maitland, afterwards Duke Lauderdale. He was accompanied with Mr. Alexander Henderson, moderator of the general assembly, and Mr. Gillespy, both ministers, as commissioners from the assembly to treat with the assembly of divines at Westminster, about the union of the two churches.

August the 28th, ten days after the departure of the Scotch commissioners, the Parliament of England consented to the covenant. Immediately after, the assembly of divines were ordered by both Houses to frame an exhortation to the taking of the covenant, to be read publicly in all the churches. That done, the covenant was ordered to be printed and published, and appointed to be taken the 22d of September by all the members of Parliament, and the assembly of divines, which was done with great solemnity. The manner of taking it was thus: the covenant was read, and then notice was

* Eighteen Lords and one Knight.

† Whereupon Hamilton and his party withdrew, and would sit in the convention no more.

given that each person should immediately, by swearing thereunto, worship the great name of God, and testify so much outwardly, by lifting up their hands; and then they went up into the chancel of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and there subscribed their names in a roll of parchment, in which this covenant was fairly written. It was taken that day by two hundred and twenty-two members of Parliament.*

Shortly after, the King issued out a proclamation to forbid the taking of the covenant, but it produced no great effect. On the contrary, the committee of estates did, by their printed act of the 22d of October, ordain it to be sworn and subscribed by all the subjects, under pain of having their goods and rents confiscated. After that, they summoned all the Lords of the council to come and sign it before them. The Duke of Hamilton, and some others, refusing to subscribe it, the committee by another act, of the 17th of November, ordered all their lands to be seized, and their persons to be apprehended, with permission to kill such as resisted.

After both kingdoms had agreed upon the covenant, the estates of Scotland appointed commissioners to treat with the English, concerning the aid desired. The Scots, by means of 100,000*l.* which they received from England; by the hopes of good pay, and warm quarters; not to mention men's favourable disposition towards the cause; soon completed their levies. And having added, to their other forces, the troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were ready, about the end of the year, to enter England, under the command of their old general, the Earl of Leven, with an army of above 20,000 men.

In the treaty of peace concluded at London 1641, there was this clause: "That the kingdom of Scotland shall not denounce nor make war against the kingdoms of England, or Ireland, without consent of the Parliament of Scotland; nor, on the other hand, the kingdom of England make war against Scotland, without consent of the Parliament of England. And in case any of the subjects of any of the kingdoms shall rise in arms, or make war against any other of the kingdoms and subjects thereof, without consent of the Parliament of that kingdom whereof they are subjects, or upon which they do depend, that they shall be held as traitors to the states whereof they are subjects. And that both the kingdoms, in the cases aforesaid, be bound to concur in the repressing of those that shall happen to rise in arms, or make war without consent of their own Parliament."

The King supposing, that the Scots, in aiding the Parliament against him, intended to make war upon England, inferred from this clause, that they were guilty of treason. The Scots supposed on the contrary that, far from intending to make war against England, their design was to aid and defend that kingdom against the Popish and prelatical party, and rescue the King out of their hands.

As to Ireland, the success of the first campaign had been so equal on both sides, that neither could boast of having gained any great advantage. The point was to continue the war, each rightly judging, peace would be always very remote, so long as things remained in a state of equality. And therefore the King and the Parliament thought of strengthening themselves against

* *A solemn league and covenant for reformation and defence of Religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

"We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, by the Providence of God living under one King, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the King's Majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included, and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the Reformation of Religion, and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time, encreased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies; we have (now at last) after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations and sufferings, for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practices of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear:

"I. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies, the Reformation of Religion in the kingdoms of England, and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best Reformed churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechising, that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

"II. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that Hierarchy) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdoms.

"III. We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliament, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.

"IV. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the Reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties among the people, contrary to this league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial; and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

"V. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

"VI. We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the King, but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power against all letts and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; all which we shall do as in the sight of God.

"And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and his son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof: we profess and declare before God, and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions, so much abounding amongst us. And our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real Reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches, groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of anti-christian tyranny, to join in the same, or like association and covenant. To the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms, and commonwealths."

the

the ensuing campaign. The treaty of Oxford not succeeding, as was easy to foresee, the King thought of means to employ at home the English troops that served in Ireland, and to that purpose, of making a truce with the rebels. As this notable project could not but be odious to the English, and render suspicious all the King's protestations with respect to the Irish rebellion, he saw himself obliged to use more caution, to procure an excuse to conclude this cessation. This he did by engaging the Lords-Justices of Ireland, and the council of Dublin to countenance his project.*

To have a pretence to conclude this truce, the King believed, the best way was to persuade the public, it would be extremely advantageous, or rather was absolutely necessary, to the English in Ireland, and their only refuge, to preserve what they still possessed in that country.

In the situation of affairs, since war had been declared between the King and the Parliament, the Lords-Justices who governed Ireland were greatly embarrassed. They had been commissioned by the King, and consequently from him they were to receive their orders. But on the other hand, the Parliament having taken upon them to pay the charges of the Irish war, they could not openly declare for the King, without forfeiting the assistance of the Parliament, the King not being in condition to supply them. A perfect neutrality was not possible, because the King's and the Parliament's interests being opposite, they could not implicitly obey the one, without being suspected by the other. They chose therefore to try to content both, as far as was possible, and the rather, as the King and the Parliament expressed an equal desire to end the Irish war. But they could not remain long in this situation. Such was their case at last, that it was not possible for them to please both. The Parliament having sent in October, 1642, a committee to Dublin to assist the council, and settle with the Lords-Justices, what related to the continuance of the war, these commissioners were at first received with respect, but in February 1643, by the King's express order, were sent back to England. The King was well pleased, the Parliament should supply what was necessary for continuing the war, but unwilling they should have any share in the government of Ireland, or their commissioners a place in the council of state. Shortly after, he removed some of the Lords-Justices and counsellors. Probably, he was then forming the project of a truce with the rebels, and wanted for that purpose, that the Lords-Justices, and all the counsellors should be disposed to act only by his orders. Besides, on this supposition, the Parliament's commissioners could not but be a great impediment, had they continued to assist at the council of state. From that time also, the instances of the Lords-Justices to the King and Parliament for aid, became more pressing and frequent. They represented the state of the English in Ireland, as entirely desperate, without a speedy supply of men, money, and ammunition. They said, the officers were very importunate for leave to return to England. In a word, they omitted nothing, that was apt to create a belief, there was no remedy. On the other hand, some officers of the English army presented a remonstrance to the Lords-Justices, April the 4th, 1643, declaring, they were reduced to despair for want of money to subsist, and that it ought not to be thought strange, if in their case they should have recourse to the first and primary law of nature, which God hath endowed men withal, namely, the law of self-preservation.

The remonstrance of the officers being sent to the King, he took occasion from thence to send to the Marquis of Ormond a commission, impowering him to treat with the rebels, and agree with them upon a cessation of arms for one year. He gave notice of it to the Lords-Justices, in a letter of April the 23d, 1643, commanding them to assist the Marquis in the execution of his commission, to the utmost of their power. The date of this commission is remarkable, for it evidently shows, that the Scots' resolution to assist the Parliament, which was not taken till the following August, was not the cause of the Irish truce.

May the 3d, the King renewed his orders to the Marquis of Ormond concerning the truce. But before the Marquis had received these fresh orders, the Lords-Justices had written to the King, the 11th of the same month, a very expressive letter, representing the miserable condition of Ireland, in such terms as showed, that every one was reduced to despair for want of money, and provisions, though till then the English forces had been crowned with success against the rebels.†

The King, who meant to take an advantage from this letter, to demonstrate to the public, the necessity of the cessation he intended to conclude, sent it to both Houses, who immediately took this affair into consideration. A committee was appointed, with orders to think of ways to raise money for Ireland. Upon the report of the committee, the Parliament resolved to raise money by voluntary contributions, and offered very advantageous terms to such as should advance the sums required.‡ But notwithstanding this, the King, July the 2d, dispatched fresh orders to the Lords-Justices, and the Marquis of Ormond, to conclude a truce for one year, which they were already endeavouring. From the 20th of June, the general council of the Irish, assembled at Kilkenny, had granted a commission to treat.

September the 7th, the King repeated his orders to the Marquis of Ormond, to conclude the truce as soon as possible. At the same time, he ordered him to send into England, all the English forces that could be spared after the conclusion of the truce. His reason was, that an army was preparing in Scotland to invade England.

At length, the cessation was signed the 15th of September, on the condition that both parties should remain in possession of what they held. The King founded the necessity of it, first, upon a remonstrance presented to him, December the 1st, 1642, by four Colonels, as well in their own, as in the names of many other officers, who served in the army of Ireland, wherein they told him, it was impossible for them to subsist any longer, if means were not found to supply their pressing wants. Secondly, upon the repeated letters sent from the Lords-Justices to the King and the Parliament, since January 1642-3, wherein they said, the army was likely to perish in a few days, for want of assistance. Thirdly, upon the forementioned remonstrance of the officers of the 4th of April, wherein they pretended a few hours' delay to assist them, would be too long. Nevertheless this army, which was reduced to extremity the 1st of December 1642, found means to subsist till the 15th of September 1643, though the Lords-Justices complained, they had received no supplies since November. This is a clear evidence, that all these complaints were very much aggravated by the private direction of the King, who meant to use them for pretence to the truce. This is what the Parliament represented in a declaration published

* The King, says Lord Clarendon, was not all this while without a due sense of the dangers that threatened him, in the growth and improvement of the power and strength of the enemy, and how impossible it would be for him, without some more extraordinary assistance, to resist that torrent, which he foresaw by the next spring would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not provision accordingly. And finding by degrees, that it was not in his power to compose the disturbances of England, or to prevent those of Scotland, and abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign nation to subdue his own subjects, he began to think of expedients which might allay the distempers in Ireland; that so, having one of his kingdoms in peace, he might apply the power of that towards the procuring it in his other dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an argument that business of Ireland was, and how prepared men were to prevent whatsoever he said, or did in it; and therefore he resolved to proceed with that caution, that whatsoever was done in it, should be by the council of that state, who were understood to be most skillful in those affairs."

† They complained, that they had no victuals, clothes, or other provisions requisite towards their sustenance; no money to provide them with any thing they wanted; no arms, and not above forty barrels of powder in his Majesty's stores.

‡ The adventurers were to have such and such towns, with so many acres of land for security, upon advancing such a sum upon each town. The sum proposed to be raised, was 200,000l.

lished on account of the Irish cessation, before they had notice of its being concluded: they complained very strongly, that they were never acquainted by the states of Ireland, with the treaty of a cessation, much less was their advice demanded, notwithstanding, that by act of Parliament, and by his Majesty's commission under the great seal, both Houses were "To advise, order, and dispose of all things concerning the government and defence of that kingdom." They said, that to accomplish more easily this dishonourable cessation, those of the state in Dublin, who were so honest and religious as to dissuade it, were first discountenanced, and at last put out of their places, and restrained to prison, as Sir William Parsons, one of the Lords-Justices, Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls, Sir Adam Loftus, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and Sir Robert Meredith, one also of the council table. That it was made only with a view to discourage those who had subscribed to advance money upon the Parliament's proposals, in order to render impossible the maintenance of the army in Ireland, and to employ it in England, to the destruction of the Parliament. For these and many other reasons, both Houses declared the intended cessation void, promising to indemnify those who should refuse to submit to it.*

Meanwhile, the King, who was assured of the concurrence of the Lords-Justices, the council of state, and the Marquis of Ormond, general of the army, so ordered it, that after the conclusion of the truce all the English troops that could be spared were sent to him. These forces landed at Mostyn in Flintshire, and their first attempt was upon Hawarden castle, which was surrendered to them the 4th of December. Then they took some other small places in Cheshire; after which the Lord Byron, who commanded for the King in these parts, besieged Nantwich, January the 15th, 1643-4. Three days after, making a sudden and violent storm upon five several places of the town at once, he was every where repulsed with the loss of many of his men. At last, the 21st of the same month, the Lord Fairfax, who advanced to relieve the town, entirely routed the Irish army, consisting of three thousand foot, (who were almost all slain or taken prisoners,) and of eighteen hundred horse, most of whom escaped by flight, but were so dispersed that they could be of no farther service to the King. Colonel George Monk was taken in this action, and sent prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained some time, till at last he took arms under the Parliament. Thus the King received no advantage by these troops; they rather did him great prejudice, as, by all his proceedings to procure them, he confirmed the mistrust entertained by many people, of his being concerned in the Irish rebellion.

Not to interrupt the thread of the military actions, and of what passed in Scotland and Ireland, we have been forced to pass over several important events of the year 1643, of which it will be necessary to speak, though without any connection, as they are of a different nature.

The King was ever strongly possessed with the notion, that fear alone held most of the people attached to the Parliament, and that if he procured them a good opportunity to hold up their heads, he should oblige both Houses to make a speedy peace, without demanding the securities, which made the principal obstacle. This was the favourite scheme, as well as of his ministers, his council, his friends and adherents in London and elsewhere; and this was the spring of several projects to force the Parliament to a peace. It is certain, the King had many friends in London, and in the Parliament itself, who served him artfully, by pretending to dread that the war would be destructive to the Parliament; and thereby they endeavoured to infuse a real terror into the people, and incline them by degrees to wish and sue for peace. These men incessantly plotted to sow discord between the Parliament and the people. As it was necessary for them to hold private correspondence with the court, in order to act according to directions, his Majesty sent frequent messengers to London, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly, under colour of bringing messages to the Parliament, in order to convey his instructions to his friends, and be exactly informed of what passed in both Houses and the city. With this view, in December 1642, he published for the sake, as was pretended, of the inhabitants of London, a proclamation for the free and safe passage of all goods, wares and merchandizes to the city. But the Commons suspecting some hidden mystery under this condescension, passed the next month two orders, the one, that no carriers or waggoners should be permitted to go to Oxford or elsewhere, without special license from the Parliament: the other, that any agent or servant to any person that was in arms against the Parliament, who should presume to come to Westminster, or reside about London, should be forthwith apprehended as a spy. The 10th of April following, these orders were renewed, and even extended to all persons that should come from the King's quarters to London without a safe conduct, and the same was printed and published.

In all appearance, the King, who had so many correspondents in London, was not ignorant of this order. Nevertheless, on pretence it was not signified to him in form, he sent a message to the Parliament, with an offer of peace in general terms, without demanding a safe conduct for the bearer. But the Commons, resolving to stop the course of these artifices, which served to carry on the King's private correspondence in London, ordered the messenger to be sent to prison, for coming without a safe conduct. Three days after, to show the people, the King vainly amused them with hopes of a peace, they impeached the Queen of high-treason, and sent up the impeachment to the Lords by Mr. Pym. The King, full of indignation at this extraordinary proceeding, published a proclamation, to forbid obedience to the orders of the two Houses, declaring, he acknowledged them no longer for Houses of Parliament.

Affairs were in this situation, when the two Houses discovered a conspiracy formed in London, under colour of procuring peace refused by the Parliament. The particulars of this conspiracy, as they were communicated to the Lords by Mr. Pym, were as follows:—

"I. That the conspiracy was formed of a mixture and conjunction of persons of several qualities, some whereof were of both Houses of Parliament, others of the city, and others belonging to the court, who in their respective places and employments were to form and perfect the work, raised out of the ashes of the late petition of London for peace.

"II. The chief actors were Mr. Waller,† a member of the House of Commons, who pretended, and gave out to the rest, that many others of that House, and of the Lords, were privy to and concerned therein; Mr. Tompkins, a gentleman living in Holborn, brother-in-law to the said Mr. Waller, and a servant to the Queen, as being secretary to the commissioners for her Majesty's revenue; Mr. Challoner, an eminent citizen; one Mr. Blinkard, Mr. Alexander Hampden, who brought the last message from the King; Mr. Hassel; one of his Majesty's messengers, &c.

"III. The method was, for several persons in the city to dispose of themselves into a committee, to hold intelligence with both armies, the court, and the Parliament, to take a general survey of the affections of all the inhabitants within the weekly bills of mortality, which was to be done under these three ranks, Right Men, (or of the King's party) Averse Men, (or the well-affected to the Parliament) and Moderate Men, (or neutrals;) to consider of arms, ammunition, and all provisions of war, to appoint out of themselves select persons to treat with Mr. Waller, and Mr. Tompkins, in relation to the city, court, and Parliament; as also with Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir George Binion, Captain Roydon, and others at Oxford.

* Whitelock says, twenty thousand English and Scots in the north of Ireland, vowed to live and die together in opposition to the cessation.

† Edmund Waller, the celebrated poet.

" IV. Mr. Waller's part, was to engage a considerable part of the Lords and Commons, and to be a means of conveying counsels, resolutions, and intelligence between them and the said city-committee. Mr. Tompkins was not only an assistant to Mr. Waller therein, but an instrument to convey by Hassel and others their proceedings to the court, principally to Lord Falkland, and to receive thence directions, powers, and commands.

" V. For preventing discovery, protestations of secrecy were taken, as they were Christians, not to disclose it, and no man in the city was to endeavour the engaging above two, whereby no one could impeach many.

" VI. From the court, Mr. Heron and Mr. Alexander Hampden, and others employed upon messages from the King to the Parliament, were to convey directions, encouragements, and advice to those in London, and authority was to be given under the Great-Seal, and warrants under the King's hand, for settling a council of war, naming of Generals and other officers, execution of martial law, raising of money, and providing arms; and to facilitate the whole, part of the King's forces to be in readiness to assist the party here, as there should be occasion.

" VII. The particulars of the design itself were, to seize the King's children, to secure several members of Parliament, particularly the Lord Say, the Lord Wharton, Mr. Pym, Sir William Stapleton, Colonel Hampden, and Colonel Strode, as also the Lord-Mayor and committee of the militia, under pretence of bringing them to a legal trial; to seize upon the out-works, forts, magazines, gates, and other places of importance in the city and the Tower, and let in the King's forces, and in the mean time to resist and obstruct all payments, imposed by authority of the two Houses for support of their armies.

" VIII. For their authority they had the following commission brought up by the Lady Aubigney, (who was under custody) the said commission being found hidden under ground in Mr. Tompkins's cellar.

" IX. In pursuance of this commission, they had often consulted of a General, and treated with Sir Hugh Pollard, prisoner in the Compter (once a member of the House of Commons, but expelled, being accused of having a hand in the design to bring up the northern army against the Parliament,) about it. And a declaration was ready drawn, setting forth the cause of their taking up of arms to be in pursuance of their late protestation, to maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion against all Papists and sectaries, to oppose illegal assessments, &c. which was to be distributed to their friends, and on the night of their rising set upon the posts round about London. Concerning which time of their rising they had also consulted, (of which precise notice was to be sent to Oxford, as to the day and hour) and some moved to have it done on Wednesday the last of May (being the fast day, and the very next day after the first intimation was given towards a discovery) but it had been put of, and not fully concluded, it being said, " it should be left to the Lords to determine," whom Waller pretended should side with them. Mr. Hassel lay close at Beaconsfield, and had word sent, the great ship was come into the Downs, by which he was to understand, that the design was near ripe; and he acquainted the Lord Falkland at Oxford therewith, and received answer, that they should hasten it with all speed, and when they were ready, three thousand of the King's forces were to advance from Oxford within fifteen miles of London, to be ready upon notice to fall into the work, and assist; and white ribbons or tape was agreed to be worn by all concerned in this action to distinguish them."

Lord Clarendon, who is very large upon this conspiracy, denies neither the plot itself, nor the King's commission, brought to London by the Lady Aubigney,* but urges, that the Parliament confounded in one single plot, two different projects, the first formed by Waller, Tompkins, and Challoner, who were at London, and the other by Sir Nicholas Crisp, who had been imprisoned, and making his escape, had retired to Oxford.

This discovery caused the two House to resolve to unite themselves more strictly together, by a new covenant or oath, tendered to all the members, and afterwards to the army, and such of the people as were willing to take it. Tompkins and Challoner, were hanged on gibbets erected before their own doors. But Waller saved his life, paying a fine of ten thousand pounds, and was banished the kingdom.† Hampden died in prison before his sentence, and Hassel died likewise the night before his trial. The ill success of this plot, prevented not another from being contrived the next August.

After the miscarriage of Waller's conspiracy, the King had a train of successes, which revived the courage of his friends at London, who began to be dismayed. The Lord Fairfax was defeated at Atherton in Yorkshire. The Queen had come to his Majesty with a considerable supply. Waller was entirely routed at Roundway-Down; and the King, now master of Bristol, was preparing to besiege Gloucester. Thus crowned with success, he thought it a favourable opportunity to force the Parliament to a peace; all his London friends began to use their endeavours; and he endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people by a public declaration, to this effect:

" As the grievances and losses of no particular persons could be compared to the damage he himself sustained; so a peace could not be so welcome to any man as to him. God Almighty knew, with what unwillingness, and anguish of soul, he submitted to the necessity of taking up defensive arms. And the world knew, with what justice and bounty he had repaired his subjects for all the pressures they had borne, by such excellent laws, as would for ever have prevented the like; and with what earnestness he desired to add any thing for the establishment of the religion, laws, and liberty of the kingdom; all which had been evidently invaded by those who had sacrificed the public good to their own ends. He well remembered the Protestation made by him, at the head of his army, " to defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion, and if it should please God to bless his arms with success, he would maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parliament, and govern by the known laws of the land, for whose defence that army was only raised." And there could not be a more seasonable time to renew that Protestation than now, when God had vouchsafed him so many victories, which would hinder him from falling under the scandalous imputation, that his messages of peace proceeded from the weakness of his power, not love of his people. He declared therefore to all the world, in the presence of God, that he was so far from intending any alteration of the religion established, in which he was born and bred, and would resolutely die, or from the least thought of invading the liberty and

* This lady, with the consent of the two Houses, went to Oxford, to transact her own affairs with the King, upon the death of her husband, who was killed at Edge-hill, and having settled her business, and being ready to return, she was desired by the King to carry a small box (in which was put the commission) to London, and deliver it to one who should come for it with a certain token, which she did accordingly, not knowing what she carried. Ludlow says, she brought the commission made up in the hair of her head.

† Waller, as soon as imprisoned, sensible of the great danger into which he had fallen, was so seized with the dread of death, that all his former spirit deserted him; and he confessed whatever he knew, without sparing his most intimate friends, without regard to the confidence reposed in him, without distinguishing between the negligence of familiar conversation, and the schemes of a regular conspiracy. With the most profound dissimulation, he counterfeited such remorse of conscience, that his execution was put off, out of mere Christian compassion, till he might recover the use of his understanding. He invited visits from the ruling clergy of all sects; and while he expressed his own penitence, he received their devout exhortations with humility and reverence, as conveying clearer conviction and information than in his life he had ever before attained. Presents too, of which, as well as of flattery, these holy men were not insensible, were distributed among them; as a small retribution for their prayers and ghostly counsel. And by all these artifices, more than from any regard to the beauty of his genius, of which, during that time of furious cant and faction, small account would be made, he prevailed so far as to have his life spared, and a fine of ten thousand pounds accepted in lieu of it.

property of the subject, or violating the just privileges of Parliament; that the preservation of the established religion, the laws, the liberties of the people, and the just privileges of the Parliament, should be equally his care, as the maintenance of his own rights. Whether those that were enemies to the established ecclesiastical government, who prosecuted the learned, orthodox ministers, and put into their places, ignorant, seditious, and schismatical preachers, who villified the book of Common-Prayer, and profaned God's worship, were likely to advance religion: whether those who, without the least shadow of law, imposed exorbitant taxes upon their fellow subjects, imprisoned, tormented, and murdered them, were likely to preserve the liberty and property of the subject: those who had invaded the just rights of the crown, denied the King his negative voice, awed and terrified the members of both Houses, were likely to vindicate the privileges of Parliament, all the world might judge." In short, after several invectives against the two Houses, he concluded with saying: "Whosoever have been misled, by those whose hearts from the beginning have designed all this mischief, and shall redeem their past crimes, by their present service and loyalty, in the apprehending and opposing such who shall continue to bear arms against us, and shall use their utmost endeavours to reduce those men to their due obedience, and to restore the kingdom to its wonted peace, shall have cause to magnify our mercy, and to repent the trespasses committed against so just and gracious a Sovereign."*

This declaration was no sooner published than the King's friends in London affected an extraordinary terror, caused by the prosperous success of the King's arms, and insinuated, that the consequences should be prevented by a peace. But as the example of Tompkins and Challoner had effectually terrified the King's most devoted friends, not one dared openly to expose himself to the same danger. It was therefore resolved among them, that the House of Lords should first break the ice, and propose a peace to the Commons, which should be seconded by the King's friends in London. The Upper House consisted but of few Peers, some of whom were either openly or privately for the King. Others were his enemies, and some were ready to follow the stream which way soever it carried them. These last were the men the King's party strove to gain by various means, in order to be superior in the House of Lords, some by promises, and others by threats, and some by way of persuasion, intimating to them the absolute necessity of a peace. In short, they secured a majority of voices in the Upper House, that a peace should be proposed. The managers of this contrivance took care, not to propose a peace without terms such as the King desired. That alone had been sufficient to make them lose some of those they had gained. They had only to engage the Commons to enter into negotiation, after which, they hoped the superiority the King then had, supported with the endeavours of his party, would be capable to remove, in his favour, the difficulties that might occur in the principal articles. This resolution being taken, the Lords sent and desired a conference with the Commons, where they declared, that they had resolved to send propositions of peace to the King, and hoped the Commons would concur with them. The propositions were:

"I. That both armies might be presently disbanded, and his Majesty be entreated to return to his Parliament, upon such security as should give him satisfaction.

"II. That religion might be settled with the advice of a synod of divines, in such manner as his Majesty, with the consent of both Houses of Parliament, should appoint.

"III. That the militia, both by sea and land, might be settled by a bill; and the militia, forts and ships of the kingdom, put into such hands as the King should appoint, with the approbation of both Houses of Parliament: and his Majesty's revenue to be absolutely and wholly restored unto him; only deducting such part, as had been of necessity expended for the maintenance of his children, and not otherwise.

"IV. That all the members of both Houses, who had been expelled only for absenting themselves, or mere compliance with his Majesty, and no other matter of fact against them, might be restored to their places.

"V. That all the delinquents, from before the tenth day of January 1641, should be delivered up to the justice of Parliament, and a general pardon for all others on both sides.

"VI. And lastly, that there might be an act of oblivion for all by-gone deeds, and acts of hostility."

The Commons perfectly saw what was the aim of the authors of these propositions, and were terrified at it. The House was apprehensive, that they were but too powerfully supported, otherwise, it was not likely they should have taken such a step, at a time when a committee was already gone to desire assistance of the Scots. Wherefore, after a long debate, it was resolved, by a majority of votes, that the propositions should be sent to the King. It is extremely probable, this resolution was taken only to amuse the King's friends, and to gain time, in order to break their measures the more easily. For, the next day the Lord-Mayor of London, attended with a crowd of people, came to the House of Commons, of which he was a member, and delivered, from the Common-Council, a petition, wherein the House was intreated to persist in their former resolutions, and reject the propositions of the Peers. The Lord-Mayor affirmed also, that the people of London were ready to exert their utmost for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Whereupon, the House took courage again, and reversed the resolution of the foregoing day. Thus, the King's friends were in their turn greatly embarrassed, and under a necessity of taking new measures. The expedient they devised was to cause the women to rise, in hopes that such an insurrection might breed a greater, and occasion some revolution.

August the 9th, a petition for peace was presented to the Commons by two or three thousand women, with white silk ribbons in their hats. The conditions proposed by them were exactly the same as the King had always offered. A general answer being sent to them they were not satisfied, and their number by noon increasing to five thousand, they came to the door of the House, crying, "Peace, Peace; give us those traitors that are against Peace, that we may tear them to pieces; give us that dog Pym." Part of the trained-bands (that usually stood centinels there) firing upon them with powder only, to frighten them away, they laughed at it, and finding a heap of brickbats in the yard, threw them at the centinels, and drove them away. At last, some troops were forced to be sent for, who, after using fair means in vain, drew their swords, and cut them over their hands and faces. A ballad-singer was killed upon the spot,† and another woman lost her nose, whereof it was said she afterwards died. At length, they were dispersed. Thus ended the grand project of forcing the Parliament to a peace, a project wherein means were found to engage several Lords, and many Commoners, under colour that peace was necessary to the state.

The Earl of Essex was one of those who were most desirous of peace, but not in the same manner as the King's friends. He did not think it impracticable, in concluding a peace, to find necessary securities for the nation's liberties: as appears in his letter of the 9th of July to the Speaker, wherein, after the description of Chalgrave-Field, he says, "If it were thought fit to send to his Majesty to have peace, with the settling of

* Adding, "We desire all our good subjects, who have really wished us well, now God has done such wonderful things for us, vigorously to endeavour to put an end to all these miseries, by bringing in men, money, plate, horses, or arms, to our aid, that so we being not wanting to ourselves, may with confidence expect the continuance of God's favour, to restore us all to that blessed harmony of affection, which may establish a firm peace."

† Rushworth says, she was shot by the centinels, who, upon the brickbats flying about their ears, were forced to fire ball.

religion, the laws and liberties of the subject, and to bring unto just trial those chief delinquents that have brought all this mischief to both kingdoms; and (as my Lord of Bristol spake once in Parliament) how we may be secured to have these things performed hereafter; or else, if his Majesty shall please to absent himself, there may be a day set down to give a period to all these unhappy distractions by a battle, which, when, and where, they shall chuse, that may be thought any way indifferent, I shall be ready to perform that duty I owe you; and the propositions to be agreed upon between his Majesty and the Parliament, may be sent to such an indifferent place, that both armies may be drawn near the one to the other; that if peace be not concluded, it may be ended by the sword."

The Earl of Essex's integrity made him experience what usually happens to honest men in civil dissentions, where the moderate pass for indifferent, and coldly affected to their party. The King, who was informed of this Lord's moderation, imagined, he desired a peace only, because he was displeased with the Parliament, and convinced of the injustice of the cause he had espoused. In this belief, he unsuccessfully used all means to gain him. On the other hand, the most violent of his party grew jealous of the Earl of Essex, perceiving he was no proper instrument for their designs. Wherefore they no longer confided in him, or at least feigned to trust him, in order to have by his removal, another General, more compliant and manageable. They cast their eyes on the Earl of Manchester, known formerly as the Lord Kimbolton, and began with advancing him to the command of the forces of the eastern associated counties, to which Lincolnshire was lately added, to go and oppose the Earl of Newcastle; and an ordinance was passed, to raise new levies, by pressing, to reinforce this army.

If the Earl of Essex had joined with the Parliament only out of passion, humour, or interest, the mortifications he met with, would have been apt to make him turn to the King, to be revenged of the two Houses. But that was not his character. Though he had complained several times of the disregard shown him, in leaving his army without recruits or clothes, and though several Lords of the King's party took this occasion to persuade him to change sides, he ever remained firm to his principles. How strong soever their solicitations might be, he never gave the least reason to believe, he was capable of betraying the Parliament, who had trusted him with the command of their forces. Both Houses being informed of the offers made to their General, assured him of their esteem and acknowledgment for his great services, and promised to recruit and cloath his army, before those of Sir William Waller, and the Earl of Manchester, which was accordingly done. This satisfaction was more than sufficient to make him forget all the occasions of complaint before given him.

The project of those who had undertaken to gain the Earl of Essex, was, that as soon as he should give the word, the Lords and Commoners who were in the secret, should retire to the army, and under the security thereof, protest against the violence that was offered, the breach of their privileges, by the Common-Council's taking notice of their debates, and over-ruling their conclusions, by hindering the sending of the propositions to the King. The Lords and Commoners who were concerned in this stratagem, as well as in Waller's plot, fearing the Earl of Essex might discover them, thought proper to avoid being called to an account, by retiring to the King. Of this number were the Earl of Portland, and the Lord Conway, who had been imprisoned for Waller's affair, and afterwards released, the Lord Lovelace, who had only staid with the Parliament by the King's leave, the Earls of Clare, Bedford and Holland. The Earl of Northumberland, dissatisfied with his not having in the Parliament the same credit as formerly, feigning an indisposition, obtained the Parliament's leave to retire for his health to his house at Petworth in Sussex. The flight of all these Peers turned greatly to the King's disadvantage, as it deprived him of so many friends in the Parliament, who were always ready to serve him, and wont to direct his adherents in London. Moreover, by the absence of these Lords, the King's enemies were more at their ease, and found fewer obstacles to their designs, than before. For shortly after, the Earl of Essex's army was enabled to relieve Gloucester, and the Parliament approved of the covenant made with Scotland, in which doubtless they would have been opposed by those that were lately withdrawn.

Sir John Hotham, Governor of Hull, was apprehended, as we have observed, by order of Parliament. The King had been so incensed with him, that there was little probability of his ever pardoning the indignity he had received from him, or of Hotham's delivering himself into his hands. Yet, the desire of becoming master of Hull in the one, and the thirst of revenge in the other, made them forget all that was past. Hotham, as he could not bear that, after the service he had done the Parliament in keeping Hull for them, without dreading to expose himself to the King's indignation, the Lord Fairfax should be made commander-in-chief of all the forces in the north, an honour, which doubtless he thought himself more worthy of, resolved to be revenged for this pretended injustice, by delivering the place to the King. The precise time of his applying to the Earl of Newcastle is not known; but it is certain, he wrote several letters to him, which were communicated to the Queen while she was in the north. He had drawn his son, Captain Hotham, into the plot, and it was agreed between them, to deliver Hull to the Queen, when on her march with her troops to the King. Meanwhile, young Hotham having given some occasion to suspect him, was seized by Sir John Meldrum, and sent prisoner to Nottingham castle. Hotham found means to escape, and going to Lincoln, wrote from thence to the Parliament, complaining of the injury done him and affirming, he was ready to answer whatever should be laid to his charge. But as the Queen was now upon her march, and it was time to execute the design, he returned to Hull, to contrive the means with his father. The Queen thought herself so secure of having Hull very soon in her power, that she said in her letter of the 27th of June to the King, "She staid at Newark but for one thing, to have Hull and Lincoln, for which she hoped he would pardon two days' stop." At the same time that the order was sent to seize young Hotham, the mayor of Hull was told to have an eye upon the father, examine his conduct, and take care to preserve the town. The son's return to Hull after his escape from Nottingham, the suspicions he already lay under, and the notice he received from Mr. Moyer, captain of a man of war then in the road, that Hull was going, that night or the next, to be delivered to the King, made Sir Matthew Boynton, the Mayor, though brother-in-law to the Governor, resolve to prevent it. That very night, whilst the Hothams were in bed, all the townsmen, officers, and soldiers of known affection to the Parliament, were assembled without noise, and all the ports of the town seized, without one drop of blood, or so much as a musquet discharged. Meanwhile, they had neglected to secure the two Hothams,* who found means to get out of the town: but at their coming to Beverley, they were both seized and brought to London, where, after a long imprisonment, they were condemned and executed.†

As the King, by his papers and emissaries in London, was continually endeavouring to convince the public of the greatness and sincerity of his zeal for religion, for the laws and liberties of the people, without ever mentioning what passed the fifteen first years of his reign, the two Houses were concerned to renew the remembrance of those times, lest the occasion of their fears and jealousies should in the end be forgotten. And

* The son was secured, but the father, upon the first notice of what was doing, got out at Beverley Gate, there having been no orders to stop him.

† The son was beheaded on Tower-hill, January 1, and the father January 2, 1644, both denying they ever intended to deliver up Hull.

therefore

therefore they did two things very proper to produce this effect. The first was, to order King James's book for tolerating sports on Sundays, which Charles I. had caused to be published again in the churches, to be burnt by the common hangman. This book being almost forgotten, could not produce any great effects at the time we are speaking of. But in all appearance, both Houses meant thereby to insinuate to the people, what was to be expected from the King's great zeal for religion, in case he came to be restored to his former power. The second was, to proceed to judgment against Judge Berkley, whom the Lords condemed in the exorbitant fine of twenty thousand pounds, and to stand committed to the Tower till he should be tried upon the other articles alledged against him. For this sentence concerned only that part of his charge relating to his extrajudicial opinions in the case of ship money. Berkley was one of the King's most zealous instruments to establish an arbitrary power. Nevertheless, he had now lain three years in prison, without being thought of. But this year the Parliament believed it proper to bring him to judgment, as well to revive the memory of a time, the King was endeavouring to bury in oblivion, as to reap the benefit of his fine.* The same month they passed an ordinance for seizing the King's, Queen's, and Prince's revenues, for the public use,† that is, to be employed in the war against the King. Four days after, the King on his part published a proclamation, forbidding all tenants or debtors to pay any rents or debts to such persons as were in open rebellion against him. But these orders, as well from the King as the Parliament, were executed only in places where they were supported with power.

Most of the Lords, who had withdrawn from the Parliament, and retired to the King, meeting with a very cold reception at Oxford, thought fit once more to change sides, and return to London. The Earl of Holland led the way. He was at first put under confinement, but some days after, had leave to live upon his own estate, without any employ. Probably, he had expected a better reception, since after his return he published a declaration very injurious to the King, wherein he said, that, retiring to Oxford, in hopes by his credit to procure a peace, he had been labouring it to the utmost of his power, but (added he) without success, the King and his council being entirely averse to all accommodation, because every thing at court was managed by the papists. The Earl of Northumberland, who had retired to Petworth, being informed how ill the Earl of Holland was received at Oxford, thought it proper to return to the Parliament, where he was received with respect, both Houses being willing to suppose, he had never intended to leave them, though many suspected he had withdrawn to his own estate, on purpose to see what reception the other Lords would meet with at Oxford. The Earls of Bedford, and Clare took also the same course, and came off with being debarred for a time from sitting in Parliament.

One of the principal transactions of this year 1643, was the resolution of both Houses to make a new Great-Seal. It had been proposed by the Commons in July; but, whether through scruple, as some pretended, or because the King's secret party were very numerous in the House of Peers, the Lords refused their consent, or rather delayed their answer. But in the November following, their scruples vanished. The Commons represented to them in a conference, the mischiefs occasioned by the conveying away, and through the want, of the Great-Seal. The next day the Lords declared their consent to the making a new Great-Seal. Accordingly a Great-Seal was made exactly like that in the King's hands, and by an ordinance of both Houses, it was declared, that all letters patent, and grants which had passed under the Great Seal since the 22d of May 1642, were void and of no effect. That the new Great Seal should be of like force, power, and validity as any Great Seal of England had ever been, and be put into the custody of the persons hereby ordained commissioners for that purpose, who should have the same power and authority as any Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper had used to have. On the last of November, the new Great Seal was carried by the Speaker of the Commons, attended with the whole House, to the Lords, and delivered to the Lord Grey of Werk, their Speaker, who in the presence of both Houses gave it to the commissioners. The first thing sealed with it, was a patent to the Earl of Warwick, of Lord High-Admiral of England, the Earl of Northumberland not being in that favour with both Houses as formerly.

The King and his friends made a great noise upon this encroachment of the Parliament, and urged the statute of the 25th of Edward III. by which the counterfeiting the Great Seal, is in express terms declared to be high-treason.

About this time, Count Harcourt, a Prince of the House of Lorraine, was sent from France into England. He came directly to London, where he was received with great ceremony, as ambassador extraordinary, though he had not presented his credentials to the Parliament. But it was supposed, he was not without them, and intended to address himself first to the King. After some days stay in London, without any application to the two Houses, he went to Oxford, where he had several conferences with the King. After that, he wrote to the Earl of Northumberland, that having proposed to his Majesty, from the King of France, and the Queen-Regent, the making of a peace with his subjects, he found him wholly inclined to enter into negotiation, and that if the two Houses would inform him, wherein consisted the differences between the King and them, he would gladly use his interest to adjust them. The two Houses told him, by the Earl of Northumberland, that they received with all due respect, the officers of the King and Queen-Regent of France, and that as soon as he should show, he was authorized for such a mediation, they would not fail to appoint a committee to treat with him. But he had no credentials for the two Houses, the Queen-Regent not judging proper to own them for Parliament, since the King of England refused them that title. So, this proferred mediation was fruitless.

Mr. Pym, one of the pillars of the Parliament, and a chief director of the affairs of the House, died December the 8th, 1643. The King's adherents speak of him as of a very wicked man, and those on the side of the Parliament represent him as the greatest patriot then in England. Thus much is certain, Mr. Pym's death was a very great loss to the Parliament, he being one of the most able members of the House.‡

The Commons, as was said, imprisoned in May this year, 1643, a person sent by the King with the offer of peace, and shortly after, he was discovered to be one of those employed by the King, to keep a correspondence in London. Upon the House arresting this messenger, his Majesty, by advice of his council, had deemed it inconsistent with his honour to hold any farther correspondence with the Parliament. Moreover, the 18th of October, both Houses had published an ordinance, declaring, any person coming to London from the King's quarters, should be looked upon as a spy. And yet, twelve days after, on the 30th of October, the King sent privately to London Daniel Kniveton, a state messenger, with three proclamations, one against taking the solemn League and Covenant; another, against the Observation of the Monthly Fast, enjoined by the Parliament; a third, for removing the Seals of the Green-wax offices belonging to the Exchequer, King's-Bench, and Common-Pleas, to Oxford. This man was taken up, and committed to prison. Nevertheless, the 19th

* The half of his fine was abated, and upon payment of the other half he had his liberty.

† Or rather, as they word it, "for the good of his Majesty, and the commonwealth."

‡ Lord Clarendon will have it, that he died of the Morbus Pediculosus, or Lousy Distemper. And the same is affirmed in Mercurius Rusticus. Whereas, Rushworth says, there was such a report, but the same was not true; and for public satisfaction, his body was viewed by many hundreds of people; the true natural cause of his death seeming to be the great pains he took, joined with a competent old age, and at best, but an infirm constitution.

of November following, Carpenter, another messenger, was privately sent by the King with an order to the Judges to adjourn the term to Oxford. Carpenter was also apprehended, and they were both tried and condemned to die. Kniveton was executed. Carpenter, though under the same condemnation, was reprieved and committed to Bridewell.

In proportion as the war was continued, the animosity between the King and the Parliament was inflamed. The King refused to own the two Houses for Parliament, and they omitted nothing, to blacken the King's reputation. These proceedings were not confined to England, but care was taken also to convey papers abroad, tending to vindicate one of the parties, and blacken the other. Both Houses being informed, or it may be supposing, that the King had emissaries abroad, who were using their utmost endeavours to represent the civil wars in England as a horrible rebellion against the Sovereign, ordered the assembly of Divines then sitting at Westminster, to write letters to the churches of Zealand, Holland, France, Switzerland, to warn them against the artifices of the King's agents, by giving them a clear relation of the affairs of England. They charged them to insist chiefly upon the King's employing Irish rebels and other papists, to be governors, commanders, and soldiers; to lay before them the proofs of the intention of the King's counsellors to introduce popery, and hinder the reformation designed by the Parliament: Lastly, to inform them of the disadvantageous opinion of the King's party concerning the Protestant churches abroad, because not governed by Bishops. The assembly failed not to send to these churches a circular letter, which was properly a manifesto for the Parliament against the King, with copies of the solemn league and covenant, and of the declaration of England and Scotland on that subject.

Some time after, the King on his part published a manifesto, addressed to all the Protestant churches, to efface the impressions which the Parliament's circular letter might have caused. This manifesto, which was very short, contained only a Protestation that he had never intended to consent to the public exercise of the Catholic religion in his dominions, but was firmly resolved to adhere, to his last breath, to the church of England, wherein he was born, baptized, and educated; and to the liturgy of that church, approved by so many convocations and Parliaments, by all the Protestant churches, and by the synod of Dort.

Meanwhile, money was necessarily to be raised, not only to maintain the forces already on foot, but also to levy others, in order to resist the Scots, who were upon the point of entering England. If, for the maintenance of these forces, he had imposed taxes by his sole authority, he could not have reproached both Houses for the same thing, and perhaps would have disobliged his own party by acting against the laws. Money, however, was to be found at any rate, otherwise he would not be able to continue the war. Hitherto he had used several ways to raise money, without giving any advantage against him, whether by selling or mortgaging the crown-lands, or by the voluntary contributions of his well-wishers. But the means he had already used were too feeble an expedient to free himself from this streight. He assembled at Oxford all the members that, according to him, had been driven from the Parliament; pretending, these members were the true Parliament, and the more, as he had publicly declared, he no longer looked upon both Houses at Westminster as such. He did not expect this new Parliament would increase the number of his friends; but he could reasonably hope it would grant him an aid of money, and that being authorised by such an act, he might openly and by way of authority, levy what money was necessary. This happened accordingly, and was properly the King's aim in calling this Parliament, which met at Oxford the 22d of January, 1643-4.*

A. D. 1643-4.] As it was not proper the King should immediately discover his sole end in calling this extraordinary Parliament, he only told them in his first speech, that he had assembled them to receive their advice, and consult with them how to appease the troubles of the kingdom.

The first step taken by this Parliament, was to try to convince the public of their intention to labour for peace. "The King was at first in some apprehension, "says Lord Clarendon," that such a conflux of persons together of the Parliament, who would look to enjoy the privileges of it in their debates, might, instead of doing him service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon some treaty of peace, which would have no effect; yet whilst it was in suspense, would hinder his preparation for war, and though no body more desired peace, yet he had no mind that a multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greatest importance, as the giving up persons, and other particulars of honour, would not seem to them of moment enough to continue a war in the kingdom."

But his council quickly freed him from these apprehensions. It was intimated to him, that there was no probability, the two Houses at Westminster would ever treat with the members that should meet at Oxford, because they would not look upon them but as private persons, and deserters of the Parliament. Whereupon the King's scruples vanished. As the Oxford Parliament was entirely directed by the King, and as his Majesty agreed to the proposing a peace to those at Westminster, it may easily be guessed, that in so doing, his intention was not to conclude it, unless both Houses at Westminster would have submitted to his terms. But the two Houses of Oxford had another view in this proceeding. Namely, to lay a snare for the Parliament at Westminster, and engage them, if possible, to treat with them, which would have been owning them for Parliament. However, they expected to reap some advantage from their refusal.

To this end, a letter was sent to the Earl of Essex, signed by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, forty-three Lords, and a hundred and eighteen members of the House of Commons. In this letter it was said, "That his Majesty having summoned them to attend him at Oxford, they were assembled in obedience to his commands: that his Majesty was pleased to invite them in the proclamation of summons, by graciously saying, "His subjects should see how willing he was, as far as in him lay, to restore the peace of the kingdom:" that this invitation had not only been made good to them, but seconded by such unquestionable demonstrations of his Majesty's deep sense of the miseries and calamities of his poor subjects in this unnatural war, and of his most entire and passionate affections to redeem them from that sad and deplorable condition, by all ways possible consistent with his honour, or the future safety of the kingdom: "That as it were impiety to question the sincerity of them, so it were great want of duty and faithfulness in us, (his Majesty having vouchsafed to declare that he did call us, to be witnesses of his actions and privy to his intentions,) should we not satisfy and witness to all the world the assurance we have of the piety and sincerity of both." Adding—That being satisfied of this truth, they had yet hopes to be the happy instruments of their country's redemption from the miseries of war, and restitution to the blessings of peace; and were desirous to believe, that his Lordship, howsoever engaged, would co-operate with them in the blessed work, by truly representing to, and industriously

* The same day the Parliament at Westminster called the Houses, and there appeared two hundred and eighty of their members, besides a hundred more in the service of the Parliament, in the several counties; and now they expelled by vote forty members, who had deserted the Parliament. In the House of Peers, remained only the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bollingbrooke. The Lords, Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Werk, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrick, Rochfort, and Roberts. ——The Lords at Oxford, in a letter (subscribed by fifty-two of them.) say, There were not above twenty-five Peers at Westminster; and the Earls of Arundel and Thanet; the Lords Stafford, Stanhope, Coventry, Goring, and Craven, were beyond the seas; and the Earls of Chesterfield, Westmoreland, and the Lord Montague of Boughton, under restraint at London. They add, the House of Peers consisted in all of above an hundred, besides minors, and recusant Lords.

promoting with those by whom he was trusted, their most earnest desire, that some persons be appointed on either part, to treat of such a peace as may yet redeem the country from the brink of destruction."

The Earl of Essex returned this short answer, "that the letter he had received, not being addressed to the two Houses of Parliament, nor any acknowledgment of them being therein, he could not communicate it to them: that the maintenance of the Parliament of England and the privileges thereof, was that for which himself and his whole party were resolved to spend their blood, as being the foundation whereon all the laws and liberties of the nation were built."

Though the Earl of Essex said he could not communicate the letter to the Parliament, it was known however that his answer had been concerted with a committee of both Houses, called the committee of state. Wherefore the King, knowing thereby the intention of both Houses, believed he should run no great hazard by sending them a message, in a letter to the Earl of Essex, directed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster. This message contained the usual offers to treat of a peace and appoint commissioners, if they would do the like on their part. The King added, he took this step by the advice of the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford for a Parliament, or of rejecting it, and so furnishing him with a reason to upbraid them for refusing to labour for a peace. But they little regarded this artifice, and for answer declared, they would never own the members, who had deserted both Houses, for a Parliament; "And hereupon, added they, we think ourselves bound to let your Majesty know, that seeing the continuance of this Parliament is settled by a law, (which, as other laws of your kingdoms, your Majesty hath sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to our allegiance to your Majesty, these obligations being reciprocal) we must in duty, and accordingly are resolved, with our lives and fortunes to defend and preserve the just rights and full power of this Parliament; and do beseech your Majesty to be assured, that your Majesty's royal and hearty concurrence with us herein, will be the most effectual and ready means of procuring a firm and lasting peace in all your Majesty's dominions, and of begetting a perfect understanding between your Majesty and your people, without which your Majesty's most earnest professions, and our most real intentions concerning the same must necessarily be frustrated.

Upon this refusal, the Parliament at Oxford exulted, as if the bare proposal of a peace had been a clear and evident demonstration of their sincere desire to make a reasonable peace. They published upon this occasion a long declaration, so like those published by the King on the same occasion, that it was not difficult to perceive it flowed from the same fountain. They published also, some time after, another, pretending to show, that the members assembled at Oxford had been forced from the Parliament by the threats and outrages of the leading men. In this declaration were repeated all the outrages and artifices used by the chiefs of the party, to intimidate such as would not conform to their sentiments, and this, it was pretended, was the sole reason of their being obliged to retire.

Some time after, the two Houses at Westminster published also a manifesto, wherein they pretended to show, that under the specious colour of proposing peace, a snare was laid to engage them tacitly to own that they were not the true Parliament, but that that was the true Parliament which was assembled at Oxford. They drew their proofs from several letters written from Oxford to the Earl of Essex, from the expressions in the King's late message, but especially from an intercepted letter from the Lord Digby, where he said: "A point which his Majesty may not suffer them to gain, without subverting the grounds and maxims of all his late proceedings against them, and that which he now goes upon by the advice of all his nobility here, as you will perceive by this enclosed proclamation,* upon the effects whereof all the eyes of the kingdom are fixed. God send them to be as good actuated, as they are in speculation, for I am confident, that in reason it carries probability of the surest and readiest way to a re-establishment of his Majesty in his just rights and powers, of any course that hath been yet attempted."

The day before the two Houses at Oxford wrote to the Earl of Essex, to propose a peace, they voted, that the Scots, having entered the kingdom in a hostile manner, had thereby denounced war against England, and that all the English who should assist them, should be deemed as traitors and enemies to the state.

March the 12th, the same Houses at Oxford voted, "That the Lords and Commons now remaining at Westminster, are guilty of high treason, for raising of forces under the command of the Earl of Essex, for consenting, and being assisting to the present coming in of the Scots into England, and for counterfeiting the great seal." But as votes did no hurt to the Parliament at Westminster, so neither were they of much advantage to the King. He found more real benefit from them, with regard to the affair for which the Oxford Parliament was summoned; namely, the aid of money he expected for the support of the war.

This Parliament was however greatly embarrassed, how to give the King an effectual assistance. If, as the only and true Parliament, they had laid a general tax, the King would have run the hazard of meeting great opposition in levying the money, all the inhabitants of the counties on his side, not being satisfied that such a Parliament had a lawful authority. In that case, he would have been obliged to use force to compel those that should refuse to pay, which did not suit with his present circumstances. Another method was therefore taken, which was, to advise the King to borrow one hundred thousand pounds, of the richest men of his party. To that purpose, the Commons went into their respective counties, to take the number of those who were reckoned monied men, and make a list, wherein were set down the quality and ability of each. The Commons being returned to Oxford with their lists, the taxes were proportioned; after which, the King wrote circular letters to every particular person, to borrow of one, a hundred pounds, of another, two hundred, promising to repay the same as soon as he was able, and not forgetting to say in these letters, that this loan, was by advice of his Parliament. The Oxford Parliament hearing, that both Houses at Westminster had laid a duty upon wine, beer, ale, and other commodities, which they called an Excise, a word before unheard of in England,† made no scruple to enjoin the like in the counties where the King's authority was acknowledged.

From that time, nothing remarkable passed in this Parliament, which, sitting till the 16th of April, was prorogued to October, and never met again. It served only to procure the King money, for which it was solely designed, and to exhibit a spectacle never before seen in England; namely, two Parliaments at once, holding their sessions at the same time.

Three days before the opening of this Parliament, the Scottish army entered England, notwithstanding the season, which might have been expected would hinder their march.‡ The Marquis of Newcastle, who commanded in the north for the King, hearing that the bad weather prevented not this army's advancing, began to march also with his troops, and came to Newcastle the

* The proclamation to summon the members to meet at Oxford.

† The Parliament's ordnance for the excise, bears date July 22, 1643. It was laid upon liquors, grocery wares, silks, linens, cloths, furs, and almost all other sort of commodities, imported. Every pound of tobacco, not of the English plantation, was to pay, over and above all customs, 4*s.* and that of English plantation, 2*s.* Every ton of wine retailed, 6*l.* and for private use, 3*l.* Malaga raisins, one farthing per pound. Currants, 1*d.* Loaf sugar, 4*d.* per pound; cloth of gold and silver 8*s.*; and tissue 10*s.* a yard; damask table linen, 1*s.* a yard, &c.

‡ This army consisted of eighteen thousand foot, three thousand horse, and between five and six hundred dragoons. Alexander Lesley, Earl of Leven, was general; John Baily, Lieutenant-General of the foot; and David Lesley, Major-General of the horse.

2d of February.* The Scotch army approaching the town, the general ordered it to be summoned; but the summons had no effect. He stayed in those parts all the rest of February, waiting for his artillery, which was coming by sea. The 28th of the said month, he passed the Tyne at some distance from Newcastle, having left on the north side of the town, six regiments of foot, and some horse, to keep the garrison in awe. The Marquis being too weak to venture a battle, contented himself with harassing the Scots by frequent skirmishes, in order to retard their march; but at last he thought proper to retire to Durham, where the Scotch general followed him, though with great inconveniency, as he wanted forage for his horse.

When the Marquis of Newcastle marched out of York to oppose the Scots, he left the command of the city with a good body of troops, to Colonel John Bellasis. As soon as the Lord Fairfax was informed, that the Marquis had taken the northern route, he resolved to march towards York, and to that end, ordered his son Sir Thomas Fairfax to meet him at a certain place, with the party he commanded, that they might act in conjunction. But Bellasis having notice of this design, departed from York with most of the garrison to hinder their junction, and posted himself at Selby. A few days after, the Lord Fairfax, having taken a great circuit, to deceive the vigilance of the enemy, and joining his son, suddenly attacked Selby, with about four thousand men, where Bellasis lay with fifteen hundred horse, and eighteen hundred foot, forced the town, took the Colonel prisoner, with sixteen hundred of his men, and killed a great number.

The Marquis of Newcastle heard this sad news at Durham, the Scots being then within two miles of the place. He immediately feared, that the Lord Fairfax, after his victory, would attack York, or at least, march directly towards Durham, to put himself between the two armies. For this reason, he suddenly resolved to retire to York, as well to secure himself, as that city, which otherwise would have been in great danger.

A. D. 1644.] It soon appeared, that the Marquis had taken this resolution very seasonably, for, the 20th of April, that is, nine days after the Selby fight, the Lord Fairfax joined the Scots at Tadcaster, whence the two generals resolved to go and besiege York. But as that city was too large to be invested on all sides by the two armies, particularly towards the river, over which the Marquis had made a bridge of boats, they desired the Earl of Manchester, general of the forces of the eastern associated counties, to advance to this siege. Till the arrival of the Earl of Manchester, the two generals held the city blocked up to the southward of the river Ouse.

Whilst the Marquis of Newcastle was in the north observing the Scotch army, the Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir John Meldrum, with above five thousand men of the Parliament forces, besieged Newark, a considerable town in Nottinghamshire, where the King had placed a garrison. As soon as the King knew it, he sent orders to Prince Rupert, to endeavour to relieve the place. The Prince being then at Chester, put himself immediately upon the march, and being joined by other troops, made a body of seven thousand men, with which he advanced towards Newark. Meldrum, who commanded alone at the siege, resolved to fight the Prince, and to that purpose drew up his forces at a little distance from the town. The 21st of March there was a sharp conflict, particularly at a bridge, by which Meldrum had resolved to retreat in case of need. The bridge was vigorously attacked, and as bravely defended. Meanwhile, after the fight was over, Meldrum finding himself too weak to renew it the next day, resolved to retreat over the bridge in the night. But he found the guard he had left there had deserted, and the bridge in the possession of the enemies. So, not being able to retreat, and perceiving himself surrounded with the King's forces, Meldrum sent a trumpet to the Prince for a parley. It was agreed, that the foot should march away with their swords, colours, and drums; all the officers with their arms, horses, and baggage; and the troopers and dragoons, with their swords, horses, and colours. But he was forced to deliver all his ordnance and ammunition, with about three thousand muskets.

The Prince, after this expedition, which gained him great honour, returned into Shropshire, and from thence into Lancashire, to relieve the Countess of Derby, who for the space of eighteen weeks had been besieged in Latham-house, and made a gallant defence against a body of two thousand men. In his way to Latham, the Prince took by storm Stopworth, a small town in Cheshire. Whilst he was advancing towards Latham, the besiegers raised the siege, and part of them under the command of Colonel Rigby, went and reinforced the garrison of Bolton in Lancashire, which was in great danger. The Prince pursued them, and without giving them time to come to themselves, took the town by storm.†

After that, he attacked Liverpool. The governor, Colonel More, after some resistance, conveyed on board the ships in the Pool most part of his soldiers, and the richest goods in the town, and then the Prince entered with little opposition. Here he received a letter from the King, ordering him to march with all speed to the relief of York, which was now besieged. The King said to him in this letter, "That his affairs were in so very ill a state, that it would not be enough, though his Highness raised the siege of York, if he had not likewise beaten the Scotch army;" which words induced the Prince to fight a battle that proved very fatal to the King.

The Earl of Manchester was general of the seven eastern associated counties, who had raised an army of fourteen thousand horse, foot, and dragoons. With this army, the Earl of Manchester had already done the Parliament great service. In the last campaign he had taken the town of Lynn, and in the beginning of this, had possessed himself of Lincoln. As several of the leading members of Parliament thought of putting him in the Earl of Essex's place, occasion was taken from the services he had performed, to make a constant provision for his army. To that end, by an ordnance of both Houses, May the 15th, 1644, each of the seven associated counties were charged and rated at a certain weekly sum for the maintainance of his army;‡ after which, he received orders to join the two other armies, to besiege York together. The Parliament had also taken care for the subsistence of the Earl of Essex's § and Sir William Waller's armies; so that in May, they had five armies on foot, besides the troops dispersed in several counties, and in garrison.

Before the Marquis of Newcastle was blocked up in York, he had sent General Goring with four thousand horse, to ravage the parts in subjection to the Parliament. Wherefore, the Earl of Manchester detached likewise three thousand horse, which were joined by two thousand, sent from the Scots before York, to wait the motion of Goring. The Earl of Manchester therefore joined the two armies only with his foot, and some few horse, and presently after the junction, the

* The day before the approach of the Scots.

† Rushworth says, the Prince's soldiers (consisting ten of thousand, or upwards) rushed into the town, and put great numbers to the sword, (twelve hundred, by their own confession) destroying for some miles round, and spoiling all they met, denying quarters, (as the townsmen alledged afterwards) and using other violences, besides totally plundering the town, and slaying four ministers. Colonel Rigby escaped to Bradford.

‡ On Essex, the weekly sum of 1687*l.* 10*s.* On Suffolk, 1875*l.* On Norfolk, and the city of Norwich, 1875*l.* On Hertfordshire, 675*l.* On Cambridgeshire, 562*l.* 10*s.* On Huntingtonshire, 330*l.* On Lincolnshire, 1218*l.* 15*s.* And on the Isle of Ely, 221*l.* 5*s.*

§ His army, by ordnance, was to consist of seven regiments of foot, each of a thousand soldiers, divided into eight companies; and the general's own regiment of fifteen hundred, divided into twelve companies; and of six regiments of horse, each of five hundred and fifty troopers, divided into six troops. The maintaining of this army cost, in the year 1644, above a million of money. And the charge of the navy had been, 240,000*l.* the year past.

siege

siege of York was begun. The Marquis of Newcastle had sent the King word, that he hoped to hold out six weeks or two months, and besought him to think in the meantime how to relieve him. To retard, as much as possible, the progress of the siege, he made overtures for a treaty, but on such conditions as he knew would not be granted. Nevertheless he gained seven or eight days by this artifice, so that the cessation he had obtained, did not expire till the 15th of June. On the 24th, he sallied out, and furiously attacked the Earl of Manchester; but after a sharp conflict, was repulsed with loss.

On Sunday the 30th of June, the besiegers had certain notice, that Prince Rupert was advancing at the head of an army, of near twenty thousand men, which had greatly increased in their march, as well by the troops drawn from several garrisons, as by Goring's horse, who had joined them, so that this army was not inferior to the three armies employed in the siege. The three generals, after a short consultation, thought it adviseable to raise the siege, and join their armies. They accordingly posted themselves on Marston-moor, about five miles from York. But though indeed Prince Rupert must have passed that way to come at them with his army, they left however two sides of York open, that provisions and ammunition, and even troops by small parties might be conveyed in. If the Prince's design had been only to relieve York, he had already effected it, and had only to remain in his post, and keep the enemies at bay, till all necessaries had been sent into the city.* But that same day, coming to York with a guard of two hundred horse, he conferred with the Marquis of Newcastle, or rather signified to him, that he intended to fight, according to his Majesty's express orders. As the Prince was extremely haughty, he made not the least compliment to the Marquis, upon the authority he assumed, in resolving to give battle, contrary to the Marquis's opinion, who maintained, it was by no means requisite in the present juncture, and the rather, as he expected five thousand men, who were coming from the north to his assistance. Moreover, the Prince made no scruple to command, without saying any thing to the Marquis, the forces in York to be ready to join him next morning in order to engage. Yet, these forces had been levied by the Marquis, and ever commanded with great reputation. Besides, the Marquis's birth and merit seemed to require a greater regard from the Prince. The Marquis told him, he was ready to obey his highness in all things, who might dispose of his troops as he pleased, and for his own part, would be contented to charge in the battle as volunteer. His dissatisfaction was farther increased, when having asked the Prince, what service he would be pleased to command him, the Prince answered him, he would begin no action upon the enemy till early the next morning, and desired him to repose himself till then. Thus, the Prince had the sole management of the intended battle.

In the night, the three Parliament generals having considered, that the place was relieved, and thinking, Prince Rupert had no farther design than to lay in provisions, resolved to march to Tadcaster, Cawood, and Selby, as well to preserve the East-Riding, as to hinder the furnishing of York with provisions from thence. Accordingly they began their march early in the morning, the Scots leading the van. But about nine o'clock they had intelligence, that the Prince was approaching with his army, and indeed he was advanced with five thousand horse, near their rear. Whereupon they were obliged to draw up speedily, and call back their van, which made all possible haste to re-join them. Fortunately for them, the foot which the Prince had drawn out of York, could not come up with his army till noon, and this gave the Scots time to re-join the rest of their army, which they had left in the morning. The armies were both drawn up about two in the afternoon. But there was between them a deep and large ditch, which neither cared to pass, for fear of giving the enemy too great an advantage. For this reason, they stood looking upon one another above two hours, each expecting the other to begin the charge.

Prince Rupert himself headed the left-wing,† consisting of five thousand horse. The right wing was commanded by Sir Charles Lucas, with Colonel Hurry, and the main body by General Goring. It does not appear, that the Marquis of Newcastle had any command in this action. The Parliament's right wing opposite to Prince Rupert, was led by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the left by the Earl of Manchester, assisted by his Lieutenant General Oliver Cromwell. In the main battalia towards the right was the Lord Fairfax, and General Leven towards the left. At last, between six and seven in the evening, the Parliament generals gave the signal, and marched to the enemies. The left wing of the King's army, commanded by Prince Rupert, was entirely routed by the Parliament's right wing, whilst the King's right wing had the same advantage over the left of the Parliament. The two victorious wings, after chacing their enemies, returned to the field of battle, and met face to face, so that each stood on the same ground that the enemy possessed at the beginning of the battle. Here the fight was renewed, and maintained on both sides with great warmth and vigour, till at last, night approaching, the King's horse were put to flight, and pursued within a mile of York, where they retired in the night. The countrymen who were commanded to bury the dead, said that they interred four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies. It was reported that three thousand of the Prince's men were killed. But the conquerors affirmed, they lost not above three hundred.‡

Though Prince Rupert had always been victorious where he had commanded in chief, it is not very surprising that he should once be defeated; but his resolution to retire next day with his army, appears very strange. His horse had not suffered much, because they had taken to flight betimes, at least those of the left wing, commanded by himself, and his foot were also in good condition, the greatest storm having fallen on the Marquis of Newcastle's. He might therefore have defended York, and waited the King's orders upon this fatal accident. So, this extraordinary resolution can scarcely be imputed but to an excessive shame and indignation, which hindered him from considering how prejudicial it would be to the King his uncle's affairs. He sent the Marquis of Newcastle notice of his design, just as the Marquis was sending him word, that he was instantly going to quit the kingdom. They both put their resolutions in practice. The Marquis repaired that very day to Scarborough, and embarked for Hamburgh,§ and the Prince left York, and marched towards Chester with the remains of his army. It is easy to guess

* Ludlow observes, that if the Prince could have been contented with relieving York, and retreated, as he might have done, without fighting, the reputation he had gained, would have caused his army to increase like the rolling of a snow ball.

† Rushworth says, the Prince led the right wing, and Sir Charles Lucas the left: and that the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell commanded the left of the enemy. The King's forces consisted of fourteen thousand foot, nine thousand horse, and about twenty-five pieces of ordnance. The Parliament's army did not exceed that number. Oliver Cromwell was hard pressed by the Prince's horse, and wounded above the shoulders, but at length he broke through. The Lord Holles affirms, that Oliver behaved in this battle, in a very cowardly manner; and that those who did then most service, were, the Major-Generals Lesley and Crawford; and Sir Thomas Fairfax.

‡ Sir Charles Lucas, Major-General Porter, Major-General Tilyard, and the Lord Goring's son were among the prisoners. There were about a hundred other officers taken, and fifteen hundred soldiers, twenty-five pieces of ordnance, a hundred and thirty barrels of powder, several thousand stand of arms, and about a hundred colours. Others say, there were about four thousand taken prisoners, and as many slain on the King's party; the whole of both armies amounted to near nine thousand men. Among the colours were Prince Rupert's standard, with the arms of the Palatinate, and a red cross in the middle; a yellow coronet, in the middle a lion couchant, and behind him a mastiff, seeming to snatch at him, and in a label from his mouth written, Kimbolton; at his feet little beagles, and before their mouths written, Pym, Pym, Pym; and out of the lion's mouth these words proceeded.——"Quousque tandem abutere Patientia nostra?"

§ With him went his two sons, Charles Viscount Mansfield, and Henry Lord Cavendish; his brother Sir Charles Cavendish; Dr. Brambal,

guess why the Marquis of Newcastle quitted the King's service, after having been so unworthily treated by Prince Rupert. He believed, doubtless, he could not with honour resume his former command, having been deemed incapable to serve the King on so important an occasion.

The Parliament generals improved their victory, and the dissention of their enemies. They returned to their post before York, which was left to the discretion of Sir Thomas Glemham the governor, who seeing himself unable long to resist, surrendered this important place upon honourable terms. They were no sooner in possession of York, but the three armies separated. The Lord Fairfax with his forces remained at York, as governor. The Earl of Manchester marched towards Lincoln, not to be remote, without necessity, from the associated counties, whose troops he commanded. The Earl of Leven with the Scotch army marched northward to join the Earl of Calendar, who was advancing with a strong reinforcement from Scotland. When these forces were joined, he laid siege to Newcastle, which surrendered at discretion in October. Thus the battle of Marston-moor lost the King all the north, which hitherto had given the Parliament forces a powerful diversion. But this was not all the mischief the King had to fear. There was danger of the three victorious armies joining in the heart of the kingdom those of the Earl of Essex and Sir William Waller, and of their taking at once all the places which were still in his power. This was the more to be feared, as when he heard of the defeat of his army at Marston-moor, he was himself marching to the relief of the west, where the Earl of Essex then was with an army, which the King's forces in those parts were not able to withstand.

The Parliament seem by their extraordinary preparations in the beginning of the year 1644, to have intended to put a speedy conclusion to the war. Besides, the armies of the Lord Fairfax and Scotland, and that of the Earl of Manchester, which was paid by the eastern counties, a new regulation was made the latter end of March, for the maintenance of seven thousand five hundred foot, and three thousand horse, to be commanded by the Earl of Essex. At the same time, by another ordnance, the four southern associated counties, namely, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hampshire, were to maintain an army of three thousand six hundred foot, twelve hundred horse, and five hundred dragoons, under the command of Sir William Waller. These were not new armies, they subsisted before the regulation; but the point was to recruit them, complete the number fixed by the Parliament, and settle the necessary weekly payment of their subsistence money.*

Though Sir William Waller was worsted at the battle of Round-way-Down, the two Houses, far from losing their esteem for him, resolved to send him into the west, with an army capable of withstanding Prince Maurice, who found no farther opposition in those parts. The King having notice of this design, resolved to endeavour not only to hinder Waller's march into the west, but also to break the association of the four southern counties, where he had many friends, and even hoped to procure an association of these counties in his favour. To that purpose, he gave the Lord Hopton† an army consisting of troops drawn out of several garrisons, and of two regiments of foot lately arrived at Bristol from Ireland.‡ As soon as these forces were assembled, Lord Hopton posted himself at Winchester, where Sir John Berkley brought him two regiments newly raised by him in Devonshire, and the King sent him a detachment of a thousand men commanded by Sir Jacob Ashley. All these forces together made an army of four thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, with which he resolved to march into Sussex. Waller, who was then quartered about Farnham, assembled his troops and faced the enemy: but after some slight skirmishes, he retired into Farnham castle, whence he took a journey to London, to represent to the Parliament his want of supplies, without which it would not be possible to perform what had been enjoined him.

Immediately after Waller's departure for London, Lord Hopton marched with part of his army to attack Arundel castle, which was surrendered upon terms. But hearing a few days after, that Waller had returned to Farnham with a strong reinforcement, he rejoined the rest of his army.

Waller's journey to London answered his expectation. Besides a brigade of Londoners under Major-General Brown, he procured an order of Parliament to the Earl of Essex, to send him from his army a thousand horse under the command of Sir William Balfour. He was no sooner returned to Farnham with these supplies, but he marched all night, and at break of day beat up one of the Lord Hopton's quarters at Alton, and carried away prisoners Colonel Boles's regiment of foot;§ a troop or two of horse, which were in the same quarters, having betimes taken to flight. Then he marched directly to Arundel castle, and made the garrison prisoners. Here the learned Mr. Chillingworth was taken, and died within a few days.

The King hearing of the supplies given to Waller, sent a reinforcement to Lord Hopton. The Earl of Forth, the King's general, would go himself, but refused the command which the Lord Hopton offered to resign to him. Lord Hopton having then an army of about eight thousand men, resolved to give Waller battle, and begun his march with that intent, at the very time Waller was advancing towards him with the same resolution. The two armies met between Farnham and Winchester on Cheriton-down near Alresford, where the battle was fought the 29th of March. The Lord Hopton was defeated and forced to retire to Reading, and afterwards to Oxford. Waller marched to Winchester, and became master of the city, but did not think proper to besiege the castle, which was his own inheritance, because he had elsewhere more important affairs. Lord Clarendon pretends, the loss sustained by Waller at Alresford hindered him from improving his advantage, and marching into the west, as he had resolved. But it may be affirmed, this was not the thing that prevented his taking the western route. It was rather owing to the Parliament's resolutions, by whom he was recalled to London, after having dismissed the auxiliary regiments of that city, and Kent, which were also come to join with him.

Both Houses perceiving, that by the King's late loss at Alresford, his army was discouraged and considerably lessened; that moreover, they had sufficient forces in the north, to have nothing to fear from the Marquis of Newcastle, who was shut up in York, resolved to besiege Oxford, where the King was with his army. So, having relinquished, or suspended, the design of sending Waller into the west, they laboured with all possible diligence, to put the two armies of Essex and Waller upon the footing settled by their ordnance, that they might act together against Oxford.

The King had ever imagined, that Waller's design was to march towards the western parts. For which reason he had assembled his forces at Marlborough, and afterwards posted himself at Newbury, where he had remained some time, till he could better discover the

---

Brambal, Bishop of London-derry; the Lord Falconbridge; the Lord Withrington; the Earl of Ethyne; the Lord Cornwarth; and Sir William Carnaby. On the 8th of July they arrived at Hamburgh. The Marquis came no more to England, till after the restoration of Charles II.

* For the maintenance of this army, and a suitable train of artillery, with other incident charges, there was to be monthly raised and paid out of the excise, the sum of thirty thousand, five hundred and four pounds. And, besides the money arising from the forfeited, estates in Hampshire and Sussex, the weekly sum of 2638*l.* was to be levied in the four associated counties for Waller's army.

† Sir Ralph Hopton was created Lord Hopton of Stratton, Sept. 4, 1643, at Oxford.

‡ Under the command of Sir Charles Vavasor, and Sir John Pawlet.

§ The Colonel had retired with his men into the church, but had not time to barricade the doors. So, the enemy entering with him, his soldiers threw down their arms, and asked quarter, which was also offered to the Colonel, who refusing it, was killed.

designs of his enemies. But having at length found, the Parliament had altered their measures, he came to Reading, and caused the fortifications to be demolished in order to strengthen his army with the garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred men. He also ordered Prince Rupert to come and join him: but afterwards permitted him to relieve Latham house, where the Countess of Derby was besieged. With the Reading garrison, his army was increased to eight thousand five hundred foot, and four thousand horse. But being still ignorant of the designs of his enemies, he thought proper to retire to Oxford with his whole army.

Meanwhile, the Parliament, who had for some time found means to take their resolutions with more secrecy than formerly, perceiving the two armies of Essex and Waller ready to march, sent to each a supply of four thousand two hundred of the trained bands of London. So, the Earl of Essex's army consisted of twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and Waller's of seven thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse and dragoons. These two generals had orders to march separately, and besiege Oxford, if the King remained there; but if he went from thence, the Earl of Essex was ordered to follow him with his army, and Waller to march into the west, according to the first project. They departed from London, the 14th and 15th of May, to put themselves at the head of their respective armies, and immediately marched towards Oxford.

The King had posted almost all his infantry at Abington, in order to stop the enemies, and have time to consider what measures he should take, in case they really intended to besiege Oxford, which he still questioned. As Abington could not be easily defended but on the east side, and he was unwilling to run any unnecessary hazard, he had ordered General Wilmot to make a vigorous defence, if attacked on that side, but if on the west from Wantage and Farrington, to relinquish the place. But whether the order was not clear and full, or for some other reason, Wilmot, at the enemies' approach, on the east side, immediately retired to Oxford, and the Earl of Essex instantly entered Abington. The King perceiving the siege of Oxford was resolved, had but one way to hinder it, which was to defend the passes of the rivers Isis and Cherwell, which run on the west and east sides of the city, and to that end he quartered his horse near the Isis, and his foot towards the Cherwell. Waller found means at last to gain the pass at Newbridge over the Isis. Whereupon the King drew all his forces into Oxford and to the north of the city, with thoughts at the same time of providing for the safety of his person, not judging it proper to suffer himself to be shut up. There was no time to lose, for the King's troops were hardly retired, when the Earl of Essex passed the Cherwell at Gosworth bridge with his army. So the King giving orders to his horse, and a small body of foot, to wait for him at such a place, left Oxford the 3d of June about nine o'clock at night, and safely passed between the two Parliament armies. He was out of all danger of pursuit before the news of his retreat reached the enemies, and came at length on June 6, to Worcester, after having endured great fatigue.

Meanwhile, the city of Oxford being well stored with provisions and ammunition, and the King having left there almost all his foot, the two generals did not think fit to besiege it, and the rather, as they had no orders to do it, unless the King remained there. The Parliament's intention was, that in case the King quitted Oxford, the Earl of Essex should follow him with his army; and Waller with his, take care of the affairs of the west. But the Earl of Essex, for some unknown reason, reversed this order, and would himself march into the west. And when Waller urged the Parliament's orders, the Earl of Essex positively commanded him, as his general, to obey, to which the other could make no reply. So, the Earl immediately began his march to the west. The Parliament were very much offended with the Earl of Essex's disobedience, and sent him an order, which reached him at Salisbury, to return, follow the King, and leave to Waller the western expedition. But the Earl, instead of complying, sent a letter to the committee of war, with the reasons of his conduct, subscribing his letter, "Your innocent, though suspected servant, Essex." The Earl pursued his march, in a slow and easy manner, till he came into Devonshire.

The Queen had been ever since April at Exeter, where she was delivered of the Princess Henrietta, about a fortnight or three weeks before the Earl of Essex's approach. As soon as she heard of his entering Devonshire, she sent and desired a safe-conduct to retire to Bristol. The Earl of Essex answered, if her Majesty would please to go to London, he would have the honour to wait upon her thither; but could not give her a safe-conduct to Bristol, without the express order of both Houses. Whereupon the Queen withdrew into Cornwall, and some time after into France, with a convoy of men of war, sent her by the Prince of Orange.

Prince Maurice had been, since the 20th of April, before the little town of Lyme, which made a more obstinate defence than was expected. This place, and Plymouth, were almost the only towns in the west that were for the Parliament. It was therefore very necessary for the Parliament, to have in those parts, forces capable of reviving the courage of their friends, who had received no assistance since Prince Maurice's arrival. At the Earl of Essex's approach, who was now advanced to Dorchester, the Prince raised the siege of Lyme, and retired to Exeter. The same day, the Earl of Essex possessed himself of Dorchester. Then, he detached Sir William Balfour, who took Weymouth, whither the Earl of Essex instantly repaired. He had some thoughts of besieging Exeter, and indeed marched that way; but considering that Prince Maurice was there with his whole army, he was afraid of losing too much time in the siege, and stopped at Chard, where he remained some time, and from thence marched to Tiverton. Whereupon, Prince Maurice sent a detachment from Exeter, with orders to secure Barnstable; but the inhabitants shut the gates against them, and immediately sent to the Earl of Essex, to come and take possession of the town, which was done accordingly by the Lord Roberts. Here was taken Captain Howard, who having been formerly Lieutenant to Captain Pym, had deserted, with nineteen troopers, to the King's party; for which being now tried by a council of war, he was condemned and executed. Upon this, Prince Maurice caused to be hanged Turpin, a sea captain, taken prisoner in attempting to releive Exeter, when the Earl of Stamford was besieged in it. He being indicted for levying arms against the King, had been condemned, but hitherto reprieved, by reason of the consequences. The Parliament was very much incensed at this reprisal, considering the difference between a prisoner of war, and a deserter. Wherefore having Serjeant Glanvil, one of Turpin's judges, in their custody, who had lately quitted the King's party, and returned to London, they ordered him to be impeached of high treason. Soon after, the King's party caused fourteen clothiers to be hanged at Woodhouse in Wiltshire, and the Parliament ordered eight Irishmen to be executed, who had been taken prisoners. These executions gave occasion to the Parliament, in August following, to erect a court martial, to which were given very severe instructions, chiefly with respect to deserters. About the middle of July, Taunton Dean was taken for the Parliament, by a party of the garrison of Lyme.

The King staid at Worcester with his little army only a few days, hearing Waller was marching that way. When he quitted Worcester, he made several marches and counter-marches, to deceive the vigilance of his enemy, not being strong enough to venture to meet him. At last, having made a shew of marching towards Shrewsbury, Waller doubted not but his design was to join Prince Rupert, who was still in those parts. For this was before the battle of Marston-moor. He thought it therefore very important to march before.

fore, and post himself between the King and Shrewsbury, in order to hinder his joining with the Prince. The King was glad to have deceived Waller. As soon as he knew Waller expected him upon that route, he feigned to take it indeed, but suddenly turning about, instead of continuing his march towards Shrewsbury, took the road to Oxford, and left Waller in his post, without any possibility of overtaking him. When he came near Oxford, he was joined by the rest of his army, which he had left there when he quitted that city. Then, no longer fearing Waller, he went and quartered in Buckinghamshire, without any other design than to give the enemy battle, if there was occasion.

Waller having been thus circumvented, approached the King, and at length the two armies were in sight, with the river Cherwell between them. Waller drew up on a very advantageous ground, imagining the King would pass the river to attack him, and thereby furnish him with an opportunity to fight with advantage. But the King, to draw him from his post, feigned to march northward, and accordingly advanced into Northamptonshire, leaving a strong guard at Cropedy bridge, to hinder the enemies from passing, and following him in the rear. Whilst he was marching, he had intelligence, there was a body of three hundred horse going to join Waller, within two miles of the van of his army, and was told they might be easily cut off, if the army moved faster. Whereupon orders were sent to the van, and main body, to advance faster. As soon as Waller perceived there was a great distance between the King's rear, and the rest of his army, he detached a thousand horse, to pass the river at a ford, a mile below, and himself, with fifteen hundred horse, one thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, attacked Cropedy bridge, took it, and passed his troops. Which done, he fell upon the King's rear, but was repulsed, with loss of many of his men, and part of his cannon. The detachment, which passed the ford, had much the same success. Waller being thus repulsed, and forced to repass the river, drew up his men on a hill, and there waited the King's motions. As it was yet but three in the afternoon, the King, believing the enemies were discouraged with their ill-success, ordered Cropedy bridge, and the ford, to be attacked by two great detachments. The first was repulsed at the bridge, with great loss on the King's side. The other gained the ford; but all that could be done, was to maintain it, expecting in vain, till night, that the first detachment would recover the bridge. Night coming on, both sides retired, Waller remaining master of the two passes.

The King was so prepossessed with the notion, that the enemies' army was entirely discouraged, that he resolved to send them an offer of pardon by a herald, imagining it would be immediately accepted, and Waller deserted. In this belief, he sent a trumpeter to Waller, to desire a safe-conduct for a gentleman to deliver a gracious message from his Majesty. Waller answered, he had no power to receive any message without permission from the Parliament, to whom his Majesty was to make application. The two armies faced each other for the space of two days, standing in the same posture, after which they both drew off, each taking a different route. In all appearance, Waller after this loss, did not think himself in condition to go any more in quest of the King, who was superior to him in number. As it was about this time, that the report of Prince Rupert's defeat at Marston-moor was spread, Waller thought, doubtless, there was no great necessity to hazard a second battle, since the King would probably be very much distressed. When he knew afterwards, the King was marching towards the west, he gave himself still less trouble about what the King might attempt, since it belonged to the Earl of Essex to get off as he pleased. There was a sufficient union between them, for Waller to be much concerned at what might happen to the Earl. Perhaps too, his not being able to follow the King, who was marching against the Earl of Essex, was the reason why he dismissed the regiments of the London auxiliaries, which, added to his loss at Cropedy, disabled him from acting till he had fresh troops.

The King, who at the beginning of this campaign was in a sad strait, found himself, a month after, much at ease. Of the two armies by which he had been attacked, one was unable to hurt him, and the other was gone into the west, where he himself was very strong. In the first place, he was master of all the fortified towns, Plymouth excepted. Secondly, he had at Bristol a large garrison, part whereof might be drawn out upon occasion. In the third place, almost all the gentry of the western counties were well-affected to him. There were only the meaner sort of people, who were divided between him and the Parliament, but who however were always ready to join with the strongest. Lastly, Prince Maurice had at Exeter, and in the neighbourhood, four thousand men, which could be easily brought to him by the north of Devonshire, and the Earl of Essex not be able to prevent it. All these considerations determined him to march westward, to give the Earl of Essex battle, if an opportunity offered. He had scarcely begun his march, when he received the ill news of what passed at York, which confirmed him in his resolution. He perceived, that if he remained in the middle of the kingdom, where he had few friends or fortified towns, the three Parliament armies, which were now separated, would not fail to rejoin, and then he should be too weak to withstand them.

As soon as the King had taken this resolution, he informed Prince Maurice of it, that he might be ready to join him, and by the same express sent orders to the Lord Hopton, to draw what men he could out of Wales and lead them to Bristol, that he might meet him on the way with those troops, and as many more as could possibly be spared from that garrison. So, the King making easy marches, in order to give the Welsh troops time to join him, came the 15th of July to Bath, whence after two days, he departed, and at length arrived at Exeter. When all the forces, he had sent for, had joined him, he saw himself at the head of an army much more numerous than the Earl of Essex's.

Five days after the fight at Cropedy bridge, the King being at Evesham, caused to be drawn up a message for peace to both Houses, a copy whereof was sent to the Earl of Essex by the Marquis of Hertford, to be communicated to the Parliament, it being intimated that the French agent had the original to deliver if required. This message, directed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster, contained a general offer to treat of peace, and if commissioners should be sent to him, he would grant them a safe-conduct. The two Houses, ever jealous of the King, thought there was some artifice concealed in sending them only a copy of the message, and that his aim was to engage them to demand the original of the French agent. Besides, they did not conceive themselves to be owned by the direction of this message as the two Houses of Parliament, and therefore imagined, the King had a mind to reserve to himself the power of saying, that he did not acknowledge them for the true Parliament of England, and indeed he ought not, according to his principles, since he had published the forementioned declaration against them. Wherefore they resolved to take no notice of the message, nor return any answer.

Whilst the King stayed at Bath, he assembled the inhabitants of Somersetshire at Kingsmoor, and made a speech to them, exhorting them to take arms for him, and furnish him with money. He told them "That victory was the only means left to restore peace to the nation, that blessed peace which he had so often sought for from them at Westminster, and which they had so scornfully rejected. But," continued he, "when I mention peace, I would be understood to intend that peace, which is built upon such foundations as are most likely to render it firm and stable; wherein God's true religion may be best secured from the danger of Popery, sectaries, and innovations; the crown may possess

those just prerogatives which may enable me to protect and govern my people according to law; and the subjects be confirmed in those rights which they have derived from their forefathers, and which I have granted them in Parliament; to which I shall always be ready to add such new graces, as I shall find most to conduce to their happiness: this is the peace which I labour for, wherein I may justly expect your best assistance with your hearts, hands, and purses."

When the Earl of Essex heard of the King's approach, he called a council of war, to debate what was to be done in this emergency. His own opinion was, to return, and hinder the King from penetrating farther into the country, and to give him battle if a favourable opportunity offered. He represented, that in Devonshire or Somersetshire, as he should not be straitened in room or provisions, he might either fight, or avoid it as he should think fit. But the Lord Roberts of Truro, field-marshal in this expedition, whose estate lay all in Cornwall, positively affirmed, that as soon as the army should enter that county, the people would all declare for the Parliament; that then it would be impossible for the King to come there, and the army might easily subsist, and be re-inforced with a great number of troops. Upon this assurance, which afterwards proved very false, the Lord Roberts, rather by a sort of violence, than the strength of his reasons, caused it to be resolved, that the army should march into Cornwall.

Pursuant to this resolution, the Earl of Essex entered that county the 26th of July, after forcing the passage at Newbridge, which was bravely defended by Sir Richard Grenvil. The same day the King came to Exeter, and after a general muster of his army, followed the Earl of Essex, who did not find in Cornwall what the Lord Roberts had made him expect. He advanced however to Launceston, and from thence to Bodmin, where he wrote to the Parliament, that he did not doubt, the King's design was to straiten him for provisions, and therefore earnestly desired, that an army might be sent into the west to lie upon the King's rear, and hinder him from executing his project. But as Sir William Waller was not ready to march, being then in London, soliciting supplies for his army, all that could be done was to detach Colonel Middleton with two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons, with orders to march westwards.

The King seeing the Earl of Essex entangled in a country where he wanted provisions for the subsistence of his army, thought it a fair opportunity to try to gain him. Wherefore he sent him a letter under his own hand, persuading him to free himself from his present straits, by restoring peace to the kingdom. The Earl of Essex returning no answer to this letter, Prince Maurice, and the Earl of Forth, lately made Earl of Brentford, the King's general, wrote to him two days after; and the next day he received another letter on the same subject, signed by Lord Hopton and many general officers of the King's army. At last, he returned a brief answer to the Earl of Brentford, that he had no commission to treat.

About this time, the Lord Wilmot, Lieutenant-General of the King's horse, was arrested and sent prisoner to Exeter by his Majesty's order, he having taken the liberty to send the Earl of Essex word, that if he would enter into a treaty, the officers of the King's army were so desirous of peace, they would constrain his Majesty to conclude it upon reasonable terms. Wilmot's disgrace bred some murmurs amongst the officers of horse, by whom he was very much beloved. They even presented a petition to the King, to pray him to let them know what crime that Lord was accused of. The King, in such a juncture, was very ready to give them this satisfaction. Nevertheless the Lord Wilmot was deprived of his post, after which, he had leave to retire beyond sea. It was generally believed in the army, that Wilmot's disgrace was owing to some intrigue of the court, and the King's private hatred of him on account of the part he had acted against the Earl of Strafford.

The Earl of Essex perceived too late the vanity of the Lord Roberts's promises. So far were the people of Cornwall from rising in his favour, that on the contrary they ran in crowds to join the King's army. The Earl could have provisions but by sea, and in small quantities, by means of a river which afforded him a communication by sea with Plymouth.* At last, Sir Richard Grenvil having brought the King a supply of troops, it was resolved in a council of war, to make use of the superiority of the number, not to compel the Earl of Essex to fight, but to cut off his provisions. This was happily effected, by means of a fort run up on the bank of the river, by which the enemies received their provisions. Thus the Earl of Essex being reduced to the last extremity, after having kept his post almost a month, resolved to abandon his army, to avoid falling into the King's hands. But before he executed that design, he ordered Sir William Balfour to endeavour to save the horse, which he performed very fortunately in a dark misty night, by passing unobserved through the King's quarters. As soon as the Earl of Essex knew the horse were out of danger, he sent to the King and demanded a parley; but before the answer was returned, took ship with some officers and retired to Plymouth, leaving Major-General Skippon to procure the best terms he could for the foot.

The King having granted the parley desired by the Earl of Essex before his departure, a conference was held between some officers of both armies, where articles were agreed on; by which the infantry were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition; and, being conducted to the Parliament's quarters, were dismissed.

By this treaty, the King properly gained only artillery, arms, and ammunition. But though it was something to reduce this army to such a condition, it would have been of much more advantage to him, had he made the officers and soldiers prisoners of war. For the Parliament wanted neither artillery, arms, nor ammunition, to repair their army, which indeed was able within five or six weeks, to give the King battle. Though the Earl of Essex might have been justly upbraided for the two faults he had committed, in obstinately pursuing his march into the west, contrary to the orders of both Houses, and in preposterously running himself into Cornwall, he was not insulted for his misfortunes, but at his return was very civilly received. It was then no proper time to examine his conduct. The point was to recruit and arm the ruined army, as well as that of Waller, and accordingly both Houses applied themselves to it with all posible diligence. They ordered also Colonel Middleton to repair speedily to the Earl of Essex's army, and the Earl of Manchester to march the same way with his forces.

After the King had gained so considerable an advantage, he hoped, the affrighted Parliament would desire nothing more than to come to an agreement. He plainly perceived, that such a peace as he desired was impracticable, as long as the Parliament was prosperous. But he flattered himself with the hopes, that after so great a misfortune, his enemies would gladly accept his offers, and insist no longer upon terms he was fully resolved not to grant. In this belief, he sent from Tavistock a fresh message to both Houses, with offers of peace, and annexed to it a duplicate of his former message from Evesham. This message was so worded, that he seemed out of pure moderation to offer, after his victory, to be content with having, by a peace, what he was in condition to obtain by force of arms.

The 10th of September, the King appeared before Plymouth,† in hopes, that after his late victory, the gates would be opened to him. But having summoned it in vain, and even given some assaults, he was forced to retire, the season not permitting him to undertake

* The King lay about Liskeard, and Essex at Lostwithiel, whence the river runs to Fowey, of which place Essex was master.

† Where the Lord Roberts, who went thither with the Earl of Essex, was made governor, to whom the Lord Digby wrote, to persuade him to surrender the town to the King.

so important a siege, which, probably, would have employed him several months. Meanwhile General Goring, with a detachment of the army, became master of Barnstaple.

We have had frequent occasion to speak of the affairs of the Elector Palatine, and to observe, how much James I. and Charles I. neglected the interests, the one of the King his son-in-law, and the other, of the Elector his nephew. All the Elector's dominions being in the hands of his enemies, he fled for refuge to the King his uncle, who gave him a pension for his subsistence. This pension, it is likely, was ill paid since the King was engaged in the war with Scotland, and still worse, since the beginning of this Parliament. So, the Elector having attended the King till he retired into the north, and seeing the war ready to kindle, abruptly quitted the King his uncle at York. He retired into Holland, and staid there till August 1644, when he suddenly came to London to reside there, under the protection of the Parliament. The King hearing of it, wrote to him, to know the reason of so extraordinary a proceeding. It does not appear what answer the Elector returned; but probably, not knowing how to subsist, and considering the King his uncle was not able to maintain him, he believed, he should find more assistance in the Parliament, which had ever expressed a great affection and zeal for his House. He was not deceived in his expectations, for the Parliament granted him an honourable pension, which was more regularly paid than the former from the King.*

The King was so strongly possessed with the belief, that his victory could not but make a strong impression upon the minds of the people, that he resolved to march directly to London. He did not question, but his army would considerably increase by the way, and the people forsake the two Houses, when they should see him marching towards the metropolis. He imagined, the people wanted only an opportunity to free themselves from the yoke of the Parliament, and that the present one being very favourable, was not to be neglected. He published therefore the 30th of September, a proclamation, dated at Chard, wherein he set forth, with what earnestness and sincerity he had always desired, and offered peace, which had been constantly rejected by both Houses, after which he said, "That he had therefore resolved with his army, to draw presently towards London, and his southern and eastern counties, not looking upon these parts as enemies to him, but as his poor subjects, oppressed by power, (of which he was assured the greater part remained loyal to him,) and so deserving his protection; hoping, that at a nearer distance of place, there might be allowed so right an understanding between him and his people, that at length he might obtain a treaty for peace, and a full and free convention in Parliament, and therein make an end of these unhappy differences, by a good accommodation; whereby his people might be settled in the possession of their rights and liberties. And therefore he required his subjects within his own quarters, through, or near which he should pass, forthwith to prepare themselves with the best arms they could get to be ready to join him. He authorised, likewise, as well the trained bands of London, as his subjects of the eastern and southern counties, to chuse their own commanders among those gentlemen and citizens, that were of approved loyalty, and lovers of peace, requiring them at his approach, to put themselves in arms, and assist in this expedition, and commanding them to seize such places of strength, as the rebels were possessed of, and to apprehend the persons of all such as should hinder the settling the peace of the kingdom."

All the effect this proclamation produced, was, that the inhabitants of Somersetshire, where the King then was, presented a petition to him, humbly beseeching his Majesty, "That they might have liberty to wait upon him in person, and at a nearer distance of place, become petitioners to both Houses, to embrace his Majesty's offers of peace; and in case of refusal, they promised to spend their lives and fortunes, in assisting him to compass by the sword, what by fair means could not be effected." But this was only a promised aid, and as yet too remote for the King to make any use of it in the present expedition.

If every thing had happened as the King had imagined; if the people had flocked to his army; if he had been cheerfully supplied with all necessaries, very probably, he might have arrived at London before the Parliament forces could have been joined to form a new army. But his army, instead of increasing in their march, as he expected, daily diminished by fatigues, by want of money, shoes, and stockings, by sickness, which disabled many of his men from following the army.† He was obliged to make frequent halts in several towns to wait for money and other necessaries, which, he perceived, would not be supplied when he should be removed. The horse being discontented, as well at the Lord Wilmot's disgrace, as at their having received no pay this campaign, he was forced to stay till the eastern counties should supply him with money to satisfy them. These delays were the reason that he came not to Salisbury till the 15th of October, six weeks after the advantage gained in Cornwall. Then it was that he altered his resolution, and instead of marching to London, contented himself with returning to his old quarters in and about Oxford.

Whilst the King was on his march, the Parliament was not idle. They had provided six thousand stand of arms, and clothes for the Earl of Essex's foot, and detached the city brigade consisting of five thousand men, besides the necessary recruits, to join him. Sir William Waller had taken the field again, his army being recruited and re-inforced, and was now at Andover ready to march. The Earl of Essex's horse, which had fortunately escaped in Cornwall, were come to him, as well as those sent into the west, under the command of Colonel Middleton. Thus, the Earl of Essex saw himself in condition to march the 17th of October in order to join Sir William Waller and the Earl of Manchester, who was within distance. The King having notice that Waller was to march to Reading, advanced with all possible diligence towards Andover, to give him battle before he had joined the Earl of Essex. He even fell upon his rear and killed twenty or thirty of his men. But this could not hinder the junction of the three armies, which was done the 21st of October.

Whilst the King's enemies lay so near him, he very unadvisedly, as it seems, detached from his army the Earl of Northampton with three regiments of horse, to relieve Banbury castle, which had been besieged ever since July the 19th, and was now reduced to extremity. The Earl succeeded in his expedition, but the King was likely to pay dear for it, since, a few days after, he was forced to fight, deprived of the aid of these three regiments. His design, was only to retire to Oxford, there being no farther reason to induce him to pursue his march towards London. But he would first besiege Dennington castle, and therefore advanced to Newbury, which lies but a mile from that castle, whilst the Parliament army was at Reading. The next day, that army marched towards Newbury, where the King fortified himself in the best manner he could, and placed his foot in the intrenchments, whilst the horse were posted in two adjoining open fields, and for some days there were frequent skirmishes between the two armies. At last, on the 27th of October, being Sunday, the Parliament Generals having

* He had before his coming, sent two letters to the Parliament, declaring in the first, his satisfaction in the covenant, wishing them success; and in the other, the great streights he and his mother were in, for want of the stipend they formerly had, and bemoaning the courses his brother Prince Rupert took, in fighting against the Parliament. Upon his landing at Gravesend, a committee of the Commons attended him, and in May 1645, the Commons ordered him an allowance of 8000*l.* a year, 2000*l.* whereof out of the King's revenue, and the rest out of the estates of the Lord Cottington, and Sir Nicholas Crispe.

† When the King marched from Chard, his army consisted but of five thousand five hundred foot, and about four thousand horse.

divided their forces into two bodies, attacked the King's intrenchments at two several places. The fight, which began about three or four in the afternoon, held till night, and was extremely sharp, each side repulsing the other by turns. When night approached, the assailants forced part of the intrenchment, and took some pieces of ordnance. But night hindered them from improving this advantage, and put an end to the fight.

Meanwhile, the King fearing the enemy would next morning penetrate into his lines, withdrew in the night, and marched to Wallingford, leaving his heavy cannon and baggage in Dennington castle. The Earl of Essex was not in the battle. He had quitted the army some days before, whether on account of some sudden indisposition, or perhaps out of some discontent, not being able to agree, either with the Earl of Manchester, or Sir William Waller.

The Parliament-Generals, who thought themselves victorious, should, it might be thought, have attacked the King in his retreat, it being then full-moon. They suffered him to march however without pursuing him,* so that he safely arrived at Oxford. But this was not their greatest error. The King having left his cannon, ammunition, and baggage in Dennington castle, they could have done nothing more advantageous than to employ their whole strength to take the castle. But they contented themselves with summoning the Governor,† and upon his refusal to capitulate, they remained quiet at Newbury without attempting any thing against him.

Meanwhile, the King being informed of the discord between the Parliament-Generals, and of their leaving Dennington castle unattacked, very wisely improved so favourable a juncture. Some days after his arrival at Oxford, he was joined by Prince Rupert, who brought him some horse. He drew a body of foot out of the garrison of Oxford, and other neighbouring towns, and the Earl of Northampton rejoined with his brigade of horse. By means of these supplies he formed an army of six thousand foot, and five thousand horse, with which he marched back towards Newbury the 2d of November. After the battle, the Parliament-army moved towards Oxford, but had returned to Newbury, on pretence that the ways were unpassable. But the chief reason was, the Generals could not agree, there being no commander-in-chief. They received the intelligence of the King's march; but would not believe it till they heard of his being within six miles of Dennington. Whereupon they resolved to draw up the next day between Dennington and the King's army. To that end, orders were given for all their horse to rendezvous early on the morrow, it not being possible that day by reason their quarters were too separate and remote. But that very night, the King pursued his march to Dennington, and drawing up his army, between the castle and Newbury, waited in that posture to see what the enemy would attempt. Though presently after the Parliament-army was also drawn up, the Generals, having viewed the posture and strength of the King's, and held a council of war, judged it unsafe to engage. So, after some skirmishes, the King having drawn out what he left at Dennington, marched back to Oxford, where he arrived the 21st of November. In his way thither, he sent a detachment of his army to the relief of the Marquis of Winchester, who had been long besieged in his own castle of Basing. But this detachment found the siege already raised. Thus ended the campaign of the year 1644, which proved less fatal to the King than he had reason to fear, though he lost York and all the north.

It is time now to speak of some other occurrences of the year 1644, which had no immediate relation to the war.

March the 26th, 1644, the Parliament passed an ordinance, enjoining every family within the bills of mortality, for three months, to forbear one meal a week, and contribute the value thereof for the public occasions. This was properly laying a tax upon every family. For otherwise, very likely the Parliament did not much care whether this weekly meal were forborne or not, provided the value which was to be set upon each person and family were paid.

April the 13th an Oxford spy was executed in the Palace-Yard at Westminster.

To the year 1644 the affairs of the war were so publicly debated in the Parliament, that the King was acquainted with the resolutions there taken, before they were begun to be executed. But this year the managers thought fit to give the committee of both kingdoms, who were charged with the affairs of the war, more power than before, that they might give their orders, and cause them to be executed, without being obliged to communicate their resolutions to both Houses. A considerable advantage was hereby gained, in that the resolutions became more private, and the King had not so good information. But on the other hand, the committee had by it a power which might be of very dangerous consequence. And therefore several members complained, that the most important affairs were not communicated, but that the direction and management was reserved to themselves alone by the committee. The time for which they had been appointed being about to expire, the Commons passed an ordinance, for the continuance of the committee three months longer, and sent it up to the Lords. But the Peers, instead of passing the ordinance as sent by the Commons, added a clause to increase the number of the committee, with five Lords and ten Commoners of their nomination. It is not to be doubted, the King's private friends used their endeavours to increase the number of the committee, in hopes of being able to gain some one to inform them of what should pass there. But the Commons foreseeing the consequence of this addition, refused to consent to it, and desired the Lords, that they would pass the ordinance without any amendment. The Lords declining to do it for some time, the Commons found means to get the Lord Mayor and the Common Council of London to petition them among other things, that the committee of both kingdoms might be continued as it was. Then the Lords perceiving, that since the city of London interposed, their resistance would be fruitless, passed the ordinance four days after. The declarations of the city of London were a curb frequently used by the Commons to stop the career of the King's friends, when by their cabals they were endeavouring to disturb their deliberations, or to sow discord between the two Houses, Besides, that it would have been dangerous as well as unjust to dislodge that great city, by whom the charges of the war are chiefly borne, experience had shewn, that the city had infallible expedients to support their friends in the Parliament.

There was in the London petition another article of no less importance. A great many members of both Houses, had deserted the Parliament, before and after the beginning of the war. In the petition, therefore, was inserted an article, that none of the members who had deserted the Parliament should be received, without satisfaction first given to both Houses for their future fidelity. In pursuance of this desire it was declared soon after, by an ordinance, that such Peers as had deserted, or should desert the Parliament, should not be re-admitted without the consent of both Houses; and that whatsoever member of the House of Commons had so offended, or should so offend hereafter, and adhere to those that were levying war against the Parliament, were and should be absolutely disabled from sitting in the House of Commons. By this means, such as might intend to return to the Parliament for the King's service, had sufficient warning, that their artifice would be without effect.

In January 1643-4, the States-General of the United-Provinces sent Ambassadors into England, to offer their mediation, which the two Houses made no great ac-

* Colonel Cromwell followed the body of the enemy two hours before day.

† Threatening not to leave one stone upon another. To which the governor, Sir John Boys, made no other reply, than that he was not bound to repair it; but however, would, by God's help, keep the ground afterwards.

count of, knowing what credit the Prince of Orange, the King's son-in-law, had in these provinces. Besides, the Ambassadors, who were all supposed to be the Prince of Orange's creatures, refused to acknowledge the two Houses of Westminster, for the Parliament of England. In short, these Ambassadors, after several journies to Oxford, and attempts to persuade the Parliament to accept their mediation, without the previous acknowledgment required, fully owned the two Houses for the Parliament of England, and presented a memorial to offer their mediation. It must be observed, this was the next day after the news of Prince Rupert's defeat at Marston-moor. As they had long delayed this acknowledgment, both Houses left them some time, in their turn, without any answer, being willing, doubtless, to intimate to them, that this mediation did not appear to them sufficiently impartial. Wherefore the 10th of December, they demanded a public audience, which was granted, and in which they offered again the mediation of their masters. Both Houses answered, that they readily accepted the mediation of the states: but nad already sent propositions to the King for a treaty of peace, of which they were to wait the success. That, moreover, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, being united together by a solemn covenant, they could do nothing without the concurrence of the Scots, which would require some time.

In July it was ordered by the House of Commons, that the fine imposed by the Star-Chamber upon Mr. Denzil Holles, for his asserting the liberties of his country in Parliament, should be repaid him out of the King's revenue.

In October, an ordinance of both Houses was published, commanding, that no quarter should be given to any Irishman taken in arms against the Parliament.

In November, the Lord Macguire, and Mac Mahone, were brought upon their trials. They were apprehended, at Dublin, the very day they were to surprise the castle, and sent into England, where they had been confined in the Tower ever since. They had found means to break prison, and conceal themselves in a house in London. But unfortunately hearing a woman crying oysters in the street, one of them put his head out of window to call her, and was that instant espied by a servant of Sir John Clotworthy, who knew him, and immediately gave notice to the Lieutenant of the Tower. They were both seized again, and shortly after condemned and executed.

Since the famous William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been imprisoned at the end of the year 1640, we have had but little occasion to speak of him. It is time now to relate the catastrophe of his life. He was accused by the Commons of High-treason, December the 18th, 1640, and thereupon committed to the custody of the Black-Rod. The 26th of February following the articles of the impeachment were brought in against him, and then he was sent to the Tower. There he remained till October the 23d, 1643, when the Commons, having added ten fresh articles to the impeachment, he was ordered by the Lords to answer, the 30th of the same month. It would be too tedious to specify all the petitions he presented, and all the expedients, his council furnished him with, to cause his sentence to be deferred. It suffices to say, that he gained time till the 11th of November, 1644, on which day he spoke several hours together in his own defence.* But whether the Commons were afraid, their proofs were not sufficient for his condemnation, or the delays granted him by the Lords, gave them cause to think, they were inclined to save his life, they used the same method as in the case of the Earl of Strafford's; namely, a bill of attainder, which passed their House the same day the Archbishop made his defence before the Peers, with but one dissenting vote. The bill being sent to the Lords, they acquainted the Commons, that indeed they found the Archbishop guilty of the charge as to matters of fact, but desired some farther satisfaction in point of law, whether the matters amounted to treason. Whereupon the Commons communicated to them the reasons, whereby they pretended to prove him guilty of that crime. Upon which the Lords, the 4th of January, passed the bill of attainder, whereby it was ordained, he should suffer death as in cases of High-treason, and on the 6th, both Houses ordered he should be executed the 10th. On the 7th, the Lords, at a conference, informed the Commons of a pardon to the Archbishop from the King, dated the 12th of April, 1643, but it was over-ruled and rejected. The same day, the Archbishop seeing there was no remedy, petitioned the Lords, that the manner of his execution might be changed to beheading. He desired also, that some of his chaplains might be permitted to be with him before, and at, his death. The Lords very readily granted his two requests, but the Commons refused both, and sent him two ministers whom he did not ask for, with one of those he desired. The next day he presented a second petition to be beheaded, setting forth, that he was a Divine, Bishop, Privy-Counsellor, and Peer; whereupon the Commons were at length prevailed with. When he was upon the scaffold, he delivered a long speech, wherein, among other things, he insinuated, that he suffered for not forsaking the temple of God, to follow the bleatings of Jeroboam's calves, alluding to the schism of the Presbyterians. He said,—— "He had ransacked every corner of his heart, and thanked God, he had not found any sins there deserving death, by the known laws of the land. The King had been traduced by some for labouring to bring in popery, but, upon his conscience, he knew him to be as free from such a charge, as any man living, and held him to be as sound a Protestant, according to the religion established by law, as any person in the kingdom. He protested, he never endeavoured the subversion of the laws of the realm, nor never any change of the Protestant religion, into popish superstition. He had never been an enemy to the Parliaments, but did indeed dislike the mis-government of one or two——". After he had prayed, the executioner did his office at one blow. His friends were permitted to take his body and bury it in Alhallows-Barking-church. Such was the end of this famous prelate, who was one of the chief authors of the troubles that afflicted England; first, by supporting with all his power the arbitrary principles, which the court strove for several years to establish: secondly, by a too rigid observance of trifles in the Divine Service, and by compelling every one to conform thereto. All that can be said in his favour, is, that he believed in his own conscience, this rigidness was necessary.†

The same day the Lords passed the bill of attainder against the Archbishop, they passed likewise an ordinance, that the book of Common-Prayer should be laid aside, and the Directory established, which had been framed by the Assembly of Divines. Hereby the church of England was rendered, by public authority, completely Presbyterian, to the great satisfaction of the

* His trial lasted twenty days; beginning March 12, 1643-4, and ending July 29.

† The managers at his trial were, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Brown, Serjeant Wild, Mr. Nicholas, for the Commons; and his council were, Mr. Herne, and Mr. Chute. The sum of his charge was, "That he had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom of England, and instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary government." The chaplains he desired to have with him, were, Stern, Haywood, and Martin; those sent by the Commons, were, Stern, Marshal, and Palmer. He called his last speech a sermon, and began with a text, Heb. xii, 1, 2. In his printed defence, which he left behind him, he excuses himself in most particulars, by saying, that he was but one of many, who either in council, star chamber, or high commission, voted illegal things. His diary shows him to be superstitious, and a regarder of dreams. He was, in the main, a learned, sincere, and zealous man, humble in his private deportment, but withal, hot and indiscreet, eagerly pursuing trifles, as bowing to the communion table, sports on the Lord's day, &c. ——Among other works of piety and magnificence, this great prelate built a court at St. John's college Oxon: procured King Charles to give to the clergy in Ireland, all the impropriations then remaining in the crown: settled the impropriation of Cudsden on the Bishopric of Oxon: got Commendams annexed to the Bishoprics of the new foundation: obtained very ample charters for the universities of Oxford, and Dublin, and regulated the statutes of the former: founded an Arabic lecture at Oxford, and an hospital in Reading: set up a Greek press in London, &c.

Scots

Scots, and many of the principal members of both Houses.

As the King talked very much of the frequent offers, to persuade the people of his sincere desire of peace, and of the refusal of both Houses, they resolved to oblige him to explain more clearly, what he meant by peace, that the people might examine, whether he offered sufficient security.

During the campaign, it was no proper season for such a negotiation, by reason of the variety of accidents produced by the war. It was not till November the 20th, two days after the King's return to Oxford, that the two Houses sent him the propositions which had been prepared in the summer. They had sent to desire a safe-conduct for the commissioners, which the King had granted, but as to private persons, without one word to denote his considering them as the Parliament's commissioners. Though the two Houses were by no means pleased with such a safe-conduct, they accepted it and their commissioners repaired to Oxford, where the King arrived the day before. At the first audience, the King asked them, "Whether they had power to treat:" they answered, "No; their commission was only to receive his Majesty's answer in writing." The King replied, "Then a letter-carrier might have done as much as you." In all appearance, he had expected, that the two Houses would treat with him, without his owning them for the Parliament of England, in which he was much mistaken. He heard the propositions read with great attention and patience, and then receiving them from their hands, told them, he would give them his answer.

The Earl of Lindsey, who was with the King at Oxford, having sent his compliments to Holles and Whitelock, they two, with the consent of the rest of the commissioners, returned his civility by a visit. They found him indisposed, and in his bed; but he received them in presence of several Lords who were in his room. Presently after, the King came in, and had a long conference with them. He told them, "He knew that they were both desirous of a peace, and wished, that all the rest of the members were of their opinion; and therefore, says he, out of the confidence I have of you two, I ask your advice, what answer will be best for me to give at this time to your propositions, which may probably further such a peace, as all good men desire?" Whitelock answered, "The best and most satisfactory answer, I humbly believe, would be your Majesty's presence with your Parliament, and which I hope might be without danger to you." The King perceiving they did not care to speak their minds before so much company, said, "I desire you two to go into the next room, confer a little together, and set down in writing, what you apprehend may be fit for me to return in answer to your message." Whereupon they withdrew into another room, and by Holles's intreaty, Whitelock wrote down what was their sense in this matter, and what might be fit for the substance of the King's answer. But this he did, not in his usual hand, and without any name to it. The paper thus written being left upon the table, the King went in, and took it up immediately. No person was present, neither did the King admit any others to hear the discourse which passed between him and them. It was very extraordinary for these commissioners to confer in private with the King, unknown to their collegues, to whom they imparted nothing of what had passed between the King and them. Accordingly, shortly after, the Lord Savile, now made Earl of Sussex, who was in the Earl of Lindsey's room, when the King came in, and who returned afterwards to the Parliament, accused them publicly, of having held private conferences with the King. But as he was not able to prove what he advanced, the thing remained a secret, till Whitelock published it in his memorials, and even there we do not find the contents of the paper written with his own hand.*

The next day the King sent his answer sealed up to the commissioners; but they refused to receive it, unless they had a copy of it. The King denied it some time;† but at last gave them a copy. The substance of it was only to demand a safe-conduct for the Duke of Lenox and the Earl of Southampton, to carry his answer to the propositions. This paper was not directed to any person, nor the Parliament so much as named in it. They were prevailed with, however, on the supposition, that the two Houses would be at liberty to make what use of it they pleased. This paper being read at a conference of both Houses, the exceptions against the form and want of directions were highly debated; but at last, it was carried, to lay aside all objections, and ordered that the Earl of Essex should write to Prince Rupert to this effect: "That if his Majesty will send to the Parliament of England assembled at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, they would with all readiness grant a safe-conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton." The King was extremely loth to do this; but the affair being debated in his council, none opposed it but himself. Nevertheless, he could not be prevailed with, till after he was furnished with this expedient, to make a protestation against it in private, which should be recorded. After that, Prince Rupert's answer being worded as both Houses desired, the safe-conduct was sent to Oxford; and it was at length agreed that the commissioners of both parties should meet at Uxbridge: that the conferences should begin the 30th of January, 1644-5, and should last twenty days: that the propositions, as well on the King's as the Parliament's side, should be reduced to three heads, religion, the militia, and Ireland: that religion should be treated upon, three days together, then the militia three days more, and after that, Ireland, as many; which done, the affairs of religion should be resumed for three days, then the business of the militia, and lastly, Ireland for the same time. The King's commissioners were, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Kingston, the Earl of Chichester, and eleven others, among whom was Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Earl of Clarendon. Those for the Parliament were twelve in number, the chief whereof were the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Denbigh; and for Scotland the principal were, the Earl of Lowdon, the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and the Marquis of Argyle. The King's propositions were in substance the same with those he had given at Oxford, without any alteration as to the sense. The Parliament's were not much different from the Oxford ones, but more large and full. However, it was soon found impracticable to come to any agreement. After a negotiation of eighteen days, the King's commissioners desired, that his Majesty's propositions, particularly those concerning the cessation of arms, and the King's return to the Parliament, might be considered. The other commissioners answered, that when the two Houses should see the treaty likely to succeed, they would consent to prolong it. The two remaining days were spent by the King's commissioners, in trying to obtain a prolongation of the treaty, but they could not prevail. It must be remembered, that the King's aim was to gain time, for two principal reasons. First, as he was persuaded, that as long as the people had any hopes of peace, they would not easily be induced to find the Parliament the necessary supplies for the continuation of the war, and so the preparations of the two Houses would be retarded. The second was, that he rightly judged, the Parliament would not seriously think of executing their project concerning the army, whilst there should be

* Whitelock, in his speech to the House, when accused by the Lord Savile, says, the King pressed very much the unreasonableness of the propositions, particularly those concerning religion and the militia; but he was told, that unless he would grant them, it would be in vain to treat of any peace.

† And told them, "What is the answer to you, who are but to carry what I send; and if I send the song of Robin Hood, and Little John, you must carry it?"

any expectation of peace. The two Houses perceiving the King's intention, avoided the snare, and the conferences broke off upon the expiration of the twenty days.*

The House of Commons, or rather, a new party which had been formed in the House, waited only for this rupture, to execute a project, of which it will be necessary to speak here somewhat largely, since the execution thereof served for foundation to all the events which afterwards happened.†

Before the Parliament was assisted by Scotland, the war had not been much to their advantage. The successes of the two first campaigns were so far from answering their expectations, that very probably, without the assistance of the Scots, they would have been forced to make such a peace as the King desired. If in the third, the King had lost all the north, he had made himself amends, by gaining almost all the western counties, and, after the second battle of Newbury, he was still at Oxford, in condition to withstand his enemies.

* Many of the King's friends, and particularly the Earl of Southampton, went post from Uxbridge to Oxford, to press the King again and again upon their knees, to yield to the necessity of the times; and by giving his assent to some of the most material propositions that were sent him, to settle a lasting peace with his people. The King was at last prevailed with to follow their counsel; and the next morning was appointed for signing a warrant to his commissioners to that effect. But when they came early next morning to wait on him, with the warrant agreed upon over-night, they found his Majesty had changed his resolution, and was become inflexible in these points. This alteration was occasioned by a confident letter, dated February 3, which his Majesty received, a few hours before he was to sign, from the Marquis of Montrose, giving an account of the Earl of Argyle's defeat, and dissuading his Majesty from treating with his rebel subjects; because, as the Marquis affirmed, "He doubted not, but before the end of the summer, he should be able to come to his Majesty's assistance with a brave army."

† The following interesting correspondence between Charles and his royal consort, which was found in his Majesty's cabinet at the battle of Naseby, fought a few months after, and which the Parliament ordered to be printed and published, will furnish the reader with a correct idea of the King's real feelings and wishes, on the subject of peace.

THE QUEEN TO THE KING.

Paris, Jan. 6. Dec. 27, 1644-5.

"I understand that the commissioners are arrived at London; I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour, and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need: also, I do not see how you can be in safety without a regiment of guards; for myself, I think I cannot be, seeing the malice which they have against me, and my religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both; but, in my opinion, religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat: for if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholics, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland, or any other Catholic Prince, for they would believe you would abandon them, after you have served yourself."——

HIS MAJESTY'S LETTER TO THE QUEEN.

DEAR HEART, *Oxford, Dec. 1644.*

"Know (as a certain truth) that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged me so much the more, at all occasions, to shew my real intentions to peace; and likewise, I am put in very good hope, (some hold it a certainty) that if I should come to a fair treaty, the ring-leading rebels could not hinder me from a good peace: first, because their own party are most weary of the war, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in religion, and General against General in point of command. Upon these grounds a treaty being most desirable, (not without hope of good success) the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety. Amongst the rest, (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably concealable) the sound of my return to London, was thought to have so much force of popular rhetoric in it, that upon it a treaty would be had, or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantageous to me; yet, lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this, as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joined conditions with the proposition (without which this sound will signify nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace. Then observe, if a treaty at London, with commissions for both sides, may be had without it, it is not to be used, nor in case they will treat with no body but myself; so that the conditions save any aspersion of dishonour, and the treating at London, the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse into this treaty upon this subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble, which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours; and though I judge myself secure in thy thoughts, from suspecting me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thyself, this certain truth, that no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make me do any thing unworthy of thy love.——I conclude, by conjuring thee, as thou lovest me, that no appearance of peace, nor hopeful conditions of mine, make thee neglect to hasten succour for him, who is eternally thine."

TO THE QUEEN.

Jan. 1, 1644.

"I shall now tell thee, that the rebels are engaged into an equal treaty,——and that the distractions of London were never so great, or so likely to bring good effects as now. Lastly, that assistance was never more needful, never so likely as now to do good to him, who is eternally thine."

TO THE QUEEN.

DEAR HEART, *Oxford, Jan. 2, 1644.*

"——As for my calling those at London a Parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this is in general: if there had been but two (besides myself) of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a Parliament. Upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwise, and according it is registered in the council books, with the council's unanimous approbation."——

TO THE QUEEN.

DEAR HEART, *Oxford, Jan. 22, 1644.*

"——I believe thou wilt approve of my choice of treators; and for my propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last.

"Now upon the whole matter, I desire thee to shew the Queen and ministers there, the improbability that this present treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference, (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the rebels' propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little assistance by thy means will soon make them so; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable sum of money would do) they would be easily brought to reason."

THE QUEEN TO THE KING.

MY DEAR HEART, *Paris, Jan. 27, 1644.*

"Tom Elliot, two days since, hath brought me much joy and sorrow; the first to know the good estate in which you are, the other, the fear I have that you go to London. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsel, unless it be to hazard your person, to save theirs: but thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambassador of Portugal, dated in January, which comforted me much to see that the treaty shall be at Uxbridge. For the honour of God, trust not yourself in the hands of these people; and if you ever go to London, before the Parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are lost. I understand that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the army; if you consent to this, you shall be lost, they having the whole power of the militia, they have done and will do whatsoever you will. I received yesterday letters from the Duke of Lorraine, who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men. Dr. Goffe, whom I have sent into Holland, shall treat with him in his passage upon this business, and I hope very speedily to send good news of this, as also of the money; assure yourself, I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire, and that I will hazard my life, that is, to die by famine, rather than not to send to you. Send me word always by whom you receive my letters; for I write both by the ambassador of Portugal, and the resident of France: above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops, as the poor Catholics. Adieu."——

THE KING TO THE QUEEN.

Jan. 30.

"The treaty begins this day. I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety."

TO THE QUEEN.

DEAR HEART, *Oxford, Feb. $\frac{11}{21}$, 1644.*

"As for our treaty, there is every day less hopes than other, that it would produce a peace, but I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return; for I vow, that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within myself. The limited days for treating are now almost expired, without the least agreement upon any one article; wherefore I have sent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world; and I assure thee, that thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty, for my commissioners are so well chosen, (though I say it) that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which, upon my word, is according to the little thou so well rememberest, and in this not only their obedience, but their judgment concur.

"In short, there is little or no appearance, but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that in making peace, I shall ever shew my constancy in adhering

mies. The Scotch army, which having subdued all the north, was advancing towards the middle of the kingdom, was therefore what made the balance incline to the Parliament's side, and what, probably, was to give them the superiority in the fourth campaign, for which both sides were preparing. This aid came very seasonably, to establish the affairs of the Presbyterians, who were then all-powerful in the Parliament, and disposed of every thing as they pleased. They were the men who had most conduced to engage the kingdom in a war, and called in the Scots, because they could not hope to execute their designs, unless the Parliament's arms were victorious. But before we proceed, it will be absolutely necessary to make known these Presbyterians, who till then seemed to make but one and the same party, though in reality they consisted of two, very different from each other, both in principles and interests.

It is difficult to discover precisely, the first rise of the Independent sect or faction. Thus much is certain, their principles were very proper to put the kingdom in a flame. With regard to the state, they abhorred monarchy, and approved only a republican government. As to religion, their principles were contrary to those of all the rest of the world. They not only were averse to episcopacy, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy; but would not so much as endure ordinary ministers in the church. They maintained, that every man might pray in public, exhort his brethren, interpret the Scriptures, according to the talents, God had endued him with; whereas very often ministers were ordained without proper endowments, whilst those of many lay-men remained useless for want of external ordination. So, with them, every one prayed, preached, admonished, interpreted the Holy Scriptures, without any other call than what he himself drew from his zeal, and supposed gifts, and without any other authority than the approbation of his auditors.*

The Independents, after having lent their utmost assistance to diminish the regal-power, in hopes thereby to attain their end, the destruction of the monarchy; perceived at last, they should not be able, without great difficulty, to accomplish their design. The reason was, because neither the English, nor the Scotch, Presbytarians, had any inclination to establish a commonwealth, and because their whole clergy, who had a great influence in that party, were of the same principles. They judged therefore, it would be very advantageous to them, to destroy the clergy's authority, by intimating them to be unnecessary, and their vocation established upon no good foundation. Then it was that the Independent sect began to be formed with regard to religion; for there are no signs of it, till about the end of the year, 1644.

It is no wonder therefore, that from the beginning of this Parliament, the Independents had earnestly contributed to put it out of the King's power to preserve his authority but by a war, and to ruin the church of England. It is rather to be considered, that this was the natural consequence of their principles, and a very proper means to lead them to their end. The humbling of the King, and the destruction of the church of England, were two points that were necessarily to be gained, before the establishment of a commonwealth was endeavoured. It was not therefore proper, they should separate from the Presbyterians, as long as these last concurred with them in their design to gain these two points. For that reason, they readily consented to call in the Scots, and made no scruple to approve of the covenant, and whatever else was required by the Scots. The business then was to be able to resist the King, who had acquired some superiority, by the happy success of his arms. This was the common interest of the Presbyterians and Independents, who would have been equally ruined, if the King's party had prevailed.

Meanwhile, the Scotch army, in strengthening alike the Presbyterians and Independents against the King,

---

hering to Bishops, and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual Parliament. But as thou lovest me, let none persuade thee to slacken thine assistance for him, who is eternally thine."

C. R.

TO THE QUEEN.

DEAR HEART, *Oxford, Feb.* 19, 1644.

"I cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of the treaty, only the unreasonable stubbornness of the rebels gives daily less and less hopes of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours shall hinder thee from hastening, all thou may, all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the Duke of Lorraine's, concerning which I received yesterday good news from Dr. Goffe, that the Prince of Orange will furnish shipping for his transportation, and that the rest of his negotiations go hopefully on.

"As for trusting the rebels, either by going to London, or disbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I esteem the interest thou hast in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit."

TO THE QUEEN.

DEAR HEART, *Oxford, March* 5, 1644.

"Now is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to the present peace) of this treaty, but I am still confident, that I shall have very good effects of it: for besides that my commissioners have offered, to say no more, full-measured reason, and the rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach would light foully upon them. We have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the world, that the English rebels (whether basely or ignorantly will be no very great difference) have, as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the crown of England to the Scots, which besides the reflection it will have upon these rebels, will clearly shew, that reformation of the church is not the chief, much less the only end of the Scotch rebellion.

"But it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawful means to maintain it; I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, than hitherto thou hast had; it is, that I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit,) that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England, as soon as God shall make me able to do it, so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this business requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee, for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else but in this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us: and yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this, I trusting thee (though it concerns religion) as if thou wert a Protestant, the visible good of my affairs so much depending on it.

TO THE QUEEN.

DEAR HEART, *Oxford, March* 13, *O. S.*

"What I told thee the last week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed; and now if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault; for I confess, when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the treaty, (knowing there were great labouring to that purpose;) but now I promise thee, if it be renewed, (which I believe will not, without some eminent good success on my side) it shall be to my honour and advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions, (that is to say, our mungrel Parliament here) as of the chief causers, from whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having, suffered thee to be vexed by them; Wilmot being already there, Percy on his way, and Sussex within few days taking his journey to thee."

* The Independents, called at first Congregationalists, owed their rise chiefly to Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Sympson, and Burroughs, who transported themselves into Holland for liberty of conscience. From whence, upon the downfall of Episcopacy, they returned to England, and addressed the Parliament with an Apologetical narrative for disturbance and toleration. In this apology they declare, that "they consulted the Scriptures without any prepossessions: they look upon the word of Christ as impartially and unprejudicedly as men of flesh and blood are like to do in any juncture of time, they having no temptation to any bias." As to church government, they said, they confined themselves to Scripture, Precept, and Precedent, leaving room for alterations upon farther inquiry. Pursuant to these grounds they held a middle course between Presbytery and Brownism. The first they counted too arbitrary, the other too loose. Their main characteristic was, the disallowing parochial and provincial subordinations, and forming all their congregations upon a scheme of co-ordinacy. As to the manner of their service, they prayed publicly for Kings and all in authority: they read the Scriptures, and expounded the lessons upon proper occasions: they administered the sacraments: they sung psalms, and made collections for the poor every Lord's day, their public officers were pastors, teachers, ruling elders, (which were ecclesiastics) and deacons. As for church-censures, they had none but admonition and excommunication. The five above-mentioned independents, were all or most of them members of the assembly of Divines. Rapin seems to confound them with the Brownists. They were called Independents, from their declaring against the dependency of the churches. Which, as is said above, was their main characteristic.

confirmed

confirmed withal to the first, the superiority they had for some time employed. As long as the superiority lasted, it was almost impossible for the Independents to attain their ends. They judged it therefore absolutely necessary, to undermine the great power of the Presbyterians, not openly, for fear of being oppressed before they had laid their measures, but secretly, and by artifice. To that purpose, the leaders of this party, as Vane, Cromwell, Tate, Haslerig, and some others, began to make themselves very popular, and to express a great zeal for the public, in order to gain the goodwill of the people. They had their emissaries every where, who diligently aggravated the faults committed since the beginning of the war, as well in the administration of the government, as in the military actions, and insinuated, they were entirely to be ascribed to the private views of members of Parliament, who, possessing all the places and offices, were very unmindful to put an end to the troubles. That some of the Generals had designedly missed opportunities of fighting with advantage, and that, in a word, the greatest part dreaded nothing so much as a decision, either by arms or a good peace.

In support of these rumours which were spread abroad, Cromwell came to the Parliament at the end of the campaign, and publicly accused the Earl of Manchester, of not having done his duty at the battle of Newbury, and the affair of Dennington castle; insinuating a too speedy end of the war. The Earl answered by a memorial, which he presented to the Lords, and Cromwell thought not fit to prosecute his accusation, which was properly a preparative only to begin the execution of a greater project.

This public proceeding of Cromwell raised a suspicion, that he was one of the principal authors of the rumours which tended to render the people jealous of the Parliament. There was even a conference held at the Earl of Essex's, where it was considered, whether he should be arrested. But as the proofs appeared not sufficiently clear, it was resolved to wait till he should have laid himself more open. Probably, some of those who were present at this conference informed him of it, which made him hasten the execution of the project formed by himself and his friends.

This project was to exclude all the members of Parliament from enjoying any office or command military or civil. It is certain, that from the beginning of the war, the Parliament, in the distribution of posts, had not forgotten their own members, or rather, to say the truth, all the principal posts were possessed by the members of one or the other House. Hence sprung two great inconveniencies. The first, that as, since the breach with the King, the two Houses had ruled with an absolute sway, the members who had posts in the army, had so great influence there, that no man durst oppose their sentiments, or take notice of their faults and misdemeanors, which by that means were always unpunished. This had at length bred at the end of the last campaign those great dissentions between the Generals, which proved so prejudicial to the common cause. The second inconvenience was, that it was undeniably the particular interest of the members of Parliament to prolong the war; since the end of the troubles, whether it happened by a decisive battle or treaty, would strip them of their employ. This project was therefore founded upon reasons very plausible, and apt to make impression on the people. But withal, it was of great advantage to the Independents, in that the power of the Presbyterian party would be considerably lessoned, and they had so well laid their measures, that they were almost sure, the vacant posts would be filled with men of their party. This was the more feasible, as hitherto the Independents not having yet pulled off the mask, it was not easy to discover who were so, since they were still confounded with the Presbyterians.

To execute this grand project, the leaders of the Independents resolved to move two things in the Parliament. The first, to put the army under a new model; that is, to form new regiments of horse and foot out of the present troops, so that these would be still the same officers and soldiers, but new bodies otherways composed than before. The second, that the Parliament should pass an ordinance excluding the members of either House from enjoying or executing any office or command civil or military. The first was founded upon the necessity of putting an end to all factions and cabals, which might be formed in the several bodies of the army; the second, upon the necessity of demonstrating to the people, that the Parliament was not influenced by private views, but preferred the public good to the interest of their own members. But the Presbyterian members thereby lost at once all their posts and credit in the army. This was the true reason of the proceedings of the Independents, which however they carefully concealed. The other reasons were so plausible, that they did not question they would be very agreeable to the people, who were already disposed to approve them. And therefore it was thought, several members would not venture to contradict them, for fear of raising a suspicion of their acting from motives of interest.

On the 9th of December 1644, these motions were made in the House of Commons, at the time when the treaty of Uxbridge was preparing. The managers of the affair,* moved to take into consideration the state of the kingdom, the reasons why the war lasted so long; and the consequences of the treaty of Uxbridge, should it prove unsuccessful. This motion being approved, the House voted themselves into a grand committee, to debate upon these points. A general silence being kept for some time, Oliver Cromwell stood up at last, and spoke briefly to this effect:

"That it was now a time to speak, or for ever to hold the tongue: the important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying condition, which the long continuance of the war had already brought it into; so that, without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings like soldiers of fortune beyond sea, to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament. For what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament? Even this, that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands, and what by interest in Parliament, and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any; I know the worth of those commanders, members of both Houses, who are yet in power; but if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive, if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace. But this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander in chief upon any occasion whatsoever; for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of over-sights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs; therefore waving a strict enquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy which is most necessary. And I hope, we have such true English hearts and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother-country, as no members of either House will scruple to deny themselves, and their own private interests, for the public good; nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the Parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter."

Cromwell was seconded by others who spoke, like him, in a general manner, without making any particular

* The exclusion of the members from all offices, was moved first by Mr. Zouch Tate, who brought it in with a similitude of a boyle upon his thumb; and was set on by that party, who contrived the turning out of the Earl of Essex. He was seconded by Sir Henry Vane and others.

ticular proposition. At last Zouch Tate and Sir Henry Vane moved expressly to have all members of Parliament excluded from commands and offices. This motion was long debated, and at length approved by a majority of voices, and a committee was appointed to prepare an ordinance to that purpose. Two days after, this ordinance was brought into the House, and it was resolved, that the 18th of the same month should be set apart for a fast, to implore a blessing on this affair, as well as on the intended new model of the army, which had been also voted, though we could not find the day. The 14th of December this ordinance was again taken into consideration, and canvassed in a grand committee very seriously on both sides. The 18th the fast was kept, and the 19th the ordinance passed the House of Commons. It was called "The Self-denying ordinance," because the House in passing it, renounced their own advantages.

The affair however was not finished till the Lords had approved of the ordinance, to which they were by no means inclined. On the contrary, at a conference with the Commons, they urged several reasons against it. Whereupon, the 13th of January, the whole House of Commons went up to the Peers with a message to press them to pass the self-denying ordinance. Nevertheless they rejected it that same day.

Notwithstanding this, the Commons proceeded in forming a new model of the army, which they voted should consist, in the whole, of one-and-twenty thousand men, namely, six thousand horse, one thousand dragoons, and fourteen thousand foot: that the horse shall be divided into ten regiments; the dragoons into ten single companies; and the foot into ten regiments of at least twelve hundred men each. After that, they appointed Sir Thomas Fairfax to be general, son to the Lord Fairfax who commanded in the north. This done they passed an ordinance for raising money for the maintenance of the army which was to serve under the command of the new General, and on the 28th of January sent it up to the Lords for their concurrence.* The Lords scrupled to consent to several articles concerning the nomination of the principal officers. But as there were but few Peers, they were told, they would do themselves unspeakable prejudice if they pretended to oppose the resolutions of the Commons, and in short, that their concurrence was not necessary. In all appearance, this at length made the Lords pass the ordinance, without any amendments.

The 19th of February Sir Thomas Fairfax, being conducted to the House by four members, was complimented by the Speaker. After that, he delivered a list of the Colonels he had appointed, by virtue of a clause in his commission, among whom there was not a single member of Parliament. There was also upon this occasion some difference between the two Houses. But after several conferences, the Lords approved of the list the 18th of March.

A. D. 1645.] Thus the new model was compleated, and though the self-denying ordnance had been thrown out by the Lords, the Commons had now obtained, by empowering the general to nominate the officers of the army, the exclusion of the members of Parliament from all military posts. This made them hope, it would not be impossible to cause their ordinance to pass. And indeed, they resumed the debate of it, March 24, and on the 31st, it was sent up to the Lords for their consent, though they had already refused it. Then, the Earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester perceiving it would be in vain to strive against the stream, and that their House was not in condition to withstand the Commons, surrendered their commissions, and received the thanks of both Houses.† The next day, the 3d of April, the Lords passed the self-denying ordinance; and thus ended this affair, which had been depending four months.‡

As soon as Sir Thomas Fairfax had received his commission from the Parliament, he came to Windsor, his head quarters, and from thence sent commissioners wherever there were troops, to form the new regiments, and disband the supernumerary officers. No doubt, these commissioners, who were mostly general officers, they were either to continue or break, and Cromwell had framed in great measure these instructions, though he did not appear to be concerned. The Parliament undertook this reform in a very dangerous season. It was in April, when the King was preparing to take the field. If, unhappily, they had met with resistance in the troops, as many were apprehensive, and if this change had occasioned revolts, which might easily have happened by the instigations of the disbanded officers, they would have been without an army, at the beginning of a campaign, and consequently unable to withstand the King's forces. But they heard with pleasure, that every thing was effected with great tranquillity, and their orders every where perfectly obeyed.

The General remained at Windsor all April, not being able sooner to finish what was to be done, to prepare the army for action. During this time, he received a letter from the committee of both kingdoms, informing him, that the King had sent to Prince Rupert, to come and join him with two thousand horse. Wherefore, he was ordered to dispatch a party of horse towards Oxford to hinder this junction. And as the self-denying ordinance was not to take place till after

* This was to be done by the monthly sum of 44,955*l.* to be raised by assessment proportionably throughout the kingdom, every county being rated at a certain sum.

† And to sweeten the Earl of Essex, (as Whitelock expresses it,) an order was made for the better payment of 10,000*l.* per annum, formerly granted to him out of delinquents estates. Here ended (says Whitelock) the first scene of our tragic civil wars, in the exit of this brave person Essex, who being set aside, and many gallant men his officers with him, the King's party looked upon the new army, and new officers, with much contempt, and the new model was by them in scorn called the new Noddle.

‡ When it is considered, with what earnestness the Commons proceeded in the self-denying ordinance, we are apt at first to believe, either that the number of the Independents was very superior in the House, or that the members were very disinterested. But neither of these was the case. The Presbyterians ever preserved a superiority of number, which became still greater by the members excluded from their posts, who not being employed in the army or elsewhere, increased their party in the Parliament. As to the disinterestedness of the members, it is not to be imagined, that men who had till now expressed such a greediness, as to monopolise, and ingross to themselves all the places of trust and profit, should thus suddenly change from black to white, and sincerely desire to relinquish them. But the case was, they were attacked on their weak side, and so could vindicate themselves only by showing a disinterestedness, which might at least make it doubtful, whether it was through selfishness that they had engrossed to themselves all the offices and posts. The Independents, before they discovered their design, had taken care to prepossess the people with plausible reasons, that the Parliament was in danger of being entirely deserted, if they undertook to justify their conduct, and maintain their partiality. This certainly was what caused the ordinance to pass, though it was manifestly designed to ruin the Presbyterian party. For though their superiority of number in the Parliament did not cease, the Independents knew, that by having the army on their side, it would be in their power to obey the Parliament no farther than they pleased. Accordingly to this they bent all their endeavours, as soon as things were regulated as they had projected. The new general was reckoned a zealous Presbyterian, and by that the Parliament had been allured to chuse him. But Cromwell had such an influence over him, that he made him do whatever he pleased. He had artfully persuaded him, that his sole view was the welfare of religion, and the good of his country, and thereby prepared him to receive his counsels, and place an entire confidence in him. For though the Independent party began to show themselves very openly, they did not yet pretend to form a separate party from that of the Presbyterians, and it was more than a year before they appeared entirely unmasked. Cromwell especially, more than any other of this party, put on the appearance of a rigid Presbyterian, and seemed to intend only the firm establishment of Presbyterianism. This was necessary to preserve the confidence of the new general, and make him act according to his views, without discovering the end to which he meant to conduct him. But it was not yet time to make known his designs. There were then but two things absolutely necessary for the advantage of his party. The first, in new modeling the army, to order it so, that the officers, whom the Independents thought they could confide in, might keep their commissions, and those whom they considered as their enemies, might be cashiered. For as three armies were to be reduced into one, many officers would of course be dismissed. The second thing was, to prosecute the war more vigorously than hitherto, and endeavour more strenuously to disable the King to maintain it. It is evident, the designs of the independents could be executed but by the King's destruction. This was necessarily to be supposed, and consequently all risques were to be run to put a speedy conclusion to the war, as nothing could be more prejudicial to them than its continuation.

forty days, namely, on the 13th of May, the charge of this service was by the committee particularly recommended to Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

Cromwell departing from Windsor the 24th of April, met, near Islip-bridge, with a brigade of the King's horse, consisting of the Queen's, and three other regiments, and utterly routed them.* Then he marched to Sir Thomas Coggin's at Blechington, where Colonel Windebank, Secretary Windebank's son, kept a garrison for the King, and summoned the Colonel with a sharp message, who immediately surrendered. The King was so incensed at his cowardice, that he caused him to be condemned by a council of war, and afterwards shot to death. Cromwell gained some other advantages in those parts, but was repulsed in an assault upon Farrington.

After the Earl of Essex's disaster in Cornwall, the Parliament was very weak in the western counties. They had in Dorsetshire only Pool, Lyme, and Weymouth; in Devonshire, Plymouth alone, and that besieged, and in Somersetshire, only Taunton, closely invested by Sir Richard Greenvil, and in great distress. The Parliament, fearing to lose this important place, sent express orders to the General to march with his whole army, and raise the siege, not considering that the midland counties would be left defenceless, just as the King was going to take the field. Meanwhile, Fairfax, in obedience to the orders, began his march, the 30th of April, and on the 7th of May was beyond Salisbury.

The committee of both kingdoms having intelligence, that the King was on the 7th of May to head his army, perceived their error in sending all their forces into the west, and leaving the middle of the kingdom defenceless. Wherefore they dispatched with all speed an order to the general, which reached him at Blandford, to return, and send only a party to relieve Taunton. The General immediately obeyed, and detaching Colonel Welden with about five thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse to Taunton, returned back to Newbury, where he stayed some days to refresh his troops.

At the approach of the party sent to Taunton, Sir Richard Greenvil raised the siege of that place, where relief could not come more seasonably, so much was it pressed. But shortly after, General Goring came into Somersetshire with three thousand horse, given him by the King, when he heard Fairfax was marching to the west. Then, Greenvil joining him, they went together and laid siege again to Taunton, where the party that relieved the town were shut up.

During these motions of the Parliament forces, the King, on the 7th of May, took the field, and marched with about eight thousand men towards Chester, to relieve the place, besieged by Sir William Brereton. But he heard by the way, the siege was raised; and having nothing more to do there, marched to Leicester, which he took by storm the 30th of May.

Meantime, the Parliament perceiving the King was marching towards Chester, sent orders to General Fairfax to besiege Oxford. Accordingly Fairfax approached the city, and began the siege. But within a few days, the Parliament having intelligence of the taking of Leicester, were apprehensive, the King's design was to enter the associated eastern counties, and therefore ordered their General to raise the siege of Oxford, and follow the King. Fairfax therefore marched away on the 7th of June. As, very likely, a battle would quickly ensue, he wrote to desire the Parliament to dispense with Cromwell's absence from the House, and to order him to march to the army, and command the horse, which was readily granted. Thus, Cromwell who had been one of the most forward to pass the ordinance for the exclusion of the members of Parliament from all offices and posts, civil and military, was the only person that kept his seat in Parliament, and his command in the army. This would be a very honourable distinction for him, were there not room to suspect, it was owing to his own intrigues.

Meanwhile, the King was very uneasy. He was informed of the siege of Oxford, but did not yet know it was raised, and that the enemy was marching directly towards him. This made him resolve to move towards Oxford, in order to relieve a city of so great importance to him. To that end, he encamped at Harborough, whence he sent an express to General Goring, to order him to come and join him with all possible speed. Here it was he received intelligence, that Fairfax was drawn off from Oxford, and had been repulsed with great loss, in an assault upon Borstal house. His troops, as was usual with them, were so elated at this news, that they imagined the enemies to be in the utmost consternation, which ought to be improved by immediately giving them battle. The King himself was prepossessed with this notion, which made him contemn his enemies, and unfortunately induced him to advance to Daventry in Northamptonshire, in a belief it would always be in his power to fight when he pleased, and that his enemies would never dare to attack him. Otherwise, he might have retired to Leicester, and there quietly expected the three thousand men, Colonel Gerrard was to bring him from Wales, and Goring's three thousand horse from the west. As to Goring, an accident happened, which very much conduced to hasten a battle. Fairfax had sent a man to Oxford, who pretending to serve the King, had managed so artfully, that secretary Nicholas had entrusted him with a packet to General Goring, who was before Taunton. This man having discharged his commission, Goring thought he could not employ, to carry a letter to the King, a more trusty messenger than the person sent to him by Secretary Nicholas. He gave him therefore a letter for the King, wherein he told his Majesty, that he hoped to be master of Taunton in a short time, conjuring him not to engage, but to stand upon the defensive, for he did not question, in twelve or fourteen days to join him with the forces under his command. The King knew nothing of this letter which was brought to Fairfax. But it convinced the Parliament Generals of the absolute necessity of fighting, before this aid should come to the King.

Pursuant to this resolution, Fairfax continued to advance towards the King, who being better informed of the number and designs of his enemies, resolved to retire to Leicester. To that purpose, he began to march towards Harborough, where his van arrived, whilst the rest of the army was yet above two miles behind. That same night, he heard, the enemies were within six miles of Harborough, and indeed General Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, had now fallen upon some of the King's quarters, and taken several prisoners. Whereupon it was resolved at a council of war, held in the night, to march back and meet the enemy, considering the impossibility of going to Leicester, without exposing the rear to certain destruction. So, the King returning in the morning, the 14th of June, met the Parliamentarians, who upon news of his march, had drawn up near Naseby. Here was fought the fatal battle which decided the quarrel between the King and the Parliament.

Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the King's army, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. Sir Jacob Astley † led the main body of the foot, and the King was at the head of the reserve of horse. On the Parliament's side, the right wing of horse was commanded by Cromwell, the left by Ireton. General Fairfax, and Major-General Skippon, were both at the head of the main body, the first on the right, and the other on the left.

Prince Rupert began with charging the left wing, commanded by Ireton, and after a long conflict, wherein he met with great resistance, broke that body of horse, put them to flight, and chased them almost to Naseby town.‡ In his return, he lost some time

* Her Majesty's standard was taken, with two hundred prisoners.

† Lately created Lord Astley of Reading.

‡ Ireton had his horse killed under him, was run through the thigh, wounded in the face with a pike, and made prisoner, but found means to escape upon the turn of the battle.

in trying to become master of the Parliament's artillery. He even summoned the train, but, they being well defended with fire locks, and a rear guard, and he without foot, he could not execute his design.

At the same time, Cromwell was engaged in a very obstinate fight with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, but at length the King's horse took to flight, and were pursued about a quarter of a mile. After that, Cromwell leaving a party of horse to oppose the King's, in case they should rally, returned with speed to the field of battle, where his assistance was very much wanted by his friends.

The Parliament's foot were engaged with the King's, and began to be pressed in such a manner, that they were in great disorder. Cromwell, who was returned victorious, changed the face of the battle, by charging the King's infantry in flank, who could not stand so vigorous an attack. Fairfax and Skippon took advantage of this assistance to rally their troops, who had been roughly used at the beginning of the battle,* and at last, the King's foot were so routed, that there was no possibility of rallying them.

In the meantime, the Prince not being yet returned from the chace, the King was, with his reserve of horse, unable to charge Cromwell, who was stronger than himself, and was also re-joined by the party he had left behind. As soon as Prince Rupert was returned with his victorious horse, and had joined the reserve, the King used his utmost endeavours to persuade them to charge once more the enemy's horse, not questioning, that if he could put them to rout, he should afterwards easily vanquish the foot. But he could not prevail with them to make a second charge.† Fairfax, Skippon, and Cromwell, without losing time in pursuing the King's dispersed infantry, had speedily rallied their troops. They faced the King's horse, and prepared to receive, or to charge them. So, to renew the fight, the King must, with one single wing of horse, and his small body of reserve, have fallen upon the enemies army, which wanted only the wing that was routed. This the cavaliers clearly perceived, and was what hindered them from obeying the King's orders. At the same time, an accident happened, which induced them to take to flight, or furnished them with a pretence. The Earl of Carnewarth, seeing the King, notwithstanding the unwillingness of his own troops, bent upon charging the enemies, rode up to him and said, "Sir, will you go upon your death in an instant?" And withal, laying hold of the King's bridle, turned his horse to the right. The King's cavalry seeing his Majesty's horse turned, without knowing the cause, took occasion to disband, and rode upon the spur without looking behind them. So, the King was also forced to retire, and leave his enemies masters of the field.‡ All his infantry were so dispersed, that the enemies took as many prisoners as they pleased. He lost his whole train of artillery, all his bag and baggage, with his cabinet, wherein were his most secret papers and letters, which the Parliament were so cruel, as to print and publish, particularly his letters to the Queen concerning the treaty of Uxbridge, of which the reader has seen some extracts. After this, he was never more able to bring a considerable army into the field. It is said, there were not slain on the King's side above six hundred men, but amongst them were more than one hundred and fifty officers; and besides, the enemy took above five thousand prisoners.

The King, and Prince Rupert, that same day retreated by Leicester to Ashby de la Zouch, whence, after a few hours' refreshment, they continued their march with their horse in very great disorder to Hereford, where they parted. Prince Rupert hastened to Bristol, to prepare the city for a siege, there being great likelihood, it would quickly be attacked. The King retired into Wales, and made some stay at Ragland castle, not despairing of being able to form another army in those parts. The reason is unknown, why he was bent, contrary to all appearance, upon raising a new army in Wales, and the neighbouring counties, instead of marching into the west with his horse, where he had a strong body of troops, under the command of Goring and Greenvil, with which he might have long continued the war.

Meanwhile, Fairfax advanced towards Leicester, which surrendered by capitulation, four days after the battle of Naseby. Then, he marched with all speed to the west, where it was very necessary to lead the army, as well to relieve Taunton and the party there shut up, as to reduce to the obedience of the Parliament the western counties, which were all for the King. At the approach of the army, Goring raised the siege of Taunton, and in a few days was defeated by Fairfax at Langport, who killed many of his men, took twelve hundred horses, and fourteen hundred prisoners.§ This victory was followed with the taking of Bridgewater, Bath, and Sherburn, after which, Fairfax laid siege to Bristol.

It was universally expected, Prince Rupert would, according to custom, perform wonders in the defence of this city, which was strongly garrisoned and well stored with provisions and ammunition. The Prince himself had sent the King word, he hoped to hold out at least four months. Yet, the Parliament army approaching the lines drawn about the place, and repulsing several sallies, the Prince, upon the first summons, agreed to capitulate. Fairfax came near the lines the 23d of August, and the capitulation was signed the 10th of September, before the besiegers had approached the walls. When the King heard, Prince Rupert had surrendered Bristol in this manner, he was so enraged, that he ordered him by a letter to depart the kingdom, and revoked all his commissions. The Prince published a manifesto in vindication of his conduct. But he did not sufficiently demonstrate the necessity of surrendering so quickly a place of such importance.‖

Immediately after the taking of Bristol, Fairfax marched again to the west, as well to relieve Plymouth, which was still invested, as to subdue all those counties to the Parliament. But to prevent the mischiefs incurred by the Earl of Essex the last year, for want of an open communication with London, he ordered Cromwell, with a party of horse, to take such places as might hinder this communication. He also detached Colonel Rainsborough to besiege Berkley castle, the only garrison the King had between Gloucester and Bristol. He went himself to Bath the 17th of September, where he remained till his orders were executed.

Cromwell with his party appeared before the castle of the Devizes in Wiltshire. The governor, Sir Charles

* Fairfax had his helmet beaten off, but however, he rode up and down bare-headed. Whereupon, Colonel Charles D'Oyley told him, he exposed himself to too much danger, and offered him his helmet, but he refused it, saying, "It is well enough, Charles." Then he ordered him to charge a body of the King's foot, which stood unbroken in the front, whilst he would do the same in the rear, and meet him in the middle. Which was done accordingly. In this charge Fairfax killed the ensign, and one of D'Oyley's troopers took the colours, bragging, he had killed the ensign, for which D'Oyley chiding him, Fairfax said, "Let him alone, I have honour enough, let him take that honour to himself." Skippon being wounded in the beginning of the fight, was desired to go off the field, but he answered, "He would not stir as long as a man would stand."

† Here the Lord Clarendon makes the following remark. This difference, says he, was observed all along in the discipline of the King's troops, and of those under Fairfax and Cromwell, that though the King's troops prevailed in the charge, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge the same day. Whereas the other troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received new orders. The same thing, he says, was not observable in the forces under Essex and Waller.

‡ Whitelock says, that on the Parliament's side were wounded and slain above a thousand officers and soldiers; and, that the King showed himself this day a courageous General, keeping close with his horse, and in person rallying them to hot encounters. This battle was fought in a large fallow field, on the north-west side of Naseby, about a mile broad: there are now no signs of a fight remaining, excepting some few holes, which were the burying places of dead men and horses. This town is said to stand upon the highest ground in England. June 17, the day after the Parliament received the news of this victory, both Houses were feasted by the city of London at Grocer's Hall, and after dinner they sung the 46th Psalm, and so parted.

§ Whitelock says, there were nineteen hundred prisoners, and two thousand horse taken.

‖ He came afterwards to the King at Newark, to vindicate himself. And in November, obtained a pass from the Parliament to go beyond sea.

Lloyd made a show of defending himself, but capitulated on the morrow. The same day Cromwell detached Colonel Pickering, who became master of Laycock house, where was a garrison of the King's kept by Colonel Bovile. After that, Pickering re-joined the army, as did Colonel Rainsborough, Berkley castle having been surrendered upon articles.

September the 26th, the General called a council of war, where it was resolved that the army should march farther westward. But as the Prince of Wales, the King's eldest son, was in those parts with Goring's, Greenvil's, and some other troops, which altogether made a considerable body, the General was apprehensive of meeting many difficulties in this expedition, and therefore thought it incumbent upon him to secure the communication with London. To that purpose, he deached Cromwell once more with orders to endeavour to take the castle of Winchester, and then Basing house, which had been twice besieged in vain.

Cromwell, with his wonted activity, marching directly to Winchester, took the city and castle upon articles. A complaint being made by some of the garrison that they were plundered at their marching out, he caused strict inquiry to be made after the offenders, of whom six were found and condemned to die. After lots cast for their lives, he, whose lot it was, was executed; and the other five were sent to Sir Thomas Glemham, Governor of Oxford, to be punished as he pleased. But the governor sent them back with an acknowledgement of Cromwell's justice and civility.

From Winchester, Cromwell advanced to Basing, the house of the Marquis of Winchester, which he having fortified, kept garrison there for the King.* As he refused to surrender, he was so suddenly and briskly assaulted, that the place was carried by storm, and himself taken prisoner and sent to London. After that Cromwell took Langford house near Salisbury which surrendered upon articles.

In the meantime, Fairfax pursuing his march into the west, came before Tiverton. It was resolved at a council of war to storm the town; but whilst they were consulting how to order the attack, a round shot happened to break the chain of the draw bridge, which falling down, the soldiers, without waiting for orders, possessed themselves of the town.

After that, the army marched towards Exeter, the capital of Devonshire. But as this place was strong and well garrisoned, and the season not proper for so important a siege, it was resolved to block it up till it could be invested in form.

Whilst the General was employed in ordering the blockade, which held till December, and in building necessary forts on the east side of the Ex, the Prince of Wales had time to assemble all the King's forces in those parts, with the militia of Cornwall, and form an army of eight thousand men. Fairfax hearing, the enemies were preparing to march against him, resolved to prevent them, by advancing towards them. He made such speed that he surprised a brigade of their horse, commanded by the Lord Wentworth, and took between three and four hundred horses. This obliged the King's Generals to proceed with more caution, raise the blockade of Plymouth to strengthen their army, and pass the Tamar, in order to retire into Cornwall.

The Prince's retreat into Cornwall gave Fairfax opportunity to attack Dartmouth, a sea port of great consequence, which he took by storm, the season not allowing him to besiege it in form.

After all these advantages, Fairfax returned to Exeter, and finished the blockade of that city. Shortly after, he left the command of it to Sir Hardress Waller, and went himself to meet the Lord Hopton, who was marching to the relief of Exeter, at the head of seven or eight thousand men. General Goring being withdrawn into France, the Prince of Wales had given the command of his army to the Lord Hopton. Fairfax approaching the enemies, heard the Lord Hopton was intrenched in Torrington, to oblige him either to attack him thus advantageously posted, or to keep the field in a very rainy season, in a country where there were few villages to shelter his army from the weather. Fairfax having weighed the inconveniences of leaving the enemies thus intrenched, resolved to attack them. To that end, he advanced within a mile of Torrington, and possessed himself of some posts, with a design to engage on the morrow. But in the night Hopton's troops attempting to dislodge the Parliamentarians, and these last receiving assistance from the army, the battle began insensibly, and held almost the whole night. In short, after a long conflict in the dark, the Lord Hopton's intrenchments were forced, and himself obliged to retire with his horse, and only four or five hundred of the four thousand foot, he had before the battle. Thus all his infantry were slain or taken, or so dispersed, that it was not possible for those that escaped to re-join their General, who had retired into Cornwall.

After this fresh victory, Fairfax judged, his main business was, utterly to destroy the enemies' horse that escaped from Torrington, consisting of three thousand, and to hinder them from joining the King. Instead therefore of returning to Exeter, he resolved to march into Cornwall with his whole army. He set out the 23d of February, and seizing the passes of the river Tamar, left there strong guards, as also in all places where he thought the enemies might try to pass, in case they intended, as was very likely, to join the King. The Lord Hopton finding, Fairfax was advancing towards him, and not being able to fight him, quitted Bodmin, where he had posted himself, and retired farther westward. Meanwhile, Fairfax still advanced, taking all possible care to guard all the passes by which the enemy might escape him.

The approach of the Parliament army caused the Prince of Wales to resolve to secure his person by retiring into Scilly, where he safely arrived.† Meanwhile, the Lord Hopton was extremely embarrassed, and the more, as the people of the county who before were devoted to the King, began to alter their minds, and even voluntarily offered themselves to General Fairfax, to block up the passes, and hinder the King's forces from escaping. At last, the Parliament army approaching Truro, where Hopton had his head quarters, Fairfax sent and offered him honourable terms if he would capitulate. Whilst he waited for an answer, he still advanced towards the enemies, and beating up one of their quarters, took three hundred horses. At length Lord Hopton seeing himself surrounded on all sides, and despairing to escape, agreed to capitulate. By the treaty, signed the 14th of March, it was agreed, that all the forces under the command of the Lord Hopton, should within six days be disbanded, with leave to go beyond sea, or to their homes. That all the horses and arms should be delivered to General Fairfax, and upon performance thereof, each trooper should receive twenty shillings, or his horse. That passes should be given to such as desired to go beyond sea, upon their promising not to bear arms any more against the Parliament of England.‡ The Lords Hopton and Culpepper retired to Scilly before the treaty was signed. Thus the King's army in the west was entirely dispersed. After this, Fairfax returned before Exeter, which was surrendered upon articles the 9th of April, 1646. With the taking of this city, Fairfax ended his western expedition, which could not be more glorious to him, or more advantageous to the Parliament, since the King had neither towns nor forces left in the country.

* He had withstood several sieges, declaring, that if the King had no more ground in England but Basing House, he would adventure as he did, and hold it out to the last extremity. For which reason the house was called Loyalty.

† The King his father, ordered him, as soon as he should find himself in probable danger of falling into the enemy's hands, to retire into Denmark, or some other place beyond sea. The Prince, on April 16, 1646, embarked for Jersey, where he landed the next day, and from thence passed into France.

‡ Those that stayed in England, as well foreigners as others, were to bind themselves for ever; but those that went beyond sea only for three years, not to bear arms against the Parliament.

It is time now to see what passed in the rest of the kingdom, whilst the Parliament army was employed in reducing the western counties.

The Scotch army having taken Newcastle in October 1644, divided themselves into two bodies, one whereof besieged Carlisle, which surrendered upon articles in June 1645.

The other part of the army durst not engage in a siege, because the Marquis of Montrose, who served the King in Scotland, having had great success there, it was to be feared, the King would think of sending him reinforcements. Wherefore the Scots always kept in readiness to oppose it. This became still more necessary after the battle of Naseby, there being great likelihood of the King's resolving to join the Earl of Montrose with his cavalry. Besides, the Scots by keeping thus in the middle of the kingdom, prevented the King from making new levies in those parts. At last, after the taking of Carlisle, the two bodies being re-joined, they besieged Hereford about the end of July. But after having in vain carried on the siege above a month, they raised it in the beginning of September.*

After the siege of Hereford was raised, the Scotch army retired into Yorkshire, complaining openly of being entirely neglected. Whereupon, the Parliament assigned them thirty thousand pounds, provided they appeared before Newark upon the 1st of November, and ordered that the eastern association should pay them fourteen hundred pounds a week. The Scots agreeing to these terms, the siege of Newark was begun about the end of October 1645, and lasted till May 1646.

In July, Pontefract castle was surrendered to the Parliament, and four days after, that of Scarborough capitulated also, having maintained a long siege under Sir Hugh Cholmley, in which Sir John Meldrum was killed.

We left the King in Wales after the battle of Naseby, where he was employed in seeking means to raise a new army. As to the disposing of his person, it was hardly possible for him to come to any resolution, before he knew what his enemies intended to do after their victory. But when he saw General Fairfax, with his army, engaged in the western counties, he departed from his retreat with his cavalry, consisting of three thousand horse. As the Parliament had but very few forces in the midland parts, the King came without danger to Lichfield, and from thence, entering the associated eastern counties, took Huntingdon, where he met with a great booty, after which he came to Oxford. From thence he departed in three days, taking with him what forces could be spared, and marched to Cambden.

The Parliament, thinking the King's design was to relieve either Bristol or Hereford, which were both besieged at the same time, gave orders to Major-General Pointz and Colonel Rossiter to assemble what forces they could, and diligently attend the King's motions. Accordingly they drew together about two thousand horse, and posted themselves between the King and Oxford. But at the same time, the Scots having raised the siege of Hereford of their own accord, the King marched thither, where he continued till the 20th of September. Here he received the news of the surrender of Bristol.

About the same time, Colonel Jones, with Adjutant-General Louthian, who served the Parliament, besieging Beeston castle, drew off thence on a sudden a party of thirteen hundred men, and went to surprise Chester, in which they partly succeeded. But as they had not sufficient forces to become masters of the rest of the city, they were content to keep what they had got, expecting Sir William Brereton, who was to bring them a supply. As the King then expected a body of troops from Ireland, which could land but at Chester, this city was of so great consequence to him, that he immediately marched to dislodge the enemies from the part which they had in their power. He was no sooner on his march, but Pointz closely followed him, and overtook him on Routon heath within two miles of Chester, which obliged him to turn against his pursuers. The fight at first was rather obstinate, but as the King had five thousand, and Pointz only two thousand men, Pointz was briskly repulsed, and thrown into great disorder. Just as the King thought himself entirely victorious, Jones and Louthian came from Chester with eight hundred men, and falling upon the King's rear, forced them to turn against them. This gave Pointz time to rally his men, and then charge the King's army, who finding themselves at once attacked before and behind, were at last utterly routed, with the loss of six hundred men, and a thousand prisoners. The Earl of Lichfield, and some other officers of quality were killed. It was with great difficulty that the King, with the remains of his army, got into Denbigh castle in Wales, where he continued some time; after which, with a party of about three thousand men, he came to Newark in Nottinghamshire. He stayed in that town, till fearing to be besieged by the Scots, who were approaching, he went away by night, and safely arrived at Oxford the 6th of November, there being no other remedy left than to make a peace with the Parliament.†

But this peace was not easy to be made. The King would have willingly granted, in the present situation of his affairs, something of what he had before refused, but did not like to yield all. The Parliament, on their side, were willing to make peace, like conquerors, and by aggravating the terms instead of rendering them more tolerable. They deigned not to make the least reply to several of his messages, in which he desired a passport for commissioners. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him, that they were preparing bills for him; and his passing them would be the best pledge of his inclination towards peace: in other words, he must yield at discretion. He desired a personal treaty, and offered to come to London, upon receiving a safe conduct for himself and his attendants. They absolutely refused him admittance, and issued orders for the guarding, that is, the seizing of his person, in case he should attempt to visit them. A new incident, which happened in Ireland, served to inflame the minds of men, and to increase those calumnies with which his enemies had so much loaded him, and which he ever regarded as the most grievous part of his misfortunes. After the cessation with the Irish rebels, the King was desirous of concluding a peace with them, and obtaining their assistance in England: and he gave authority to Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of all the penal laws enacted against Catholics; together with the suspension of Poining's statute, with regard to some particular bills which should be agreed on. Lord Herbert, created Earl of Glamorgan (though his patent had not yet passed the seals) having occasion for his private affairs to go to Ireland, the King considered, that this nobleman, being a Catholic, and allied to the best Irish families, might be of service; he also foresaw, that farther concessions with regard to religion might probably be demanded by the bigoted

* The Earl of Leven, their General, published, on this occasion, an apology, wherein, among other things, he said, that for six or seven months past, they had received but one month's pay. That they had been promised to be supplied with all things necessary for a siege; in which they had been extremely disappointed, since they had received but three pieces of cannon, with fifty ball to each; that they had but few horse, and being informed the King was marching towards them with three thousand horse, it was impossible to continue the siege. Lastly, that General Lesley was obliged to go into Scotland with his whole party of horse and dragoons, to oppose Montrose.

† After all these repeated disasters, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exercise her rigour. Lord Astley, with a small army of 3000 men, chiefly cavalry, marching to Oxford, in order to join the King, was met at Stow, by Colonel Morgan, and entirely defeated; himself being taken prisoner. "You have done your work," said Astley, "and may now go to play, unless you chuse to fall out among yourselves." It was the same Astley who, before he charged, at the battle of Edge-hill, made this short prayer, "O Lord! thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget thee, do not thou forget me." And with that rose up, and cried, "March on boys!" There were certainly much longer prayers in the Parliamentary army; but we doubt if there were so good a one.

Irish; and that, as these concessions, however necessary, would give great scandal to the Protestant zealots in his three kingdoms, it would be requisite both to conceal them during some time, and to preserve Ormond's character, by giving private orders to Glamorgan to conclude and sign these articles. But as he had a better opinion of Glamorgan's zeal and affection for his service, than of his capacity, he enjoined him to communicate all his measures to Ormond; and though the final conclusion of the treaty must be executed only in Glamorgan's own name, he was required to be directed, in the steps towards it, by the opinion of the Lord-Lieutenant. Glamorgan, bigoted to his religion, and passionate for the King's service, but guided in these pursuits by no manner of judgment or discretion, secretly, of himself, without any communication with Ormond, concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenny, and agreed, in the King's name, that the Irish should enjoy all the churches, of which they had ever been in possession since the commencement of their insurrection; on condition that they should assist the King in England, with a body of ten thousand men. This transaction was discovered by an extraordinary accident. The Archbishop of Tuam, president of Connaught, going into Ulster about some affairs, met with a body of Irish troops marching to besiege Sligo, and joined with them.* When they came near Sligo, the garrison made a sally, charged the troops that were come to besiege them, utterly routed them, and killed the Archbishop of Tuam. In his pockets it was that authentic copies, attested and signed by several Bishops, were found, of the fore mentioned treaty, and of the King's warrant to the Earl of Glamorgan, which were sent to the Parliament.

The Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Digby, then in Ireland, and some others, having soon heard that the secret was discovered, to clear the King, arrested the Earl of Glamorgan, for having, in a presumptuous manner, worthy of severe punishment, exceeded his orders, and concluded a treaty with the Irish.† This is what the King also insinuated in his message to both Houses of the 19th of January 1645-6.‡

Whilst the King was in this state, the court of France sent Montreuil into England, on pretence of procuring a peace between the King and the Parliament: but their real intention was, that Montreuil should endeavour a private agreement between the King and the Scots.§ This could not be done without the King's entirely forsaking the Bishops, and consenting to the establishment of the Presbyterian government in the church of England. The court of France and the Queen of England hoped, this project would succeed the more easily, as it was agreeable to good policy, and the King's interests. The King would thereby have gained not only the Scots, who had a strong army in England, but also the city of London, and the majority of the members of Parliament, who, for the most part, insisted upon the other points in dispute, only to obtain this the more easily. This was properly the sole means of balancing or surmounting the great power of the Independents, who were in a manner masters of the army. If the King had taken this course, it is evident, it would have turned greatly to his advantage: whereas, at the time it was proposed to him, he was entirely without remedy. But his zeal for episcopacy would not suffer him to accept of such an overture, and he told Montreuil, he would never consent to it. About the same time the Queen sent Sir William Davenant to persuade the King to join with the Presbyterians, as the only means to free himself from his sad condition. The moment Davenant offered to speak to him, he commanded him to hold his tongue, and never more appear in his presence.

Meanwhile, Montreuil, at his arrival in England, being possessed with the notion, that the King would not refuse the course, which was to be proposed to him, had made some overtures to the Scotch commissioners residing in London, and found them inclinable to treat with the King: but after he had spoken and written to his Majesty several times, he found him immoveable. The Scots, on their part, being no less inflexible, constantly refused to promise the King any assistance, unless he consented to the abolition of episcopacy.

Whilst this affair was delayed by this difficulty, and Montreuil gone to the Scotch army before Newark, to try to find some medium favourable to the King, Fairfax was advancing with his army, so that the King was in danger of being inclosed in Oxford. The King's principal concern then was to deliver himself from this imminent danger. Though he had till that time demurred upon going to the Scotch army, on account of the fore-mentioned difficulty, he saw no other remedy when the danger approached. The Scotch officers had made him some general promises, founded probably upon their hopes of his consenting at last to their demands. He sent them word of his intention to come to the army, and they promised to receive him and provide for his safety. The King having no time to lose, that he might not be invested in Oxford, departed privately, and came to the Scotch army, the 5th of May, 1646.‖

The King had, on the 13th of April, imparted by letter to the Marquis of Ormond his design to throw himself into the arms of the Scots, in these words: "Having lately received very good security that we and all that do or shall adhere to us, shall be safe in our persons, honours and consciences in the Scotish army; and that they shall really and effectually join with us, and with such as will come in to us, and shall employ their armies and forces to assist us to the procuring of a happy and well grounded peace———If it shall please God that we come safe thither, we are resolved to use our best endeavour, with their assistance, and with the conjunction of the forces under the Marquis of Montrose, and such of our well affected subjects of England as shall arise for us to procure, if it may be an honourable and speedy peace."

The Marquis of Ormond sent a copy of this letter to General Monroe, who commanded the Scotch troops in Ireland, and Monroe communicated the same to the commissioners of the Parliament in Ulster, by whom copies of the letter, as printed at Dublin, were sent over to both Houses, and it was read in the House of Commons on Saturday June the 9th. Whereupon, on

* He attended the army at this time to visit his diocese, and put in execution an order for the arrears of his Bishopric, granted to him by the council of Kilkenny.

† The King's protestation to Ormond ought to have the greatest weight. His words are these:—"Ormond, I cannot but add to my story, that, upon the word of a Christian, I never intended Glamorgan should treat any thing without your approbation, much less without your knowledge. For besides the injury to you, I was always diffident of his judgement (though I could not think him so extremely weak as now to my cost I have found,) which you may easily perceive in a postcript of a letter of mine to you."

‡ Rushworth has inserted in his collections two intercepted letters of the Earl of Glamorgan, one to his Countess dated in January, acquainting her that his imprisonment did not give him much uneasiness. In the other of the 26th of February, directed to the King, he told him, that he was at Waterford providing shipping to transport six thousand foot immediately, and that four thousand more were to follow them by May. These troops came not however into England, probably by reason of the change in the King's affairs, which were in a melancholy situation after the battle of Naseby.

§ Lord Clarendon affirms, that the Scots were under terrible apprehensions of being disappointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the Independent army, and therefore wished for nothing more, than an opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the King.

‖ According to Lord Clarendon, the King was not resolved, when he left Oxford, whether he should go to London or the Scotch army. He says, the King went away the 27th of April, attended only by John Ashburnham, groom of his bed chamber, and one Mr. Hudson a divine, who understood the by-ways. It was nine days after his leaving Oxford before it was known where the King was. It seems, the King had wasted that time in several places, purposely to be informed of the condition of the Marquis of Montrose, and to find a secure passage to get to him, which he exceedingly desired. Hudson, upon his examination, said, that the King crossed the country, was at Henley, Brentford, and Harrow on the Hill, where he stayed some time, and was almost persuaded to come to London; and then he went to St. Albans, and so to Harborough in Leicestershire, where the French agent was to have met him with some horse, to conduct him to the Scots army, but came not; from thence the King went to Stamford, where he lay one night; and from thence to Downham in Norfolk, where he stayed at a petty ale-house, from April 30, to May 4; that he passed sometimes by the name of Hudson's tutor, sometimes doctor, and sometimes as Ashburnham's servant.

the Monday following, the Scotch commissioners delivered a declaration to the House of Peers, positively denying, that their army had made any treaty with the King to assist him. Thus we see on one side, the King affirming he had received very good security that the Scots would declare for him; and on the other, the commissioners of Scotland denying that their army had made any treaty with the King to assist him.

In all probability the Scotch commissioners and the general officers of their army had given Montreuil hopes, they would declare for the King, but on condition he would renounce episcopacy; without which condition, it is not easy to conceive, that the commissioners or officers should have made such a promise, which was not in their power; since they could not engage contrary to the express tenour of the covenant, and without positive orders from those who governed Scotland. However this be, Montreuil was recalled and disgraced, and, as there is reason to believe, it was for engaging the word and honour of the King his master and the Queen Regent upon so trifling a foundation. Lord Clarendon says, this envoy's disgrace was an artifice of Cardinal Mazarin, who had a mind to conceal the insincerity of the court of France.

The King being come to the Scotch army,* which had been before Newark ever since November, the General represented to him, that it would be proper, for the safety of his person, for the army to march northward, near the borders of Scotland. But as this could not be done before the taking of Newark, he desired him to order the town to surrender. The King, persuaded by this reason, gave orders to the Lord Bellasis the governor to surrender Newark, which was done accordingly; and immediately after the army began to march, and came with the King to Newcastle.

May the 18th, the King sent a message to both Houses, recommending to them the speedy settling of religion, and the taking to that end the advice of the divines of both kingdoms assembled at Westminster. Concerning the militia, he agreed that the two Houses should name all the commissioners for that trust for the space of seven years, and after the expiration of that term, a regulation should be made by the King and both Houses.

He offered the like for the kingdom of Scotland.

Concerning the wars in Ireland he said in general, he would do whatever was possible for him to give full satisfaction therein.

In a postscript, he offered to disband his forces at Oxford, and consent that the fortifications of that city should be demolished, provided honourable terms were granted to the garrison, which done, he would give the like order to the rest of his garrisons.

The next day, the King wrote to the city of London, to acquaint them, that he was ready to comply with the Parliament in every thing.

June the 10th he pressed the two Houses by another message to send their propositions for peace, that he might give them all just satisfaction; and desired again the liberty to come to London and treat in person with them.†

The 25th of the same month, the Scotch commissioners presented a memorial to the Parliament, whereby they consented, that the propositions for peace, which had been communicated to them, should be sent to the King, with protestation however, that they were not all agreeable to their sentiments. They desired also, that money might be sent to their troops both in England and Ireland, their accounts stated, and all armies speedily disbanded.

Meanwhile, the Scotch army at Newcastle, understanding, it was reported at London, that they had made a treaty with the King to assist him against the Parliament, published a declaration, protesting, it was always their intention to maintain the covenant between the two kingdoms, and that they abhorred all public and private ways tending to violate the same, or to create a misunderstanding between the two nations. At the same time, they presented a petition to the King, beseeching him to take a speedy course for settling of religion in England, according to the example of the best reformed churches, and for establishing the privileges and liberties of his kingdoms; expressing their great grief for his not having yet authorised and signed the covenant. They also prayed him to comply with the counsels of his Parliament. The King returned to this petition a general answer, without entering into particulars.

The general assembly of the kirk of Scotland wrote likewise to the Parliament of England, the city of London, the assembly of divines, to desire them to promote the work of reformation, according to the tenor of the covenant.

July the 6th the House of Commons voted, that England had no further need of the Scotch army, and that the commissioners of Scotland should be desired to withdraw their forces.

Some days after, the two Houses sent propositions for peace to the King at Newcastle, which were little different from those debated at Uxbridge.‡

The Parliament's commissioners presented the propositions to the King the 24th of July, and as they declared to him, they were limited not to stay above ten days at Newcastle, the King gave them his answer the 1st of August.

" That the propositions tendered to him did import so great alterations in government, both in the church and kingdom, that it was very difficult for him to return a particular and positive answer to them, before a full debate; wherein those propositions, and the necessary explanation, true sense, and reasons thereof, were rightly weighed and understood; which he found the commissioners were not authorised to admit, nor able to give him. That he desired to come to London with freedom, honour, and safety, where he might have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained to him. ' That he assured them, that as he could never condescend to what was absolutely destructive to that just power, which, by the laws of God and the land, he was born unto, so he would cheerfully grant and give his assent to all such bills, as should be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own in particular.' "

* The Parliament received on May 6, intelligence of the King's repairing to the Scots army, and thereupon immediately voted, that his Majesty should be sent to Warwick castle.

† The Parliament, in their debates about the propositions for peace to be sent to the King, voted, that Sir Thomas Fairfax should be made a Baron, and have 5000*l.* a year settled on him; and his father made an Earl. Oliver Cromwell a Baron, with 2500*l.* per annum. The Earls of Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, and Pembroke, be made Dukes. The Earl of Salisbury and Manchester, Marquisses. The Lords Roberts, Say, Willoughby of Parham, Wharton, and Howard, Earls. Mr. Holles, a Viscount. Sir Henry Vane, senr. a Baron. Sir William Wall, a Baron, with 2500*l.* per annum. Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Sir Philip Stapleton, Barons, with 2000*l.* per annum each. Sir William Brereton, to have 1500*l.* and Skippon, 1000*l.* per annum.

‡ The thirteenth article, being an addition to the former claims of both Houses with respect to the militia:

" That during the space of twenty years, the two Houses of Parliament alone, shall have power to arm, train, and discipline, the militia; and that neither the King, or his successors, shall, during the said space of twenty years, exercise any power over them.

" The like for the kingdom of Scotland, if the estates of the Parliament there shall think fit.

" That moneys be raised for the maintenance of the said forces for land service, and of the navy, as the Lords and Commons shall, during the said space of twenty years, think fit; and that the said forces be employed, ordered, and disposed, as the two Houses shall appoint, and not otherwise: that they shall have power,

" I. To suppress all forces raised without their authority and consent.

" II. To suppress all foreign forces, who shall invade any of the English dominions.

" III. To conjoin the forces of England with those of Scotland.

" That after the expiration of the said twenty years, no person, under any pretence whatsoever, shall any way dispose of the English forces, without the consent of both Houses.

" That after the said twenty years, if any bills are passed by the Lords and Commons, for the safety of the kingdom, and the royal assent is not given to them within such time as the House of Peers shall judge convenient; that such bills shall nevertheless be as valid to all intents and purposes, as if the royal assent had been given thereunto."

Before

Before the King delivered his answer to the Parliament's commissioners, the Earl of Loudon, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, made a speech to him, to persuade him to accept the propositions. His reasons were the stronger and more pressing, as drawn from the necessity the King was in. But his Majesty was not pleased to take his advice. This answer being read in the Parliament the 12th of August, was the cause of great joy to those who wished not for peace.*

The same day, the Scotch commissioners presented a memorial to the Lords, offering to send their army into Scotland, upon reasonable satisfaction for their pains, hazards, charges, and sufferings. They also said, since his Majesty had not agreed to the propositions presented to him, it was necessary to consult with them what was to be done, as well concerning the King's person, as the peace and safety of the two kingdoms. Both Houses returned them thanks, and appointed a committee to examine their accounts.

Some days after, they delivered in an account of arrears, amounting to two millions. The Parliament disputed several articles, and deducted such sums as the Scots had received. The Scots allowed the justice of some of these deductions, but could not agree to others.† At length, it was agreed to allow them four hundred thousand pounds, one half to be paid upon their removal out of the kingdom, and the other at certain times. This is the fatal bargain, whereby the Scots are considered to have sold the King to the Parliament of England, as indeed they delivered him up some months after.

The thing that has chiefly rendered odious this pretended sale of the King's person, is the tragical death of that Prince, of which it was the occasion. But it must be considered, it was so only by accident. Nothing was at that time farther from the thoughts, both of the Parliament and the Scots, than putting the King to death. The Independents, mortal enemies of the King, Scots, and Presbyterians, were the men who twice took away the King from the Parliament, by means of the army, and cut off his head, at the very time the Parliament and Scots were labouring to restore him, as will hereafter appear. If therefore this pretended sale was the occasion of the King's death, it was the innocent occasion, and its effects ought not to be imputed to the Parliament, such as it was at that time, since it is certain, neither the two Houses, nor the Scots, did then carry their views so far, nor could possibly foresee what afterwards happened.

In the beginning of September, the Duke of Hamilton, who had been released out of Michael's Mount in Cornwall, upon the Parliament's taking that place, came to Newcastle with some other Scotch commissioners, and earnestly pressed the King to accept the propositions for peace. If the Scots had bargained, by a secret treaty, to give up the King to the Parliament, this proceeding seems to have been prejudicial to them, since the King's compliance would have voided their bargain with the English, and deprived them of the promised sum.

The King answered the Duke, and the other commissioners, "That he only desired to be heard, but could not obtain his desire. That he did not give a denial to the propositions, but only desired to be rightly informed of what was demanded, and that his reasons might be heard."

In another answer given them in writing the next day, he said, "He should be content to restrain Episcopal government to some few dioceses, as Oxford, Winchester, Bristol, Bath and Wells, and Exeter; leaving all the rest of England fully to the Presbyterian government, Papists and Independents. In a postscript, he required them to give a particular account of this offer to the General Assembly in Scotland; assuring them, that he would punctually make good his last letter to them. And hoped, that they, as church-men, would not press him to comply with what was against his conscience, till he should have leisure to be better informed."

Some time after, he sent a letter to the Duke of Hamilton, who had retired, finding the King immovable, telling him, that the two Houses thought of getting him into their hands, by saying, they did not intend to make him a prisoner, but only to give him an honourable guard; but for his part, he would not be left in England, when the Scotch army retired, without a visible force upon his person. Probably therefore, when he demanded leave to come to London to treat in person with both Houses, he meant, that he should remain at perfect liberty.‡

At last, on the 18th of September, it was voted, that the King's person should be disposed of as both Houses of Parliament should think fit. But as he was not properly in their power, they appointed a committee to confer with the commissioners of Scotland upon that head.

In one of these conferences, the Lord Loudon, chancellor of Scotland, endeavoured to show, that one of the two kingdoms had no more right than the other, to dispose of the King's person, because he was equally King of both, and that, besides, they were united in the same interest by their covenant. The English commissioners answered, that the King being in England, it belonged to the English to dispose of his person, and though he had retired to the Scotch army, this army being only auxiliaries, and in the pay of England, it was the same as if he had retired to the Parliament's army, whereof the Scotch forces were a part.

In another conference, the same Lord strenuously continued to prove, the principle advanced by him in the former, that the disposing of his Majesty's person did belong to both kingdoms, and therefore, that he ought not to be disposed of by any one of the kingdoms, but by the joint advice of both. His Majesty's going into Scotland being of most dangerous consequence to both kingdoms, he offered to their Lordships' consideration, his Majesty's coming to London, or some of his houses thereabouts.

Nothing seems more apt to confirm the suspicion of the Scots being engaged to deliver the King to the Parliament, than this artifice of the Lord Loudon to that end. For though he supposed, the King would be in one of his houses with honour and safety, he knew the contrary, and that the Parliament would always be master of his person. Consequently it was the same thing as delivering him to the Parliament, the condition that he should be there with honour and safety, being only dazzling terms, to which the Parliament might

* After his arrival at Newcastle, the King was particularly attentive to the behaviour of their preachers, on whom all depended. It was the mode of that age to make the pulpit the scene of news; and on every great event, the whole scripture was ransacked by the clergy for passages applicable to the present occasion. The first minister, who preached before the King, chose these words for his text: "And behold all the men of Israel came to the King, and said unto him, why have our brethren, the men of Judah, stolen thee away, and have brought the King and his household, and all David's men with him, over Jordan? And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, because the King is near of kin to us; wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? Have we eaten at all of the King's cost; or hath he given us any gift? And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, we have ten parts in the King, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had, in bringing back our King; and the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel." But the King found, that the happiness chiefly of the allusion had tempted the preacher to employ this text, and that the covenanting zealots were nowise pacified towards him. Another preacher, after reproaching him to his face with his misgovernment, ordered this psalm to be sung:

Why dost thou, tyrant boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise?

The King stood up, and called for the Psalm which begins with these words,

Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray;
For men would me devour.

The good natured audience, in pity to fallen Majesty, shewed for once greater deference to the King than to the minister, and sang the Psalm which the King had called for.

† They acknowledged the receipt of 700,000l. in monies, provisions, assessments, quarters, and otherwise.

‡ His words in the letter to Hamilton are, "unless I remain a free man, and that no attendant be forced upon me upon any pretence whatsoever."

always give what sense they pleased. But the commissioners of Scotland having caused an account of what passed at these conferences to be printed, with the speeches to prove that England had no more right than Scotland to dispose of the King's person, the Commons were so offended at it, that they ordered all the copie to be siezed, and the printer committed. They made likewise a long answer to the account of the Scots, and sent it to the Scotch commissioners, who refused to receive it, because it came only from one of the two Houses; but the Commons ordered it to be printed and published.

The dispute, real or feigned, hindered not the Scotch army from preparing to return home. But as they were to be paid two hundred thousand pounds, before they began their march, they might yet have staid several weeks in England, had not the city of London engaged to advance that sum. It was however upon two conditions: the first, that the lenders should have 8l. per cent. interest for their money; and that the payment of the principal should be secured out of the receipts of the grand Excise, and the sale of Bishops' lands.* For this reason both Houses made haste to sequester these lands, and appoint a committee to expose them to sale.†

The 16th of December, the Parliament of Scotland took into consideration what was to be done with the King's person. After great debates, it was at length resolved, that the commissioners residing at London should demand of both Houses, from the Parliament of Scotland, that the King might return to London with honour and safety. That they should declare to them, that the Parliament of Scotland was resolved to support monarchy in the person of the King and his just title to the crown of England.

But the next day the commissioners of the General-Assembly presented to the Parliament a paper, intituled, "A solemn and seasonable warning to all estates and degrees of persons throughout the land," wherein, they represented the heinous crime of forsaking the covenant, and endeavouring a breach with England. They maintained, that such projects were infused into some by the devil, and that they who attempted to sow division between the two nations, and violate the covenant, which was their chief strength, could not but be enemies to the state. Then, as to the disposal of the King's person, they said, that so long as his Majesty did not approve in his heart, and seal with his hand, the league and covenant, he could not be received in Scotland without exposing the kingdom to fresh troubles. That, on the other hand, to dispose of the King's person without the consent of the Parliament of England, was openly breaking the covenant, and incurring the guilt of perjury. That it was very true, they were engaged by the covenant to defend the King's person, but it was no less true, that the end of the union between the two nations, was to settle religion in both kingdoms, according to the tenor of the covenant, and that these two engagements could not be separated. That for these reasons they desired, that fresh endeavours might be used to prevail with his Majesty to give satisfaction to both kingdoms, that he might return to his Parliament of England, as a reconciled Prince to satisfied subjects, in order to establish a happy peace.

This paper being read in the Parliament, the matter was again taken into consideration, and at last after a great debate it was resolved, "That his Majesty should be desired to grant the whole propositions; and in case of refusal, the certifications given to his Majesty should be put in execution, namely, to secure the kingdom without him;" and it was declared, "That the kingdom of Scotland cannot lawfully engage themselves for his Majesty: he not taking the covenant, satisfying as to religion, &c. Nor would they admit him to come into Scotland, unless he gave a satisfactory answer to the whole propositions lately presented to him in the name of both kingdoms."‡

The King having notice of this resolution from the Earl of Lanerick, sent a message to both Houses at Westminster, to desire again to come to London, or any of his houses thereabouts, upon the public faith and security of his Parliament and the Scotch commissioners, that he should be there with honour, freedom, and safety, in order to have his doubts cleared and his difficulties explained.§ Assuring them, that he would most willingly condescend to them in whatsoever should be really for their good and happiness. Praying them to consider, it was their King who desired to be heard, which if refused to a subject by a King, he would be thought a tyrant for it.

Upon this message the Lords voted, that the King might come to Newmarket, there to remain with such attendants about him, as both Houses should appoint: but the Commons voted, that Holmby-house in Northamptonshire would be the fittest place for his Majesty, to which the Lords consented. Then it was resolved, "That his coming to Holmby should be with respect to the safety and preservation of his Majesty's person, and in defence of the true religion, according to the covenant."

The 5th of January, 1646-7, a committee of both Houses was appointed to go down and receive the King from the Scots. For though both Houses had declared, he should be at Holmby with honour and safety, they meant not to leave the manner to his choice, and whatsoever expressions they might use, it was to be in effect a real imprisonment. January the 23d the Parliament's commissioners came to Newcastle, and on the 30th of the same month the King was delivered to them. That very day the Scotch army began to march towards Scotland, and the King arrived at Holmby the 16th of February.

Hitherto the Presbyterians and Independents had acted as in concert, because it was equally advantageous to them, or rather necessary, that the King should be disabled from hurting both. When the King was reduced to his present condition, in the hands of a Parliament consisting of two parties, which had equally plotted his ruin, these two parties who had till then seemed united, began to be openly divided, each plainly perceiving, this was the critical time to make the advantages gained in common upon the King, to turn to their own benefit. The Presbyterians were superior in the Parliament and in London: but the Independents were masters of the army, and by that their party was grown very considerable. The Presbyterians' grand affair was therefore to disband the army, under colour of its being unnecessary, since the war was ended; and the Independents' grand affair was, to binder this disbanding, which could not but be fatal to their party. It is certain, the Parliament, being almost wholly Presbyterian, seriously thought of discarding the Independents, and particularly the Generals and officers of that party. As they were obliged to send an army into Ireland, their project was to take for that service such soldiers out of the foot, horse, and dragoons, as should be willing to go thither, form them into companies, and give them officers, they could confide in. After that, their intent was to disband the rest of the forces, keeping only as many as should be necessary for the garrisons. Had

* The other condition was, that such as had formerly contributed upon the propositions for horse, moneys, and plate, might advance the like sum upon this proposition, and be secured as above. At the same time that the Bishops' lands were given in as security for the repayment of the foresaid sums, the whole order of Archbishops and Bishops was abolished, by an ordinance of October 9.

† Money came in so fast upon those securities, that the whole sum of 20.000l. was made up by the 27th of November. And on the 16th of December, it was sent out of London in thirty-six carts.

‡ It was carried but by two votes in the Scottish Parliament, that the King shou'd not come into Scotland.

§ Intelligence concerning the final resolution of the Scottish nation to surrender him, was brought to the King whilst he was playing at chess. Such command of temper did he possess, that he continued his game without interruption; and none of the by-standers could perceive, that the letter, which he perused, had brought him news of any consequence. The English commissioners, who, some days after, came to take him under their custody, were admitted to kiss his hands; and he received them with the same grace and cheerfulness, as if they had travelled on no other errand than to pay court to him. The old Earl of Pembroke in particular, who was one of them, he congratulated on his strength and vigour, that he was still able, during such a season, to perform so long a journey, in company with so many young people.

this project succeeded, the Independents' party would have been irrecoverably ruined. But the Parliament had to deal with men who were too wise to give them time to take all their measures. Oliver Cromwell, a person of uncommon valour, great parts, and profound dissimulation, was then at the head of the Independents, though he affected still to pass for a rigid Presbyterian. He was present at the sermons of the Presbyterians with a seemingly extraordinary devotion. He made use of certain Scripture-expressions after the manner of the Presbyterians, and spoke not a word which might betray him to be Independent, either as to religion or policy. In short, he had found means to persuade General Fairfax, that his sole aim was to promote the glory of God, and the welfare of religion and the kingdom. He had in the army a great number of officers who acted by his directions, so that when he did all, he seemed to do nothing. Among these officers were his son-in-law, Ireton, Rainsborough, Fleetwood, Lambert, Harrison, and several others, who took care to strengthen the Independent party, by means of many subaltern officers, who endeavoured to make proselytes among the soldiers, and were so many emissaries in every regiment. Cromwell was member of Parliament for Cambridge, and withal Lieutenant-General of the army, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance, from which he had been exempted. After the war was over, he constantly attended the House, and thereby might be informed of the project against the army, or rather against the Independent party in general. He seemed to approve of the measures designed by the Commons, namely, of forming an army for Ireland,* and disbanding the rest of their forces. But at the same time, by means of his emissaries, he raised in the army a spirit of discontent and mutiny. This was the more easy, as the officers and soldiers perceived, they were going to be discarded, as the most were little able to return to their old professions, after four or five years spent in war. There were in the army many officers, who before the wars had been only tradesmen, and saw with great regret they were going to be reduced to quit their employ which gave them authority, and resume their former trades, to be mixed as before, with the meaner sort of people. These men, as well as those gained by the Independents, were ready for any undertaking, not to be obliged to alter a course of life they had now led for some years. Cromwell therefore, and the officers of his party, improving this disposition, diligently inspired the army with discontent against the two Houses, wherein they succeeded but too well.†

The first spark of this flame appeared in March 1647, at the time when the Parliament was seriously thinking of executing the fore-mentioned project. The Commons had notice, that some officers of the army had prepared a petition to be presented to the General, and communicated to the House. In the petition was described, the unhappy condition, most of the officers and soldiers would be in, when the army should be disbanded. The articles desired, were: "Indemnity for actions as soldiers; satisfaction for arrears; no pressing for horse or foot; relief of widows and maimed soldiers; pay till disbanded." This petition flew from regiment to regiment, and there were officers very diligent to procure subscriptions. Whereupon, the Commons sent an order to the General, to make strict inquiry after the authors of this petition, and put a stop to the conferences held in the army, to sow discord and division. The General answered, that in obedience to the order of the House, he had assembled the officers, and questioned them about the petition: that they had expressed a very deep sense of their unhappiness, in being misunderstood in their clear intentions, which, as they had protested, were no other than, by way of petition, to represent to him, their General, those inconveniencies, which would necessarily befall most of the army after disbanding; but withal had assured him, they would wholly acquiesce in whatsoever he should judge reasonable to offer, or the House to grant on their behalf. The General added, that the House might be better informed, he had sent Lieutenant-General Hammond, Colonel Hammond, Colonel Lilburn, Lieutenant-Colonel Pride, and Lieutenant-Colonel Grimes, who, he hoped, would give a full and candid account of the whole matter.

Accordingly, these officers were examined before the House; after which, the Speaker, in dismissing them, told them what sense the Houses had of the petition, and desired their care for suppressing the same, or any other of the like nature for the future. The same day, the House ordered the General to publish a declaration, at the head of every regiment, importing, that the petition tended to put the army into a mutiny, and obstruct the relief of Ireland, and that the promoters thereof should be proceeded against as enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public peace.

The Commons could not do any thing more agreeable to those, who had formed the project of sowing division between the army and the Parliament. This declaration gave occasion to the officers and soldiers to complain openly, "that though they had fought for the liberty of the subjects of England, they were denied the liberty of the subject to petition, even to their General, and merely in things relating to them as soldiers, meddling neither with church nor state-affairs, and withal, submitting it to the General's judgment for approbation or correction, as he saw cause."

Meanwhile, the two Houses intending to execute their resolution, of sending forces into Ireland in the manner they had projected, appointed a committee for that purpose, and gave them power to form the regiments of this army, and commission such officers as they should think fit. At the same time, they resolved to encourage those that voluntarily offered to serve in Ireland, and ordered the commissioners speedily to execute their discharge.

The commissioners ‡ repairing to Saffron Walden, the General's head-quarters, gave notice to the officers to assemble the next day. Then the Earl of Warwick, head of the committee, made a speech, exhorting them to accept of the terms offered by the two Houses. When he had done speaking, Colonel Lambert answered in the name of all the officers, and desired to know, what satisfaction should be given them concerning four articles, namely, arrears, indemnity, maintenance in Ireland, and conduct? Sir John Clotworthy replied, that the Parliament had taken care of all, except the point of indemnity, for which an ordinance would be ready in a few days. The officers demanded, what Generals were to command them in Ireland? It was answered, Skippon and Massey, were named for General and Lieutenant-General; but for other commanders, the Parliament had not yet come to any resolution. Then the officers cried out with one voice, that if the command was given to Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skippon, they were ready to march. The commissioners seeing, the officers insisted upon a thing not agreeable to the intentions of the Parliament, desired such as would enlist in the service of Ireland, to come to their lodgings in the town, where they would give them farther satisfaction; but there came very few. At the same time, the rest prepared a declaration, which was presented to the

---

* The forces voted for that service were seven regiments of foot, three thousand horse, and twelve hundred dragoons, and 40,000*l.* About this time, Colonel George Monk took the covenant, and engaging in the Parliament's service, was sent into Ireland.

† The Earl of Essex's death, which happened on the 14th of September, 1646, made it easier for Cromwell to carry on his designs. For doubtless, had he lived, he would have given some check to the fury that was about to prevail. Lord Clarendon says, it was reported he was poisoned; and that Cromwell and his party were wonderfully exalted with his death. On the 27th of November following, the Earl's horse and effigies were cut to pieces and defaced in Westminster Abbey; and the like barbarous action was done to Camden's tomb there.

‡ The Earl of Warwick, Lord Dacres, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, and Major-General Massey. The establishment agreed on by the Commons then was, Officers of horse: a Colonel 12*s.* a day, and for four horses 8*s.* A captain 10*s.* and two horses 4*s.* A Lieutenant 5*s.* 4*d.* and one horse 2*s.* A Provost-Marshal 3*s.* 4*d.* and two men 4*s.* Corporals and Trumpeters, each 2*s.* 6*d.* Foot officers: a Captain 8*s.* a day. A Lieutenant 4*s.* An Ensign 2*s.* 6*d.* Serjeants, Drummers, Corporals, each 1*s.*

commissioners, wherein they said, "They had reason to complain, that they had received no positive answer to their desires: that however, those who in their own persons did not engage for Ireland, would be ready to promote the service: that if the same conduct under which the army had been so prosperous in England, was continued, it would conduce much to their personal engagement in the service of Ireland: that this was the general sense of the officers of the army."

The General, who hitherto seemed very desirous to serve the Parliament, ordered the officers who had a mind to serve in Ireland, to draw out as many of their men as would engage in that service. But the number was very small, and the Parliament was informed, there were officers who took great pains to dissuade the soldiers from this service, and cherish the discontent of the army.

A. D. 1647.] At last, their boldness was such, that some of the principal officers scrupled not to appear at the head of the mutineers, in a declaration presented to both Houses. This declaration was signed by Thomas Hammond, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, seven Colonels, seven Lieutenant-Colonels, six Majors, and one hundred and thirty officers, Captains, and Subalterns.

The same day this declaration was presented to the House, the Commons voted, that the army should be disbanded, and the soldiers have six weeks pay when dismissed.

Some days after, Major-General Skippon, who was come to command in Ireland, and being returned from Barnstable had taken his seat in the House, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance, which was no longer regarded, reported, that a letter was presented to him the day before by some troopers, in the behalf of eight regiments of horse, and produced the same, which was immediately ordered to be read. These regiments complained of the many late scandals, and false suggestions, against the army, and their proceedings, and alledged the reasons why they could not engage in the service of Ireland, under the conduct of the intended Generals. The troopers, who brought the letter, were called in and examined, concerning the meaning of some expressions in the petition: to which they replied, that the letter being a joint act of those several regiments, they could not give a punctual answer, being only agents, but if they might have the queries in writing, they would carry them to the regiments, and return their answers.

Though the declaration of the officers was in itself very reasonable, it seemed more like an insolent accusation against the Parliament, than an humble apology. This convinced the Commons, that the evil was greater than was at first imagined; wherefore they passed several votes to give some satisfaction to the army, and to hinder the increase of their discontent. At the same time, Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, were ordered to go and acquaint the army with what the House intended to do for the troops, and that a considerable sum was preparing for their pay, before they were disbanded.

The Generals sent by the Parliament being come to the army, and calling the officers together, read to them the votes passed in their favour; after which, Skippon made a speech, to engage them to serve under him in Ireland. The officers answered, as this affair concerned the soldiers as well as the officers, it was necessary to inform them of it, in order to know their resolution.

Meanwhile, the Parliament ardently desiring to disband the army, after that which was to serve in Ireland was formed, ordered, that before they were disbanded, a fortnight's pay should be added to the six weeks, formerly voted, and that six weeks' pay more should be given to those who would engage for the service of Ireland.

The troopers and soldiers being informed of what the Generals, sent by the Parliament, had reported to the officers, answered, that as the whole army was concerned, they desired to discuss the affair, in a committee chosen by themselves, out of every company and troop, who should report the desires of each regiment to a committee of General officers; to be by them contracted into a method, and if general, communicated to both Houses, as the sense of the army. It is easy to perceive in this answer, a secret direction of some of the leading mal-contents, who intended by this means to be masters of the soldiers' resolutions, and compose in the army, a sort of Parliament, in opposition to the two Houses. This demand, of which, perhaps, the consequences were not by many foreseen, being granted, the soldiers chose two out of every company, who were called Agitators, to debate upon the matters which were to be brought to the council of officers, called the council of war, consisting of Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, and Captains. Among the Agitators there were few or none above the degree of an Ensign. These two councils were afterwards continued, to the great prejudice of the Parliament and great advantage of the heads of the Independent party, who easily found means to admit only such as were devoted to them, or not of sufficient ability to discover their designs.

The two Houses persisted in their resolution to disband the army, excepting those who would engage to serve in Ireland. To effect this the more easily, it was ordered, that their arrears should be speedily audited, and good security given them, for so much as should not be paid off upon disbanding: that none that had voluntarily served in the wars, should be pressed for any service beyond sea: that an ordinance should be drawn for providing for widows, maimed soldiers, and orphans. After that, the two Houses settled the manner of disbanding the army, namely, that the regiments should be disbanded at different times and places, and that the money to pay them what was promised, should be sent to the several rendezvous. But the army openly complained of the intention to pay them but two months' arrears upon disbanding, when there was no less than fifty-six weeks' due to them.

Shortly after, the General called a council of war at Bury, at which were present above two hundred officers; and communicated to them the votes of both Houses, advising them to a compliance with the order of Parliament. But the officers answered, they did not think these votes satisfactory to the soldiers;

I. Because eight weeks' pay was not a considerable part of what was due to them.

II. Because no visible security was given for the arrears.

III. Because nothing was done for their vindication, and they being declared enemies, and sent home, might hereafter be proceeded against as enemies, unless the declaration were recalled.

At the same council a petition was produced and read, which had been that morning presented to the General, in the name of the private soldiers of the army, complaining, "that it was intended to disband them without redressing their grievances, and in a strange, unheard of manner, one regiment apart from another, which posture could not but render them suspicious to the kingdom. And therefore they desired the General would be pleased to appoint a rendezvous for the army, and use his utmost endeavours, that they might not be disbanded before their grievances were heard, and fully redressed, which if not done, they should be necessitated, though unwillingly, to do things that might be prevented, by granting their just desires."

The council of war having examined this petition, believed, or feigned to believe, it was absolutely necessary to take notice of it, for fear, if they saw all their desires rejected, they should have a rendezvous without their officers. It was therefore resolved, that the quarters of the army should be contracted to prevent disorders, and for the greater readiness to suppress them. It was manifest, the design of the petition, and the council of war's resolution, was, to break the Parliament's measures. It had been resolved to separate the army, and disband them at different times and places, in order to do it the more easily; and the army, on the

contrary,

contrary, had contracted their quarters, so that they could rendezvous in a very short space, without any possibility of being prevented by the Parliament.

The General failed not to acquaint the two Houses with the result of what had passed in the council of war, intreating them to proceed with caution, that the army might not be incensed, and a breach made, which could not but be very dangerous. He wrote the same day to the Speaker of the House of Commons, that he was extremely uneasy concerning the disposition of the army, and heartily wished some means could be found to appease the distractions, which was not in his power. That he was forced to yield to many things to prevent wórse inconveniences.

Whereupon, the two Houses recalled the commissioners, who were now gone to disband the army, and sent for the money which had been lodged in several places for the payment of the soldiers. But three thousand five hundred pounds, carrying to London, was stopped by Colonel Rainsborough's men at Woodstock. It was very evident, the army was unwilling to be disbanded; and the Parliament, not being in a condition to command obedience, were forced to stay till a more convenient season. Their intention was to divide the army, under colour of the necessity of sending forces into Ireland, and, the better to engage the soldiers to leave the army, it was voted, that a month's pay should be given to those that would quit their regiments, and serve in Ireland. They hoped by this means to form an army equal or superior to that which refused to obey, wherein they were greatly mistaken. Meanwhile, to give some satisfaction to the army, it was ordered by the Commons, that the subordinate officers and soldiers should have all their arrears deducted for free quarters according to the usual rules of the army. That the commission-officers should have one month's pay more added to the two months' arrears formerly voted. Lastly, that the declaration against those that drew up the first petition should be razed out of the Journal of the House. But all this was not capable of contenting the army.

It was easy to perceive, that every thing tended to a breach between the Parliament and the army. The Parliament accused the army of mutiny and sedition,* and the army pretended, that the Parliament, under colour of sending forces into Ireland, thought of forming a new army, to become masters of the kingdom, when the old one should be cashiered, or to kindle a fresh war, in case the troops refused to obey. But they were far from being upon an equality. The army had the sword in their hands, and though some officers and soldiers had quitted their regiments for the service of Ireland, their number was inconsiderable: all the rest remained united, and were supported by most of the Generals, who being against the Parliament, privately cherished the discontent of the officers and soldiers. The Parliament had no forces to compel the army to obedience, and therefore were terribly embarrassed. They durst not drive the army to extremities; and on the other hand, they plainly perceived, that the discord was fomented by the leaders of the Independents, who sought the destruction of the Parliament, for fear the Parliament should destroy them, as indeed both Houses intended.

This therefore was a critical season, the point being to know who should be master, the Parliament or the Independent party. But the latter had the army on their side, and that alone balanced the power and authority of the Parliament. They had so well laid their measures, by means of the agitators, that the army was become a sort of republic, where the suffrages of the common soldiers were upon a level with those of the Generals; the soldiers even did not think themselves obliged to follow or to ask the advice of their officers. Hence sprung confusion, which was suffered to prevail. Every thing was done in the name of the army, a loose term, which signified, sometimes the council of war, alone, sometimes the council of agitators, now both councils together, and now, the agitators of some particular regiments. In this last sense must be understood the enterprize performed, in the name of the army, by the agitators of some regiments of horse, of carrying away the King by force from Holmby-house to Newmarket.†

To execute this design, they chose Cornet Joyce, one of the agitators of his regiment, who, from a taylor before the war, was become an officer, and had signalized himself for his bravery. Joyce being put at the head of fifty horse, marched directly to Holmby, and came there in the night, after the King was in bed. Having secured the avenues, he went up with two or three more to the King's chamber, and caused the door to be opened. The King, rising, asked him what he meant. Joyce answered, he intended to carry him to the army, for they had received certain advice, there was a design to convey him away by force. The King asked him, whether he had the General's orders? He replied, no, but that he was authorized by the army, and, as he held a pistol in his hand, sufficiently intimated, it was by that he was chiefly empowered.‡ The Parliament's commissioners who were at Holmby to take care of the King, would have opposed this violence: but the King's guards refused to make any resistance, and the troops that were in the neighbouring villages to relieve the guard every day, would not come. At last, after many disputes, all the King could obtain was to stay till the morning. That same night he wrote a note, which he intrusted with the Earl of Dumfarling, to acquaint the two Houses, he was carried away from Holmby against his will, and that they should not give any credit to what he might afterwards write whilst under restraint. The next morning he went into the coach, and was conducted by Joyce, who carried him that night to Colonel Montague's, and the next day to Newmarket.

Whilst these things passed, the General having appointed a rendezvous of the army at Newmarket, for the 4th and 5th of June, the several regiments presented a petition to him, complaining of the votes passed in Parliament the 21st and 25th of May, as not being satisfactory. The next day, June the 5th, the officers and soldiers subscribed a paper, which they called, A Solemn Engagement, whereby they consented to disband, when required by the Parliament, but on condition, "That they should first have such satisfaction in relation to their grievances, and such security as to their persons, as should be agreed unto by a council to consist of those general officers (who had concurred with the army) with two commission officers, and two soldiers to be chosen for each regiment; and declared, that without such satisfaction, and such security, they would not willingly disband, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded or divided."

This engagement was seconded with petitions from the inhabitants of the counties of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, intreating the General, not to suffer the army to be disbanded till every thing relating to the government was settled.

June the 7th, both Houses received a letter from the General, acquainting them, that the soldiers at Holmby had brought the King thence by consent, having thought proper to secure his person, from an apprehension of forces gathering to fall upon them and force him out of their hands. That as soon as he knew it, he sent Colonel Whaley's regiment to guard the King; after which, for prevention of danger, he had sent two regiments more to reinforce Colonel Whaley. That Whaley had desired the King and the commissioners,

* Some moved, that the petitioning soldiers might be declared traitors. Others resolved to secure Cromwell, but he being advertised of it, went to the army.

† Ludlow gives this reason for seizing the King: that the agitators were afraid, those who had shewed themselves so forward to close with the King, out of principle, upon any terms, would, for their own preservation, receive him without any, or rather put themselves under his protection; that they might the better subdue the army, and reduce them to obedience by force.

‡ The King requiring Joyce to show his commission, he showed the soldiers that attended him. Whereupon the King said, "Believe me, your instructions are written in a very legible character." There being five hundred proper men on horseback.

in

in his name, to return to Holmby, but that his Majesty was not willing to go back. That upon this, he had sent Sir Hardress Waller, and Colonel Lambert, to desire the commissioners to think of returning to Holmby, but that the commissioners refused to act in disposing of the King. He affirmed moreover, that neither himself, nor the officers about him, nor the body of the army were concerned in removing the King, protesting that it was his as well as the army's desire, to study to settle a firm peace. That they had no intention to oppose Presbytery, or set up the Independent government, but to leave all to the wisdom of Parliament, without advancing any particular party or interest.

It was strange, that the King should be removed from Holmby by fifty troopers, without any orders from the General or the officers about him, and without the consent of the body of the army; and that the general officers should suffer him to be in the centre of the quarters of the army, without enquiring after those who gave, or those who executed, such an order. This showed, there was some mystery in it, which it was not thought proper to discover to the Parliament, and that Joyce knew he should be protected if called to an account. On the other hand, though the King had sent word to both Houses, that he was unwillingly removed, it appears by the General's letter, that his Majesty consented to it, and was unwilling to return to Holmby, when it was in his power. What followed makes it conjectured, that some of the general officers believed it to be absolutely necessary for their interest to have the King in their power, at a time when they thought there was reason to fear, the Parliament would come to an agreement with him, and that they caused him to be taken away from Holmby by persons without warrant, well-knowing, they should be powerful enough to hinder the affair from being strictly examined. The King appeared, for some time, much more at ease in the hands of the army, than when he was in the Parliament's power.

The Commons seeing the army master of the King's person, and unwilling to disband, resolved at least to show the public by their votes, that the imputations laid to their charge by the army were groundless, and that they were not swayed by self-interested motives. So, June the 10th, they confirmed the self-denying ordinance, and "declared to be void all places held by the members of Parliament." They voted, "that the lands and estates of all members of the House should be liable to the law for payment of their debts." They appointed a day to hear informations against members, and ordered that no member should hereafter receive any reparation for damages, till the public debts were first satisfied.

Nevertheless the army began to march, and advanced to St. Albans, within twenty miles of London. At the same time, the General sent to both Houses the result of the late council of war at Newmarket, and intreated them to think of some way to satisfy the troops.

The approach of the army threw the Parliament and city into great consternation, and an ordinance was passed to enable the committee of the militia of London to raise horses. They seemed to intend to put themselves in a posture of defence against the army. Within a few hours after, the city received a letter signed by the General, and all the other general officers, complaining, there were certain members of Parliament who endeavoured to engage the kingdom in a new war, as having no other way to protect themselves from the punishment they justly deserved. Adding, that they desired no alteration of the civil government, nor in the least to hinder the settling of Presbyterianism, neither did they intend any evil to the city, if they appeared not to assist that wicked party, who would embroil them and the kingdom. That they were ready to remove at a farther distance, if they were assured, that a speedy settlement of things was in hand. That if, after all, the city should be seduced to take arms against the army, ruin and destruction would ensue.

This letter was communicated to the Parliament, who wrote to the General, to desire that the army might not come within twenty-five miles of the city; but it was already advanced to St. Albans. The same day, the Commons ordered, that the sum of ten thousand pounds should be paid to such officers and soldiers as should leave the army and engage in the service of Ireland, with which the army was highly displeased, plainly perceiving, the Parliament's design was to divide them.

The next day, upon a false rumour of the army's near approach to the city, the militia of London ordered all the trained-bands to be raised on pain of death. But presently after the order was revoked. However, soldiers were enlisted by order of Parliament.

In this interval, the Common-Council of London sent an answer to the General and officers, wherein they said, the city intended no evil to the army, but only to defend the Parliament and themselves against any unlawful violence. That they did not take arms with intent to hinder the obtaining of the army's just demands. That on the contrary, they had presented their addresses to the Parliament for the obtaining thereof; and only requested, they would demand no more than what should be just and reasonable.

The same day, the Parliament sent commissioners to the army, to know what were their desires. The General answered, in letters to both Houses, that the army offered, for a month's pay, not to draw their quarters nearer London, without first giving notice of it to the Parliament's commissioners.

Meanwhile, the army continued to render themselves formidable, as well by their nearness, as by their demands which daily rose higher. At first, they protested, they would not meddle in any thing not immediately relating to themselves, and that their intention was to leave the care of the government to the wisdom of the two Houses. But when they found, the Parliament gave way, and wanted power or resolution, they advanced one step farther, and by a declaration presented to both Houses, demanded:

That the Houses might be purged of such members, as for their delinquency, or for corruptions, or undue elections ought not to sit there; that those persons who had appeared against the army, might speedily be disabled from doing the like; and for that purpose, might be made incapable of being the soldiers' judges, when disbanded; that some determinate period of time might be set for the continuance of that and future Parliaments, beyond which none should continue; that the members of the House might not have the temptation or advantage of an unlimited power to perpetuate injustice or oppression, but might be in a capacity to taste of subjection as well as rule; that Parliaments might not be adjournable or dissolvable, any other ways, than by their own consent; that the right and freedom of the people to present petitions to the Parliament might be cleared and vindicated; that the large powers given to committees or deputy-lieutenants, might be taken away, or regulated; that the kingdom might be righted and publicly satisfied in point of accounts, for the sums that had been levied and paid; and that after public justice was first satisfied by some few examples on delinquents, a general act of oblivion should be passed."

After these demands, the army protested, "That their design was not to overthrow Presbytery, and establish the Independent government. But they only desired, that there might be some effectual course taken, that such who upon conscientious grounds differed from the established forms, might not for that be debarred from the common rights, liberties, or benefits belonging equally to all, while they lived soberly and inoffensively towards others, and peaceably and faithfully towards the state."

Cromwell and his associates used all their endeavours to countermine the artifices of their enemies, by inspiring the army with discontent, and cherishing it in the forementioned manner. In short, having tried the Parliament, they thought themselves strong enough to strike a bolder stroke, in using always the army's name, which they had moulded to their purposes. To this end, they caused it to be resolved in a council of war, that

that the army should prefer a charge against the ablest and most powerful members of the commons, who in a manner governed and directed the House. These were the men the Independent party had most to fear. This resolution being taken, the army deputed some officers to carry in their name, to the Parliament, a charge against eleven members, namely, Holles, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, Waller, Maynard, Massy, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nicholas.*

The very next day, the army sent proposals to the Commons, wherein they desired:

"That the persons impeached might be forthwith suspended from sitting in the House; that there might be a month's pay immediately sent to the army; that if the officers and soldiers of the army who had engaged for Ireland, or those who had deserted the army and come to London, had since then received more than a month's pay, there might be so much more money sent down to the army; that during the debate and transaction betwixt the Parliament and the army, about raising and listing new forces, the Parliament would not suffer any new forces to be raised within the kingdom."

The two Houses thought proper to appease the impending storm, by giving satisfaction to the army. It was therefore resolved, that the order for listing of forces, and the permission given to the committee of the militia of London to augment the trained-bands should be void: that the army should have a month's pay, and the General be required to remove it forty miles from London. Some days after, a month's pay was also granted to the forces in the north; and to let the army see there was no design to disband them, the Parliament passed an ordinance for raising sixty thousand pounds a month for the maintenance of the army, and for the service of Ireland.† Lastly, the House of Commons wrote to the General, that they were ready to receive from him any particular charge against the eleven accused members.

This condescension might have produced peace between the Parliament and the army, if peace had been what the army desired. But instead of being obliged to the Parliament for this compliance, they were rather incensed at it, as being sensible, the design of it was only to break their measures, by taking away all pretence of complaint. They were afraid the Parliament, by endeavouring to gain time, would privately take measures, the effects whereof would not appear perhaps till it should be too late to prevent them. Wherefore, far from being contented, they presented a remonstrance to the Parliament, whereby they sufficiently discovered their inclination to an agreement. This remonstrance contained the following complaints of the officers and soldiers:

"That they had received no answer or resolution about the eleven accused members; that it was industriously published, that his Majesty was kept a prisoner in the army, and babarously and uncivilly used; but all suggestions of that sort were most false, and that, they should be enforced, by the Parliament's affected delays, to take extraordinary courses to put things to a speedy issue, unless by Thursday night next they received assurances and security on the following articles:

"I. That the declaration, inviting men to desert the army, be recalled and annulled.

"II. That the army may be presently paid up, equally to those that have deserted it.

"III. That his Majesty's coming to Richmond may be suspended; and in the mean time, no place may be appointed for his Majesty's residence any nearer to London, than the Parliament will allow the quarters of the army to be.

"IV. That the members charged may be forthwith suspended the House.

"V. That those who have deserted the army may be instantly discharged, and receive no more of their arrears till the army be first satisfied.

"VI. That both Parliament and city may be freed from those multitudes of reformadoes, and other soldiers that flock together about London.

"VII. That all listings, or raising of new forces, may be effectually suppressed.

"VIII. That the perplexed affairs of the kingdom, and those concerning the army, may be put into some speedy way of settling and composure.‡"

Meanwhile, the Commons voted, "That by the law no judgment can be given to suspend the eleven members from sitting in the House, upon the papers presented from the army, before the particulars be produced, and proofs made." But an expedient was found to soften this refusal, namely, that the parties accused should, of their own accord, desire leave to absent themselves from the House, which was granted, and the army remained satisfied.§

About the same time, the army drawing a little near London, probably, with design to awe the Parliament, the General wrote to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, that they had nothing to fear from the army, who had no ill intention against the city. And indeed, it was resolved in a council of war, that there should be no farther advance of the army than to Uxbridge.

It is certain, there were many in the city and Parliament, that wished to see a breach between the two Houses and the army. Some doubtless, imagined, such a breach would be very advantageous to the King, and that one or other of the two parties would join with him, and be directed by him. The King even flattered himself with these hopes. The army showed great regard for him, and some of the officers even hinted to him, they were labouring for his restoration. For this reason the two Houses thought it necessary to avoid a breach. They therefore voted, that they considered the army commanded by General Fairfax, as their army, and would make provision for their maintenance. It was farther ordered, that they should have a month's pay, and no officer or soldier should leave the army without licence from the General; that all reformadoes should remove from the city, and the King reside no nearer London than the army. These votes being communicated to the army, they seemed so well pleased with them, that they resolved to remove from London, to show they intended to use no force upon the Parliament, and the head-quarters were appointed at Wickham.

Whilst the Parliament was endeavouring to content the army, a plot was forming in London, to compel the

* The general articles of the charge were:

"I. That the persons above-named had, in an arbitrary and violent manner, infringed the rights and liberties of the nation, and endeavoured by indirect and corrupt practices to delay and obstruct justice.

"II. That the army being, until the middle of March last, in an orderly condition, and ready, either quietly to have disbanded, or else to have engaged in the service of Ireland, those members had endeavoured by false informations to beget misunderstandings and jealousies in the Parliament against the army.

"III. That whereas the Parliament might have had out of the army, an entire force for the reduction of Ireland, those persons had attempted to pull the army in pieces, and to put the kingdom to the trouble and expence of raising a new force for that service.

"IV. That they had diverted the forces engaged for the service of Ireland, and endeavoured to apply them to carry on desperate designs of their own in England; and had also raised new forces under pretence to guard the Parliament, and privately listed officers and soldiers, for embroiling the kingdom in a new and bloody war.

"V. That they had invited and encouraged divers reformadoes and other officers and soldiers, tumultuously to gather together at Westminster to affright and insult the members of Parliament."

† This monthly sum was raised, by rating each county at a certain sum. Essex paid the sum of 4547*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*

‡ In these declarations and transactions of the army, Colonel Ireton was chiefly employed, or took upon him the business of the pen. And having been bred in the Middle-Temple, and learned some grounds of the law of England, and being of a working and laborious brain and fancy, he set himself much upon these businesses, and was therein encouraged and assisted by Lieutenant-General Cromwell, his father-in-law, and by Colonel Lambert, who had likewise studied in the inns of court, and was of a subtle working brain.

§ Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Walter Long, went together in a ship to France, where Stapleton, that gallant English gentleman (says Whitelock) died within two or three days landing at Calais, as some suspected of the plague. Others of the eleven members went into other parts, and some of them retired into their countries, and there lived privately; Mr. Holles continued in Bretagne till the Restoration.

two Houses to take other measures, and oppose the army. The Presbyterians were not pleased to see the Independents gain so much ground, and censured the Parliament for thus meanly complying with the army. The Magistrates of London came into this plot, as well as the most zealous Presbyterian members of Parliament, who had not been able to hinder the late votes for preventing a breach with the army. The authors of this plot had sent private agents into Scotland to desire assistance. It was even whispered in London, that Scotland was going to declare against the army.

The first step taken by the conspirators, was to present to the Parliament, a petition from the Common-council of London, wherein they expressed some suspicion of their conduct. This was doubtless, in order to have a pretence to complain more openly afterwards, and to begin to lessen the people's prepossession in favour of the Parliament.*

To incense the Londoners against the army, it was rumoured, that they designed to declare for the King. A pamphlet was even dispersed in London, intituled, "Heads presented by the army to the King's Majesty." But the army disowned it by a public declaration.

The Parliament having empowered their commissioners † to treat with the army, they nominated on their part, Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, Rainsborough, Harrison, Sir Hardress Waller, Rich, Lambert, Hammond, and Major Rainsborough; all Independents, and heads of the party in the army. It appears by memoirs, inserted in Rushworth's Collections, that the army's commissioners would not begin to treat, before the Parliament should have granted some things they demanded, and really performed them. The Parliament's commissioners endeavoured on their side to avoid having these points considered as granted preliminaries, and insisted upon their making part of the negotiation.

Meanwhile, the project of raising forces in London to oppose the army still continued, though with the utmost secrecy, and the agents in Scotland caused much to be expected from the Scots, as being concerned to support the Presbyterian party. But the authors of this project could hardly flatter themselves that the assistance of Scotland could be ready in time, since the Parliament and army were upon terms of accommodation. They found therefore, they were either to break off this accommodation, or resolve to see all their hopes vanish, and suffer Presbyterianism to be trampled upon by the Independents. To succeed in the design of preventing a peace between the Parliament and army, they found no better way than to excite the people, to force the Parliament to alter their measures. They got therefore the apprentices, and London mob, to present petitions, that the Presbyterian government might be firmly established: the insolence of sectaries curbed: the army paid off and disbanded; and other things of the like nature destructive of the projected agreement.

On the other hand, the forces in the north, and the horse quartered at Nottingham, published declarations of their adherence to the army commanded by General Fairfax.

About the same time, the Parliament, at the army's request, ordered the four regiments that came from the army, under pretence of engagement for Ireland, but remaining still in the kingdom, to be disbanded. They permitted likewise the eleven accused members to go beyond sea for six months, insinuating to them by this permission, that they would do well to take this course of their own accord.

Meanwhile, the army hearing, something more than ordinary was contriving in London, and that succours from Scotland were talked of, sent a petition to the Parliament, with these farther demands: "that a declaration be published against the bringing in of any foreign forces: that the army be paid up equal with the deserters thereof, and put into a constant course of pay: that the committee of the militia of London, that had been changed by ordinance of the 4th of May last, be restored, and the militia of the city speedily returned into those hands who formerly gave large testimonies of their fidelity to the Parliament and kingdom." Whereupon the Parliament declared, that whosoever should bring in foreign forces without the consent of both Houses, should be deemed traitors. It was voted likewise, that the militia of London should be restored to the old commissioners, and an ordinance was passed for that purpose.‡

The Presbyterian-party, who had great credit in the city, and possessed all the posts, could not, without extreme regret, behold the Parliament's condescension to the army, that is, to the Independents. They saw that party daily increase, and in condition to give law to the Parliament itself. For this reason, the rigid Presbyterians, seconded by the Common-council of London, formed an engagement to assist one another, and oppose the army to the utmost of their power, upon a supposition, that the army intended to subvert what had been hitherto done to settle the peace of the kingdom.

The two Houses had no sooner advice of this engagement, but they published by beat of drum, and sound of trumpet, a prohibition to sign it. On the other hand, the General loudly complained to the Parliament's commissioners, and desired them to put a speedy stop to the agitations in London, which tended to rekindle the war. At the same time, he ordered a strict inquiry to be made in the army after all cavaliers, who had borne arms for the King, or were suspected to be of his party, with a command to dismiss them forthwith.

For two or three days there was a great commotion

---

* In this petition, the city complained of the arbitrary power exercised by the Parliament's committees, as well as of the ill-management of the public money, and desired:

"I. That present command be given, that no officer of war, or soldier, do enter London, under pretence of receiving their arrears.

"II. That such officers and soldiers as are already paid, if their usual habitation and employment have been within London, be enjoined forthwith to betake themselves to their calling; and such as have dwellings in the country, be required to depart within two days after publication.

"III. That all who have been in arms against the Parliament, be enjoined upon pain of imprisonment, within twenty-four hours after publication, to repair to their several habitations.

"IV. That such commanders and soldiers as have come in from the army, and received their monies, may be otherwise disposed of as the Parliament should think fit.

"V. That all persons whosoever that are possessed of any monies or goods belonging to the public, may be enjoined to bring the same, within one month after publication, into some public treasury.

"VI. That all public revenues be managed under such commissions, and by such persons, as, notwithstanding any privileges of Parliament, may be held to such rules as are or shall be prescribed therein.

"VII. That the Parliament would for the present lay aside all businesses of lesser consequence, and improve their time and utmost endeavour, that such laws may be prepared for his Majesty's concurrence, as may settle the government of the church, secure the people from all unlawful and arbitrary power whatsoever in future, and restore his Majesty to his just rights and authority, according to the covenant.

"VIII. And that the people may be the better secured to enjoy the intended effects of such laws, as shall be so made with the royal assent, that especial care be taken, that all officers of state, and ministers of justice, may be persons of honour, of considerable interest, and of known integrity.

"IX. That the Parliament would please to provide for the carrying on of the affairs in Ireland.

"X. That by just and good means the correspondence with Scotland may be maintained and preserved.

"XI. That the House of Commons would please to give order for a speedy examination of all unlawful elections and returns of the members thereof.

"XII. That some speedy course may be taken for the deciding of all causes formerly determinable in the court of admiralty.

"XIII. That satisfaction being made by delinquents, an act of oblivion may be passed."

† They were the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Wharton, Skippon, Sir Henry Vane, Junior, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Colonel White, Thomas Scawen, and Thomas Povey, Esqs.

‡ To understand this article, it must be observed, that in the beginning of May last, both Houses perceiving some motions in the army, thought proper to secure the militia of London, and put it into such hands as they could confide in. To that end, they passed an ordinance the 4th of May, for chusing a new committee of the militia of London, by which means none were admitted into this committee, or any office of the militia, but Presbyterians, entirely devoted to the party. This change it was, that both Houses repealed, at the army's request, and restored the former commissioners.

in

in London: assemblies were held, soldiers were listed, and orders given them to be ready on the first notice. The Common-council received two petitions, one from a great number of substantial citizens, the other from the young men and apprentices, to desire, "That the militia might be continued, and settled by ordinance of the 4th of May." The Common-council presented to the Commons a petition accordingly.

The Parliament was not a little embarrassed, considering the impossibility of contenting at the same time, the army and the city, whose desires were diametrically opposite.

July the 26th, a great number of young men and apprentices came to Westminster, and presented a petition to the House of Commons, desiring:

"That the ordinance of the 23d of July for change of the militia of London, be immediately repealed; that the city may be vindicated against a late pretended declaration, that those are traitors who shall act to get subscriptions, and that it may be revoked; and that both Houses do presently make an order, for calling in all absent members, especially the eleven late accused members, against whom there has been nothing proved to this day."

These demands were such, considering the present juncture, that it was no wonder much time was spent in debating by both Houses. But the people without, growing impatient, and perceiving, these debates were intended only to amuse them, made a great noise in the outer rooms. Some knocked at the door of the House. Others threw in stones at the windows of the House of Peers. In a word, they very plainly showed they would not suffer the two Houses to rise, before they had received satisfaction. At last, both Houses seeing it would be in vain to resist the multitude, who threatened to tear them in pieces, voted, "that the ordinance of the 23d of July, for settling the militia of London, and the declaration of the 24th of the same intent, be null and void." This done the House of Commons adjourned till next day. But the multitude constrained the Speaker and members to resume their places, and desired them to vote, that the King should come to London; which was done accordingly. On the morrow both Houses being met, adjourned to the 30th.

On the 28th, the Common-council received a letter from the General, expressing his good affection and tender care of the city, but withal his great dislike of the petition, and the means used to promote it. At the same time, many young men and others attended the Common-council, declaring their readiness to support the just privileges of the city against all opposers. Whereupon a letter was sent by a messenger to the General, and six commissioners appointed to follow the next morning. In the letter, "they declared their inclination to peace, intreating him, that the army might not advance, nor intermeddle with the rights and privileges of the city, conceiving that the strengthening the city for the safety thereof, was no just cause to provoke the soldiers: and as for the petition, the Parliament had already declared their sense of it, and therefore it was needless for them to do it, and the rather for that it had never been formally presented to him."

The Common-council having received intelligence that the army was advancing towards London, orders were given for the trained-bands to go to their works, and for all that could bear arms to appear the next morning at several places.

Both Houses meeting the 30th of July, the two Speakers did not appear, which obliged them to chuse others in their room.* With the Speakers, a number of members of both Houses were also departed from London, without any one's knowing whither. The absence of these members, who were all friends to the army, rendered the contrary party so superior, that the Commons voted the same day, that the King should come to London: that the militia of the city should have full power to raise such forces as they should think fit, for the defence thereof: that they should chuse a commander-in-chief to be approved by the House, and such commander to present other officers, to be approved by the militia. After that the committee made choice of Major-General Massey to command-in-chief, and ordered, that all reformadoes and other officers should the next day appear to be listed in St. James's fields, and the forces already listed to be put into a regimental way.

The same day, the Common-council received a letter from General Fairfax, dated the day before, wherein he spoke very sharply of the tumult of the 26th, and of the violence upon the Parliament. He said, the guard sent from the city, not only neglected their duty, but that divers of the Common-council greatly encouraged the seditious. That they had not kept their word with the army, which, upon their assurance to secure the Parliament from any time, had removed to that distance from the city. That he could not but look on them as accountable to the kingdom, for the present interruptions of the hopeful way of peace and settlement of the nation, if by their care and industry the chief actors in the late tumults were not detected and given up to justice.

On the other hand, the city published an apology by way of declaration or manifesto, setting forth, "The army's surprising of the King at Holmby, without its being known by what authority; and under what pretences; and their keeping his royal person ever since, notwithstanding his surprisal was disowned by the general for himself and all the officers about him, and for the body of the army. That the privileges of Parliament had been violated by the army's causing the eleven members to withdraw, and by interposing in the militia of London, which was subject to no other cognizance but of the King and Parliament." There were several other things in this manifesto, which insinuated that the army's ill designs were but too evident.

Both Houses also wrote to the general, that though he had given them no account of the motions of his army, they understood, he had ordered his forces to march towards London, on pretence of defending the Houses from the danger of tumults; upon which account they thought fit to let him know, that as they could not but have a deep sense of the undue liberty which some apprentices and others had taken, to violate the freedom of Parliament, so they doubted not, but the sense of so great an offence would at last strike those that were accessary thereto with a detestation of any such practices for the future: and that as the Houses could not imagine, these disorders had the allowance of the city of London, so they had since received full satisfaction by the strict orders published by the Common-council for preventing and suppressing of tumults, and by their declaration, that they should sit with freedom and security from any disturbances for the future. And therefore they saw no cause to command the army to come to their assistance, but rather judged (by their distractions raised at the news thereof) that the army's approach was likely to produce great mischiefs, and cast the whole kingdom into confusion. That for prevention of these dangers, they had sent him an express to withdraw his army, requiring him to give exact obedience thereto.

The same day the Commons voted, that the eleven accused members should be received into the House: accordingly most of them came and took their places on the morrow.

On the 31st the two Houses published an ordinance, enabling the committee of the militia of London to punish such as did not repair to their colours, and to chuse a Major-General, or any other officer, for the forces raised or to be raised within the city of London; and Massey, Waller, and Pointz were employed in forming regiments and companies.

Though the Parliament and city made great preparations, the army were under no apprehensions. They knew, that two or three days were not sufficient to dis-

* The Lords chose the Lord Grey of Werk; and the Commons, Mr. Henry Pelham, a counsellor, of Lincoln's-inn. There was then above a hundred and forty members remaining in the House of Commons.

cipline an army levied in haste in the city, and enable it to withstand twenty thousand victorious troops, well supplied with arms, ammunition, and ordnance. They continued therefore their march to the general rendezvous at Hounslow-heath, within twelve miles of London. Meanwhile, the General delivered to the Parliament's commissioners, certain proposals to be negotiated between the Parliament and army, for settling the peace of the kingdom. At the same time, he put into their hands a declaration by the council of war, wherein the officers said, though the late violence done to the Parliament rendered all proceedings in the way of treaty vain and hopeless, till the Parliament should be restored to a condition of freedom, yet they had thought good to make this public tender of proposals to the consideration of the kingdom, wherein all men might see the integrity of their intentions, and the bottom of their desires.

Meanwhile, the two Speakers, and the rest of the members of both Houses who had absented themselves, to the number of sixty-six, came to the General, desiring his protection, and saying, that as there was no free sitting for them in the Parliament, they had quitted the Houses for fear of being torn in pieces by the mob. Nothing could be more agreeable to the army than this request, which authorised them, without their being forced to seek other pretences, to march to London to re-instate the members supposed to be driven from the Parliament by the populace. From that time, they would no more own the two Houses for Parliament, but paid to the speakers and members who attended them, the same respect as they would have done to the Parliament itself.

The army improved the desertion of these members to justify their advance towards London, and to show that their aim was only to prevent a new war, which the members at Westminster, and the Common-council of London, had a mind to excite. To this purpose, they published a long manifesto, containing the reasons of their marching to London. The next day, the army being drawn together on Hounslow-heath,* the Common-council of London began to fear the danger to which the city would be exposed, if the army should force the line, which was but too likely, and this apprehension caused them to take more moderate resolutions.† So, taking occasion from the army's late declaration, they wrote to the General, that understanding that the army's intention was only to restore the absent members to their places in the Parliament, the city was ready to concur with them in their design. That accordingly, he should find all ports and passes open, and for removing all misunderstanding, they had recalled their late declaration. The General answered, that he wished all the forts on the west side of the city were delivered to him, and he was immediately obeyed. After that, he wrote to the Common-council, that the preserving of the privileges of the Parliament, and securing the members from violence, had been the sole cause of his near approach to that city.

The 6th of August, the General, preceded by some regiments of horse, and attended by the two old speakers, and the members who had absented themselves, came to Westminster, and alighted at Sir Abraham Williams's house in New Palace Yard. He staid there some time, whilst the two speakers,‡ and the rest of the members repaired to their respective houses.

Presently after, the House of Peers passed an ordinance for making General Fairfax Constable of the Tower, with power to name a deputy, to which the Commons consented. After that, the General was desired to come to the Parliament, where he received the thanks of both Houses. The same day, the Parliament ordered, that the 12th should be a day of thanksgiving to God, for restoring the members of both Houses to their just privileges, without the effusion of blood, and that a gratuity of a month's pay should be given to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers for this great service. The following days were spent in approving and ratifying what the army had done. But this was not all. The Lords demanded two things, which the Commons very much opposed. The first was, the making null all acts, done from the 26th of July, to the 6th of August. The Commons were ready to give their consent, provided it was without declaring them illegal. This dispute held till the 20th, when the Commons passed at length the ordinance demanded by the Peers, but with this restriction: "That no person shall be impeached or punished, for his acting by, or upon, the said votes, orders, or ordinances, unless he shall be found guilty of contriving or abetting the visible force put upon the Parliament, or of entering into, or promoting the late engagement, for the bringing the King to the city, upon the terms and conditions expressed in his Majesty's letters of the 12th of May last."

The second thing desired by the Lords, was, that it should be declared, the Parliament was not free from the 26th of July, to the 6th of August, and that the members who assembled at Westminster, in the absence of the speakers, should be expelled the Parliament and punished. This question being debated a whole day in the House of Commons, was carried in the negative, but by three voices.§ The Lords insisted upon this point merely out of compliance to the army, who, by a remonstrance to the Parliament, had demanded the same thing, declaring, they could not suffer such members as sate and voted during the absence of the speakers, to intrude themselves into the Parliament before they had given satisfaction to their respective Houses. Nevertheless, this affair was carried no farther. Only seven Lords, with the Lord Mayor, several Aldermen, and some officers of the militia, were accused of high treason, for being concerned in the tumult of the 26th of July, which was called, intending to excite a new war.

Whilst these things passed between the Parliament and army, the King was not only very quiet, but even entertained great hopes from this division, and flattered himself, that the army would declare for him. Their civility and complaisance to him seemed to promise him a happier state, than when in the hands of the Parliament. Four of his chaplains were allowed to come to him, and celebrate divine service, after the manner of the church of England, and all his old servants and domestics had liberty to see and speak with him. Berkley, Ashburnham, Capel, the Marquis of Ormond himself, who had at last surrendered Dublin to the Parliament, saw him as often as they pleased in public or private, and the two first were now in his service. The Scotch commissioners residing at London, frequently visited him, and expressed a great desire to serve him. As they knew, that the Independents were sworn enemies of their nation, they began to perceive, it was their interest to join with the King against their common enemies. Meanwhile, the civilities shown the King were but the effect of the policy of Cromwell and his associates. They were not ignorant how the Parliament and city of London stood affected to them, and were persuaded, that after all, the Presbyterians would chuse rather to agree with the King, than see the Inde-

* At this rendezvous were present the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Kent; the Lords Grey of Werk, Howard, Wharton, Say, and Mulgrave, and others, about fourteen Lords; the Speaker, and about a hundred members of the House of Commons. The army, consisting of twenty thousand horse and foot, being drawn up in battalia, with reserves, the General, accompanied with these Lords and Commoners, and other Gentlemen, rode along, and took a view of the army, from regiment to regiment, who received them with great acclamations of the soldiers, crying, "Lords and Commons, and a free Parliament." The Prince Elector Valentine came also and viewed the army, being received by the General with great respect.

† When a scout came in, whilst the city militia and common-council were sitting, and brought news, That the army made a halt, or other good intelligence, they cried, One and all. But if the scouts brought intelligence that the army advanced nearer to them, then they would cry as loud, Treat, treat, treat. At last, they agreed to send the General an humble letter.

‡ The Earl of Manchester for the Lords, and Lenthall for the Commons.

§ The question put was, "Whether it should be declared, what was done from the 26th of July to the 6th of August to be forced, and that sitting no free Parliament?" Which was carried in the negative. The other part of the question, as put by Rapin, was not debated at this time.

pendents

pendents triumph. To prevent this union it was, that they had caused the King to be removed from Holmby, without either the general officers, or the body of the army appearing in it, to a place where his person was in their power. On the other hand, the King was extremely caressed by them, and even put in hopes of a speedy agreement with the army, as well to divert him from the thoughts of uniting with the Parliament, as to deprive the Presbyterians of the hope of such an union. In every declaration and remonstrance of the army, there was always something inserted to express their desire, that the King might be restored to his just rights. But it was ever with this restriction, "When the affairs of the government should be fully settled," that is, in the manner they desired, and they knew, it would then be easy to find occasion to quarrel with the King, and retract what they seemed to promise him.

The King was deceived by this policy. As he saw himself courted by both parties, he imagined, they could not be without him, and that he should quickly be able to incline the scale to which side he pleased. He even fancied for some time, that the two parties would accept him for mediator. In this imagination he expressed a regard for both, and told them by turns, though secretly, he would be guided by their counsels. Meanwhile, as he mortally hated the Presbyterians, he was much more desirous to join with the army, if they would but have granted him tolerable conditions, as they made him expect. Nevertheless, he listened to the proposals of the Scotch commissioners, to put himself under the protection of the Presbyterians and Scots, and thereby hoped to be safe, however the contests between the Parliament and army might end. In the mean time, he suffered himself to be amused by Cromwell, and Ireton, who, on pretence they were suspected by both Houses, seldom visited him, but however, acquainted him with their intentions, by means of some officers, who could converse more freely with him, or his confidents. Though he was used very civilly, he was narrowly watched, and at the very time he thought himself arbiter of the two parties, was really a prisoner. Since his removal from Holmby, he had followed the motions of the army, and resided sometimes in a town, and sometimes at a country house, according as the army thought fit. At last, when the army had their rendezvous on Hounslow-heath, in order to march to London, he was conducted to Hampton-court.*

The revolution, which happened within a few days, and which brought the Parliament in subjection to the army, proved fatal to the King. He had quickly cause to perceive, Cromwell and Ireton had only amused him with vain hopes. The army was no sooner master of the Parliament and city, but the King saw himself not only neglected, but even treated more hardly than ever. The same respect was no longer paid him, and his guards would scarcely suffer his servants to confer with him in private. In short, he was left a long while at Hampton-court, without mention of any accommodation, whilst his words, his actions, and the persons that came to visit him, were carefully watched. Even the Scotch commissioners were hindered from seeing him.

When the army resolved to oppose the Parliament's design to disband them, they pretended, they would meddle only in their own affairs, without concerning themselves with the government of church or state; but as soon as they had the King in their power, they pretended to a right of settling the government of the kingdom with the Parliament; and they actually nominated commissioners to treat upon that subject, with those of the Parliament.†

Since the army had thought themselves out of danger from the Parliament and city, their respect to the King was so diminished, that it was easy for him to perceive, he had nothing to expect from them, and that Cromwell had only amused him, the better to accomplish his own designs. Besides the visible alteration in the behaviour of those who had the custody of him, he had many other proofs of ill designs against him. In the first place, the army had sent him privately some propositions for peace, much worse than those presented to him at Newcastle; but he had rejected them with indignation, which the army very much resented. Secondly, Cromwell had very sharply reproached Ashburnham, who was then the King's confident, that notwithstanding the army's regard for his Majesty, he had secretly treated with the commissioners of Scotland to excite that kingdom against the army. This reproach inspired the King with the more dread, as it was true, that he had privately treated with the Scotch commissioners, though he had concluded nothing with them; and could not conceive how Cromwell came to know it. He was therefore apprehensive, the army would assassinate, or poison him, to free themselves from the fear of his agreeing with the Presbyterians. On the other hand, Major Huntington, who had been employed by Cromwell, to amuse the King with several private messages, finding at length he had been the instrument to deceive that unfortunate Prince, warned him, that Cromwell was not sincere, and would destroy him if he was not prevented. Shortly after he threw up his commission, and would serve no longer in the army. He even went farther; for after quitting the service, he offered to discover to the Parliament, Cromwell's ill practices, but they would not hearken to him. At last, the King received private notice every day, by indirect and extraordinary ways, that his enemies had ill designs, and he ought to take care of himself.‡

All these things made such an impression upon him, that he resolved, if possible, to escape out of the hands of the army. But it was not easy to determine where to retire. There was no safety for him in any part of the kingdom. The Parliament and city of London were at the army's command, and though the Presbyterians had been able to protect him, all he could expect from them was, that they would not attempt upon his life. So, probably, his intention was to transport himself beyond the seas. Ashburnham was his only confident, for though he believed Berkley faithful, he had not so good an opinion of his discretion, as to trust him with such a secret. This resolution being taken, the King withdrew very early to his chamber, feigning to be indisposed, and about one in the morn-

* June 24, he was removed from Newmarket to Royston; the 26th, he came to Hatfield-house in Hertfordshire; July 1, to Windsor; July 3, to Caversham, a house of the Lord Craven's, near Reading; July 22, to the Earl of Devonshire's house at Latimers; thence to Woburn, the Earl of Bedford's; and then to Stoke-pogey's and Oatland's. Whilst he was at Caversham, July 15, his children, now under the Earl of Northumberland's care, were permitted to dine with him at Maidenhead, and afterwards to go and stay with him two days at Caversham. Prince James had been in the Parliament's hands ever since the surrender of Oxford. This favour was denied him whilst he was at Holmby. Concerning this interview, Ludlow relates the following story. Cromwell meeting soon after Sir John Berkley, told him, that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the King and his children; that he (Cromwell) wept plentifully at the remembrance thereof, saying, that never man was so abused as he, in his sinister opinion of the King, who, he thought, was the most upright and conscientious in the kingdom.

† Three other affairs also employed the Parliament and army for some time, and served for pretence to amuse. The first was, to settle what forces should be sent to Ireland; the second, how many troops were to be maintained in England; the third, to disband the supernumeraries. Upon the first article, it was resolved to send into Ireland six thousand foot, four thousand horse, and five hundred dragoons; and that the Parliament's commissioners should confer with the General concerning the sending these forces, and the officers that were to command them. Upon the second, it was ordered there should be maintained in England, seven thousand two hundred horse, eighteen thousand foot, and one thousand dragoons. It was pretended, these forces were continued in England to relieve those in Ireland in case of need. But it is likely, the army would not bear to be considerably lessened. Upon the third, it was resolved, that all the supernumeraries should be paid and dismissed. But these things were executed very slowly by reason of several unexpected affairs.

‡ The agitators suspected, that Cromwell, Ireton, &c. had carried on a private treaty with the King, and accordingly endeavoured to wrest him out of their hands. Of this Cromwell gave the King notice, who thereupon resolved to make his escape from Hampton-court. Lord Holles says, Cromwell was afraid the King should come to an agreement with the Levellers, and so advised him to fly, upon pretence that his life was in danger.

ing, went out by the back stairs, and came with Ashburnham and Legg, to the garden gate, where Berkley waited with horses. They rode all night with great speed, as well to escape all pursuers, as to get out of the quarters of the army, and in the morning, found themselves in the New Forest in Hampshire. Then the King asked Ashburnham, where the ship lay? Ashburnham riding before, as it were to get information, returned in some little time without any news of the ship; at which the King seemed very uneasy. Meanwhile, as it was not safe for him to stay in the high-ways he resolved to go to Titchfield, a seat of the Earl of Southampton, where the Earl's mother then lived with a small family. There he consulted with his three attendants, where he should go. It is said, Ashburnham was the first to advise him to retire to the Isle of Wight, and put himself into the hands of Colonel Hammond, the governor, who was reckoned a man of honour. He must however have known, that Hammond was Cromwell's creature, by whose advice he had married a daughter of John Hampden, and who had lately procured him the government of the Isle of Wight. Notwithstanding these reasons, which should have diverted Ashburnham from giving such advice, he ceased not to persuade the King, who after some objections consented to it, provided Hammond would faithfully promise not to deliver him up, though the Parliament or army should require him, but to give him his liberty to shift for himself, if he was not able to defend him. Pursuant to this resolution, Ashburnham and Berkley repaired to the Isle of Wight to talk with the governor, who seemed very much surprised when they told him, the King was escaped from Hampton-court, and was willing to trust his person in his hands, upon the forementioned terms. His answer was, he would do the King all the service that lay in his power; but as he was an inferior officer, he could not promise to disobey his superiors in what they should please to command him. After some fruitless endeavours to obtain a promise from him, he asked where the King was? They told him, he was not very far off, and at last, after some time spent in debate, it was agreed, he should go with them to the King. So they all three went together to Titchfield, and at their arrival, Hammond staid below, and Ashburnham went up to the King's chamber, to acquaint him, that Hammond was in the house, but had not made any promise. Whereupon the King cried out, "O Jack, thou hast undone me!" With which Ashburnham falling into a great passion of weeping, offered to go down and kill Hammond, but the King would not consent to it. In short, the King sending for Hammond, endeavoured to persuade him to promise not to deliver him up, but Hammond still persisted in his first answer. Then the King, not knowing where to go else, and considering there was now perhaps no possible way to get from him, as he had the command of the country, and could call in what help he pleased, resolved to go with him to the Isle of Wight. He was conducted to Carisbrook castle, where Hammond received him with his attendants, with all demonstrations of respect.*

When we consider all the circumstances of the King's flight, we can scarcely forbear thinking, he was betrayed on this occasion. Ashburnham is not satisfied with proposing to the King to trust himself with Hammond, a creature of Cromwell's, who, according to Major Huntington's information, had resolved to destroy him, but even puts him under the necessity of confiding in him, though he refused to promise him protection. Yet Lord Clarendon says positively, he does not believe the King was betrayed by Ashburnham, nor did his Majesty ever entertain the least jealousy of it. All therefore can be said in favour of this confident of the King, is, what Lord Clarendon hints; namely, that he was outwitted by Cromwell, who by some one of his emissaries persuaded him, it should prove for his Majesty's benefit, and his business be the sooner done, that he should withdraw to the Isle of Wight.†

The Parliament was informed of the King's escape, by a letter from Cromwell, who gave the first notice of it, but without saying where the King was, though in all appearance he knew very well. He also sent a letter, which the King had left upon the table in his room, directed to both Houses. He said in this letter,

"That liberty being in all times the aim and desire of all men, he had endeavoured to obtain his. He called God to witness, with what patience he had endured a tedious restraint, among men who changed their principles with their condition; who were not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the nobility, by taking away their negative voice, and with whom the Levellers' doctrine was rather countenanced than punished. That he thought he was bound, as well by natural as political obligation, to seek his safety, by retiring himself for some time from the public view, both of his friends and enemies; but should earnestly and incessantly endeavour the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace wherever he was. Finally, he desired to be heard with freedom, honour, and safety, and then he would instantly break through his cloud of retirement, and show himself ready to be Pater Patriæ."

The Parliament at first believed, the King was come to conceal himself in London, till he should find an opportunity to escape out of the kingdom. They even gave orders to search after, and stop his person. But this uncertainty did not last long. On the 15th of November, the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Lords, received a letter from Colonel Hammond, informing him, that the King, from an apprehension of his life being in danger at Hampton-court, was come into the Isle of Wight, to put himself under his protection.

The King, as may be observed, speaks in his letter of the principles of the Levellers, which it is necessary to explain. There had been for some time a new faction in the army, called Levellers, that is, men who declared, "That all degrees of persons should be levelled, and an equality established both in titles and estates, throughout the kingdom." This was a doctrine, much like that of Wat Tyler's followers in the reign of Richard II. This faction was grown so strong, that they began to make the general officers, and particularly Cromwell, very uneasy, who feared this new party would subvert all his projects if they were suffered to increase, though probably, this spirit was raised by himself. They consisted of private soldiers and agitators, whom we have already described. During the contests between the army and Parliament, the generals had put no restraint upon these men. They had allowed them to form a separate council, by means of their agitators, and the opinions of this council were received as being those of the army, because they were agreeable to the sentiments of the general officers. But as soon as the Parliament was subdued, the general officers believed it proper to suppress these councils, and send the agitators to their respective regiments. This was more easily enjoined than executed. The soldiers refused to obey, and continued their assemblies and conferences, in spite of their officers, and the General's orders. The assemblies of the Levellers produced sundry petitions; first, from the agitators of four regiments of horse, and afterwards of seven regiments of foot joining with them, wherein they made proposals for settling the government according to their humour, so that the general officers were not a little embarrassed. They were afraid the army would divide, at a time when their whole strength depended upon their union. For this reason, they at first bore in some measure with the Levellers; which only increased the evil. At last, the insolence of these men being grown to a monstrous height, Cromwell undertook, with the hazard of his life, to free the army and Parliament from them. To that end, having notice that the Levellers were to meet at a certain place, he came unexpectedly, attended with a chosen guard, and asking some questions of those whom

* The Parliament allowed him 5000*l.* for his expences there. His houshold was all dissolved.

† All the writers of that age, except Clarendon, represent the King's going to the Isle of Wight as voluntary and intended.

he observed most active, and receiving insolent answers, knocked down two or three with his own hand, and briskly charging the rest, so dispersed them, that he took as many as he pleased, whereof he hanged some on the spot, and sent others to London. By two or three such notable encounters, he totally subdued that party, which began to grow very dangerous, and reduced the army to entire obedience. But this was not yet effected, when the King made this escape from Hampton-court, and therefore he mentions the Levellers in his letter, as a party subsisting.*

When the King wrote this letter to both Houses, he hoped to be quickly out of the power of the army and Parliament, and assuredly expected no answer, since he intended to keep himself concealed. Besides, this letter required no answer, as he did nothing more than express his desire of peace. But finding himself still, contrary to his expectation, in the hands of the army and Parliament, he conceived, his escape from Hampton-court might be prejudicial to him, and interpreted as a design to hide himself, only to avoid answering the propositions for peace, the Parliament had prepared. For this reason, he resolved to send a message to both Houses; in which he offered to resign, during his own life, the power of the militia, and the nomination to all the great offices; provided that, after his demise, these prerogatives should revert to the crown.

The Parliament took no notice of these offers. Suddenly, however, the House of Lords acquainted the Commons at a conference, that having more maturely considered the King's last message, they were disposed to admit him to a personal treaty, on condition he would give his assent to four preliminary propositions to be passed into acts before the rest should be treated on.

I. An act for settling the militia of the kingdom.

II. An act for calling in all declarations, oaths, and proclamations, against the Parliament, and those who adhered to them.

III. An act, that those Lords who were made after the Great-Seal was carried to Oxford, may be made incapable of sitting in the House of Peers.

IV. An act for impowering the two Houses of Parliament to adjourn as they shall think fit.

The next day, the Commons gave their consent to these propositions, and ordered, that the four bills should be drawn, and dispatched to his Majesty, after which a personal treaty with him should be entered into. All this was done with so great expedition, that it was not possible for the Independents to prevent what they were not prepared against. The Scotch commissioners, who had formed other projects, tried in vain to hinder the effect of this resolution. The 6th of December, the King sent a fresh message to both Houses, earnestly pressing for a personal treaty, as being the best means for settling a peace.

The 14th of the same month, the Commons, after passing the four bills, and approving the instructions for those that were to present them, named a committee to carry them to the King.

Then they answered the complaints of the Scotch commissioners, that the four bills were not communicated to them. They said, it was contrary to the rights and privileges of Parliament, to communicate bills to any person whatever, before they had received the royal assent, and that there was nothing in the treaty between the two kingdoms to the contrary: that they desired the Scotch commissioners to prepare such propositions as they should judge necessary for the kingdom of Scotland, that the committee might depart on the 20th.

That day, the Scotch commissioners presented to both Houses a long declaration, complaining in very high language, that the Parliament of England violated the covenant, in labouring for peace without the concurrence of Scotland. They insisted upon a personal treaty between the King, both Houses, and themselves, that peace might be settled with mutual consent; and declared, as they could not agree to the sending of the four bills to his Majesty for his assent, before any treaty upon the rest of the propositions, so they were unsatisfied with the matter of these new proposals lately communicated to them; and desired, that there might be a personal treaty with the King, upon such propositions as should be agreed upon, with advice and consent of both kingdoms.

This declaration gave great offence to both Houses. Their reply to it was answerable in terms, to the language used by the Scots; and it was ordered, that the printer of the declaration should be committed to prison.

In short, notwithstanding the opposition of the Scotch commissioners, the four bills were presented to the King the 24th of December. The next day, the Scotch commissioners came to the Isle of Wight, and delivered to the King, a declaration of their dissent to the propositions they had lately seen, and the four bills brought to his Majesty. After that, they had a conference with the King, wherein some things passed, which long remained secret, but which it will be necessary to relate, because on them turned the events mentioned hereafter.

Since the King had been in the power of the army, the Scots feared, he would unite with them. They knew they were mortally hated by the Independents, and consequently, this union could not but be very prejudicial to Scotland. The army's success against the Parliament and city of London increased their fear very much, and put them upon seeking means to prevent, as they thought, the impending danger. They found no properer means, than to join with the King, provided he could be persuaded to approve of the covenant, and abolish episcopacy in England. In their frequent conferences with him at Hampton-court, they intimated, that when he was delivered to the Parliament, it was not with the advice of all Scotland, but only by the Marquis of Argyle's credit, who tyrannized over the kingdom: that all the Scots were displeased with it, and ready to atone for the fault, by assisting him with all their power to recover his just rights. But they added, that to engage the Scots to employ their forces to this end, his Majesty was to give them satisfaction concerning the covenant, and the abolition of episcopacy in England, for otherwise, he could not expect the assistance of the English Presbyterians, which was absolutely necessary. In a word, they made him hope, that the Scots would enter England with a strong army which, by the junction of the King's party, and English Presbyterians, would become so superior to the army of the Independents, that he might almost be assured, nothing would be capable to oppose his restoration.

These overtures were the more agreeable to the King, as the Duke of Hamilton, after his freedom from imprisonment by the army, had declared to the King's friends, he was ready to do his Majesty all the service that lay in his power. On the other hand, the Marquis of Ormond had informed the King of his project to return into Ireland, join with the Lord Inchiquin, whom he had privately gained, with some of the heads of the rebels, and make war upon the Parliament, affirming, that France had promised to supply him with all necessaries. It was very probable, that the union between the King's party, the English Presbyterians, and the Scots, added to a diversion in Ireland, would very much embarrass the Independents, and disable them to withstand so great a force. But to execute this project, the King was to approve of the covenant, and consent to the abolition of episcopacy, which he could never resolve. These were the two stumbling blocks, which hindered him from concluding a treaty with the Scotch commissioners, before his flight from Hampton-court. He would never grant these two points, and in expectation that by his steadiness he should induce the Scots to desist from their desires, quitted Hampton-court, without any agreement with them. When there-

* Though Cromwell totally subdued that spirit in the army, Lord Clarendon says, it continued and increased very much in the kingdom.

fore

fore he so earnestly pressed for a personal treaty at London, with honour, freedom, and safety, it was in order to treat more commodiously with the Scotch commissioners, and consult with his friends, what could be expected as well from his own, as the Presbyterian party; and doubtless, in case he concluded a treaty with them, his design was to prolong the negotiation with the two Houses, till the Scotch army had entered England, and his old and new friends laid all their measures. It was very likely, this league would find the army so much employment, that they would not be able to subdue, a second time, the Parliament and city of London. Accordingly, this was the end the Scotch commissioners proposed to themselves, in their objections to the propositions, and in their demand of a personal treaty with the King, upon such proposals as should be agreed upon by both kingdoms, being well assured, it would be easy for them to prolong the time, till every thing should be ready.

The method the two Houses took to procure the King's consent to the four bills, amongst which was that of the militia, before they admitted him to a personal treaty, convinced him, they had no design to relax upon any of the principal articles. He considered, that after passing these four bills, he should still be forced to treat on propositions much like those presented to him at Newcastle: that, after all, what both Houses called treating, was according to their ideas, consenting to their demands, and upon the least refusal to grant what should be proposed to him, he should be, perhaps, more closely confined, when he had past one of the most important points in dispute: that then, he should not be able to treat with the Scots, and by passing the four bills, should lose the present opportunity, which would never offer again. These considerations determined him to agree with the Scotch commissioners, at a second conference with them, the 25th of December. As there was no time to lose, the Parliament's commissioners having orders to stay but four days in the Isle of Wight, the Scotch commissioners had brought with them a treaty ready drawn, agreeably to the propositions they had made the King at Hampton-court. This treaty was signed by the King and the Scotch commissioners the next day, December the 26th, the King having had but few hours to resolve. He then delivered his answer to the commissioners of the Parliament, to this effect:

"That his Majesty had always thought it a matter of great difficulty, to comply in such a manner with all engaged interests, that a firm and lasting peace might ensue; in which opinion he was now confirmed, since the commissioners for Scotland did solemnly protest against the several bills, and propositions, which the two Houses of Parliament had presented to him for his assent; so that it was not possible for him to give such an answer as might be the foundation of a hopeful peace. That besides, the four bills as they were offered to him did not only divest him of all sovereignty, and leave him without any possibility of recovering it to him or his successors, but opened a door for all intolerable oppressions upon his subjects, he granting such an arbitrary and illimited power to the two Houses. That neither the desire of being freed from that tedious and irksome condition of life, which he had so long suffered, nor the apprehension of any thing that might befall him, should ever prevail with him to consent to any one act, till the conditions of the whole peace should be concluded; and then that he would be ready to give all just and reasonable satisfaction, in all particulars; and for the adjusting of all this, he knew no way but a personal treaty (and therefore very earnestly desired the two Houses to consent to it) to be either at London, or any other place they would rather choose."

The commissioners were no sooner gone, than Governor Hammond, by Sir Thomas Fairfax's order, caused all the King's servants to be put out of the castle, who till then had been permitted to be with him, and confined him so closely, that no man had liberty to go to him without express leave.

It was not in vain that the governor took these precautions, since, immediately after, one Captain Burley, an inhabitant of the island, who had been general of the ordnance in one of the King's armies, endeavoured to excite the people to rescue the King from his captivity. But he laid his measures so ill, that instead of executing his design he was apprehended, and afterwards condemned, and hanged, drawn, and quartered.

The King's answer being read in the House of Commons, several members spoke against the King with great warmth. Cromwell, among others, said,

"That the King was a man of great parts, and great understanding, but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted. That whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the Parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had at the same time secret treaties with the Scottish commissioners, how he might imbroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the Parliament. He concluded, that they might no farther trouble themselves with sending messages to him, or farther propositions, but that they might enter upon those counsels which were necessary towards the settlement of the kingdom, without having farther recourse to the King." This advice being strongly seconded by some other members, it was at length resolved after a long debate from morning till late at night, that no more addresses should be made to, or messages received from, the King, and that a declaration should be published to satisfy the kingdom of the reason of it. This declaration was prepared in a very short time. It contained all the reproaches cast upon the King in 1641, in the remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, and whatever had been complained of since that time, not without a direct insinuation that the King, when Prince of Wales, had conspired with the Duke of Buckingham against his father's life. They charged him with having openly betrayed the interests of the Protestant religion, by lending his ships to the King of France, who employed them against Rochelle. When this declaration came to be debated, it met with much opposition even in the House of Commons. But the contrary party to the King did what is daily practised in the Parliament. They suffered the opposers of the declaration to talk as much as they pleased, and then called for the question, which was carried by a plurality of voices; after which the declaration was sent to the House of Peers, where it passed without any difficulty.

The Scotch commissioners, before they returned home, communicated their designs to the King's party, the Marquis of Ormond, and some leading Presbyterians, and early preparations were made for accomplishing the project which was forming in favour of the King. The project was as follows:—

The Scots were to send an army into England to act against the Independents, and deliver the King: the Marquis of Ormond was to return into Ireland, where the Lord Inchiquin, who commanded the Parliament's forces in Munster, had promised to declare for the King, and several heads of the rebels who were displeased with the tyrannical proceedings of the Pope's nuntio, had engaged to join the Marquis with a strong body of their troops. At the same time, the King's friends in England were to rise in several counties. The generals and officers, discarded by the new model, had promised to assemble what forces they could, to countenance the design. The nobility, gentry, and burghers being dissatisfied that the army should govern the Parliament, and all offices be conferred on persons of their party, it was not doubted but the insurrections in several parts, would be supported and encouraged. On the other hand, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had great interest in Yorkshire and Cumberland, engaged to seize Berwick and Carlisle. The Presbyterian party being still very numerous in the Parliament and city, were preparing openly to oppose the army, as soon as they should see it employed

in so many different places. Had all these projects been well managed, and executed at the same time, probably, Cromwell would have been extremely embarrassed. But of all those who should have acted at the same time, some were too hasty, others too slow, and by that means, the army crushed them with ease one after another.

The Independents designed to be masters of the kingdom, as they were already of the Parliament and city of London. But as they found, it would not be easy to succeed in this undertaking, by the same means they had employed to subdue the city and Parliament, their aim was to make use of the Parliament and govern in their name. It was therefore their interest, that the power they had acquired over the Parliament should not be too visible, for fear of causing both Houses to lose their authority, which they meant to make use of. Cromwell, who privately directed their affairs, had found means to keep his post in the army, and his seat in Parliament, though he had been the chief promoter of the self-denying ordinance, whereby the rest of the members were excluded from all offices military and civil. Since the conclusion of the war, he had also brought into the House many more of his faction, besides those who had been there from the beginning of the Parliament. Hence the Independent party was grown very considerable in the House of Commons, as well by their number as by the junction of several other members, who, through fear, or want of judgment, suffered themselves to be led by the Independents, on some occasions where their artifices were not easy to be discovered. So, when any leading Independent spoke with warmth in the House, he seldom met with opposition, because he was considered as the mouth of the army.

The principles of the Independents were inconsistent with monarchy, with episcopacy, and with presbyterian government, and their aim was to establish a commonwealth in the state, and abolish ecclesiastical authority in the church.

The nation's interest did not require that royalty should be abolished, or the King reduced so low as to be disabled from executing the laws and protecting his subjects. But the interest of the Independents required the first of these two things, and that of the Presbyterians, the second. Herein consisted the difficulty of the King's restoration. He was very willing to consent, that the ordering of the militia, and the nomination to the great offices, should be left to both Houses of Parliament for some time. This was sufficient for the interest of the nation in general, since the people would have been freed from their fears, with respect to the government for the future. If the Presbyterians had only intended the good of the public, they would doubtless, have been satisfied with the King's offers. But they had another interest, no less dear to them, and which distinguished their party from the rest of the nation, namely, the abolition of episcopal government, which was their greatest concern.

The Scots had the same interests and views with regard to the King. They knew, the King considered the favours he had granted them, as extorted at a time when he could not deny them without great inconveniences. On the other hand, they had not confidence enough in him, to believe he would be punctual to his promises, in case he remounted the throne of England with all his prerogatives. It was their interest therefore to hinder the King from becoming too powerful in England, and this had induced them to assist the Parliament.

The design of the royalists was, in jointly labouring with the Presbyterians and Scots, to restore the King to his former state, without subjecting him to the terms already proposed. Indeed there were among them some who would not have scrupled to consent to a toleration of the Presbyterian religion, rather than hazard the King's restoration. The Queen and the court of France were of this opinion: but the King was not. He was so possessed with the necessity of episcopacy, that nothing could move him. Unfortunately for him, he had none about him but men, who, like him, believed episcopacy so essential to religion, that without bishops neither the ordination of ministers, nor consequently the administration of the sacraments, could be valid. It must not therefore be thought strange, that the King had great scruples upon this point, since, according to his principles, he could not consider the Presbyterians as members of the Christian church.

As to the King's particular views, they can only be conjectured. He was like a man that is drowning, and catches at whatever he thinks able to save him, or at least, retard his fate. His accepting the service of the Scots and Presbyterians of England, was not because he expected much from their condescension. He had too often experienced their injustice to him, to imagine they would seriously think of restoring him, without imposing upon him intolerable terms. But as necessity obliged them to offer him their assistance, so necessity forced him to accept it, if not in expectation of obtaining his desires, at least, in hopes of delaying his ruin as long as possible. For he was told, and by one that was present, that in a council of officers at Windsor, it was moved to take away his life. He hoped, very likely, by the aid of the Scots and English Presbyterians, so to strengthen his own party, that they would be in condition to act alone, when once the Independent army was dispersed, and by that means he might be freed and enabled to make a peace upon more tolerable terms than those hitherto offered. Thus by a strange blindness, the King pretended to use the Scots and Presbyterians to recover his rights, and these last pretended to make the King and his party subservient to their own designs. The King might have another view in setting the Presbyterians and Independents at variance, namely, that the weakest party would join with him without terms rather than see their enemies triumph.

The Parliament consisted of Presbyterians and Independents, and, notwithstanding the efforts of Cromwell and his party, the Presbyterians were still the majority.* But this party was considerably weakened by the absence

* Many writers of this age have asserted, that Cromwell really intended to make a private bargain with the King: a measure which had the most plausible appearances both for his safety and advancement; but that he found insuperable difficulties in reconciling to it the wild humours of the army. Salmonet, Ludlow, Holles, &c. all, especially the last, being the declared inveterate enemies of Cromwell, are the more to be credited, when they advance any fact, which may serve to apologize for his violent and criminal conduct. There prevails a story, that Cromwell intercepted a letter written to the Queen, where the King said, that he would first raise and then destroy Cromwell. But, besides that this conduct seems to contradict the character of the King, it is, on other accounts, totally unworthy of credit. It is first told by Roger Cooke, a very passionate and foolish Historian, who wrote too so late as King William's-reign; and even he mentions it as only a mere rumour, or heresay, without any foundation. In the Memoirs of Lord Broghill, we met with another story of an intercepted letter, which deserves more attention, and agrees very well with the narration here given. It is thus related by Mr. Maurice, Chaplain to Roger, Earl of Orrery: "Lord Orrery, in the time of his greatness with Cromwell, just after he had so seasonably relieved him in his great distress at Clonmell, riding out of Youghall one day with him and Ireton, they fell into discourse about the King's death. Cromwell thereupon said more than once, if the King had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none but trusty servants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a mind to have closed with him; but, upon some thing which happened, fell off from that design. Orrery finding them in good humour, and being alone with them, asked, if he might presume to desire to know, why they would once have closed with his Majesty, and why they did not? Cromwell very freely told him he would satisfy him in both his queries; the reason (says he) why we would have closed with the King was this: we found that the Scotch and Presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were likely to agree with him and leave us in the lurch. For this reason we thought it best to prevent them, by offering first to come in upon reasonable conditions: but whilst our thoughts were taken up with this subject, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the King's bed chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that very day; that he could not possibly learn what it was, but we might discover it, if we could but intercept a letter sent from the King to the Queen, wherein he informed her of his resolution; that this letter was sown in the skirt of a saddle, and

sence of eleven of their chief members driven from the House of Commons by the army. From that time, the same vigour as formerly no more appeared in that House, because it was not directed as before the exclusion of these members. Besides, this example deterred the boldest Presbyterians. So, the Independents were masters; and though the Parliament was Presbyterian, as to number, they acted like Independents, because they could not do otherwise. As the army was near London, Cromwell had opportunity to be constantly in the House, where his presence alone made the balance incline to which side he pleased, in the debates where his party was concerned. The Lords were under no less constraint than the Commons, nor less exposed to the violence of the army, which had caused seven Peers to be impeached by the Commons of high treason, under colour of their being concerned in the tumult of the 26th of July. The transactions therefore of both Houses from the 6th of August 1647, till June 1648, are to be considered as directed by the army, that is, by the leading Independents.

The city of London was no less concerned in what passed, than the rest of the kingdom, and could be of great service to the party they espoused. In this great city were men of all sects and parties; but in general, it was Presbyterian, and the common-council was of the same party. The army had done what lay in their power to lessen the number of their adversaries in that council, by causing the Lord Mayor, some aldermen, and several common-council-men, to be accused and imprisoned, for the tumult of the 26th of July: but the Presbyterian party was still superior in number. In expectation of the opportunity to declare openly against the army, and the Independents, the Presbyterian party so managed, that great difficulties constantly occurred, when it was proposed to advance money for the army. The city itself was much in arrears, with respect to the sums laid upon them for the payment of the troops. They did not want excuses to delay these arrears: but the true reason was, they thereby obliged the army to take free quarters, which made the people wish to be rid of them. The expectation of the revolutions, which the entrance of the Scots into the kingdom might produce, caused the magistrates of London to continue the same conduct, being ready to do, on all occasions, whatever was in their power to be revenged of the army.

The Lord Fairfax,* general of the army, was Presbyterian, and yet he suffered himself to be guided by Cromwell, the head of the Independents. What can be said in his favour, is, that he kept the command of the army to avoid a greater mischief, for fear, if he resigned his commission, it should be given to Cromwell, as it would certainly have been.

Since the two Houses had resolved to present no more addresses to the King, nor receive any messages from him, there seemed to be a strict union between the Parliament and army. The council of war had consented, that all the supernumerary forces, not upon the present establishment, should be disbanded. The Parliament on their part gave the army sufficient security for their arrears, and published a declaration, containing the reasons, why the army ought to be continued, though the war was over. In short, the army desisted from their pretension, to meddle with affairs of state, and left the Parliament free to settle the government as they should think fit. Thus the vote for no more addresses seemed to produce such an union between the Parliament and army, that they appeared to have the same views and interests, though hitherto they had been jealous of each other. Meanwhile, the Independents, who met with no more opposition in the two Houses, being willing to be still more assured of the Parliament, caused it to be ordered, that the general should be desired to take care and guard the Parliament. Pursuant to this request, the general sent a regiment of foot to Whitehall, and another of horse to the Mews, where the King's stables stood.

Though the Scotch commissioners departed not from London till the 24th of January, they had by their letters, promoted their affairs, as soon as their treaty with the King was signed, so that it was now resolved, at Edinburgh, the committee of estates should meet the 6th of February, and the Parliament the 10th of March. This resolution was taken, notwithstanding the Marquis of Argyle's opposition, who, though a Presbyterian, was of the same principles with the Independents as to the government of the state, and had contracted a fast friendship with Cromwell and Vane. But though he ruled in great measure the rigid Presbyterians, that is, those who would not depart from a single point of the covenant, the combination was so strong, that it was not only resolved to call a Parliament, but that also the elections of the members were agreeable for the most part to the wishes of those who were for levying an army. The Parliament of England, or rather the Independent party, by whom the two Houses were directed, doubted not that the aim of those who had procured this resolution, was to support the Presbyterians of England, who were upon the brink of ruin. Wherefore they resolved to send commissioners to Scotland, as well to endeavour to content the Scots, as to observe what should pass in the Parliament, and try to strengthen the party of those who were against war.†

A. D. 1648.] At the opening of the Parliament of Scotland, studied speeches were made by several of the members, to excite the people against the English. They represented, that the army of England kept the King in captivity, and the Parliament in such subjection, that nothing was done but what the army pleased. That, contrary to the tenour of the covenant between the two nations, the Parliament had refused to debate with the Scotch commissioners, the propositions sent to the King for peace, and rejected their protestation, as if Scotland had no interest in the King: that they had in reality deposed the King by divesting him of all his prerogatives, by voting he should be no more addressed, and by hindering the Scots from having access to his person, though he was as much King of Scotland, as King of England: that it was a manifest breach of the right of the Scots, and of the covenant between the two kingdoms, and that Scotland ought to resent this affront, or resolve to become subject to England: that for these reasons, their advice was, that speedy means might be devised to send an army into England, which should no sooner enter that kingdom, but all the English, except the army, would join with them, and by that means the Parliament being restored to freedom, would re-unite with Scotland, and the covenant be punctually observed.

---

the bearer of it would come with the saddle upon his head about ten of the clock to the Blue Boar in Holborn, were he was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, though some in Dover did. We were at Windsor (said Cromwell) when we received this letter, and immediately upon the receipt of it, Ireton and I resolved to take one trusty fellow with us and go in troopers' habits to that Inn. We did so, and leaving our man at the gate of the Inn, (which had a wicket only open to let persons in and out) to watch and give us notice when any man came in with the saddle, we went into a drinking stall. We there continued drinking cans of beer till about ten of the clock, when our sentinel at the gate gave us notice that the man with the saddle was come. We rose up presently, and just as the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with drawn swords, and told him we were to search all that went in and out there; but as he looked like an honest man, we would only search his saddle, and so dismiss him. The saddle was ungirt, we carried it into the stall were we had been drinking, and ripping open one of the skirts, we there found the letter we wanted. Having thus got it into our hands; we delivered the man (whom we have left with our sentinel) his saddle, told him he was an honest fellow, and bid him go about his business; which he did, pursuing his journey without more ado, and ignorant of the harm he had suffered. We found in the letter, that his Majesty acquainted the Queen, that he was courted by both factions the Scotch Presbyterians, and the army, and that those which bade the fairest for him should have him; but yet he thought he should close with the Scotch sooner than with the other. Upon this we returned to Windsor; and finding we were not like to have good terms with the King, we from that time vowed his destruction."

* He was become a Lord upon the death of his father, who died this year.

† They promised, among other things, to pay the remaining 200,000*l.* due to the Scots, and till it was paid, to allow them 8*l.* per cent interest.

The

The Parliament thought not proper to take this important motion so speedily into consideration. But to facilitate the execution of what had been resolved before their meeting, a committee of twenty-four members was appointed, with power to provide for the safety of the kingdom, in case it should be in danger. For this reason, they were called the "Committee of Danger," in which care was taken, that the number of those who were for war, should be superior to those of the contrary party, and to make Duke Hamilton president.

This committee having examined the state of the kingdom, found it to be in danger, and that it was necessary to raise an army of forty thousand men, to put it in a posture of defence. It was not possible for the Marquis of Argyle, who was of the committee, to prevent this resolution. But he found means to actuate the commissioners of the general assembly of the kirk, who some days after presented to the Parliament certain demands, proper to prolong the affair. The Parliament answered these demands, and the commissioners replied.

The opposition of the kirk commissioners was not the only storm the resolution of levying an army drew upon the committee of danger. Eighteen Lords and forty other members of Parliament, entered a solemn protest against this vote, affirming, the committee had exceeded their power, which they did not in any manner consent to give them. There were moreover two other difficulties to surmount, before the Parliament could positively order the levying an army. The first related to the general, who was to have the command. Naturally this post belonged to General Lesley, now Lord Newark, who had commanded the last army, and of whom there was no occasion to complain. But he was not fit for their purpose who were for a war. That party's scheme was to make Duke Hamilton general, because he had privately declared for the King, and it was conceived he would be more proper than Lesley, to unite the royal party in England, with the army of Scotland. This difficulty was at length removed, Lesley being artfully prevailed with to quit his pretension, under colour of age and infirmities. Which done, Duke Hamilton had no other rival.

The second difficulty was much more considerable. Before the Scotch commissioners left London, they had intimated to several officers and others of the King's party, that when the Scotch army should enter England, they should be welcome to the Scots, and with them make but one body and party, for the deliverance of the King out of the hands of the Independents. They had given the same assurances to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Musgrave, and by that induced them to promise to seize Berwick and Carlisle. Upon these hopes a great number of royalists repaired to Edinburgh, to join with the Scots, or be employed in their army. Moreover, a troop of horse commanded by Captain Wogan, which was to have been disbanded, had retired into Scotland, to join the forces of that kingdom; and this troop, by the junction of several horse deserters, was become four hundred strong. Duke Hamilton had put Langdale and Musgrave in hopes that when the Scotch army should be in England, there would be no more said of the covenant, and the royalists might join with them and make but one body. But it was not in the power of those who made these promises to perform them. The obstacles, daily raised by the Marquis of Argyle, and the rigid clergy, were the reason the Parliament could not be so speedy as the authors of the project had expected. As the people of Scotland were strongly prepossessed in favour of the covenant and union with the English Presbyterians, the Parliament was obliged to publish a declaration to satisfy them upon that head. But the contrary party pretended there was no sincerity in this declaration, full of ambiguous expressions, which discovered the ill designs of those who were for a war. So, though the party who had caused the raising of forces to be ordered, was superior in the Parliament, no soldiers could be levied till the middle of May, and the army was not ready till the beginning of July, though the Scotch commissioners had given assurance that it should be in condition to act by the beginning of May. Moreover, this army, which was to consist of forty thousand men, was not above half that number, even after the junction of the English troops.

Wales was the place where the first scene was opened. In that country were three Colonels, namely, Langhorn, Powel, and Poyer, who had faithfully served the Parliament during the war, but unhappily found themselves by the new establishment, in the number of the supernumeraries who were to be disbanded, with which they were extremely dissatisfied. Having communicated their discontents to each other, they resolved to declare for the King, as soon as the Scotch army should enter the kingdom. Langhorn even sent a confident to Paris, to acquaint the Queen and Prince of Wales with this design, desiring a commission, with supplies of money and ammunition. The commission was readily granted, but the circumstances of the Queen and Prince allowed them not to send the desired supplies. Though these three officers had resolved not to declare before the Scots had entered England, they were obliged to it sooner. Poyer, being Governor and Mayor of Pembroke in South Wales, saw Colonel Fleming unexpectedly arrive with the General's commission to take the government of the castle. As this alteration could not but break the measures of the three Colonels, Poyer refused to obey, under colour it was unreasonable to deprive him of his government, without paying him his arrears. The Parliament was inflamed when they heard of this disobedience, and declared Poyer a traitor, if he did not deliver the castle within four-and-twenty hours after the first summons. Poyer contemned this ordinance, and even defeated Fleming, to whom some troops had been sent to put him in possession of Pembroke castle. Not only Langhorn and Powell joined with Poyer, but all South Wales declared for the King, whilst the Lord Byron was labouring to draw North Wales and the parts about Chester into a revolt.

During these transactions in Wales, there were commotions in Kent no less dangerous to the army. The King had always many friends in that country, but the neighbourhood of London and the army kept them in awe. Meantime, some gentlemen of the country having early information of the design of the Scots, took care to sow the seeds of revolt. The disposition of the people of Kent began to show itself in a great riot at Canterbury, the 25th of December 1647, about the keeping of Christmas day. The multitude wounded and abused the Mayor and others of the magistrates, and at last the cry was, "For God, King Charles, and Kent." The tumult being appeased, and some of the mutineers apprehended, the Parliament had a mind to punish them with death. But they found so many obstacles, that it was May before they sent down a commission to try them. The grand jury refused to find the bill, to the great astonishment of the commissioners.

Though the directors of the affairs for the King had resolved to delay the Kentish insurrection till the army was marched against the Scots, it was not in their power to defer it so long. Roger L'Estrange, a Norfolk man, * being in Kent, at the house of Mr. Hales, a young gentleman who was heir to a great estate, persuaded him to undertake something in favour of the King, and to sound the gentry and people of the country that frequented his house. Matters were so ordered in the county, that about the middle of May, the people rose, took arms, and owned Hales for their general; in which they committed two very great errors. The first, in putting themselves under the conduct of an unexperienced young man without authority. The second, in rising before the army was removed to some distance from London. As the general knew, the Scotch army

* He had been taken prisoner by the Parliament, in December 1644, for attempting to betray Lynn in Norfolk to the King, and by a court martial condemned to die; but being kept in prison till the end of the war, was set at liberty. He afterwards translated Josephus, wrote the Observators, &c.

was not yet ready, he detached Cromwell with part of his forces to reduce the Welsh to obedience, and then to march against the Scots at their entrance into England. For himself, he remained near London, as well to be ready to march against the Kentish men, as to prevent the like insurrection in London, which the army dreaded of all things. Besides that, he had no inclination, as it afterwards appeared, to act against the Scots.

The number of the mal-contents in Kent being greatly increased, they were headed by the Earl of Norwich,* and Sir William Waller, and, in expectation that London would not fail to declare for them, advanced towards Blackheath. Then Fairfax speedily passed the Thames with his army over London-bridge, to give them battle. The Londoners being to wise to declare at such a juncture, the revolters thought fit to retire, some to Rochester, and others to Maidstone. General Fairfax attacked these last so vigorously, that he carried the town by storm, slew many of them, and took a great number of prisoners. At the first news of this defeat, those at Rochester quitted the city, and posted themselves on Blackheath, hoping still that London would send them assistance, or receive them into the city. These two refuges failing, and hearing moreover, that a detachment of the army was approaching, they took to flight, and were dispersed; but a great many were made prisoners. The Earl of Norwich found means to pass the Thames at Greenwich in boats, with five or six hundred men, and join his friends in Essex, who were upon the point of passing into Kent, if Fairfax had not been so diligent.

The county of Essex was in the same disposition as Kent. There had been for some time in that county, men, who were earnestly labouring to excite the people against the army, and only waited an opportunity to appear openly, as soon as the army should march to the north, not questioning but the approach of the Scots would oblige them to it. Of this number were Sir Charles Lucas, Lieutenant-Colonel Farr, Sir Bernard Gascoign; and at the same time, the Lord Chapel, one of the managers of the insurrections, was labouring the same thing in Hertfordshire. Though the Kentish insurrection had been unsuccessful, the Essex royalists were not discouraged. They still hoped, either that London would declare for the King, or the Scotch army make so great progress, that the army of England would not be able to withstand so many attacks from all quarters. For there was scarcely a county, but what was to have some insurrection, those especially, where the King's party prevailed during the war. So the Parliament having sent a general pardon into Essex, for such as should lay down their arms, most refused it by the instances of Sir Clarles Lucas, who was the most active royalist in those parts.

The General remained in Kent no longer than was necessary to raise the siege of Dover undertaken by Waller, and quiet the country, to which he granted very advantageons terms, considering their present circumstances. This done, he repassed the Thames and marched into Essex, where the number of the revolters was increased by the junction of the troops brought out of Hertfordshire by the Lord Chapel. Nevertheless, as they found themselves unable to keep the field before a victorious as well as a stronger army, they resolved to retire to Colchester. This was an open unfortified town: but they speedily cast up such works before the avenues, that they did not fear being stormed. Here they resolved to defend themselves, and wait the event of affairs in the other counties, and particularly in the north.

The principal men, who were in Colchester, were the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Chapel, Sir George Lisle, Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir Bernard Gascoign, Lieutenant-Colonel Farr, and several other good officers, with a garrison of three thousand men, all bent to sell their lives dearly. This furnished the General with a pretence not to attack the town in form, but to block it up, and reduce the besieged by famine. His whole proceedings showed his unwillingness to fight with the Scots, though he always acted vigorously against the King's friends. However this be, he applied himself to the blockade, which began the 10th of June, and lasted till August.

We have already mentioned two of the projects against the army; the insurrection in Wales, which kept Cromwell employed till the beginning of July; and that of Kent, which by too great a precipitation, miscarried; there was also a tumult in London, which probably had been raised by some rash or inconsiderate royalists, who knew nothing of the projects that were formed. We must now speak of some others which were executed about the same time.

The first was the escape of the Duke of York the King's second son, from St. James's palace, where he was under the Earl of Northumberland's custody, and his retreat into Holland, to his sister the Princess of Orange. Thus to have his two eldest sons out of the power of his enemies, was no small advantage and satisfaction to the King.

Some days after, Langdale possessed himself of Berwick, and Musgrave of Carlisle. The Parliament had received some intelligence of the design to surprise these places, and might have prevented it by putting garrisons there. But as, by the late treaty with Scotland, they were to be left to the care of the inhabitants, the two Houses were unwilling by seizing them, to give the Scots so just an occasion to complain, at a time when they wanted pretences to send an army into England. They contented themselves therefore with ordering the Mayors, to take care and provide against a surprize, which however they either could not or would not provent.

As soon as Langdale was master of Berwick, all the royalists in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland came and joined him. By this means, he quickly formed a body of three thousand foot, and one thousand horse, which enabled him to go in quest of General Lambert, who commanded in those parts for the Parliament. But he received very express orders from Edinburgh not to engage in any action, what advantage soever he might thence expect, but to retire about Carlisle till the arrival of the Scotch army, which he obeyed. The reason of this order was, that as the rigid Presbyterians of Scotland were extremely jealous of the royal party, the directors of affairs were apprehensive, that the progress made in England for the King, would obstruct the levying an army in Scotland. And indeed, it was publicly said, the army was intended for the King's service, rather than for that of the English Presbyterians.

The loss of Berwick and Carlisle was followed soon after with another, which seemingly should have embroiled the affairs of the Independents. This was the revolt of part of the fleet about the end of May. The Parliament having ordered eight men of war to guard the seas during the summer, these ships lay in the Downs to take in provisions, which was done but slowly, because there was not much to be feared from the sea. While this part of the fleet lay in the Downs, some Kentish gentlemen, the King's friends, frequently came on board. Whether they found in the sailors an inclination to mutiny, or raised it themselves by conversing with them, it happened shortly after, that the service was not performed in the fleet with the same submission as before. The officers perceiving this great alteration, acquainted the Parliament with it, and immediately Vice-Admiral Rainsborough was ordered to repair to the fleet, and inquire into the causes of this disobedience. Rainsborough, naturally very severe, began to make strict inquisition on board the Admiral's ship; upon which all the men rose against him, and seizing on him, put him with some more of the officers into the boat, and sent them on shore. This was no sooner known

* The same that was heretofore General Goring, governor of Portsmouth, and had been made Earl of Norwich in 1644.

to

to the rest of the ships, but they followed their example: as the fleet was not yet well victualled, they were obliged to stay some days longer in the Downs, during which the royalists supplied them with necessaries in the best manner they could; after that they sailed for Holland, and came to an anchor at the Brill, in order to put themselves under the command of the Duke of York, who was designed by the King to be Lord High Admiral, as soon as he should be of fit age for that post.

The Duke of York repairing to the fleet, then at Helvoet-Sluys, was received with great acclamations. He declared the Lord Willoughby of Parham, his Vice-Admiral, and appointed some other officers in the several ships, the sailors having kept very few above the rank of a boatswain or mate. As soon as the Prince of Wales, who was at Paris with the Queen his mother, heard of this revolt, he resolved to command the fleet himself, and employ it to the best advantage. But want of money detained him longer than he wished, Cardinal Mazarin not being very forward to supply him, any more than the Earl of Ormond, who waited in vain at Paris, for the performance of his promises concerning Ireland. The news that the Duke his brother was preparing to sail with the fleet, made him repeat his endeavours to procure money upon loan: he succeeded at last, and came to Calais, and from thence by sea to Helvoet-Sluys. He was received by the fleet with all the respect and joy that could be desired, and having provided what was wanting, by the Prince of Orange's assistance, sent back the Duke of York to the Hague. His design was to seize Yarmouth, to go from thence and head the Scotch army, when it should be in England, or to secure an entrance into the kingdom, when there shall be occasion. In sailing to Yarmouth, he took a ship of London, bound for Rotterdam, laden with cloth by the company of merchant-adventurers. It was said this ship was worth forty thousand pounds. He ordered the goods to be sealed up, and continued his course. But he succeeded not at Yarmouth as he expected, the town refusing to admit him, though great part of the inhabitants were for the King. Wherefore he resolved to enter the Thames, as well to intercept all outward and homeward-bound ships, as to support the King's party, and that of the Presbyterians in the Parliament and city; for he was not ignorant of the projects that were formed. Besides, the Queen his mother had enjoined him to court the Presbyterians, conceiving it was only by their means, that the King could be restored. For this reason also, he afterwards released the cloth-ship for twelve thousand pounds.

Whilst the Prince lay in the Thames, where he seized some other merchant ships, the Earl of Warwick, being well assured of the fidelity of the rest of the ships at Portsmouth, and elsewhere, assembled a fleet, and anchored in sight of the Prince; so that in all appearance the two fleets would not part without an engagement. But though the Prince seemed inclined to it, he was advised to avoid it if possible, and not without reason. His ships were fewer, and much smaller than the Earl of Warwick's; besides, the Earl expected others from Portsmouth every moment, which arriving the next day, rendered him very superior. So the Prince sailed back to Holland, and secured his fleet at Helvoet Sluys. The Earl of Warwick followed him, and appeared before that port, but to no purpose.

In the beginning of June, the King's friends found means to surprise Pontfract castle in Yorkshire, and put a garrison there. Shortly after Scarborough castle revolted from the Parliament, and declared for the King.

The Scotch army being at length upon the point of entering England, General Fairfax being still employed in the blockade of Colchester, and Cromwell in the siege of Pembroke, and as there were but two regiment in London, the Earl of Holland thought he could not have a fairer opportunity to execute his design in favour of the King. This design was so far from being a secret, that it was become the common talk of the city. It was known beforehand, what day the Earl of Holland was to depart, and the Parliament did not seem to regard it. It was not for want of information; but the scene of affairs was much altered since the army's removal from London. The Independents prevailed no more in the Parliament, and the Presbyterians began to hold up their heads. For this reason, the Independents did not think proper, at such a juncture, to take any steps that might induce the city of London to declare openly. On the other hand, the Presbyterian members were far from endeavouring to prevent the Earl of Holland's design, which they considered as flowing from the general combination for the delivery of the King out of the hands of the army. So, the Earl publicly departed from London, with about one hundred horse, and came to Kingston upon Thames, where the young Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Francis Villiers his brother, the Earl of Peterborough, and the family of the Earl of Northampton met him with some troops. As soon as they were joined, they sent a letter to the Lord Mayor and Common-council in London, declaring their intention was to join the forces of Surrey, Sussex, and Middlesex, to release his Majesty's person, to bring him with honour to his Parliament, and to settle peace in the kingdom: and desired their assistance no farther than their designs were really for the good and happiness of the King, Parliament, and kingdom, according to the covenant. But the Magistrates of London thought not fit to chuse for a leader, the Earl of Holland, who was in no great repute, or the Duke of Buckingham, an inexperienced youth, who had only the King's service in view, without any regard to the public, or the covenant; or in short, any of these Lords, whose principles were by no means agreeable to those of the Presbyterians. So, without answering this letter, they sent it to the Parliament, who immediately voted the Lords that had signed it, to be traitors, and their estates to be sequestrated.

The same day the letter was written, Colonel Levesey, with some companies of the two regiments that were quartered in Westminster, met these Lords near Kingston, and entirely routed them. But, Levesey's foot, which was left behind, not being yet arrived, and the Lords having sent theirs to Kingston, to secure their retreat, the horse only, on both sides, were engaged. Levesey briskly pursued them to Kingston, where the foot stood their ground, and hindered the enemies' horse from entering the town. That same night they quitted Kingston, and retired to St. Albans, with about four hundred men.

Meanwhile, General Fairfax hearing of this insurrection, sent from the blockade of Colchester, Colonel Scroop with a regiment of horse, to the assistance of the Parliament's troops. Scroop coming to Hertford, was informed, that the Lords who had been defeated at Kingston, were at St. Neot's in a negligent manner. Upon this intelligence, he marched thither in the night, and surprised them in that little town, killing some of their men, taking above a hundred prisoners, and dispersing the rest. The Lord Francis Villiers was slain. His brother the Duke of Buckingham, found means to escape, and the Earl of Holland was taken, conducted to London, and afterwards sent prisoner to Warwick castle. Thus ended this ill concerted enterprize.

At last, Duke Hamilton entered England at the head of the Scotch army, the 9th of July. The 11th of the same month, Pembroke castle surrendered to Cromwell, who immediately dispatched a body of horse to reinforce the army in the north, commanded by Major-General Lambert. He departed himself three days after, with the rest of his forces, which were already very much fatigued by the late siege, and of which the greatest part wanted shoes and stockings, though they undertook a long march, which probably would be followed with a battle. These difficulties discouraged not Cromwell. He pursued his march with all possible diligence, and yet could not join Lambert till the middle of August.

The Duke of Hamilton's conduct after his entrance into England, seems to afford very strong evidence, that he designed not to act in favour of the Presbyte-

rians. If he had such an intention, he should not, it seems, have lost, as he did, forty days in the northern counties, but have marched directly to London. Lambert would not have been able to hinder his march, being much weaker than he. Cromwell was yet employed in Wales, and Fairfax in the blockade of Colchester.

As soon as Duke Hamilton entered England, he marched to Carlisle, whence he drew out the English, placed there by Musgrave, and put in a Scotch garrison. Some days after, Langdale joined him with about four thousand English foot, and seven or eight hundred horse.* But these troops remained separate, and in the marches Langdale was always a day before the Scotch army. This was to evade in some measure the order of the Parliament of Scotland, that the English who should refuse to take the covenant, should not be received into the army, nor act in conjunction with the Scots. Lambert, who was posted near the place where the two armies joined, or least approached each other, retired in such disorder, that probably he would have been defeated, had he been pursued; but Duke Hamilton did not think fit to improve this advantage. He continued some days at Carlisle, after which he marched to Kendal in Westmoreland, where he rested again, till finding not wherewithal to subsist his army, he was forced, as it were, to proceed to Lancashire with part of his army, leaving the rest at Kendal. At length, he advanced to Preston, where he halted.

Meanwhile, Cromwell having reached Yorkshire, Lambert instantly joined him, and they marched together directly to Preston. Langdale, who made the van of the Duke's army with his English troops, sent him notice that Cromwell was approaching with a resolution to give him battle, and consequently it was necessary to keep his army together. But the Duke regarded not this intelligence, believing it to be only some detachment of Cromwell's army. In short, Langdale was attacked by the enemies' horse, who drove him to Preston, where he brought with him some prisoners, who averred, that Cromwell's whole army was near. Whereupon the Duke sent him back to his troops, promising to send him assistance; but disappointed him. So Langdale being attacked, was forced to maintain a very unequal fight, which lasted however five or six hours; but at last he was entirely routed. Immediately after Cromwell's horse marched directly to Preston, where all was in such confusion that nothing was thought of but flight. The Duke himself found it proper to retire by the bridge, which he in vain endeavoured to guard, after passing it.

Retiring to Nantwich, and finding himself pursued by Lambert with a strong party of horse, he marched to Utoxeter, in Staffordshire, where Lambert was almost as soon as he, and where the Scots made not the least show of resistance. In a word, the Duke was taken, with all the officers about him; and of the whole army, the horse only escaped, who went and joined Monroe in Cumberland.

The defeat of the Scotch army was followed, within a few days, by the taking of Colchester. The besieged having been forced to surrender at discretion, the General called a council of war, where it was determined, that Sir George Lisle, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne should be shot to death.† The two first were executed, but the General hearing, Sir Bernard was a Florentine, saved his life, for fear the grand Duke should revenge his death on the English gentlemen, who frequently travelled into his dominions.‡

The Prince of Wales was at the Hague, when the news of the Duke of Hamilton's defeat arrived there. On the morrow, the Earl of Lauderdale waited on him with a letter from the Parliament of Scotland, inviting him to come into their country, and head their army in England. But the news he had received the day before being confirmed, he did not think fit to hazard his person to no purpose. So, the Earl was obliged to return alone.

Since the two Houses had voted no more addresses to the King, there was a perfect union between the Parliament and the army.

The 27th of April, before the army removed from London, upon information, true or false, brought to the Parliament, that some officers had plotted to disarm, and then plunder the city, the Common-council then presented a petition to the House of Commons, desiring that the chains of the city, which had been lately pulled down, might be set up again; the army removed to a farther distance from London; and Major-General Skippon appointed to command within the lines of communication, and the weekly bills of mortality. The House granted two of their requests, and took time to consider of the removal of the army.

The next day the House of Commons having taken into consideration the affair of settling the government, voted: that the government of the kingdom should be still by King, Lords, and Commons; that the groundwork for this government should be the propositions last presented to the King at Hampton-Court; and that any member of the House should have leave to speak freely to any votes, ordinances, or declarations concerning the King, &c.

These votes were directly contrary to the designs of the Independents, who meant to abolish regal power, and establish a commonwealth. But as their intention was yet a secret, or at least they had not declared it, they did not think proper to discover it too openly, by opposing these votes.

If the cavaliers, for so the King's party were called, had behaved with a little more policy, and less passion and heat, they might have done the King signal service. But they so openly showed, that their design was to restore the King without terms, that they obliged the Presbyterians to be upon their guard, and even to oppose them, instead of acting jointly with them, as the cavaliers expected.

Meanwhile, the Presbyterians were greatly embarrassed. The Scotch army was not yet come, and they were in no less danger from the King's successes, than from the army's. They could therefore join with neither of the parties, without labouring their own ruin. The designs of all three were so opposite, that which soever should prevail, the other two would be infallibly ruined. The Presbyterians therefore resolved at length to take advantage of the army's absence, of the number of their voices in the Parliament, and of the assistance of the city, to conclude a peace with the King. But in order to this peace, it was necessary, the King should consent to three conditions, without which they could not resolve to be reconciled to him. The first was, "that the militia of the kingdom should, for such a number of years, be put into the hands of both Houses." The second condition was, "That the Presbyterian government should be established by authority of King and Parliament." The third condition was,

* Duke Hamilton brought with him four thousand horse, and ten thousand foot.

† Sir Charles Lucas was first shot, and he himself gave orders to fire, with the same alacrity as if he had commanded a platoon of his own soldiers. Lisle instantly ran and kissed the dead body, then cheerfully presented himself to a like fate. Thinking that the soldiers, destined for his execution, stood at too great a distance, he called to them to come nearer. One of them replied, "I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you." He answered, smiling, "Friends I have been nearer you when you have missed me." Thus perished this generous spirit, not less beloved for his modesty and humanity, than esteemed for his courage and military conduct.——Soon after, a gentleman appearing in the King's presence, clothed in mourning for Sir Charles Lucas, that humane Prince, suddenly recollecting the hard fate of his friends, paid them a tribute, which none of his own unparalleled misfortunes ever extorted from him; he dissolved into a flood of tears.

‡ The other prisoners taken at Colchester were, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, Henry Hastings, Lord Loughborough, Sir William Compton, Sir Ab. Shipman, Sir John Watts, Sir Lodowick Dyer, Sir Henry Appleton, Sir Dennard Strutt, Sir Hugh Oriley, Sir Richard Mauliverer, ten colonels, eight lieutenant-colonels, nine majors, thirty captains, gentlemen sixty-five, lieutenants seventy-two, ensigns and cornets sixty-nine, serjeants a hundred and eighty-three, private soldiers three thousand and sixty-seven. They held out so long, that all the dogs, and cats, and most of the horses were eaten.

"That

"That the King should call in all his proclamations and declarations against the two Houses."

The resolution of treating with the King being taken by the leading Presbyterians, the question was, to put it in execution. General Fairfax departing from Windsor the 22d of May, to march into the north, though within a few days he was forced to take the Kentish route, the next day, the common-council of London, presented a petition to both Houses of Parliament, wherein they said:

"That they thankfully acknowledged the favour of the House, in granting their desires concerning the Tower, and militia of London; and in communicating to them several votes of both Houses of Parliament, wherein it was resolved, not to alter the fundamental government of the kingdom, by King, Lords, and Commons; to preserve inviolably, the solemn league and covenant, and the treaties between the kingdom of England and Scotland; and to be ready to join with the kingdom of Scotland, in the propositions agreed upon by both kingdoms. They further desired, that the Aldermen, the Recorder, and the rest of their fellow-citizens, then in the Tower, might be discharged and restored; and that in prosecution of their said votes, they would be pleased to improve all good opportunities in perfecting the speedy settlement of the peace of both kingdoms."

This petition was the first step taken by the city of London, to give the Parliament occasion to endeavour a peace. The members were for the most part Presbyterians, and yet the Independents prevailed, because they were supported by the army. So, from the 6th of August, 1647, to the end of May 1648, the Parliament must be considered as Independent, because the votes were directed by that party. But since the army's removal from London, the Presbyterians had exerted themselves, and no longer fearing the army, passed such votes as were most agreeable to their interest. From that time therefore, the Parliament is not to be considered as Independent, but rather as Presbyterian.

The petition above-mentioned being read in both Houses, they ordered the Recorder, and all the other prisoners to be released, except the three Aldermen, who had been impeached in form, but who nevertheless were also discharged after some days. They farther ordered, that the soldiers posted in the Tower to reinforce the garrison, should return to their regiments.

On the morrow, the Commons voted, notwithstanding the opposition of the Independent members, that, after his Majesty's assent to three bills, which should be offered to him, a treaty should be had with him upon the rest of the propositions presented to him at Hampton-Court. These three bills were for settling the militia, the Presbyterian government, and recalling all his declarations against the two Houses. These bills were ready the 30th of May, and sent to the Lords for their concurrence. The same day, the General having drawn out the troops that were in the Tower, at Whitehall, and the Meuse, to employ them in his expedition against the Kentish men, the House impowered the militia of London, to send guards to the Parliament, from time to time, as occasion should require.

The next day, the Commons ordered, that the eleven members of their House, and the seven Peers accused by the army, should be fully discharged, and Glyn, member for Westminster, who had been expelled, was received into the House.

As the two Houses perceived, that the several insurrections in the kingdom were wholly in favour of the King, they prohibited, on pain of death, to take arms without their authority. Meanwhile, as they had no army to protect their adherents against the attempts of the cavaliers, it was moved to raise forces and oblige the officers to take the covenant; but after some debates, this last point was ordered to be laid aside. It was also proposed to remove the King to Windsor. But nothing was determined.

In the present situation of affairs, the royalists conceived great hopes. Many cavaliers even scrupled not to pass for Presbyterians, and mixed with them, to strengthen the party of those who wished to force the Parliament to a peace. Among the Presbyterians many were apprehensive, that by a too long delay, the opportunity of treating advantageously with the King would be lost. Whilst they thus differed among themselves, the time passed away without any effectual endeavours for a peace. The blockade of Colchester was just at an end; Cromwell was upon the point of finishing the siege of Pembroke castle, and going to join Lambert; and Fairfax, after the taking of Colchester, was about to come once more and awe the Parliament. Besides this, the King's party was daily increasing in the north, where Langdale, whose forces were now above four thousand men, was preparing to join Duke Hamilton.

What has been said clearly proves, that the Scotch army came into England with design to restore the King without terms, under colour of delivering him from the Independents. It is no wonder, that the Parliament, where the King had few friends, should declare this army enemies of the kingdom, as soon as their entrance was known. Nevertheless, as the Presbyterians were yet persuaded, the Scots were come to support them, it was with a great struggle that this declaration passed the House of Commons. Fourscore and ten Presbyterian members opposed it to the utmost of their power, so far were they from imagining, the Scots had taken arms for the King's interest. But it was not long before they were undeceived.

The 28th of July, the Commons agreed at last, that the King should be treated with upon the Hampton-Court propositions without being obliged to sign the three bills before-mentioned. In all probability the Presbyterians were at length sensible, that by deferring the treaty, they were labouring for the Independents, who sought only to waste the time, till Cromwell, who was in the midst of his march, should have joined Lambert. But it was not possible to advance so far as would have been necessary to finish or even begin the treaty, before the revolution caused by Duke Hamilton's defeat.

Since the Commons had consented to treat with the King, without obliging him to sign the three bills, five days more had passed before the manner, place, and time of the treaty could be settled.* The King required that all persons might have access to him as when at Hampton-Court: that the Scots should be invited to assist at the treaty; and that the town of Newport in the Isle of Wight be appointed for the conference. The commissioners who had been sent to him, having reported his desires to the two Houses, the Lords, who were willing to dispatch this affair, two days after passed the following votes:

"That the votes of both Houses of Parliament, against no farther addresses and application to his Majesty, be recalled; that such persons as his Majesty shall send for, as of necessary use to him in the treaty, be admitted to wait on him; that his Majesty be in the same estate of freedom, as he was last in at Hampton-Court; that such servants as his Majesty shall appoint be sent to wait on him; that the place for the treaty be in Newport, in the Isle of Wight; that the Scots be invited to treat with his Majesty; that his Majesty be admitted to invite them; that the instructions given from both Houses of Parliament, to Colonel Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, be recalled; that five Lords and ten Commoners be chosen commissioners, to treat with the King; that it be referred to the committee of Lords and Commons for peace, to prepare all things in readiness for the speeding of the treaty."

These votes being sent to the Commons, they did not think proper to pass them without some amendments. The question whether the Scots should be invited by the Parliament, to send commissioners to treat with his Majesty upon the propositions presented to him at Hampton-Court, was carried in the negative. But it

* Both Houses agreed, August 2, to treat with the King in the Isle of Wight; and the Earl of Middlesex, Sir John Hippesley, and Mr. Bulkley, were sent, August 4, to his Majesty, with the votes of the two Houses.

was ordered, that if the King should think fit to send for any of the Scottish nation, to advise with him concerning the affairs of the kingdom of Scotland only, the House would give him a safe-conduct."

The next day the Commons ordered new instructions to Colonel Hammond, viz.

"That the King be removed to Newport, and be in the same condition and freedom there, as he was at Hampton-Court; that no person in the first exception out of mercy, nor under restraints of the Parliament, nor of late actually in arms against the Parliament, be admitted to the King; that no person that hath been in arms against the Parliament, &c. or of whom there is just cause of suspicion, be admitted into any fort or tower in the Isle of Wight; that no person of any foreign nation be admitted to come into the same Isle, without leave of the Parliament; that if the kingdom of Scotland send any to treat with his Majesty, they shall have a pass from both Houses, and be admitted; that his Majesty pass his royal word, not to go out of the Island during the treaty, nor twenty-eight days after, without the advice of both Houses of Parliament."

The next day, advice was brought of Duke Hamilton's defeat. The Independents thence hoped, they should hinder the conclusion of the treaty,* and the Presbyterians, that the King would grant every thing, since he had lost the assistance he depended upon, and was without any resource. Thus, this event, though of the greatest importance, caused no alteration in the disposition of the parties to treat. A few days after they received also news of the taking of Colchester.

The King having sent a list of the persons he desired to have about him, the Parliament excepted against three, namely, Ashburnham, Legg, and Dowcet, who were then in custody.

It was not only upon this point, but several others, where difficulties occurred, that they were forced to send expresses to the King. It suffices to say, that the Parliament's commissioners departed not from London to Newport, till the 13th of September, and the conferences began not till the 18th. It was agreed, they should continue forty days only.

The 11th of September, two days before the departure of the commissioners for the Isle of Wight, the Independents presented a petition to the Parliament, subscribed by several thousands, openly complaining of the Commons proceedings, which they said, flowed from the corruption of most of the members. They also gave them the reasons, why they first assisted them in this war with their persons and purses, and let them know, they expected other ways from them than a treaty with the King.

The same day the masters and commanders of ships presented a petition, complaining of the tyranny of the Parliament.†

Before we enter upon the particulars of the treaty at Newport, it is necessary to relate what passed in the north of England, and in Scotland.

Monroe, who was leading from Scotland three or four thousand men to Duke Hamilton, had entered a good way into England, when the Scotch army was vanquished and dispersed. After this victory, Cromwell, without losing time in pursuing the rest of the army which was not in condition to do any mischief, left Lambert with some troops to finish their destruction, and immediately marched in quest of Monroe. The English that were with this Scotch General used their utmost endeavours to persuade him to give Cromwell battle: but it was not possible to prevail with him. He chose rather to retire northward, and always kept at so great distance, that there was no overtaking him. Nevertheless Cromwell continued his march, and hearing that Lambert had destroyed the Scotch army, sent him orders to march to Carlisle, where Musgrave still remained with some troops, and after clearing those parts, to come and join him in order to enter Scotland together. When Cromwell came near Berwick, he wrote to the committee of estates to require them to call home Monroe, and deliver Berwick and Carlisle, otherwise they were to expect a war. A few days after he pursued his march towards Scotland, having left some regiments to block up Berwick.

Duke Hamilton's defeat, and Cromwell's threats, entirely changed the face of affairs in Scotland. The Marquis of Argyle, who had not been able to prevent the raising of an army, and had been forced to submit to the opposite party, became superior again, and was supported by all who were against the war. The committee of estates daily lost their authority, and were seconded only by Monroe, who had at length returned into Scotland. So, the Marquis of Argyle being assured of the approbation of most of the people, levied three or four thousand men to oppose Monroe, whom the Earl of Lanerick had joined, with some new raised troops. They had secured Stirling bridge, which hindered the Marquis of Argyle from making any progress, though his forces had been more numerous. But Cromwell broke all their measures, by not staying at Berwick, but marching directly to Edinburgh. He thereby forced the committee of estates to fly from thence, and disperse, for fear of being inclosed between the English, and the Marquis of Argyle's forces. Then the Earl of Lanerick and Monroe, being unable to continue the war, came to an agreement; that both the armies should be disbanded; that a Parliament should be called to sit before the 20th of January; that the settling of religion be referred to the determination of the General-Assembly, and all civil questions to the determination of Parliament, &c.

The face of affairs being thus changed, and the King's party dispersed, Cromwell repaired to Edinburgh, where he was received with great respect. He obtained the restitution of Berwick and Carlisle, and having concerted measures with the Marquis of Argyle, returned triumphantly into England. He left Lambert, however, in Scotland, with three or four regiments, at the request of the Scots, who believed they should want them, to awe those who might desire to raise new commotions.

Whilst Cromwell was in quest of Monroe in Scotland, and three days before General Fairfax came to St. Albans, the conferences for peace began at Newport.‡ Though the two Houses had desisted from the condition, that the King should sign the three bills before the treaty, they had not relinquished the thing itself. The very first day, the commissioners presented to the King, the draughts of the three bills. By the first, the Presbyterian government was established for ever in the church of England, episcopacy abolished, with the whole hierarchy, and the sale of Bishops' lands appointed. By the second, the King left the power of the militia for thirty years in the hands of both Houses. By the third, all the King's proclamations and declarations against the Parliament, or their adherents were recalled. The last of these bills began with these words, "Whereas the Parliament have been necessitated to make and prosecute a war in their just and lawful defence, &c." The King scrupled not to agree to the substance of the bill, but objected against the preamble, which charged him indirectly with having made war upon the Parliament, and desired it might be omitted, to which the commissioners would never consent, because they were, by their instructions, not to depart from a tittle of what was contained in the three bills. This dispute held seven days, and it was the 25th of September, before the King consented to pass the

* Cromwell wrote to his friends, that it would be a perpetual ignominy to the Parliament, if they should recede from their former vote of, no further addresses to the King, and conjured them to continue firm in that resolution.

† The House returned answer to the Independents' petition to this effect: "That the House gave them thanks for their great pains and care of the public good of the kingdom, and would speedily take their desires into consideration."

‡ They were held in Sir William Hodges's house. The commissioners were five Lords, viz. the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, Middlesex, Northumberland, and the Lord Say; and ten commoners, viz. Denzil Holles, Lord Wenman, Mr. Pierrepoint, Sir Henry Vane, junr. Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Mr. Brown, Mr. Crow, Recorder Glyn, Sir John Potts, and Mr. Bulkley.

bill,

bill, with the preamble. But it was on condition, that nothing should be binding, unless the whole were agreed on, and the treaty signed. This article being thus dispatched, they proceeded to the rest, on which were great debates, and particularly concerning religion. As the King saw the commissioners would not, or could not yield any thing, he hoped to shorten the negotiation, by showing the two Houses, how far he could comply with regard to the most important articles. He sent therefore a message to explain his intentions, and to make them certain offers.*

There is no doubt, that it was the interest, both of King and Parliament to finish the r treaty with all expedition; and to endeavour by their combined force, to resist, if possible, the usurping fury of the army. It seemed even the interest of the Parliament, to leave in the King's hand a considerable share of authority, by which he might be enabled to protect them and himself from so dangerous an enemy. But the terms on which they insisted were so rigorous, that the King fearing no worse from the most implacable enemies, was in no haste to come to a conclusion. And so great was the bigotry on both sides, that they were willing to sacrifice the greatest civil interests, rather than relinquish the most minute of their theological contentions. From these causes, assisted by the artifice of the Independents, the treaty was spun out to such a length, that the invasions and insurrections were every where subdued; and the army had leisure to execute their violent and sanguinary purposes.

Whilst both Houses were employed in the affairs of the treaty, the officers of the army, whose head-quarters were then at Windsor, met in a council of war, to endeavour to obstruct the peace. Cromwell was not yet come to the army, but remained about Pontefract, to order the siege of that place, which had been surprised by the King's party, and the garrison whereof kept the whole country in awe, and committed great violences. Colonel Rainsborough had been detached from the army, to command at the siege; but had been surprised in a neighbouring town by a party of the garrison, who had killed him, not having been able to carry him off.† Cromwell had ever loved and esteemed him, and therefore earnestly wished to revenge his death, besides that he was importuned by the committee of Yorkshire, to employ the forces, he was leading from Scotland, for the reduction of this place. This had detained him some time in those parts. But as he wanted not all his troops for that siege, because he had there already a detachment of the army, he sent part of his forces before, to join General Fairfax. This reinforcement being arrived, the army believed themselves able to execute what had been resolved. To that purpose, the 18th of November, which would have been the last day of the Newport conferences, if the Parliament had not continued them a week beyond the time at first

---

* He agreed that the Parliament should retain, during the term of twenty years, the power over the militia and army, and that of levying what money they pleased for their support. He even yielded to them, the right of resuming, at any time afterwards, this authority, whenever they should declare such a resumption necessary for public safety. In effect, the important power of the sword was for ever ravished from him and his successors. He agreed, that all the great offices during twenty years, should be filled by both Houses of Parliament. He relinquished to them the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war there, he renounced the power of the wards, and accepted of 100,000*l.* a year, in lieu of it. He acknowledged the validity of their great seal and gave up his own. He abandoned the power of creating Peers without consent of Parliament. And he agreed that all the debts contracted in order to support the war against him, should be paid by the people. So great were the alterations made on the English constitution by this treaty, that the King said, not without reason, that he had been more an enemy to his people by these concessions, could he have prevented them, than by any other action of his life.—Of all the demands of the Parliament, Charles refused only two. Though he relinquished almost every power of the crown, he would neither give up his friends to punishment, nor desert what he esteemed his religious duty. The severe repentance, which he had undergone; for abandoning Strafford, had, no doubt, confirmed him in the resolution never again to be guilty of a like error. His long solitude, and severe afflictions had contributed to rivet him the more in those religious principles, which had ever a considerable influence over him. His desire, however, of finishing an accommodation induced him to go as far in both these particulars, as he thought anywise consistent with his duty.—The estates of the royalists being, at that time, almost under sequestration, Charles, who could give them no protection, consented that they should pay such compositions as they and the Parliament could agree on; and only begged that they might be as moderate as possible. He had not the disposal of offices; and it seemed but a small sacrifice to consent, that a certain number of his friend should be rendered incapable of public employments. But when the Parliament demanded a bill of attainder and banishment against seven persons, the Marquis of Newcastle, Lord Digby, Lord Biron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Sir Francis Doddington, and Judge Jenkins, the King absolutely refused compliance: their banishment for a limited time he was willing to agree to.—Religion was the fatal point about which the difference had arisen; and of all others, it was the least susceptible of composition or moderation between the contending parties. The Parliament insisted on the establishment of Presbytery, the sale of chapter lands, the abolition of all forms of prayer, and strict laws against Catholics. The King offered to retrench every thing he did not esteem of apostolical institution; he was willing to abolish Archbishops, Deans, Prebends, and Canons. He offered that the chapter lands should be let at low leases during ninety-nine years: he consented, that the present church government should be continued during three years. After that time, he required not that any thing should be restored to the Bishops but the power of ordination, and even that power to be exercised by advice of the Presbyters. If the Parliament, upon the expiration of that period, still insisted on their demand, all other branches of episcopal jurisdiction were abolished and a new form of church government must, by common consent, be established. The book of Common Prayer he was willing to renounce, but required the liberty of using some other liturgy in his own chapel; a demand which, though seemingly reasonable, was positively refused by the Parliament.—In the dispute on these articles, one is not surprised that two of the Parliamentary theologians should tell the King, "That if he did not consent to the utter abolition of episcopacy, he would be damned." But it is not without some indignation, that we read the following vote of the Lords and Commons. "The House, out of their detestation to that abominable idolatry used in the mass, do declare, that they cannot admit of, or consent unto, any such indulgence in any law, as is desired by his Majesty, for exempting the Queen and her family from the penalties to be enacted against the exercise of the mass. The treaty of marriage, the regard to the Queen's sex and high station, even common humanity; all considerations were undervalued, in comparison of their bigoted prejudices.——The King composed a letter to the Prince, in which he related the whole course of this transaction, and accompanied his narrative with several wise, as well as pathetical reflections and advices. The words with which he concluded the letter are remarkable. "By what hath been said, you see how long I have laboured in the search of peace; do not you be disheartened, tread in the same steps. Use all worthy means to restore yourself to your rights, but prefer the way of truth: show the greatness of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning, than by punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristian the implacable disposition is in our ill wishers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure me not for having parted with so much of our right. The price was great; but the commodity was security to us, and peace to my people. And I am confident, that another Parliament would remember, how useful a King's power is to a people's liberty; of how much power I divested myself, that I and they might meet once again in a Parliamentary way, in order to agree the bounds of a Prince and people. Give belief to my experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative, than what is really an intrinsically good of the subjects: not the satisfaction of favourites. If you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful Prince to any, whom you incline to be extraordinarily gracious to. You may perceive, that all men entrust their treasure where it returns them interest; and if a Prince, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams, which the rivers entrust with him, they will not grudge, but pride themselves upon making him up an ocean. These considerations may make you as great a Prince as your father is a low one, and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For our subjects have learned, I dare say, that victories over their Princes are but triumphs over themselves, and so will more unwillingly hearken to charges hereafter. The English nation are a sober people, however at present infatuated. I know not but this may be the last time I may speak to you or the world publicly. I am sensible into what hands I am falling, and yet, I bless God, I have those inward refreshments, which the malice of my enemies cannot perturb. I have learned to be busy myself, by retiring into myself; and therefore can the better digest whatever befalls me, not doubting but God's providence will restrain our enemies' power, and turn their fierceness into his praise. To conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly, and be ever far from revenge. If he restore you to your right on hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. These men, who have violated laws, which they were bound to preserve, will find their triumphs full of trouble. But do not you think any thing in the world worth attaining by foul and unjust means."

† Forty horse sallied out of Pontefract to Doncaster, where they killed the centinel; then three of them rode on to Doncaster, and asked for Colonel Rainsborough's quarters, and coming to his chamber, there called to him, and said, they had a letter from Lieutenant-General Cromwell. The Colonel rose and opened his door to them, (expecting such a letter that morning) and presently the three Pontefract soldiers fell upon him, shot him in the neck, another shot him through the heart, with other wounds, and left him dead, escaping without any alarm given.

fixed, Colonel Ewers, attended with some officers, presented to the Commons, from the army, a remonstrance, to this effect: they complain of the treaty with the King; demand his punishment for the blood spilt during the war; require a dissolution of the present Parliament, and a more equal representation for the future; and assert, that, though servants, they were entitled to represent these important points to their masters, who are themselves no better than servants and trustees of the people.

Three days after the Parliament had received the remonstrance, letters came from the commissioners at Newport, with his Majesty's answer concerning the Marquis of Ormond, and the Bishops' lands; namely, that he could not give any orders to the Marquis before the treaty was signed, but then would do as both Houses desired; and if the Marquis refused to obey, would take such measures against him as should be satisfactory to the two Houses. That as to the Bishops' lands, he persisted in his former offers. This answer afforded no great hopes of a speedy accommodation. However, as it was delivered the 16th of the month, two days before the presenting of the army's remonstrance, it was hoped the next news from Newport would be more satisfactory. But on the 25th, the Parliament was informed, by letters from the commissioners, that the King had positively refused to add any thing to his former answers.*

This was not all. They were acquainted at the same time, that the General had required Colonel Hammond to attend him at the head-quarters, and sent Colonel Ewers to take the command of his Majesty in the Isle of Wight, who kept the King under very strict custody. Thus the precautions taken by the Parliament, to hinder the King from coming to treat in person at London, for fear he should meet with too many friends, were the cause that they could not be master of his person, when it would have been most necessary. Two days after, the Commons received a letter from Colonel Hammond, with the General's order to him to repair to the army, and resign his command to Colonel Ewers. Whereupon the Commons voted, that Colonel Hammond should be required to stay in the Isle of Wight, and the General be acquainted with this vote. But Hammond was now gone to the army, and had resigned the custody of the King to Colonel Ewers.† Notwithstanding all this, the Parliament seems not to have despaired of agreeing with the King, since the Commons deferred the consideration of the army's remonstrance, till the first of December, in order to be better able to answer it when they should know the King's final resolution. The same day, the General received petitions from the forces in the north, and in Wales, agreeably to the army's remonstrance.

After the General had thus made himself master of the King's person, without the privity of the Houses, it was not very likely, he should be disposed to receive their orders. Nevertheless, the Commons told him in a letter from their Speaker, that his orders to Colonel Ewers were contrary to their resolutions, and Colonel Hammond's instructions, and that it was the pleasure of the House, he should recall his orders, and suffer Colonel Hammond to attend his charge in the Isle of Wight. But the General, and council of war, took no notice of this order.

The next day, the King, by command of the General, was removed by Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbet to Hurst castle in Hampshire, situated on a narrow piece of land, running into the sea, over against the Isle of Wight, and the Parliament was not informed of it till three days after.

Meanwhile, the army was not idle, being resolved to run all hazards to prevent the conclusion of the treaty. The same day, November the 30th, they published a declaration or manifesto, wherein they discovered their designs; and, after justifying this appeal, they admonished such members as were upright, to protest against the resolutions of the House, and withdraw, promising to look upon them as persons that had the chief trust of the kingdom remaining in them, and to adhere to them, and be guided by them, till the introducing of a more formal power, in a just representative, were speedily endeavoured. Then they declared, that they were ready to lay down their arms, if their remonstrance were answered; but that the little notice taken of their propositions made them sensible there was nothing to be hoped. And therefore the case being so extraordinary, and the danger so pressing, they were drawing up with their army to London, there to follow providence, as God should clear their way.

The first of December, the General wrote to the city, to inform them of the army's advance towards London, on account of the Parliament's contempt of their remonstrance: that they had no thought of plunder, or other wrong to the city, or so much as troubling the inhabitants with quartering any soldiers: but that for prevention of all violence, he desired forty thousand pounds might be provided by the next day.‡ The House of Commons agreed, that the city should send this sum to the army, and acquainted the General, that it was the House's pleasure he should not remove nearer London.

The second of this month, the House took the King's offers into consideration, but without coming to any conclusion. Whilst they were debating, the General, with several regiments, came and took up his quarters in Whitehall, St. James's, the Mews, and other places in the skirts of the city, which he judged convenient for his designs.

The 3d being Sunday, the Parliament did not sit. But on the 4th, the Commons resumed the debate of the King's concessions, which was interrupted by the news of the King's removal to Hurst castle; whereupon they voted immediately, that the carrying the King prisoner to Hurst castle, was without the advice and consent of the House. After that, they debated again the King's offers, and sat all the day and night, till five o'clock in the morning. At last, it was proposed, whether the question should be put, and carried by a hundred and forty, against a hundred and four. Then the main question being put, it was voted, by a majority of 129 against 83, that "his Majesty's concessions to the propositions of Parliament upon the treaty, were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom."

Immediately after, the House appointed a committee to confer with the General, for the better procuring a good correspondence between the Parliament and the army; and then adjourned to Wednesday. The same day, several other regiments came and quartered in the suburbs of London, and the General caused a proclamation to be made, requiring all delinquents, who had not perfected their compositions, to depart ten miles from London, for a month, on pain of being proceeded against as prisoners of war.

Wednesday, the 6th of December, the General sent two regiments to Westminster, and the city trained-bands were discharged, who had been set there some months since, for guards to the Parliament. After the soldiers were drawn up in the court of requests, on the stairs, and in the lobby before the House, when the members offered to go in, Colonel Pride, having a paper of names in his hand, seized upon one-and-forty, and sent them into the court of wards,§ where they were

* The King alone disputed upon the several articles, with the Parliament's commissioners, none of his attendants being permitted to speak.

† This measure having been foreseen, the King was advised to make his escape, which was conceived to be very easy; but having given his word to the Parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the treaty; and three weeks after; he would not by any persuasion, be induced to hazard the reproach of violating that promise. In vain it was urged, that a promise given to the Parliament could no longer be binding; since they could no longer afford him protection from violence, threatened him by other persons, to whom he was bound by no tie or engagement. The King would indulge no refinements of casuistry, however plausible, in such delicate subjects; and was resolved, that what depredations soever fortune should commit upon him, she never should bereave him of his honour.

‡ On the security of the arrears due to the army from the city.

§ This was ludicrously termed "Colonel Pride's Purge."

kept

kept under guard. The House having notice thereof, sent their Serjeant at Arms to acquaint these members, that they should forthwith attend the service of the House. But the officer of the guard answered, he had orders to secure them, which orders he was to obey before any other command.

December the 7th, the Commons, as they were repairing to their House, found the door within and without guarded by soldiers, who hindered many from going in. So from this day, the House of Commons is to be considered as consisting entirely of Independents. The Presbyterians had been superior from the beginning of the war, to the 6th of August, 1647. The Independents had prevailed from that day, till about the end of the year, 1648, when the army was forced to remove from London, after which the Presbyterians were masters again. At last, on the 6th and 7th of December this same year, the Independents entirely expelled the Presbyterians, or at least disabled them from supporting their party.

The same day, December the 7th, Cromwell, who came to London the night before, sat in the House, and received thanks for his great services.

Though the General had promised the city not to quarter the soldiers upon the inhabitants, as this promise was only conditional, in case the sum demanded were paid, and as the city had not furnished the money, he ordered two regiments into the city, and on the morrow, a third, after which, he took away twenty thousand pounds from Weavers'-Hall, assuring the Treasurer he should be reimbursed out of the assessments of the city due to the army.

About the same time, was presented to the General, a plan, intituled, "A new Representative, or, an Agreement of the people," for settling the government.* This plan was wholly founded upon Independent principles, and agreeably to the army's remonstrance, except that it was more large on each article. This agreement was propounded as a rule for future government, and to be subscribed throughout the kingdom.†

The secluded members having published a protestation against the violence put upon them, both Houses declared the protestation to be false, scandalous, and seditious, and tending to destroy the fundamental government of the kingdom, and ordered that all persons who had any hand in framing or publishing it, should be incapable to bear any office, or to sit as members of either House. They further ordained, that all absent members, upon their coming to the House, should disclaim their being concerned in, or giving consent to the contriving or publishing the protestation.

After that, both Houses passed an ordinance, that no persons who had been delinquents, or assisted the King against the Parliament in the first or second wars, or been aiding in bringing in the Scots army, or subscribed to the treasonable engagement in 1647, for a personal treaty, or abetted the late tumults within the city of London and Westminster, or the counties of Essex, Kent, Middlesex, or Surrey, should not be elected, or give their voice for electing, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common-council-men, or any other officers. But within a few days, a committee of the Common-council acquainted the House, that the city was so generally concerned in the engagement for a personal treaty, that there would not be a sufficient number of persons to supply the necessary offices of the city, if that restriction in the late ordinance should stand.

The 20th of December, the General ordered fifteen or sixteen of the members secured by the army to be released, with liberty to resume their places in the House if they pleased.

Since the Independents were masters of the Parliament, petitions against the King multiplied so fast, that scarcely a day passed without some one being presented to the Commons, especially from the garrisons, which were part of the army. Somersetshire, where the King had formerly many adherents, distinguished itself on this occasion above all the rest, by presenting a petition, desiring that speedy and effectual justice might be executed upon the chief of the delinquents, that is, upon the King.

At length, the 23d of December, the House of Commons having resolved, pursuant to the desires of the army, to bring the chief delinquents to a trial, and intending to begin with the King, appointed a committee of thirty-eight to draw up a charge, and for that purpose to receive all informations and examinations of witnesses for the matters of fact against him.

The same day, the fleet, under the command of the Earl of Warwick, sent a declaration to the general, that they concurred with the army in their remonstrance. This did not much redound to the Earl of Warwick's honour, who having been one of the Presbyterian leaders, was the first that quitted his party to join with the Independents.

The resolution to try the King being taken, Colonel Harrison was commanded to remove him from Hurst castle to Windsor. All the time the King was in the Isle of Wight, he kept a private correspondence with the Lord Newburgh. Since his being at Hurst, that Lord had found means to acquaint him, he was to be removed to Windsor, and as his house was in the road, sent him word, to endeavour to dine with him, and complain of the going of his horse, promising to supply him with one of the fleetest in England, by means of which he might attempt to escape. Accordingly, the King complained all the morning, that his horse was very uneasy, and so artfully managed, that he was conducted to dine with the Lord Newburgh. But when his Majesty came there, he was told, that the horse so much depended upon, was the day before lamed with a kick. This stratagem failing, the King was conveyed to Windsor, where he was kept till the 19th of January 1648-9, when he was carried to St. James's.‡

He was no sooner at Windsor, than the council of war ordered all the usual ceremonies to the King to be laid aside, as serving him upon the knee, and the like, and most of his domestics to be dismissed. For though the council of war had no right to take then upon them, yet they daily incroached upon the priviledges of the Parliament, which acted entirely by their orders.§

The 28th of December, the committee appointed to consider of drawing up a charge against the King, reported an ordinance for attainting him of high-treason, and for trying him by such commissioners as should be named in the ordinance, which being read the first time, was ordered to be read again the next morning.‖ But as the House knew, the ordinance would be approved at the third reading, they passed an

* One of the agitators, who was the author of this paper, was shot to death for it last year, by Cromwell's order.

† It contained rules for future elections of representatives of the people. They to have the supreme authority, and this Parliament to be dissolved in April next, and then a new one to sit. Divers rules for the election of members. Officers, and malignants, to be incapable of electing, or being elected; and generally of the power and equal distribution of the members, to be in all three hundred persons, &c. The frame of this agreement of the people was thought to be, for the most part, made by Commissary General Ireton.

‡ Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party, to conduct the King to London. At Windsor, Hamilton, who was there detained a prisoner, was admitted into the King's presence; and falling on his knees, passionately exclaimed, "My dear master!"—"I have been so to you," replied Charles, embracing him. No farther intercourse was allowed between them. The King was instantly hurried away. Hamilton long followed him with his eyes, all suffused in tears, and prognosticated, that in this short salutation, he had given his last adieu to his sovereign and his friend.

§ A woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetical visions, desired admittance into the military counsel, and communicated to the officers a revelation, which assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly sanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolution.

‖ In proportion to the enormity of the violences and usurpations, were augmented the pretences of sanctity among those regicides. "Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said Cromwell in the House, "to bring the King to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but since providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels; though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even I myself," subjoined he, "when I was lately offer-

an act for erecting a high court of justice, with power to try the King.*

A. D. 1648-9.] The ordinance for trial of the King passed in the House of Commons, the second of January, and was sent up the same day to the Lords for their concurrence. Since the 6th of December, the Upper House had consisted only of nine Peers, the rest having absented themselves, that they might not be obliged to countenance the outrageous proceedings of the Commons. But upon notice, that the ordinance would that day be sent up to the Lords, there came more Peers than usual, as the Earls of Northumberland, Manchester, Rutland, the Lords North, Rochford, Maynard, Dacres, in all sixteen, and the Lord Denbigh, Speaker. The ordinance being read, was unanimously rejected. However, to gain time, if possible, the Lords agreed to acquaint the Commons, that they would send answer by messengers of their own; and at the same time adjourned for ten days. This artifice was fruitless. The Commons having ordered the journal of the House of Lords to be examined, and finding the ordinance was rejected, voted, "That all members of the House of Commons, and others, appointed to act in any ordinance wherein the Lords were joined, shall be impowered to sit, act, and execute, in the said several committees of themselves, notwithstanding the House of Peers join not with them." And therefore they ordered the names of six Lords, who had been appointed for judges, to be left out of the commission, and others to be nominated in their room. Among these last was Serjeant Bradshaw, who was afterwards chosen president of the high court of justice. Then, the House voted:

"I. That the people, under God, are the original of all just power.

"II. That the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, being chosen by, and representing the people, have the supreme authority of this nation.

"III. That whatsoever is enacted and declared law by the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, hath the force of law, and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King, and House of Peers, be not had thereunto."

The ordinance for trial of the King, with the amendments that were forced to be made, for want of the Lords' concurrence, passed the House of Commons the 6th of January.

The following days, to the 20th, were employed in preparations for the trial, the like whereof had never yet been seen in the world.†

The high court of justice observed the same rules in trying the King, as in judging a common malefactor, there being no precedent of such a trial.‡

The principal article of the accusation was, that the King had levied war against the Parliament, which was undeniable. The sieges and battles were evident proofs of it. But this ought not to have been the principal point. It should have been proved, that he was the beginner and author of the war. For it is manifest, if this war had been only defensive on his part, he was not to be blamed. And yet, in the charge, he was supposed to have put the Parliament under a necessity of defending themselves, and this point, which was the chief, not only was not proved, but even not attempted to be proved. The depositions of the witnesses tended not to show, that the King had forced the Parliament to take arms, but only that he had been seen sword in hand against the Parliament, and giving orders to levy war. The question, which of the two, the King or the Parliament, had begun the war, ought to have been fully cleared. But though it had been so, to the King's disadvantage, who does not know, that the beginner of a war, is not always the aggressor? This was a point of great discussion, and which impartial judges would have found difficult to decide. For if what has been said in the history of this reign be remembered, it will be observed, that though it is evident, the King governed in an arbitrary manner for some years, the ground of the war he undertook, was not in maintenance of this arbitrary power. He had fully consented to the annulling of his usurpations. But the ground of the war, on his part, was the defence of the power the King enjoys by the laws of the land. On the Parliament's side, the ground of the war was, that in a supposition, the King could not be trusted any more, they would have divested him of the power his legal prerogatives afforded him to return to his former courses, and govern for the future as he had governed before. The King was unwilling to be curbed, and the Parliament would set bounds to his power. This was the true ground of the war. It was not therefore easy to determine who was the first author of it. The King refused to give other security for the future than his word; and the Parliament pretended to have very strong reasons to suspect the word of a Prince, who had so often broken it.

There are frequent instances in history of Kings assassinated by their subjects, in consequence either of the public hatred, or of private revenge, or of the interest of some faction. The English history furnishes, even since the conquest, examples of two Kings solemnly deposed and imprisoned. But till Charles I. it no where appears, that any King was ever tried for his life, before his own subjects, as judges.

The King was brought three times before the high court of justice, and as often called upon to answer the charge entered against him, which was read in his hearing. But he constantly refused to own the authority of the court, and of those who erected it. On the other hand, the court would never hear his reasons for declining their jurisdiction. They always took for granted, that the authority by which the court was established, was sufficient; which was the very thing the King would have combated, but was never suffered. At last, seeing he could not prevail to be heard on

ing up petitions for his Majesty's Restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this preternatural movement as the answer which heaven, having rejected the King, had sent to my supplications."

* The preface to this extraordinary act was as follows:

"Whereas it is notorious, that Charles Stuart, the now King of England, not content with those many encroachments which his predecessors had made upon the people in their rights and freedoms, hath had a wicked design, totally to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws and liberties of this nation, and in their trade to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; and that besides all other evil ways and means to bring this design to pass, he hath prosecuted it with fire and sword, levelled and maintained a cruel war in the land against the Parliament and kingdom, whereby the country hath been miserably wasted, the public treasure exhausted, trade decayed, thousands of people murdered, and infinite other mischiefs committed; for all which high and treasonable offences, the said Charles Stuart, might long since justly have been brought to exemplary and condign punishment: whereas also the Parliament, well hoping, that the restraint and imprisonment of his person, after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quieted the distempers of the kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially against him; but found by sad experience, that such their remissness served only to encourage him and his accomplices in the continuance of their evil practice, and in raising of new commotions, rebellions, and invasions. For prevention therefore of the like or greater inconveniences, and to the end, no chief officer, or magistrate whatsoever may hereafter presume, traiterously and maliciously to imagine or contrive, the enslaving or destroying of the English nation, and to expect impunity for so doing: be it ordained and enacted, by the Commons in Parliament, and it is hereby ordained and enacted by the authority thereof, that Thomas Lord Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, Esquires; Sir Hardress Waller, Knight; Philip Skippon, (and a hundred and forty-five others) shall be, and are hereby appointed and required to be commissioners and judges for the hearing, trying, and adjudging of the said Charles Stuart, &c."

† John Bradshaw, serjeant at law, was president of the court. William Steele, Dr. Dorislaus, and Mr. Aske, were counsellors assistants to draw up the charge against the King. John Coke, sollicitor. Serjeant Dandy, Serjeant at arms. Mr. Phelps and Mr. Broughton, clerks to the court.

‡ It is remarkable, that, in calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from one of the spectators, and cried, "He has more wit than to be here." When the charge was read against the King, "In the name of the people of England;" the same voice exclaimed, "not a tenth part of them." Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box whence these insolent speeches came; it was discovered, that Lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had the courage to utter them. She was a person of noble extraction, daughter of Horace, Lord Vere of Tilbury; but being seduced by the violence of the times, she had long seconded her husband's zeal against the royal cause, and was now, as well as he, struck with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected consequence of all his boasted victories.

that subject, he left his reasons in writing to this effect:

"That no earthly power could justly call him (who was their King) in question as a delinquent.

"That there were no proceedings just against any man but what were warranted, either by God's laws, or the municipal laws of the country where he lives. As for the proceedings against him, they could not be warranted by God's laws. For on the contrary, it is there said, 'where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may say unto him, what dost thou? Eccles. viii. 4.' Then for the law of the land, no impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in his name: and one of their maxims is, 'That the King can do no wrong.' Besides, the law upon which they grounded their proceedings, must either be old or new: if old, they ought to shew it; if new, they should tell what authority, warranted by the fundamental laws of the land, had made it, and when.

"How the House of Commons could erect a court of judicature, which was never one itself, he left to God and the world to judge.

"And it was full as strange, that they should pretend to make laws without King, or Lords' House, to any that had heard speak of the laws of England. And admitting, that the people of England's commission could grant their pretended power, he saw nothing they could shew for that; for certainly they never asked the question of the tenth man in the kingdom.

"That having concluded, as much as in him lay, a treaty at Newport, and expecting the House's agreement thereunto, he was suddenly surprised and hurried from thence as a prisoner; that the higher House, for any thing he could see, was totally excluded; and for the House of Commons, it was too well known, that the major part of them were detained or deterred from sitting: so as if he had no other, this would have been a sufficient reason for him to protest against the lawfulness of their pretended court.

"That the arms he took up, were only to defend the fundamental laws of the kingdom, against those who had supposed his power had totally changed the ancient government."*

Of all the witnesses examined against the King, there was not one which proved the King to be author of the war. But among the depositions, there were two which must not pass unobserved, supposing they were neither forged nor altered.

Richard Price, a scrivener of London, deposed, that the committee of safety being informed, that the King was privately negotiating with the Independents, sent the deponent to Oxford, under colour of carrying proposals to the King, from the Independents: that he was introduced to the King by the Earl of Bristol, and received orders to say to the leading Independents, from his Majesty, that if they would take his part against the Parliament, he would grant them whatever freedom they desired.

The second deposition was of Henry Gooche of Grey's, Inn, who said: "That on the 30th of September last, having access to, and discourse with, the King at Newport, he told him, that since his Majesty had justified the Parliament's taking up arms, by consenting to the preface of the bill, he did not question, but most of the Presbyterian party, both soldiers and others, would stick close to him." To which the King answered, "that he would have all his old friends know, that though for the present he was contented to give the Parliament leave to call their own war what they pleased, yet that he neither did then, nor ever should decline the justice of his own cause." Moreover, upon the deponent's saying, "That his business was much retarded through want of commissions." The King made answer, "that being upon a treaty he would not dishonour himself, but if the deponent would go over to the Prince his son, (who had full authority from him,) he, or any for him, should receive whatever commissions should be desired." That, besides, he expressed much joy, that his good subjects would engage themselves for his restoration.

The King refusing to answer before the high court of justice, his refusal was taken for a confession, and sentence of death was passed upon him the 27th of January.† A little before his sentence was pronounced, he earnestly desired to be heard before the two Houses, saying, he had something of great importance to offer them. But his desire was rejected. It is generally believed, he intended to propose to the Parliament, that he would abdicate the crown in favour of his eldest son.‡

The sentence was executed the 30th of January, 1648-9, on a scaffold erected in the street at the windows of the Banqueting-house at Whitehall.§ The King suffered death with great constancy, and without showing the least signs of weakness or terror.‖ His body, after having been for some days exposed to view, in one of the rooms at Whitehall, was carried to Windsor,

* This, says the King, I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall, on Monday, January 22, but against reason was hindered to show my reason.

† The names of those who were present, and gave their assent to the sentence, were as follows: Bradshaw, President; *Lisle*, Say, Cromwell, Ireton, Hardress, Waller. Bourchier, *Heveningham*, *Pennington*, Martin, Purefoy, Barkstead, *Thomlinson*, Blackistone, Millington, Constable, Ludlow, Hutchingson, Livesy, Tichbourne, Roe, Lilbourn, Smith, Edwards, Clement, Wogan, Norton, *Harvey*, Venn, Scot, *Andrews*, Fleetwood, Mayne, J. Temple, Scroope, Dean, Okey, Hewson, Goffe, *Holland*, Carew, Jones, Corbet, *Allen*, Pelham, Blagrave, Walton, Harrison, Whalley, Pride, Ewers, Grey of Groby, Danvers, Maleverer, Moore, Alured, Cawley, Stapley, Downs, Horton, *Hammond*, *Love*, Potter, Garland, Dixwell, P. Temple, Waite.———All these likewise (except those whose names are printed in Italic characters) with Ingoldsby and Chaloner, signed the warrant for the King's execution.

‡ Three days were allowed the King between his sentence and execution. This interval he passed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family, who remained in England, were allowed access to him. It consisted only of the Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester; for the Duke of York had made his escape. Gloucester was little more than an infant; the Princess, notwithstanding her tender years, showed an advanced judgment; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impression upon her. After many pious consolations and advices, the King gave her in charge to tell the Queen, that, during the whole course of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her, and that his conjugal tenderness and his life should have an equal duration.

To the Duke too he could not forbear giving some advice, in order to season his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was so soon to be his Sovereign. Holding him on his knee, he said, "now they will cut off thy father's head." At these words the child looked very steadfastly upon him. "Mark child! what I say; they will cut off my head! and perhaps make thee a King: but mark what I say, thou must not be a King as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off thy brothers' head when they can catch them. And thy head too they will cut off at last! therefore, I charge thee, do not be made a King by them." The Duke sighing, replied, "I will be torn to pieces first!" so determined an answer from one of such tender years, filled the Kings eyes with tears of joy and admiration."

§ Two men in disguises and vizors, stood upon the scaffold for executioners. William Hulet was tried and condemned on October 15, 1660. In the same trial it is said, that Brandon the hangman cut off the King's head. Others say, it was Colonel Joyce.

‖ When the King came upon the scaffold, he found it so surrounded with soldiers, that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people; he addressed, therefore, his discourse to a few persons who were about him, particularly Colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had lately been committed, and upon whom, as upon many others, his amiable deportment had wrought an entire conversion. He justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, and observed that he had not taken arms till after the Parliament had enlisted forces; nor had he any other object in his warlike operations, than to preserve that authority entire which his predecessors had transmitted to him. He threw not, however, the blame upon the Parliament; but was more inclined to think that ill-instruments had interposed and raised in them fears and jealousies with regard to his intentions. Though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his maker; and observed, that an unjust sentence, which he had suffered to take effect, was now punished by an unjust sentence on himself. He forgave all his enemies, even the chief instruments of his death; but advised them and the whole nation, to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful Sovereign his son and successor. When he was preparing himself for the block, Bishop Juxon called to him: "There is, Sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. Consider it will soon carry you a great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory." "I go," replied the King, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no disturbance can have place."——The great source whence

sor, and buried without any pomp in St. George's chapel.*

It is no easy thing to give a just and exact character of Charles I. amidst the excessive commendations bestowed on him by some, and the calumnies wherewith others have endeavoured to blacken his reputation. If the parties born in his reign, had died with him, we might find in the histories of that time, composed after the troubles were over, an impartiality which might help to form a true judgment of this Prince's character. But the same parties continuing in the following reigns, with a mutual animosity, it may be said, there is not an impartial English historian upon this subject. Some had no other view than to vindicate the King, and others, whose aim was to justify the Parliament, could not do it without loading the King, and rendering him odious. We must therefore proceed with the utmost caution when we are in search of this Prince's character, for fear of being misled, and drawn into error by the different representations given their readers by the historians.

The commendations bestowed on Charles I. with regard to sobriety, temperance, and chastity, were never contested. All agree likewise, that he was a good husband, a good father and a good master. But some accuse him, and perhaps not unjustly, of suffering his Queen to have too great an influence over him, and too large a share in state affairs. The kingdom being Protestant, and the Queen a very zealous Catholic, her power, which she greatly abused, in causing the most important offices to be conferred on Papists, must have been looked upon with a jealous eye. This was the chief ground of the opinion spread about the kingdom, that the court intended to restore the Catholic religion in England.

"He was so great a lover of justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him, that he believed it to be just." These are Lord Clarendon's own words, which may be very true, if applied to the concerns of particular persons. But besides the justice which a King ought to administer impartially to private persons, there is another kind of justice due from him, to all his people in general. With respect to this last, it may justly be doubted, that the Lord Clarendon's encomium is inconsistent with the project of altering the constitution, and assuming a power, which certainly was illegal.

Never was a King perhaps so punctual and regular in his devotions both public and private. This was of some use to him, to repel the charge of his not being well affected to the Protestant religion, and he knew how to improve it on occasion.

---

the King derived consolation amidst all his calamities, was undoubtedly religion; a principle, which in him seems to have contained nothing fierce or gloomy, nothing which enraged him against his enemies, or terrified him with a dismal prospect of futurity. While every thing around him bore a hostile aspect; while friends, family, and relations, whom he passionately loved, were placed at a distance, and unable to serve him; he reposed himself with confidence in the arms of that Being who penetrates and sustains all nature, and whose severities, if received with piety and resignation, he regarded as the surest pledges of unexhausted favour.

* After the King's head was struck off, at one blow, his body was put in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and removed to his lodging room in Whitehall. Being imbalmed, it was delivered the 7th of February to four of his servants, Herbert, Mildmay, Preston, and Joyner, who had been appointed to wait upon him during his imprisonment; and by them, that same day, removed to Windsor, where came, by permission, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, with Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London. Colonel Whitheot, the governor, not permitting the Bishop to say the burial office, according to the liturgy, the body was silently interred on February 9, in a vault about the middle of the choir, over against the eleventh stall on the sovereign's side, near Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, with this inscription in capital letters, on a fillet of lead, KING CHARLES, 1648. The whole funeral charges came but to 229*l.* 5*s.* Lord Clarendon excited a strong feeling, respecting the interment of Charles's body by his account of the vain endeavours which were made to discover it, after the Restoration. It was said in his time, that the republicans had had the address to bury Cromwell under the Obelisk in Red Lion Square, and to place the body of Charles in the coffin of Cromwell in Westminster Abbey; so that when the body of Cromwell was condemned to be hung on the gallows at Tyburn, the head separated from the body, and it was conceived that the indignity had been offered to the royal martyr. Such was the opinion in the time of Lord Clarendon, confirmed by the vain search for the body of Charles. Clarendon died in the year 1673, and his history was not published till 1704. In the interim, however, about 1700, as Mapletop tells us, in his History of Windsor, the vault of Henry VIII. was opened to deposit therein the body of a still-born child of the Princess Anne, and in that vault was found the coffin of Charles I. on which was placed that of the infant. This accorded too with the account published in Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses," and Saunderson's Life of Charles; yet Lord Clarendon's subsequent publication revived and continued doubts on the subject. These doubts, however, were removed, by the actual discovery of King Charles's body, in the month of April 1813. Whilst the workmen, engaged in opening the royal vaults to deposit the late Duchess of Brunswick, were making a subterraneous passage from the middle of the choir to the new royal mausoleum, they accidentally broke a part of the vault of Henry VIII. which was not then intended to be opened. The precise spot of Henry's vault being thus ascertained, a strong desire prevailed to satisfy all doubts on the subject of Charles. The Regent being, therefore, at Windsor, on the day after the funeral of the Duchess of Brunswick, he was consulted about the mode of exploring these royal remains, which he directed to be immediately done in his presence. The leaden coffin was cut open by the plumber, from the head to a little below the chest, and the body appeared covered over with a cere-cloth. On carefully stripping the head and face, the countenance of Charles I. immediately appeared in features apparently as perfect as when he lived. His severed head had been carefully adjusted to the shoulders; and the most perfect resemblance to his portraits was remarked in the oval shape of the head, the pointed beard, &c. On lifting up the head, the fissure made by the axe, was clearly discovered, and the flesh, though somewhat darkened, was found to be in a tolerably perfect state. In the same vault was also found a decayed leaden coffin containing the remains of Henry VIII. but they consisted of nothing more than the skull, with some hair on the chin, and the principal limb bones. The following interesting extract, from Sir Henry Halford's narrative of this affair, we have much satisfaction in submitting to our readers.

"On removing the pall, a plain leaden coffin, with no appearance of ever having been enclosed in wood, and bearing an inscription, 'King Charles, 1648,' in large legible characters, on a scroll of lead encircling it, immediately presented itself to the view. A square opening was then made in the upper part of the lid of such dimensions, as to admit a clear insight into its contents. These were, an internal wooden coffin, very much decayed, and the body carefully wrapped in cere-cloth, into the folds of which a quantity of unctuous or greasy matter mixed with rosin, as it seemed, had been melted, so as to exclude as effectually as possible the external air. The coffin was compleatly full; and, from the tenacity of the cere-cloth, great difficulty was experienced in detaching it successfully from the parts which it enveloped. Wherever the unctuous matter had insinuated itself, the separation of the cere-cloth was easy; and when it came off, a correct impression of the features was observed in the unctuous substance. At length the whole face was disengaged from its covering. The complexion of the skin of it was dark and discoloured. The forehead and temples had lost little or nothing of their muscular substance; the cartilage of the nose was gone; but the left eye, in the first moment of exposure, was open and full, though it vanished almost immediately; and the pointed beard, so characteristic of the reign of Charles, was perfect. The shape of the face was a long oval, many of the teeth remained; and the left ear, in consequence of the interposition of the unctuous matter between it and the cere-cloth, was found entire.

"It was difficult, at this moment, to withhold a declaration, that, notwithstanding its disfigurement, the countenance did bear a strong resemblance to the coins, the busts, and especially to the pictures of King Charles I. by Vandyck, to which it had been made familiar to us. It is true, that the minds of the spectators of this interesting sight were well prepared to receive this impression; but it is also certain, that such a facility of belief had been occasioned by the simplicity and truth of Mr. Herbert's narrative, every part of which had been confirmed by the investigation so far as it had advanced; and it will not be denied that the shape of the face, the forehead, and eye, and the beard, are the most important features by which resemblance is determined.

"When the head had been entirely disengaged from the attachments which confined it, it was found to be loose, and without any difficulty it was taken up and exposed to view. It was quite wet, and gave a greenish red tinge to paper and to linen when it touched it. The back part of the scalp was entirely perfect, and had a remarkably fresh appearance; the pores of the skin being more distinct, as they usually are, when soaked in moisture; and the tendons, and the ligaments of the neck were of considerable substance and firmness. The hair was thick at the back part of the head, and in appearance nearly black; a portion of it, which has since been cleaned and dried, is of a beautiful dark brown colour; that of the beard was of a redder brown; on the back part of the head it was no more than an inch in length, and had probably been cut so short for the convenience of the executioner, or perhaps by the piety of friends soon after death, in order to furnish memorials of the unhappy King.

"On holding up the head to examine the place of separation from the body, the muscles of the neck had evidently contracted themselves considerably, and the fourth cervical vertebra was found to be cut through its substance transversely, leaving the surfaces of the divided portions perfectly smooth and even; an appearance which could only have been produced by a heavy blow inflicted by a very sharp instrument, and which furnished the last proof wanting to identify King Charles I. After this examination of the head, which served every person in view, and without examining the body below the neck, it was immediately restored to its situation; the coffin was soldered up again, and the vault closed."

He

He abhorred all debauchery, and could not endure an obscene or prophane word. His court was very different from his father's, where oaths, prophane jests, and obscene discourse were but too much in vogue. It is hard to conceive, how the Duke of Buckingham, who was used to King James's ways, could accommodate himself to the gravity and severity of Charles I. or how King Charles could adapt himself to the Duke of Buckingham's manners.

James I. was lavish, and his son Charles inclined towards avarice. But this failing may be excused by the consideration, that he never abounded with money, from the beginning to the end of his reign.

His enemies would represent him as a cruel and bloody Prince; but as they have not been able to reproach him with any particular action denoting such a disposition, it is easy to perceive, this charge is founded on the supposition of his having been author of a war wherein so much blood was spilt.

Sincerity, as appears in his history, was not his favourite virtue. He made frequent use of mental reservations, concealed in ambiguous terms, and general expressions, of which he reserved the explication at a proper time and place.*

Some accuse him of an inclination for the Roman Catholic religion, and even carry this charge so far as to say, he intended to restore it in England. These imputations are groundless. But it cannot be denied, that he gave occasion for them by his conduct, though contrary to his intention. During the first fifteen years of his reign, the Roman Catholics were not only screened from the rigour of the law, but even encouraged and countenanced to such a degree, that he made them Privy-Counsellors, Secretaries of State, and Lords-Lieutenants of Counties. Two things induced him to this condescension. The first, the Queen's importunities, who was extremely zealous for her religion. The second, his project to render himself absolute, for the execution of which, he believed the assistance of the Catholics, as well English as foreigners, to be necessary. The assistance of the Catholics, whom the King had managed for another occasion, became necessary for his own defence, after his breach with the Parliament. How unwilling soever he seemed to receive any aid from the Papists, it is certain, many were entertained in his service, and that he was privately assisted by the Catholics on sundry important occasions.

Though he did not excite the Irish rebellion, it may be affirmed, it was not against him that the Irish took arms, since they never had less cause to complain, than in this and the late reign. Besides, the Papists, both Irish and English, always looked upon this Prince as their Protector, and were ever ready to assist him. That he was a sincere member of the church of England, can hardly be doubted, since he affirmed it on the scaffold, at a time when it could be of no service to him to dissemble his belief.†

Many people gave him the surname of Martyr, pretending, he suffered death in maintenance of the truth of the Protestant religion, against the Presbyterians and Independents, and call the day of his death, which is solemnized yearly on the 30th of January, the day of his martyrdom.

I. There was too great a complication of causes which brought him to this tragical end, to ascribe his death solely to religion.

II. Though it were true that religion was the sole cause of his death, it would not be universally agreed that he died for defending the truth of the Protestant religion, since, among Protestants, the English alone, or rather a great part of the English, hold episcopacy to be a doctrine of faith.

III. Though dying for Episcopacy were really martyrdom, the King in his last proposals at Newport, agreed to reduce episcopacy to a very small matter.

IV. Had he been condemned by the Presbyterians, he might in some manner be said to suffer for episcopacy. But it is evident the Presbyterians had no share in this sentence, nor even thought of bringing him to a trial. The Independents were the men that condemned and executed him, and surely, it was not on any religious account, but to turn the monarchy into a republic.

V. If the Scrivener's evidence be true, King Charles cannot be said to suffer death for supporting religion against the Independents, since, according to the deposition, he offered to grant them all the freedom they should desire, if they would but take his part. However this be, the church of England having recovered, in the reign of Charles II. the advantage she had lost in that of Charles I. appointed the day of his death to be kept every year with fasting and humiliation.

To conclude, Charles I. was endued with many virtues, and noble qualities. There is even room to believe, that his failings flowed entirely from his design to enslave England, and if, on some occasions, he followed not exactly the rules of sincerity, it was only the more easily to execute what he had undertaken. Without this unfortunate project, he might be reckoned one of the most accomplished Princes that has ever been on the English throne.‡ The Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, and the Queen herself, accustomed to a very different government from that of England, were the persons that ruined this unhappy Prince, whom they so passionately desired to raise higher than his predecessors.

The Queen spent the residue of her days in a melan-

* Rapin, and some other historians, have rashly questioned the good faith of this unfortunate Prince; but for this reproach, the most malignant scrutiny of his conduct which, in every circumstance, is now thoroughly known, affords no reasonable foundation. On the contrary, if we consider the extreme difficulties to which he was so frequently reduced, and compare the sincerity of his declarations and professions, we shall allow, that probity and honour ought justly to be numbered among his most shining qualities. In every treaty, those concessions which he thought he could not in conscience maintain, he never could, by any motive or persuasion, be induced to make. And though some violations of the Petition of Right may perhaps be imputed to him, these are more to be ascribed to the necessity of his situation, and to the lofty ideas of royal prerogative, which from former established precedents, he had imbibed, than to any failure in the integrity of his principles.

† On the subject of "the Icon Basilike, or the Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings," a work published in the King's name a few days after his execution, it seems scarcely possible to fix an opinion. The proofs brought to convince that this work is, or is not the King's, are so convincing, that if any impartial reader peruse any one side apart, he will think it impossible that arguments could be produced, sufficient to counterbalance so strong an evidence, and when he compares both sides, he will be some time at a loss to fix any determination. Should an absolute suspence of judgment be found difficult or disagreeable on so interesting a question, I must confess, (says Hume) that I incline to give the preference to the arguments of the royalists. The testimonies which prove that performance to be the King's, are more numerous, certain and direct, than those on the other side. This is the case, even if we consider the external evidence: but when we weigh the internal, derived from this style and composition, there is no manner of comparison. These meditations resemble in elegance, purity, neatness, and simplicity, the genius of those performances, which we know with certainty to have flowed from the royal pen; but are so unlike the bombast, perplexed, rhetorical, and corrupt style of Dr. Gauden, to whom they are ascribed, that no human testimony seems sufficient to convince us that he was the author. Yet all the evidences, which would rob the King of that honour, tend to prove that Dr. Gauden had the merit of writing so fine a performance, and the infamy of imposing it on the world for the King's.

It is not easy to conceive the general compassion excited towards the King by the publishing, at so critical a juncture, a work so full of piety, meekness, and humanity. Many have not scrupled to ascribe to that book the subsequent restoration of the royal family. Milton compares its effects to those which were wrought on the tumultuous Romans, by Anthony's reading to them the will of Cæsar. The Icon passed through 50 editions in a twelvemonth; and independent of the great interest taken in it by the nation, as a supposed production of their sovereign, it must be acknowledged the best prose composition, which at the time of its publication was to be found in the English language.

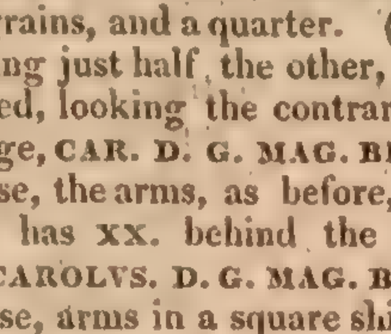
‡ Dr. Welwood says.—"He was a Prince of a comely presence, of a sweet, grave, but melancholy aspect. His face was regular, handsome, and well complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and well made; and though of a low stature, was capable to endure the greatest fatigues. He had a good taste of learning, and a more than ordinary skill in the liberal arts, especially painting, sculpture, architecture, and medals; he acquired the noblest collection of any Prince in his time, and more than all the Kings of England before him. He spoke several languages very well, and with a singular good grace; though now and then, when he was warm in discourse, he was inclineable to stammer. He wrote a tolerable hand for a King; but his sense was strong, and his stile laconic."

 choly

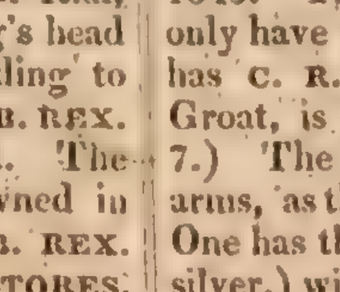
choly widowhood. She lived however long enough to see the Prince her son's restoration; but found not with him, all the satisfaction she expected, which doubtless was the cause of her return to France where she died in the year 1669.

By an indenture in the 2d year of King Charles I. a pound weight of gold, of the old standard, of twenty-three carats, three grains and a half fine, and half a grain alloy, was coined into 44*l.* 10*s.* by tale; namely, into Rose-Rials at 30*s.* a-piece; Spur-Rials at 15*s.* a-piece, and Angels at 10*s.* a piece. And a pound weight of crown gold, at twenty-two carats fine, and two carats alloy, into 41*l.* by tale; namely, into Unites at 20*s.* double crowns at 10*s.* or British crowns at 5*s.* a-piece. And a pound of silver of the old standard, of eleven ounces, two-penny weight fine, into sixty-two Shillings by tale; namely, into Crowns, Half-crowns, Shillings, Half Shillings, Two-pences, Pence, and Half-pence.

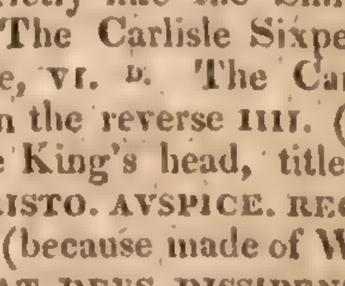
The gold coins of this King (as appears by the indenture above) are, Rose-Rials, Spur-Rials, Angels, Unites, Double and British crowns. The Rose-Rial has, on one side, the King's figure in wrought armour, crowned, and holding in his right hand the sceptre, resting upon his shoulder; and in his left hand the ball, CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BRITAN. FRAN. ET. HIB. REX. Reverse, under a crown, the arms quartered, Scotland in the first and fourth quarter, between C. R. crowned, HIS. PRÆSVM. VT. PROSIM. struck, probably, when the King was in Scotland, and weighing six-penny weights, eight grains, and a quarter. (Fig. 1.) The Spur-Rial, weighing just half the other, exhibits the King's head crowned, looking the contrary way, and extending to the edge, CAR. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET. HIB. REX. Reverse, the arms, as before, VNITA. TVEMVR. The Unite has XX. behind the King's head crowned in ruff, CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. Reverse, arms in a square shield crowned, CULTORES. SVI. DEVS PROTE GIT. Another, with the falling band, has a sun for the mint-mark; and reverse, the arms in an oval shield crowned, C. R. FLORENT. CONCORDIA. REGNA.——The silver coins of this King are Crowns, Half-crowns, Shillings, Six-pences, Two-pences, Pence, and Half-pence: and also, ten and twenty Shilling-pieces, peculiar to this King, which have his figure on horse-back. The Crown-piece has the King on horse-back, with his sword in his hand, CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BRITA. FRAN, ET. HIBER. REX. Reverse, between C. R. the arms in an oval shield crowned, CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO. Another has on one side a plain cross, on the other V. with s above it. The Half-crowns are various; some with the arms in an oval, some in a square shield. They have for mint-marks, a lion passant, and in some gardant, anchor, harp, fleur-de-lis, &c. The Newark Half-crown, in form of a lozenge, has C. R. on each side of a crown, and XXX. below. Reverse, OBS. NEWARK. 1646. (There is also a Newark Shilling, exactly in the same form, and with the same inscription; only it has XII. instead of XXX.) (Fig. 6.) The Pontefract Half-crown is in the same form as that of Newark: on one side C. R. crowned, DUM. SPIRO. SPERO. Reverse, the castle, and a hand out of the Towers, holding a drawn sword, OBS. P. C. 1648. The Pontefract Shilling wants the sword and hand, and has XII. instead of XXX. but in other respects it is like the Half-crown.) (Fig. 5.) There is also a Three Shilling-piece, coined at the siege of Carlisle, having C. R. and III. below: reverse, OBS. CARL. 1645. Of the Shillings, some have the King's head crowned, with the ruff, and XII. behind the head: reverse, the arms, and CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO, a cross the mint-mark. (Fig. 2.) Another is with a falling band, (Fig. 3.) One has 1637, and ARCHETYPUS. MONETÆ. ARGENTÆ. ANGLIÆ. The Carlisle Shilling, which is an Octogone, has a crown with C. R. XII. Reverse, OBS. CARL. 1645. The Six-pences are strictly like the Shilling, only have VI. instead of XII. The Carlisle Sixpence, has C. R. crowned. Reverse, VI. D. The Carlisle Groat, is Octogone, and has on the reverse IIII. (Fig. 7.) The Three-pence has the King's head, title and arms, as the larger pieces, CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO. One has the Ostrich-Feathers, (because made of Welsh silver,) with this motto, EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI. In the field, RELIG. PRO. REG. ANG. LIBER. PAR. 1645. (Fig. 4.) The Two-pence has II. behind the King's head, with title and arms as the Three-pence, Legend IVSTITIA. THRONVM. FIRMAT. One has the King in ruff, bareheaded, CAR. DG. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET. HIB. Reverse, two Cs. interlinked under a crown, FIDEI. DEFENSOR. (Fig. 8.) The Penny has I. behind the King's head.



1



2



3

4

5

6

7

8

THE HISTORY OF THE INTERREGNUM,

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES I. TO THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

BOOK XXII.

THE HISTORY OF THE INTERREGNUM IS DIVIDED INTO THREE PRINCIPAL PARTS. THE FIRST CONTAINS, WHAT PASSED WHILST ENGLAND WAS REDUCED TO A DEMOCRACY. THE SECOND, WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE PROTECTORATES OF OLIVER AND RICHARD CROMWELL. THE THIRD, WHAT PASSED FROM THE DEPRIVATION OF RICHARD CROMWELL, TO THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

PART I.

The Commonwealth of England.

A. D. 1649.] TO understand the revolution in England after the death of Charles I. we are necessarily to remember some material things which have already appeared in the foregoing reign, and of which it will not be amiss to make here a short recapitulation.

First, The Parliament now sitting consisted properly but of a House of Commons, who refused to acknowledge the negative voice of the Peers. This they had manifestly showed in erecting a court of justice to try the King with the concurrence of the Lords, whose consent was voted unnecessary.

Secondly, This House of Commons was composed of a small number of members, all Independents, Anabaptists or other sectaries. All the Presbyterian members who sat in the House the 6th of December, were expelled by the army, and the absent, whose principles agreed not with those of the Independents, durst not resume their places. If ever there was an usurpation, it was this pretended Parliament's government, founded only in violence, and wholly supported by the army.

Thirdly, The Independents, of whom this House was chiefly composed, were distinguished by two principles, one relating to the civil, the other to the ecclesiastical government. By the first, they asserted, that the republican government was not only the most perfect, but also absolutely necessary for England, after so many oppressions from her Kings, who had changed the government into a real tyranny. With regard to religion, though they called themselves Protestants, their principles were, that every particular church was independent, and might be governed as the members thought proper. Their notions concerning the vocation of the ministers of the gospel, were also very singular; as they believed that, without any other call, every man was free to discharge the office of minister, and use the talents given him by God. The other sectaries, who had joined the Independents because they had found in that party a full toleration, were united with them in the first of these principles, and had declared for a republican government. But with respect to religion there were between them some differences, which the Independents regarded the less, as they wanted to increase their adherents, and, besides, believed, that in matters of religion, toleration was absolutely necessary.

Fourthly, There was still in the army a remnant of levellers, who adhered to their principle, and were always ready for an attempt to recover their credit. It is true, Cromwell, after having raised this faction, had in some measure dispersed, but not entirely destroyed it. An able leader would still have made it as formidable as ever.

Fifthly, It was with the utmost concern that the Presbyterians saw the Independents in possession of Sovereign power. By that all their measures were broken: their progress for eight years became fruitless, and the storm which they had raised against the King, returned upon their own heads, or at least, it was apparent, they had all this while been labouring for others without any thing done for themselves. For indeed the Independents were equally enemies to Presbyterian and Episcopal government. As to civil government, the Presbyterians were not averse to royalty in general. If they had undertaken to limit its power, it was not from a belief that the thing was evil in itself, or unestablished by the laws of England, but because the two last Kings had used their power to destroy Presbyterianism. So, whatever they had done against King Charles I. was not pointed so much against his dignity as his person, because they considered him as their enemy, and despaired

spaired of establishing a Presbyterian government in the church, so long as he had power to prevent it. Very likely however many of them would have complied with a republican government, notwithstanding the tenour of the covenant, had that government not been in the hands of the Independents, who were by no means inclined to support Presbyterianism, and whose principles upon toleration were entirely rejected by the Presbyterians. And therefore an union between the Presbyterians and Independents was morally impossible.

Sixthly, The royalists, equally enemies of both, could unite with neither of the parties, considering the opposition there was between their principles. They however conceived some hopes, that the division among their enemies would, one day, give them a good opportunity to restore the monarchy to its former state. Wherefore, they industriously fomented this division, in expectation that the Presbyterians would at last be obliged to abandon their project, and unite with the royal party, to free themselves from the persecution they suffered.

Presently after the King's death, the House of Commons published an act to forbid the proclaiming of Charles Stewart eldest son of the late King, or any other person whatever, on pain of high-treason. Here was laid, as it were, the foundation of the commonwealth, which the Independents meant to erect in England. The same day the Lords desired a conference with the Commons about settling the government, and the administration of justice, the Judges' commissions being determined by the death of the King. The Commons, without answering the message, voted the House of Lords to be useless and dangerous, and therefore to be abolished. They only left the Lords the power of being elected members of Parliament, in common with other subjects. This privilege was embraced by a few,* but rejected by most of the Peers; some even published a protestation against the power assumed by the Commons, which was little regarded. Thus, the Parliament, which at first was composed of the King, six score Lords, and five hundred and thirteen Commons, was reduced to a House of Commons consisting of about eighty members, of whom very few, at the beginning, had five hundred pounds yearly income. But it must be confessed, that, of these new Governors, some were men of great genius and uncommon capacity, and that if they erred in their principles, they wanted not skill to pursue the consequences. Their principle was, that the Sovereign authority resided originally in the people, by whom a part of it was committed to the Kings, chosen to govern them according to law. That the King's abuse of this trust, had broken the original contract between King and people, and by this violation, the contract subsisting no longer, the Sovereign power returned to the people as the fountain thereof. So, considering themselves as the representatives of the people, they believed, they had a right to change the form of the government, without any regard to the original contract annulled by the King in his violation of the laws.

In consequence of this principle the Commons, assuming the name of Parliament, voted, and afterwards enacted, that the kingly office should be abolished as unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous, and that the state should be governed by the representatives of the people in a House of Commons without King or Lords, and under the form of a commonwealth. This grand alteration in the government produced many others in things consistent with monarchy, but not with a commonwealth. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were to be abolished, justice was no longer to be administered in the King's name, a new Great-Seal was to be made, new money to be coined; in a word every thing to be removed which bore any marks of royalty. A Great-Seal was therefore made, on one side of which was seen the Parliament sitting, with this inscription, "The Great-Seal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England; on the other side, the arms of England and Ireland, with these words, "The first year of freedom by God's blessing restored." This Seal was committed to a certain number of persons, who were stiled Keepers of the Liberties of England. And it was ordained that, for the future, all public orders should be dispatched in the name of these Keepers, under the direction of the Parliament. Lastly, the Parliament made choice of thirty-nine persons to form a council of state for the administration of public affairs under the Parliament. The projects of these changes were formed in February, but the execution of them all required some months.

In the beginning of March, the Parliament erected a new High-Court of Justice, consisting of sixty members, to try some persons of distinction, who were in their power.

Before this new court, of which Bradshaw was president, as he had been of that which condemned the King, were brought Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Lord Goring, lately created Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, all for the same crime, namely, for having appeared in arms against the Parliament.

They all received sentence of death.† But as they had many friends, petitions were offered to the Parliament in their name for a pardon. These petitions were examined in the House, and those of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel, rejected. The votes were equally divided upon that of the Earl of Norwich, and as, according to custom, the Speaker's vote was to decide, he declared for pardon, saying, he had formerly received from the Earl some civilities, and therefore voted in his favour. The execution of Sir John Owen was suspended, because, as a commoner, he ought to have been tried before an inferior court. This saved his life. The three first were executed on a scaffold, erected before Westminster hall.

At or about the same time, many others were executed for the same crime in several parts of the king-

* The Earl of Salisbury, and the Lord Edward Howard of Escrick, signed the engagement, "To be true and faithful to the commonwealth, as it was established, without a King or House of Lords," and took their seats in Parliament by virtue of an election from the people, ——And also, April 16, 1649, upon the death of Sir Francis Pile. a writ issued out for a new election, and the Earl of Pembroke, with all his titles, was returned for Knight of the Shire for Berks, primæ impressionis, and his Lordship was accordingly admitted into the House with great respect.

† The Duke of Hamilton represented, that being a subject of Scotland, he had entered England with an army, as an open enemy, by virtue of a commission from the Parliament of Scotland, which he was bound to obey, and consequently, could be treated but as a prisoner of war. As this objection had been foreseen, he was told, he was not proceeded against as Duke Hamilton of Scotland, but as Earl of Cambridge in England; and since he had accepted that title, and as such, taken a seat in Parliament, he was thereby become a subject of England: that if the title of Duke of Hamilton obliged him to obey the Parliament of Scotland, that of Earl of Cambridge ought to have engaged him to refuse the commission. Besides, they were informed, that his accepting the command of the Scotch army, was not owing to mere obedience, but to his own solicitation, and that he had been the principal author of the war.

The Earl of Holland spoke but little in his defence.

The Lord Goring, (Earl of Norwich) represented, that he had been educated in the court from his cradle, having been a Page to King James I. that he had never served any other master than the King, whom he had followed, without examining the justice or injustice of his cause, not having had opportunity to be informed in such points, which were above his capacity.

The Lord Capel refused, at first, to own the authority of the court, alledging, that if he had committed any crime, he ought to be tried in the usual form, and not before a court unsupported by any law. But the condemnation of the King himself, by a court of the like nature, might have convinced him, of the unserviceableness of such a defence. He said afterwards, that having surrendered himself prisoner at discretion, he was, by the law of nations, exempted from death, if not inflicted within so many days, which were long since expired. He urged, that when after the taking of Colchester, the council of war had condemned Lucas and Lisle to be shot, General Fairfax promised life to the other prisoners, and therefore he demanded the benefit of that promise. The court being a little embarrassed, sent to the General, to know what promise he had made the Lord Capel. His answer was, that as General, he had promised the prisoners an exemption from military execution, to which they had been condemned, and that his intention reached no farther. Upon this answer it was decided, that the General's promise did not exempt the prisoner from the justice of the Parliament.

Sir John Owen justified himself by his oath of allegiance.

dom;

dom; and amongst the rest were Morrice and Blackbourn, who had surprised the castle of Pontefract for the King. Poyer, Powell, and Langhorn, who had drawn into a revolt from the Parliament the principality of Wales, cast lots for their lives, and the first was executed.

The Parliament consisted of so few members, that they perceived the ridiculousness of stileing themselves the representatives of the commonwealth. They therefore resolved, in order to increase their authority by a greater number of members, to permit all who had sate in the present Parliament, to resume their places, on condition of signing an instrument, called the Engagement, by which "they rejected all concessions made by the King in the treaty of Newport; approved of all the proceedings against him; and engaged themselves to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, as established without King or House of Lords." By this engagement were excluded all the Royalists, and the Presbyterians, who were the most rigid observers of the covenant. Yet a good number of the latter signed, and took their seats in the House; but Ludlow freely owns in his Memoirs, that an expedient was found to admit only those, from whom it was believed, there was no danger.*

The Prince of Wales received at the Hague the melancholy news of the tragical death of his father, and immediately assumed the title of King, being then eighteen years of age. Within two or three days, the states-general, the states of Holland, and the ministers of the Hague, paid him their compliments of condolence. He caused those of his father's council, who attended him, with the addition of Mr. Long, his secretary, to be sworn of his privy-council. He had no sooner established his council, than he received a letter from the Queen his mother, who, after expressions of her extreme affliction, advised him to retire into France, and form no council till she had spoken with him, but her advice came too late. His condition was deplorable, not having wherewithal to maintain his household, or any table but that of the Prince of Orange his brother-in-law, and subsisting entirely by his assistance. The states of Holland, foreseeing the Parliament would shortly solicit the King's removal out of their dominions, would have been very glad to be freed, by his voluntary retreat, from the necessity of desiring him to depart. Some of the states' deputies were even of opinion, to prevent the desires of the Parliament. The King was informed of this disposition, and wished to be gone, but knew not whither. He had been ill received in France whilst his father was alive, and had no reason to expect a better reception. He knew too well the Queen Regent and Cardinal Mazarin, to imagine, they would prefer his friendship to that of the new commonwealth of England. So, though he had resolved to withdraw into France, it could have been but for a very short space. On the other hand, he had no great inclination to be with the Queen his mother, knowing, she would hold him in a sort of servitude, which he could neither brook, nor avoid without a quarrel. Ireland alone seemed to promise him an honourable retreat, by reason of the situation of affairs in that kingdom.

In the year 1646, the Marquis of Ormond had by express orders from the King concluded a peace with the Irish rebels, in hopes of receiving sufficient forces to drive from that island the English Parliamentarians and the Scots. But however advantageous this peace was to the Catholic religion, the Pope's nuntio did not think fit to consent to it. The pretence was, that the Catholics found in it neither sufficient advantages, nor security. But the true reason was, that by this peace he would have lost all his credit, since the Marquis was to be acknowledged governor by the Irish. He caballed therefore with such success among the people, that, not only they deserted the Marquis, but also by their insults obliged him to retire to Dublin, unprovided of every thing to defend that capital, which they were preparing to besiege. In this extremity, he chose rather to deliver Dublin and Drogheda to the Parliament, than see them fall into the hands of the rebels. He capitulated therefore with the Parliament, and surrendered these two places to Colonel Jones, who took possession the 17th of June 1647. After that the Marquis withdrew into England, where he had frequent leave to visit the King, then a prisoner of the army, till at last he was forced to pass into France.

After the Marquis had quitted Ireland, the nuntio exercised a tyranny, which grew intolerable to the Irish. They therefore sent to the Queen and Prince then at Paris, that they were disposed to shake off the nuntio's yoke, and if the Marquis of Ormond were sent to them with a supply of arms and ammunition, they would put him at the head of an army capable of expelling all the King's enemies out of the island. The nuntio had notice of this plot, and excommunicated the authors, but for this once, he proved not the strongest. He was forsaken by all his adherents, and even forced to ask as a favour, the liberty to withdraw.

The Marquis of Ormond long waited at Paris for the performance of a promise made him by the Cardinal, of a supply of money, arms, and ammunition. But finding at last, he was only amused, he departed without any assistance, and arrived in Ireland the beginning of October 1648. Three months after, he concluded a new treaty with the grand council of the Irish assembled at Kilkenny. At the same time the process was forming in England against the King. But this peace was not general. Owen Roe O'Neale, who commanded in Ulster, rejected it, because, as he pretended, it was not advantageous enough to the Catholic religion. Much time was spent to gain him, without success. At last, the Marquis of Ormond, not to lose the opportunity of making progress in Ireland, while the Parliament was erecting their new commonwealth, resolved to take no farther notice of O'Neale, but act singly, with the army which the council of Kilkenny had at their disposal. He put himself therefore at the head of this army, and advancing towards Dublin, took Dundalk, Newry, Trim, Drogheda, and some other towns and castles, which facilitated his intended siege of Dublin. On the other hand, Prince Rupert, Admiral for the King, being pursued by the Parliament's fleet, put into Kingsale, where he was secure, and in a condition to favour the Marquis of Ormond's designs. This disposition of affairs made the King judge that Ireland was a convenient retreat, where at the head of an army, he might make himself master of Dublin, and then of the whole island. After which he hoped, that with his Irish succours and his friends in England, he might recover his throne. But news from Scotland made him suspend his resolution.

Since Cromwell's expedition into that kingdom, after the defeat of Duke Hamilton, the face of affairs was entirely changed. The Marquis of Argyle, with all the rigid covenanters who opposed the war against England, had regained the advantage they had lost. The new Parliament had declared incapable of all employments, those who were concerned in the engagement formed by Duke Hamilton, and the kirk had excommunicated them: so that they were considered as enemies of God and the state. Of this number were William, Earl of Lanerick, brother of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Lauderdale, and many others, who formed a faction, which we may call Hamiltonian, and which was entirely crushed. By this revolution Scotland remained united with England, so long as the English Parliament continued Presbyterian, that is, to the 6th of December, 1648.

The revolution in England, upon the army's expelling the Presbyterian members from the Parliament, to leave only Independents, changed the interests of Scotland. When the Parliament of England had erected a court of justice for the trial of the King, the Scots found

* To support their authority, the powers in being, ordered, that there should be twenty-eight thousand horse and foot kept up in England, and twelve thousand in Ireland; whose pay should be 80,000*l.* a month.

themselves

themselves extremely embarrassed. To suffer the Independents to remain masters of England after the death of the King, which was visibly their design, could not but be very disadvantageous to them. They perceived, that a Parliament so composed would disregard Scotland, and infallibly ruin the covenant between the two kingdoms, which it was of the utmost importance for the Scots to maintain, because the Presbyterians might possibly one day recover the ground they had lost. But on the other hand, they could not take arms for the King without manifest danger. After their late loss, they were hardly able to raise another army, to fight the Independents; and though they had done it, they would not have saved the King's life. They therefore resolved to show the English and all Europe, that they highly disapproved the proceedings of the Parliament of England, which was all they could do on this occasion.

Pursuant to this resolution, commissioners were sent to London, where they arrived the beginning of January 1648-9, and presented a memorial to the Parliament, setting forth the reasons which ought to divert them from their purpose of trying the King. But this memorial produced no effect. At last, after the King had been twice brought before the high court of justice, they gave in their protestation, which was not answered till after the King's death. Shortly after the Scotch commissioners were recalled. But just after their departure, an answer was in their name presented to the Parliament, which charged the sitting members with unfaithfulness, breach of promises and oaths, and other things very offensive. This was so ill received by the Parliament, that they ordered them to be arrested on the road, and put under guard, till it should be known whether they were avowed by their principles. But, the Scotch Parliament justifying them, and complaining of the violation of the law of nations in their persons, they were immediately discharged.

In so nice a juncture, the Scots had but two ways to prevent their falling into a dangerous anarchy. They were either, with the English, to change their government into a commonwealth, or else acknowledge the eldest son of the late King for their sovereign. They determined on the latter. They imagined, the offer of their crown might engage him to become a good Scot, and dismiss his English counsellors, who were not proper for Scotland; in a word, would think himself very happy to recover one of his kingdoms, and see himself in the same state in which his ancestors were, before his grand-father's accession to England. They resolved, therefore, to acknowledge and proclaim him, with restrictions, however, which left them at liberty to capitulate with him. A proclamation to this effect having been published, the council dispatched Sir Joseph Douglas, to give the King notice of it, and the states sent also two commissioners, to inform him of what had been acted in his favour, but without any order or instruction to treat with him. Before the conditions on which he was to be invested with the royal authority were proposed to him, it was necessary to know, if he would accept the crown upon terms not yet known, but easy to be guessed.* The commissioners found the King at the Hague, where there arrived at the same time, but in another ship, the Earls of Lanerick and Lauderdale, and some time after, the Earl of Montrose also from France. When the late King, after his retreat to the Scotch army, ordered Montrose to lay down his arms, he retired into Germany, and served in the Emperor's army. Afterwards he went into France, where the Queen and Prince of Wales gave him a reception very different from what he expected, after his great services in Scotland. This coldness was owing to his arrival in France, at the very time the Queen was using her endeavours to persuade the King her husband, to throw himself upon the Presbyterians and Scots, and grant all their demands, imagining, he had no other refuge. He had been very successful in serving the King, but had used his advantages with such barbarity, that he had been degraded by the Parliament, and excommunicated by the kirk; so that in Scotland he was considered as an enemy to the nation, and to Presbyterianism. As his residence in France was very disagreeable, he no sooner heard of the death of Charles I. then he repaired to the Hague to offer his service to the new King. In his retinue, were some Scottish Lords and gentlemen attached to his fortune.

The King received very coldly the news of his being proclaimed, by reason of the restriction in the proclamation. Charles believed, that no great regard was due to what had been done for him in Scotland. He understood, that in the intended capitulation, things would be demanded which he had resolved not to grant, as the confirmation of the covenant and the Presbyterian government. He wished however to justify his disinclination to Scotland, by the advice and opinion of the Scotch Lords who were with him at the Hague. For this purpose he would have had them appear together before his council, and upon being consulted, dissuade him from going to Scotland, and the council thereupon form their resolution. The Marquis of Montrose approved of this proceeding; but the Earl of Lauderdale, and the Earl of Lanerick, who took the title of Duke Hamilton, on hearing of the tragical death of his brother, would not consent to it. They thought it too nice a proceeding, for Scotch Lords to appear before an English council. On the other hand, they were so enraged against the Marquis of Montrose, that they would have no communication with him. When the King found he could not bring them together to consult upon this subject, he declared he would not go into Scotland, and persisted in his resolution for Ireland. Thus, upon a bare information that Scotland would not receive him without conditions, he resolved to refuse the crown of that kingdom. And, what is more, he gave commission to the Marquis of Montrose to raise forces in Germany, and make a descent upon Scotland. So, receiving with acknowledgment, the offer made him by the Scots, he ordered a war to be levied upon them, as upon enemies, because they refused to admit him for their sovereign, without a previous engagement.

The King could not reside any longer in Holland, where it was intimated to him, that the dread, the states were under, of a quarrel with the new commonwealth of England, made his stay there very unwelcome. Besides, they received advice, the Parliament was to send an agent, to propose between the two commonwealths a strict alliance; and this affair was not to be negotiated whilst the King remained at the Hague. This agent, named Dorislaus, arrived indeed before the King left the place. But the same evening that he came to the town, as he was at supper in his inn, with some other persons, six Scots of the Marquis of Montrose's retinue entered the room, and dragging him from the table, murdered him.† The assassins were neither arrested, nor immediately pursued; and though afterwards some pains were taken to apprehend them, the states showed on that occasion a great regard for the King, which offended the Parliament. Nevertheless, the King knew, after this action, there was no remaining at the Hague. He therefore sent his heavy baggage and some of his domestics to Ireland, with a resolution to follow them, after he had paid a visit to his mother in France. The States observing he was about to depart, thought it not convenient to press him, and thereby he gained time to be prepared.

While the King was deliberating at the Hague, concerning

* The kirk declared, that he should sign the covenant, submit to the kirk's censure, renounce the sins of his father's house, and the iniquity of his mother.

† He was Doctor of the civil law, born in Delft in Holland, and bred at Leyden, but afterwards lived long in London, having been received into Gresham College, as a professor; and had been, from the beginning of the troubles, in the exercise of the Judge Advocate's office in the Earl of Essex's army. Whitelock says, that they were twelve English cavaliers who stabbed him in several places, and cut his throat, one of them saying at the same time, Thus dies one of the King's Judges. Ludlow says, they were English and Scots.

cerning the offer from Scotland, the states of that kingdom were settling the terms on which he was to be received, not doubting his inclination and readiness to accept the offered crown. But he had friends in Scotland, who, better informed of his sentiments, resolved to disturb the public deliberations, by an insurrection, in hopes that a happy success would cause the King to be admitted without any condition. With this view Middleton, Monroe, the Gordons, and others, assembled some forces in the north, and seized the town of Inverness. But the Parliament having before received intimation of their design, had already raised forces, which immediately marched to the north, under Straughan and Kerr, and dispersed the mutineers before they could assemble all their forces.

Though the King had firmly resolved to go into Ireland, it was impossible for him to execute his design, by reason of the turn in his affairs in that island. After the Parliament was become master of Dublin, it had been often moved in the House, to send a powerful reinforcement to Ireland, but the opposite interests of the Presbyterians and Independents hindered the taking any resolution. The first were for sending Sir William Waller to command there, and the latter were as earnest for Major-General Lambert. The division between the Parliament and army, which arose quickly after, brought new obstacles to this affair. At last, the revolt of Wales, the insurrections in other counties, and the preparations of the Scots to invade England, discharged all thoughts of Ireland. If, in this interval, the Irish could have come to an union amongst themselves, and have joined the Marquis of Ormond, they might have expelled the Parliament's forces, and rendered themselves masters of the whole kingdom. But their divisions hindered them from improving so favourable an opportunity. The opposition of O'Neale kept the Marquis from taking the field till April 1649, when the King was dead, and the government of England modelled into a commonwealth.

The union of the Irish with the royalists, the progress of the Marquis of Ormond, the extreme weakness of the Parliament's party in that nation, brought the House at last to a resolution of sending thither a good army, with all possible diligence. Waller, who was a Presbyterian, was no longer considered as a proper General to serve the Parliament; and Lambert, till then supported by Cromwell, was now supplanted by him. Cromwell believed, the government of Ireland was a post not unworthy of himself, and so managed by his intrigues, that he was unanimously chosen to fill the dignity of Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom. But before his troops could be ready for that expedition, he had a difficulty to overcome, which might have had dangerous consequences.

Besides the Cavaliers and Presbyterians, the Parliament had other enemies, who only waited an opportunity to declare, and were in the army itself. These were the Levellers, who were dissatisfied, for that after they had served as instruments to ruin the Presbyterian Parliament, they were not only disregarded, but even called seditious and rebels. This occasioned their assembling upon Cromwell's being appointed to command in Ireland, under a pretended necessity of inquiring what troops were proper to serve in that kingdom. To that end they met at Burford to the number of five thousand, and without any precaution continued there, pretending a promise from Cromwell, that no part of the army should approach within ten miles. But Raynolds, by the command of General Fairfax, unexpectedly fell upon them with five or six thousand men, and gave them an entire defeat. Nine hundred horse, and four hundred foot were sent prisoners to London, and some of them executed. Others obtained their pardon by Cromwell's mediation. This affair being ended, the army was prepared which Cromwell was to lead into Ireland.

While this army was assembling, the Marquis of Ormond approached Dublin to besiege it. Whereupon, Cromwell immediately sent about three thousand men to reinforce the garrison, which was very weak. Meanwhile, as he believed he could not arrive soon enough to save that city, he resolved to land his army in Munster, where he hoped to find no obstacle, because he knew, the Lord Inchiquin, president of that province, was departed with his English troops, to reinforce the army under the Marquis of Ormond. But the Marquis having notice of his intention, immediately dispatched the Lord Inchiquin with the forces under his command to prevent his landing, by which he considerably weakened his army. He however continued his march, and began the blockade of Dublin about the middle of June. He stayed some time at Finglas, five miles from Dublin, in expectation of fresh troops, and at last passed the river, and posted himself at Rathmims, to lay the siege in form. While he was in this camp, the succours sent by Cromwell arrived in Dublin. A few days after, the Marquis of Ormond resolved to repair an old castle, which by its situation was proper to hinder any fresh relief from entering the town. Then Colonel Jones, the governor, who from a lawyer was become a good officer, perceiving how much these fortifications might annoy him, resolved to endeavour to prevent their being finished. For that purpose he put the garrison under arms in the night, and at break of day making a sally, marched directly to the castle, and carried it sword in hand. This happy success caused him to advance towards the enemy's camp. He met by the way a body of horse, which stopped him some time. But this body being dispersed, brought such terror to the Irish army, that they fled in confusion without striking a blow. The Marquis of Ormond was forced to follow them, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies. After this defeat, he was obliged to retire to some distance, to wait for the succours, he had been promised.

Cromwell, informed of this success whilst embarking his army, altered his design, and instead of going to Munster, sailed to Dublin, where he safely arrived about the middle of August, with about fifteen thousand men. When the Marquis of Ormond knew that Cromwell was at Dublin, he retired to a still greater distance, and left in Drogheda a numerous garrison, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, an officer of reputation, who had been governor of Reading, and afterwards of Oxford. About the same time Londonderry, the most considerable city in the north of Ireland, which was besieged by the King's forces, was relieved by a sally made by Sir Richard Coote, much in the same manner as Dublin was by Jones.

From what has been seen, it is manifest the King could not venture into Ireland, where he had no other succour to carry but his person, while Cromwell was assembling his army on the coast, and still less, after Ormond's defeat. But as, on the other hand, he was looked on with no good eye in France, where, since his arrival, the court had made him no offers of service, he resolved to withdraw into the Isle of Jersey, as the only place where he could hope to be favourably received. He retired therefore to that isle with his brother the Duke of York, and his small court, where he continued some months.*

The commotions raised by the King's friends in Scotland being appeased, the committee of estates assembled to prepare the conditions to be demanded of the King. Having learned that he was in Jersey, they sent Mr. George Windram to acquaint him, they were desirous to treat with him concerning his establishment in Scotland: but as the Isle of Jersey was neither safe, nor commodious, he was desired to name some town in the Low-Countries, where he might receive their commissioners. Windram left Edinburgh the 25th of September, but was not with the King till towards the end of October, being detained by contrary winds: so

* This year, upon information, that the Turkish Alcoran was printing in England, it was ordered, on March 10, to be suppressed.—— May 8, the Queen of Bohemia's pension of 12,000*l.* was suspended. ——June 7. at an entertainment in the city, the Earl of Pembroke refused to sit above Mr. Whitelock, the senior commissioner of the Great Seal, saying, "As much honour belongs to that place under a commonwealth, as under a King."

that the King was fully informed of what had passed in Ireland, where Cromwell having taken Drogheda by assault, had put the garrison to the sword, and was continuing his progress with wonderful rapidity. He therefore received Windram very graciously, and named Breda for the reception of the Scotch commissioners, promising, he would be there the 15th of the following March. It was, however, mere necessity which caused him to resolve to listen to the propositions the Scots were to make him. That this was his only motive, can hardly be doubted, when it is considered, that on the 30th of January 1649-50, he wrote to the Marquis of Montrose, that the Scots had sent Windram to him, and that their commissioners were to repair to Breda, in March to treat with him. Wherefore, he pressed him to hasten his preparations for a descent into Scotland before this affair should be settled, in order if it was possible, and should please God to favour him with success, to prevent the conclusion thereof.

Windram being returned with the King's answer, the committee of estates laboured incessantly to finish the propositions to be sent to the King. The draught was laid before the Parliament, and after some amendments, ordered to be communicated to the general assembly of the kirk, where it was approved. After this the Parliament and general assembly named commissioners to carry them to the King. These commissioners arrived at Breda at the time appointed, and presented the conditions to him, on which the Scots would admit him to the exercise of the regal power. They consisted of these four articles:

I. That all those who have been, and continue excommunicate by the kirk of Scotland, may be removed from having any access to the court.

II. That he would be pleased to declare, that he would by solemn oath under his hand and seal, allow the national covenant of Scotland, and the solemn league and covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland; and that he would prosecute the ends thereof in his royal station.

III. That he would ratify and approve all acts of Parliament, enjoining the solemn league and covenant, and establishing Presbyterian government, the directory of worship, the confession of faith and catechism in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approved by the general assembly of the kirk, and by the Parliament of that kingdom, and that he would give his royal assent to the acts of Parliament enjoining the same in the rest of his dominions, and that he would observe the same in his own practice and family, and never make opposition therein, or endeavour any change thereof.

IV. That he would consent and agree that all matters civil might be determined by the present and subsequent Parliaments of the kingdoms of Scotland, all matters ecclesiastical by the ensuing general assemblies of the kirk, as was formerly condescended and agreed to by his late father.

After hearing these conditions, the King demanded, whether these papers they had delivered to him, contained all the particulars which they had to propound or desire? Whether they had power to recede from any particular article, or to treat with him concerning the assistance of Scotland, to place him on the throne of England? They answered, their commission extended only to the offering of these propositions, and to receive either his consent or refusal.

These conditions, which to the Scots appeared very just, lawful, and absolutely necessary for the safety of Scotland, seemed to the King very hard and unreasonable.

He little cared to be King of Scotland, if he could not use the forces of that kingdom to procure him the English crown. Meanwhile, his power was to be so limited, that it should not be possible to receive any advantage from Scotland to that end. The King was unable to use force, and yet the terms to be imposed upon him appeared so hard, that he would have immediately rejected them, if he could have taken any other course. Though he perceived it would be to no purpose to dispute upon the articles, he desired to prolong the negotiation as much as possible, in hopes of good news from Scotland, where he knew the Marquis of Montrose would shortly make his appearance. Had the Marquis been attended with his former success, the treaty of Breda would soon have ended, since it was in the King's power to reject absolutely the offered conditions. But the Marquis's progress did not answer the King's expectations.

A. D. 1650.] After that Lord had left the King at the Hague, he went into Germany to endeavour to raise forces and money. The King of Denmark, as Charles's near relation, furnished him with a sum of money, and the English settled in Sweden assisted him to the utmost of their power. With this relief he was enabled to buy arms and ammunition, and to enlist five hundred soldiers which he sent in March to one of the Isles in Orkney. He followed them himself in April, and from thence repaired with his troops to Caithness in the north of Scotland. This was at the very time the Scotch commissioners were with the King at Breda. As the King was informed that Montrose was now gone for Scotland, he waited the success of this expedition before he would conclude with the commissioners, whom he nevertheless entertained with hopes of granting their demands.

After the Marquis's arrival at Caithness, he seized a castle where he might secure his arms and ammunition, and then wrote to his friends to join him. At the same time he published a manifesto, declaring, "That he was come with a commission from the King to protect his good subjects; but with no design to obstruct the negotiation at Breda; on the contrary, he hoped to hasten the conclusion of it by means of his army. If the treaty succeeded, he should readily lay down his arms on the first command from his Majesty."

The Scotch Parliament then sitting at Edinburgh was surprised to hear of Montrose's arrival in that juncture, with the King's commission. It was not difficult to perceive that, whatever was pretended, this was not to advance the treaty, but rather to obstruct it, and force the Parliament to desist from conditions which were thought necessary for the safety of the kingdom.

Meanwhile, as Montrose was very formidable, by reason of his former great successes in favour of the late King, the Parliament gave immediate orders for raising, with all possible expedition, an army of six thousand men, under the command of David Lesley. Till this army was ready, Colonel Straughan was detached with three hundred horse to the northward, in order to awe the country, and prevent the King's friends from rising and joining Montrose. This precaution had a surprising effect. The King's adherents, whether through fear of falling into the hands of this cavalry, or because of the six thousand men which were to follow, durst not stir, and Montrose was joined only by some ill-armed and worse disciplined Highlanders. So, his little army, if it deserve that name, composed of soldiers of different nations, strangers to one another's language, and in a barren country, could make no great progress. Besides, as Montrose had no cavalry to send out for intelligence, he knew not what passed in other places, and particularly Straughan's march, vainly expecting the King's adherents to come and join him. To this ignorance was owing his being surprised by Straughan's little troop, which, after a long march, fell upon him, when least expected. At the approach of the enemy the Highlanders deserted and fled; the foreigners made more resistance, but were routed at last.* The Marquis himself being forced to fly, threw away his Ribband and George, disguising himself like a peasant to prevent a discovery. He wandered some days, in this habit, and at last put himself into the hands of a gentleman named Aston, who had formerly served

* There were about three hundred slain, and five hundred taken prisoners.

under

under him, and promised to conceal him. But whether through the hope of the reward published for taking of him, or the fear of being rigorously punished if he did not discover him, it is certain, he delivered him to Lesley, who immediately sent him to Edinburgh.* The Parliament now sitting, resolved to try him themselves, and as, since his degradation, he was called only James Graham, and was universally hated, no regard was paid to his birth. He was condemned to be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high, with this addition to his sentence, that, after he was dead, his head should be severed from his body, and set on Edinburgh talbooth: his arms and legs sent to four several towns, to be exposed as a spectacle, and his body buried under the gallows. He met death with extraordinary courage, and before his execution made a speech to the people, in which, far from owning himself worthy of death, he testified, on the contrary, an entire persuasion of the justice of the cause, he had supported.

The tragical death of the Marquis of Montrose disappointed all the King's hopes. He complained loudly to the commissioners of the execution of that Lord, during the negotiation, affirming it to be a breach of faith. He wrote in the same strain to the committee of estates, but was silenced by their answer, and told, it would be much better not to insist upon this affair. The answer imported, that papers were found upon Montrose, which it was more for his honour to conceal than to publish. The King easily understood, that by this was meant his commission to the Marquis after the news of his being proclaimed, and his letter of the 30th of January, after the time and place of conference had been fixed.

The King at last accepted the conditions presented to him by the commissioners. Only the signing of the covenant was deferred till his arrival in Scotland, upon his promise of compliance, in case it was judged proper to press him when he should be at Edinburgh.

When the King had signed the conditions, he went to Scheveling near the Hague and embarked, being attended by Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Lauderdale, and some other Scots, who gave him hopes that his presence in Scotland would remove all suspicions, and that an exact observation of what he promised would be dispensed with. But at his arrival, before he was suffered to land, the covenant was so pressed upon him, that he could not avoid taking it. He had positively promised it at Breda, and no man durst advise him to break his word. This exactness of the estates convinced Duke Hamilton and the Earl of Lauderdale, that it was not safe for them to appear publicly in Scotland. Wherefore, finding means to land with the King, they retired to their own estates, or their friends, in expectation of a more favourable juncture.

The Marquis of Argyle received the King with extraordinary reverence and outward marks of respect. But within two days, all his English domestics were removed, except the Duke of Buckingham. Some were obliged to return into Holland, others withdrew at a distance from the court, to friends who were willing to entertain them.

When the friends and confidents of the King were thus removed from his person, he saw himself in the hands of men whom he knew not, and whose principles were entirely different from those in which he had been educated; so that he was extremely uneasy, though outwardly he received all the respect due to his rank. What troubled him most, was the importunity of the ministers, who thought it their duty to instruct him in the Presbyterian religion, and scrupled not to brand the hierarchy and worship of the church of England with the name of Doctrine of Devils.† To be rid, as well as he could of this trouble, he was present at their sermons and prayers, but with so little attention, that it was plainly against his will.

* Bates, in his Elenchus Motuum, assures us, that Aston received two thousand pounds, in reward of his treachery.

† In this fanatical age, so prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers, accused of that crime, were burnt by sentence of the magistrates, throughout all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwick, which contained only fourteen houses, fourteen persons were punished by fire; and it became a science every where much studied and cultivated, to distinguish a true witch by proper trials and symptoms.

While these things passed in Scotland, the Parliament of England was not idle. When they learned that commissioners from Scotland were to confer with the King at Breda, they imagined, Charles would accept the crown of Scotland on any terms, in order to use the forces of that kingdom to invade England, in which they were not mistaken. To prevent this danger, the Parliament resolved to carry war into Scotland.

After this resolution, Cromwell was hastily recalled out of Ireland to take the command of the army which was to act against Scotland. In the late Scotch invasion under Duke Hamilton, the behaviour of General Fairfax had given occasion to judge, that he would unwillingly accept the conduct of this new war, which was really the case. Cromwell's success in Ireland had been such as the Parliament could have wished. After the taking of Drogheda, he seized Kilkenny and many other places, and in a little time reduced the greatest part of the island to the obedience of the Parliament. The Marquis of Ormond was little capable of resisting him, because of the division still reigning amongst the Irish. This division went so far that O'Neale had at last concluded a treaty with Monk, one of the Parliament Generals, commissioned by the council of state. But the Parliament refused to ratify the treaty, as being too favourable to the Catholics, and therefore O'Neale had begun to treat with the Marquis of Ormond, and was upon the point of joining him, when his death prevented the execution of his design. His troops dispersing upon his death, were of no advantage to the Marquis of Ormond. In the meantime, Cromwell continued his conquests with surprising rapidity, and to prevent the agreement and junction of the Irish amongst themselves, he thought of an expedient, which succeeded. He published by proclamation a permission to all the Irish officers to enlist, in the service of foreign Princes, what soldiers they pleased of their own nation, with a promise to give them no disturbance or molestation. More than twenty-five thousand immediately chose to serve France and Spain, and afterwards a much greater number. This precaution prevented the Marquis of Ormond from bringing an army into the field capable to resist that of the Parliament. So, when Cromwell was recalled, the Irish affairs were in so good a condition, that his son-in-law Ireton, whom he left there as his Lieutenant, had but little to do.

Cromwell being returned to London, took his seat in the Parliament, where, by order of the House, the Speaker thanked him for his late services. After this, the Scotch war being the most pressing affair, the Parliament caused Fairfax to be asked, whether he would take upon him the conduct of the war? He replied, if the Scots entered England with an army, he would endeavour to repel them, but desired to be excused from attacking them in their own country. Cromwell acted his part so well, that though he passionately wished to be commander in chief, he gave his opinion in favour of Fairfax, and pretended he should be well satisfied to serve as his Lieutenant. Fairfax perceived that, being a Presbyterian (though he had but too faithfully served the Independents) the Parliament would have had no great confidence in him, and that the zeal shown on his behalf, was only ceremony. He therefore sent his commission to the House, which was cheerfully received, and an annual pension of five thousand pounds was settled on him in acknowledgment of his services. Immediately Cromwell was declared General of the armies of the commonwealth, and his commission presently dispatched.

The Scots hearing of the preparations against them in England, raised an army with all possible diligence, and gave the command to General Lesley, who formed his camp between Leith and Edinburgh, and fortified it

with such intrenchments, that he was not to be attacked without manifest danger.

About the middle of July, Cromwell put himself at the head of the English army, consisting of eighteen or nineteen thousand men, and marched to the frontiers of Scotland, where he published his manifesto. As the enemy's army lay encamped near Edinburgh, he entered Scotland without any difficulty. But he found the country destitute of inhabitants, and every thing capable to subsist his army conveyed away; so that he was obliged to maintain it with supplies from his fleet. He advanced, however, and came in sight of the enemy's army; but found it too well intrenched to be attacked. He chose therefore to retire towards Musselborough, whereupon Lesley detached a large body of horse, which fell upon the English rear, commanded by Lambert, with some advantage.* The day after, there was a sharp skirmish, in which the Scots beat some English regiments; but at last were repulsed to their camp with considerable loss. Then, Cromwell once more attempted, by his approach, to draw the Scotch army out of their intrenchment, but his endeavours were fruitless. At last, after the two armies had remained almost in sight several weeks, Cromwell, for want of provision and forage, was forced to retire. His design was to embark his foot, and return into England with only his horse. To execute this resolution, he marched towards Dunbar, where his fleet expected him, his army being much diminished, and reduced to about twelve thousand men.

The Scots, advertised of Cromwell's resolution, imagined, the English were seized with terror, and that a more favourable opportunity could not offer, to fight them, and therefore they left their camp to follow them closely. The first day, they encamped upon a hill, about a mile from Dunbar, so that it was impossible for Cromwell to embark his foot, without exposing himself to the danger of a defeat. General Lesley was not for attacking the English, but only for watching an opportunity to engage them with advantage. But the clamours of the ministers in his army, who had promised a certain victory, as if by some revelation,† obliged him the next day to draw nearer to the enemy. Cromwell, who observed them with a perspective glass, seeing them descend the kill, cried out, "That God had delivered them into his hands." He immediately went to prayers, and then told some of his officers, that he had felt, in praying, such a repose in his mind, that he doubted not but God would give him the victory. The two armies remained in sight all the rest of the day, Lesley still alledging some excuse to delay fighting. But in the night, Cromwell resolved to attack the Scots at break of day.

This resolution being taken, he drew up his army in the night, and, not to be prevented, began the fight an hour before day. The Scotch cavalry on the right wing behaved well at first, but were at last put to flight. The left wing fled, without charging once. Three regiments of Scotch infantry fought with such bravery, that they were almost all slain on the spot, without offering to fly. The rest seeing themselves deserted by the horse, fled in confusion, leaving the field, and an undoubted victory to the English. It is said, the Scots lost three thousand men, besides seven or eight thousand prisoners, with twenty-seven pieces of cannon; and that the English lost but three hundred. The Scots, after their defeat, abandoned Leith and Edinburgh, of which Cromwell made himself master, but the castle of Edinburgh held out till the end of December.

This misfortune to the Scots was advantageous to the King, as it obliged them to alter their behaviour to the Hamiltonians. When the army lately defeated at Dunbar was raised, great care was taken not to admit any who had been concerned in the engagement of the late Duke Hamilton, or were suspected to be of the King's party. In a word, the rigid Presbyterians, who were then at the head of affairs, would have no society with those whom they called the Luke-warm, that is, men who were not sufficiently zealous for the covenant. After the defeat at Dunbar, a new army was to be raised, to oppose Cromwell, who threatened Scotland with entire ruin the next spring. The Parliament was therefore convened at St. Johnstoun's, whither the King had retired. But as a new army was not easily to be formed of the zealous, it was proposed in Parliament, to receive into this, those who had hitherto been called Luke-warm, and who offered their service to their country in its present distress. This affair being debated, the Parliament was forced to resolve, that all who had been excluded from places, should be allowed to produce proofs of their repentance, and then be employed in the service of their country. In consequence of this resolution, those who had till then opposed the Marquis of Argyle, who had wanted zeal for the covenant, who had shown an inclination for the King, who had even been employed by Charles I. readily gave outward marks of their repentance, in a disavowal of their past conduct, and a reconciliation with the kirk. After this they were admitted, as well into the Parliament as to public employs, and especially to posts in the army to be raised. Hence the King at last obtained, what he had so passionately desired, namely, to see those who were attached to his interests, in a condition to serve him, when occasion should offer.

But the resolution of the Parliament, of which necessity had been either the motive or the pretence, was not agreeable to all. The zealots could not bear the admission of malignants (as they called them) to employments, under colour of a resolution obtained from the Parliament by intrigue and cabal, in the same manner as the levying an army had before been obtained, to serve against the interests of Scotland. They said, it was mocking God, to receive the guilty to a hypocritical repentance, in order to re-admit them to employs from which they had been justly excluded.‡ But it was answered, it was strange cruelty to remove from employs, men who offered their service to their country, at so critical a juncture, and had professed a repentance, for not having been sufficiently zealous for the common cause. In a word, the first protested solemnly against the resolution of the Parliament, and formed a party called the Protestors, whilst those who adhered to it formed another, called the Resolutioners. Five western counties joined the Protestors, and entering into an association, published a remonstrance, which being offered to the Parliament, was voted seditious. But this did not hinder several officers of reputation, as Straughan, Kerr, and some others, from adhering to the party of the Protestors.

The managers of this affair in the Parliament, knew, that the party of the Protestors was much more numerous than that of the Resolutioners. Wherefore, it was thought convenient to give an appearance of satisfaction to the former, to prevent their obstructing the designs formed in favour of the King. Their project was, to put the King at the head of an army, almost wholly at his devotion, that he might, upon occasion, march into England, where it was not doubted, he would find many friends, and a powerful assistance. The rigid Presbyterians were therefore not to be alarmed at seeing the King in the head of the army, for fear of their concerting measures to hinder the execution of the project. For this purpose it was thought proper, that the King should publish a declaration of a strange nature, where he was made to speak a language agreeable to the sentiments of the people, but very contrary to his own. In this declaration, he owned "The sin of his father, in marrying into an idolatrous family:" he acknowledged, "the bloodshed in the late wars lay

* August 26. In a skirmish, one of the Scots fired a carbine at Cromwell; upon which Cromwell called out to him, and said, "If he had been one of his soldiers, he would have cashiered him for firing at such a distance."

† August 27. Cromwell sent word in a letter, that the Scotch ministers in their prayers said, "That if God would not deliver them from the sectaries, he should not be their God."

‡ It was publicly said, that the defeat at Dunbar was the just punishment of having called in the King, before any proofs were given of his repentance.

at his father's door:" he expressed "a deep sense of his own ill education, and the prejudices he had drunk in against the cause of God, of which he was, now very sensible: he confessed "all the former parts of his life to have been a course of enmity to the work of God:" he repented "of his commission to Montrose, and of every thing he had done that gave offence:" and with solemn protestations he affirmed, "that he was now sincere in his declaration, and that he would adhere to it to the end of his life, in Scotland, England, and Ireland." When this declaration was offered to him to sign, he appeared at first resolute to reject it; saying, "That if he passed it, he could never look his mother in the face." But upon a representation of its absolute necessity to gain the confidence of the Protestors, without which he could never execute his designs, he swallowed the bitter pill, and the declaration was published.

This declaration procured not all the advantage the King was made to expect. No man could believe he had voluntarily signed a paper so scandalous, and so prejudicial to the memory of his father. The Protestors, on the contrary, imagining, he concealed some deep design in this strange proceeding, united still more closely against him, and at last declared, they would have no communication with the Resolutioners, nor with Cromwell and the Independent party in England.

Charles was extremely troubled, to see that his declaration produced no other effect, than the loss of the confidence of both parties, and of his own reputation. It was universally believed, so scandalous a dissimulation was intended to deceive the people. At last, this false step, taken so contrary to his own opinion, joined to the sad life he had led, made him listen to propositions offered by some of his friends in the Highlands, who would receive no employs at the price of a hypocritical repentance. These gentlemen sent a message to him, that if he would come and head them, they would send to a place appointed, a good body of troops to receive him. The King therefore consented to join the mal-contents, being extremely desirous to withdraw from the Presbyterians, who had put so many hardships upon him. He had prepared a declaration, showing the ill treatment he had received from the Marquis of Argyle, and the cruel servitude in which he had been held since his arrival in Scotland. The Duke of Buckingham, having discovered this secret, by letters left upon the King's table, informed the Marquis of Argyle, who would not believe, the execution of the project was so near. Nevertheless, two days after, the King withdrawing from St. Johnstoun, repaired to the place appointed, where he found only a very inconsiderable body, instead of the good number of troops he had been promised. But while he was deliberating what to do, the committee of estates dispatched Major-General Montgomery to him, who very rudely pressed his return to St. Johnstoun, to which he at last consented, believing, doubtless, that those who had wished him among them, were not in so good a condition to receive him, as they had made him believe.

This design, however imprudent, produced a good effect for the King, though, withal, it lost him the confidence of the Presbyterians, who saw plainly, his heart was not with them, and that he little regarded his promises at Breda. Meanwhile, the Marquis of Argyle, and the committee of estates perceived, a too great rigour might throw the King upon desperate resolutions, and, in the present juncture, great disorders might happen, if the King should desire to head the mal-contents. This procured him better treatment, and a larger share in the public affairs. The King, on his part, saw also, he should never be easy in Scotland, or able to execute his designs, without the assistance of Argyle, who was at the head of the kirk party. He therefore courted him extremely, making him great offers, and even talking of marrying his daughter. But the Marquis, knowing his sentiments, looked upon these offers as so many snares, and was upon his guard, though he outwardly paid the King all due respect. The Lord Lorn, his son, Captain of the King's guards, did him many services, and privately brought to him those persons, whose company he desired.*

At last, the King was crowned at Scone, the 1st of January 1650-1, and from that day all persons had access to him. After this, the Scots were wholly intent upon raising an army, into which all who desired it were received, without distinction of party. This army was ready the beginning of June, before Cromwell could take the field, for want of forage. It consisted of fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, which the King headed himself, with David Lesley for his Lieutenant-General. As they were mostly new raised troops, the King judged it not proper to go in quest of Cromwell, who was formidable for his courage and experience, and was besides at the head of a disciplined and victorious army. He posted himself therefore very advantageously at Torwood, between Edinburgh and Stirling, having behind him a large and deep river, of which the passes were all secured, and by that means he received provisions out of the plentiful county of Fife, whereas the country before him was entirely laid waste. This army in the front was so strongly intrenched, that it would have been rashness to attack it. Here he resolved to wait the enemy's motions, and take his measures accordingly.

Cromwell, having assembled his army, marched directly to the King, with design to give him battle, but found him so strongly intrenched, that he thought it not proper to attack him. The armies remained in their respective camps about six weeks, all Cromwell's artifices to draw the King out of his intrenchments, proving ineffectual. At last, Cromwell, unable any longer to stay in his camp, by reason of the difficulty of getting provisions, whilst the county of Fife plentifully supplied the King, resolved to make an attempt to deprive the King of this advantage. For he saw plainly, it was in the King's power to avoid fighting as long as he pleased, and oblige him to spend the whole campaign in a state of inaction.

Wherefore he detached sixteen hundred men under Colonel Overton, who marched towards Edinburgh, to a place provided with boats, and passing the Frith, took his post in the county of Fife. Overton was immediately followed by Lambert, with a more considerable body. At the same time, Cromwell, with the rest of the army, advanced towards the King's intrenchments, as if he intended to attack them, in order to prevent any detachment from the King's army to oppose the landing of his forces. As soon as the King was informed that the English were in Fife, he detached Major-General Brown with four thousand men to fight them. Brown was routed, and Cromwell thereby free to transport his whole army into Fife. By this means he deprived the King of any farther supplies from that county.

It was indeed an advantage to Cromwell to put the King under a necessity of quitting a post where he could not be attacked. But withal, he had made it impossible to fight him, because there was a deep river

* In the course of this year, (on March 25,) died John Williams, Archbishop of York, formerly Lord Keeper; and the learned Antiquary, Sir Simonds D'Ewes. As also October 27, William, Prince of Orange, father of King William III.——This year, the English merchants were commanded by the Czar of Muscovy, to depart his dominions, and not come thither, unless in the King's name, and by his patents: this was fomented by the Dutch.—— Five Drunkards in Berkshire agreed to drink the King's health in their blood, and that each should cut off a piece of his buttock, and fry it, which four of them did; but the wife of the fifth coming into the room, and taking up a pair of tongs, laid about her so, that she saved the cutting her husband's flesh.——May 14. The act for suppressing incest, adultery, and fornication being passed, Henry Martin declared his opinion, "That the severity of the punishment being death, would cause these sins to be more cautiously committed, and so being undiscovered, would be more frequent."——July 2. An act passed for preventing and suppresing cursing and swearing; whereby it was enjoined, that (for the first offence) a Lord should pay 30*s.* a Baronet and Knight 20*s.* an Esquire 10*s.* a Gentleman 6*s* 8*d.* every other person 3*s.* 4*d.* And double for the second offence, and so to the tenth. And then to be bound to his good behaviour.

between the armies, which joins the lake of Lomond to Edinburgh Frith. The King might have passed the river, because he was master of all the passes, but it was not thought proper to pursue Cromwell, who was now at a distance, having taken St. Johnstoun, and threatened Stirling. On the contrary, the King suddenly resolved to march into England, since he had no opposition before him, being pleased, that Cromwell had given him opportunity to form and execute a design so agreeable to his interest. He saw himself at the head of eighteen thousand men, and doubted not that his army would be greatly increased in England, by the junction of the Royalists and Presbyterians, equally oppressed by an independent Parliament. The Marquis of Argyle was alone of a contrary opinion, and so far incurred the suspicion of disloyalty, that the King was advised to put him under arrest. But it was not thought proper to follow this advice, from which no advantage could be received. The Marquis therefore was left in Scotland, and the King began his march to Carlisle with extraordinary diligence. He had now marched some days before Cromwell heard of it, and entered England the 6th of August, where he was proclaimed by his army.

The news of the King's march greatly surprized Cromwell. Accordingly, his greatest care was to prevent the mischiefs that might follow. As he doubted not, the Parliament would be alarmed at the news of the King's march, he speedily informed them of it, and withal, of his intention closely to pursue him. He advised them also to put the militia in arms in all counties of the kingdom, with all possible diligence, to keep the King's party in awe, and prevent their joining his army. He gave the same orders in the northern counties, as well to hinder the cavaliers from rising, as to find several bodies of the trained-bands ready to reinforce his army on his arrival in England. At the same time he detached Major-General Harrison with three thousand horse, which were to be followed by Lambert at the head of another body of cavalry, to retard the King's march as much as was possible. After these precautions, he left Major-General Monk in Scotland with five thousand men, with orders to endeavour to make himself master of Stirling and Dundee. At last, he put himself upon the march, three days after the King's departure, making all possible haste to reach the King before he should arrive at London, not questioning but he would march thither without halting.

The King entered England full of hopes that all the enemies of the Independents, as well Presbyterians as royalists, would eagerly join him. For this purpose, he sent Colonel Massey before, with a detachment to receive all who were willing to serve him. He wrote likewise to the Earl of Derby, then in the Isle of Man, to repair to him, greatly relying on his credit in Lancashire. But many things conspired to disconcert his projects.

At last, after a very fatiguing march, the King arrived at Worcester, where he was honourably received by the magistrates, and solemnly proclaimed. He resolved to refresh his weary troops in the neighbourhood of that city, as they were not able to continue their march without some repose. Probably his design was to march directly to London, if his army, according to his expectation, had been considerably strengthened on their route. But on the contrary he saw it so diminished by desertion as to be reduced to twelve or thirteen thousand men, without any hopes of its being augmented, for the forementioned reasons. It is therefore likely, he durst not farther advance, and thought the ground about Worcester proper for defence in case of an attack.

Whilst the King's army refreshed themselves at Worcester, Cromwell was advancing with speed. His orders for assembling the forces and militia of the north were so well obeyed, that on his arrival in England, his army was daily increased by parties from all quarters. By this means, after his junction with Lambert and Harrison, he found an army much superior to the King's, which lay encamped about a mile from Worcester, with a resolution to stand upon the defence. Cromwell, before he attacked the King's army, thought proper to make a diversion on the other side of the Severn. For this purpose he detached Lambert, who marched directly to Upton, where was a bridge guarded by Massey. This passage was so vigorously attacked, that after a sharp engagement, Massey was obliged to abandon it. Immediately after, Cromwell ordered part of his army to go over to the western side of the Severn, which forced the King to send some of his forces the same way, and so to weaken that part of his army which was to sustain Cromwell's attack.

The 3d of September, a day fortunate to Cromwell by the defeat of the Scots at Dunbar the year before, he charged the royal army on both sides the Severn. After an engagement of some hours, the King's forces were repulsed on both sides the river, and forced to retire into the town in such confusion, that the entrance was forgotten to be defended. The King's solicitations were fruitless, to inspire his now vanquished troops with resolution to resist any longer the conqueror. At last, his cavalry seeing the enemy break into the town, fled, and left the infantry to the mercy of the English. The King himself was forced to fly through St. Martin's gate, and with great difficulty avoided falling into the enemy's hands. The foot were almost entirely killed or taken; and the horse being warmly pursued, were easily dispersed; so that most of the officers and cavaliers were made prisoners. It is pretended, of the Scots were slain about two thousand, and seven or eight thousand taken prisoners,* who being sent to London, were sold for slaves to the plantations of the American isles. Duke Hamilton, mortally wounded, died nine days after. Amongst the principal persons were General Lesley, the Earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnwarth, Kelly, Derby, and Cleveland.†

The King, though happily escaped from the defeat, was under great difficulties. He was to avoid his pursuers; that was his only concern, but the thing was not easy. At last, after two months great fatigues, after infinite dangers escaped, after a great part of the kingdom traversed from Worcester to the county of Sussex, he embarked, and safely arrived in Normandy the 22d of October.‡

While Cromwell was in pursuit of the King, Monk, in

* On the King's side there were three thousand slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners; and of Cromwell's army one hundred slain, and three hundred wounded. Among the prisoners were three English Earls, seven Scotch Lords, six hundred and forty Colonels, and other officers; the King's standard, and one hundred and fifty-eight colours were also taken.

† Lesley reached Lancashire before he was apprehended, and the rest were overtaken and made prisoners, at Newport in Cheshire, by a detachment of Lilburn's horse.

‡ The King left Worcester at six o'clock in the afternoon, and without halting travelled about twenty-six miles, in company with fifty or sixty of his friends. To provide for his safety, he thought it best to separate himself from his companions; and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the Earl of Derby's directions he went to Boscobel, a lone house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To this man Charles entrusted himself. The man had dignity of sentiment much above his condition; and though death was denounced against all who concealed the King, and a great reward promised to any one who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity. He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally honourable with himself; and, having clothed the King in a garb like their own, they led him into a neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots.—Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed upon such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He saw several soldiers pass by. All of them were intent in search of the King; and some expressed, in his hearing, their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the Royal Oak; and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration.

Charles was in the middle of the kingdom, and could neither stay in his retreat, nor stir a step from it, without the most imminent danger. Fear, hopes, and party-zeal interested multitudes to discover him; and even the smallest indiscretion of his friends might prove fatal.

Having joined Lord Wilmot, who was skulking in the neighbourhood, they agreed to put themselves into the hands of Colonel Lane, a zealous royalist who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. The King's feet were so hurt by walking about in heavy boots or country-men's

in obedience to his orders, laid siege to Stirling, which resisted but few days. This place, one of the strongest of Scotland, where the public records were kept, surrendered the 14th of August. All the papers and records were sent to London, whence they never returned, the ship which was bringing them back, after the Restoration, being cast away. After the surrender of Stirling, Monk besieged Dundee, where the inhabitants of Edinburgh had conveyed their best effects, after the battle of Dunbar. During the siege, some Scotch gentlemen assembling some forces to relieve the town, they were surprised and dispersed by a detachment from Monk, and their leaders taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this misfortune, Major Lumsdale the Governor made a stout defence, till the town was taken by storm the first of September, two days before the battle of Worcester. The taking of Stirling and Dundee were followed by that of Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and all the rest of the towns and castles, capable of making resistance. Thus, in a short time, Monk reduced the whole kingdom of Scotland to the obedience of the English Parliament. This was the consequence of the King's resolution, to conduct the Scotch army into England.

The victory of Worcester, and the reduction of Scotland, gave such a reputation to the new republic, that every state in Europe either courted its friendship, or dreaded its arms. For this reason, most of the Sovereigns excused themselves from making offers to the King, or supplying him with money, for fear of being suspected by the Parliament. So, the King saw himself reduced to great extremities, and even to a want of common necessaries. He lived at Paris, maintained by his mother, who had a pension from the crown, but Cardinal Mazarin, making his court to the Parliament of England, took no notice of the distress of her unfortunate son.

On the other hand, Cromwell's glory and credit were so increased since the battle of Dunbar and Worcestor, that as he was master of the armies of the three kingdoms, he was in effect, master of the revolutions of the Parliament, no man daring openly to oppose him.

Cromwell returned to London the 21st of September, leading with him, in triumph, his principal prisoners, who were committed to the Tower, whence Massey, some time after, found means to escape. A majority of the Parliament, with the Speaker at their head, attended by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London, met him at Acton. Eight days after, the Earl of Derby was tried and sentenced by a council of war, and beheaded at Bolton, in the county of Lancaster.*

While these things passed in England, the Parliament's fleet became master of the Isle of Jersey, Cornet castle in the Isle of Guernsey, and the Isle of Man. In January following, Sir George Ascough reduced the Isle of Barbadoes, then governed by the Lord Willoughby of Parham, for the King; and the Isles of Nevis and St. Christopher submitted without opposition.

England enjoying a profound tranquillity, and Ireland being almost reduced, the Parliament thought of means to unite Scotland with the commonwealth of England. As they had conquered that kingdom, they believed they had a right to do it as they pleased, without consulting the Scots, who were no longer able to oppose their will. An act therefore passed in the English Parliament, which entirely abolished kingly power in Scotland, and united that kingdom to the English commonwealth, with a power to send a limited number of representatives to the Parliament. Commissioners were afterwards sent into Scotland, to adjust the particulars of this union. Most of the Scotch nobility seeing themselves unable to resist the Parliament, submitted to their pleasure.† The Marquis of Argyle became

men's shoes which did not fit him, that he was obliged to mount on horseback; and he travelled in this situation to Bentley, attended by the Penderells, who had been so faithful to him. Lane formed a scheme for his journey to Bristol, where, it was hoped, he would find a ship in which he might transport himself. He had a near kinswoman, Mrs. Norton, who lived within three miles of that city, and was with child, very near the time of her delivery. He obtained a pass (for during these times of confusion, this precaution was requisite) for his sister Jane Lane and a servant, to travel towards Bristol, under pretence of visiting and attending her relation. The King rode before the Lady, and personated her servant.

When they arrived at Norton's, Mrs. Lane pretended, that she had brought along with her as her servant, a poor lad, a neighbouring farmer's son, who was ill of an ague; and she begged a private room for him, where he might be quiet. Though Charles kept himself retired in this room, the butler, one Pope, soon knew him: the King was alarmed, but made the butler promise, that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and he was faithful to his engagement.

No ship, it was found, would, for a month, set sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain; and the King was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He entrusted himself to Colonel Windham, of Dorsetshire, an affectionate partizan of the royal family: the natural effect of the long civil wars, and of the furious rage to which all men were wrought up in their different factions, was, that every one's inclinations and affections were thoroughly known, and even the courage and fidelity of many, by a variety of incidents, had been put to the trial. The royalists too had, many of them, been obliged to make concealments in their houses for themselves, their friends or, more valuable effects; and the art of eluding the enemy had been frequently practised.—All these circumstances proved favourable to the King in the present exigency.—As he often passed through the hands of the Catholics, the Priest's-hole, as they called it, the place where they were obliged to conceal their persecuted priests, was sometimes employed for sheltering their distressed sovereign.

Windham, before he received the King, asked leave to entrust the important secret to his mother, his wife, and four servants on whose fidelity he could rely. Of all these, no one proved wanting either in honour or discretion. The venerable old matron, on the reception of her royal guest, expressed the utmost joy, that having lost, without regret, three sons and one grand-child in defence of his father, she was now reserved, in her declining years, to be instrumental in the preservation of himself. Windham told the King, that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons: "My children," said he, "we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last Sovereigns: but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happen, do you faithfully honour and obey your Prince, and adhere to the crown. I charge you never to forsake the crown, though it should hang upon a bush."—"These last words," added Windham, "made such impressions in all our breasts, that the many

afflictions of these sad times could never efface their indelible characters.—From innumerable instances, it appears how deep-rooted in the mind of the English gentry of that age was the principle of loyalty to their sovereign; that noble and generous principle, inferior only in excellence to the more enlarged and more enlightened affection towards a legal constitution. But during those times of military usurpation, these passions were the same.

The King continued several days in Windham's house, and all his friends in Britain, and in every part of Europe, remained in the most anxious suspense with regard to his fortunes: no one could conjecture whether he were dead or alive; and the report of his death being generally believed, happily relaxed the vigilant search of his enemies. Trials were made to procure a vessel for his escape; but he still met with disappointments. Having left Windham's house, he was obliged again to return to it. He passed through many other adventures; assumed different disguises; in every step was exposed to imminent perils; and received daily proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment. The sagacity of a smith, who discovered that his horse's shoes had been made in the north, and not in the west, as he pretended, once detected him, and he narrowly escaped. At Shoreham in Sussex a vessel was at last found in which he embarked. He had been known to so many, that if he had not set sail in that critical moment, it had been impossible for him to escape. After one-and-forty days concealment, he arrived safely at Fescamp in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had at different times been prior to his concealment and escape.

* What reward his grandson had for this famous Earl's loyalty, will appear by the following inscription, on a building erected at Knowsley, his seat in Lancashire:

"James Earl of Derby, Lord of Man, and the Isles, grandson of James Earl of Derby, and of Charlotte daughter of Claude Duke de la Tremouille, whose husband James was beheaded at Bolton, xv Octob. mdclii. for strenuously adhering to Charles the second, who refused a bill past unanimously by both Houses of Parliament, for restoring to the family the estate lost by his loyalty to him. mdccxxxii.

† The Scots in general, freed from the tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with the change. It had been a usual policy of the Presbyterian ecclesiastics to settle a chaplain in the great families, who acted as a spy upon his master, and gave them intelligence of the most private transactions and discourses of the family. A signal instance of priestly tyranny and the subjection of the nobility! They even obliged the servants to give intelligence against their masters. Whitelocke tells the following story.—The synod meeting at Perth, and citing the ministers and people who had expressed a dislike of their heavenly government, the men being out of the way, their wives resolved to answer for them. And, on the day of appearance, a hundred and twenty women, with good clubs in their hands, came and besieged the church, where the reverend ministers sat. They sent one of their number to treat with the females, and he threatening excommunication, they basted him for his

became one of the most zealous adherents of the common-wealth, but the clergy were very much dissatisfied with this union.

By the victory at Worcester, the Independents seemed to have deprived the King of all refuge, and to have nothing more to fear from him. Nevertheless, the royalists were still a thorn in their side. Indeed, this party appeared too weak to recover by their own strength, but they were not without a possibility of receiving assistance from foreign powers. Of these powers, they dreaded neither France nor Spain; but there was another power which inspired them with fear, this was the Republic of the United Provinces, who could strongly assist the royalists

The Prince of Orange dying in October, 1650, the Parliament judged the occasion favourable to treat with the States, because the interest of that Prince could no longer obstruct the negociation. They sent therefore, in March 1651, Oliver St. John, and Walter Strickland, to the Hague, to negociate, not a bare alliance, but such an union, as might render them one commonwealth. This proposal met with great opposition from the states. First, the English pretended, the states should renounce all their alliances, except those common to them with the republic of England. Secondly, the conditions proposed by the English were of such a nature, that all the advantages were of their side, and the forces of the United Provinces were properly but to serve for augmentation of those of England. Thirdly, if the time of the arrival of the two Envoys at the Hague be considered, it will be easily seen, that the affairs of the Parliament were not yet in a situation to oblige the States to be contented with conditions, so little advantageous. On these accounts, the English Envoys returned in July, dissatisfied not only at their ill success, but also at some insults on their persons from the rabble at the Hague. The Parliament's resentment against the States was so great, that a war was resolved.* Pretexts were sought from injuries said to be done to the English by the Dutch thirty years before, at Amboyna, and other places in the Indies. It is pretended, Cromwell consented to this war, of which he saw no necessity, in pure complaisance to St. John, and some others, who appeared extremely incensed against Holland.

But as the people were to be managed, who would not have been easily persuaded of the necessity of this war, it was resolved to force the Hollanders to be the aggressors, or at least to furnish a pretence for the war. For this purpose, the Parliament, under colour of encouraging navigation, made an act prohibiting the importation of all foreign commodities except upon English bottoms, or such as were of the country from whence the commodities came. By this act, which was to commence the first of December, 1651, all commerce between England and Holland was destroyed, since that commerce consisted only in foreign merchandizes imported from Holland in their own vessels. Besides this, the Parliament granted letters of marque to several private men, who complained of an unjust confiscation of their ships in Holland.

The States easily perceived the Parliament's design, but instead of beginning hostilities, as was expected by the English, they sent an embassy to London, to solicit a revocation of the act. The Parliament received the ambassadors with marks of respect, and granted them several audiences, their aim being to intimate, that it should not be their fault if the peace between the two republics were not preserved. But when the particular articles came to be discussed, it was plain the Parliament was bent upon war. Instead of revoking the navigation act, several stale pretensions were revived. Satisfaction was demanded for the massacre of the English at Amboyna in the year 1622; for the losses sustained from the Dutch since the year 1618 in the Indies, Persia, the Mogul's dominions, Muscovy, Greenland, and the Isle of Polerone. These losses, according to the Parliament's estimation, amounted to seventeen hundred thousand pounds sterling. A suitable reparation was also insisted on for the murder of Dorislaus, committed at the Hague, under the eye of the States, who had taken no proper measures to bring the authors to punishment. In fine, it was pretended, that satisfaction should be given for the secret intelligence which the last ambassadors from the States had held with the late King during the civil war. For these satisfactions and reparations, the Parliament offered to make an alliance with the United Provinces, upon the terms proposed by their Envoys at the Hague.

A. D. 1652.] These propositions convinced the States that they were to prepare for war. Accordingly with great care and expence a fleet was put to sea of a hundred and fifty sail. They were unwilling however to declare war against the Parliament, and resolved if possible, to cause the English to be aggressors. For this purpose, while the States' Ambassadors were still at London, their Admiral Martin Van Tromp, one of the bravest and most experienced sea officers in Europe, appeared in the Channel with a fleet of forty-five ships of war, pretending to convoy some merchantmen, and came and anchored in Dover Road, probably with design to give the English a provocation to begin hostilities. Admiral Blake, who commanded the English fleet, consisting only of twenty-six sail, appearing in sight, the Dutch weighed anchor, and put to sea without striking their flag, whereupon Blake fired three guns without ball for a signal to strike, to which Tromp answered no otherwise than by drawing up his ships in line for battle, and in contempt of the signal, discharged one single gun; and coming up to the English Admiral gave him a broad-side. So, the fight began, without any certainty which side was the aggressor.† The two Admirals had positive orders so to behave, as not to come to an engagement without apparent necessity. The English say, Tromp had orders from the States not to strike to the English, to oblige them to begin hostilities. This is not improbable, though the Dutch authors do not mention it.‡ Blake being reinforced with eight ships, the engagement lasted from four in the afternoon till night. The English, if their historians are to be credited, had not a single ship damaged, and the Dutch lost two, one taken, and one sunk. They say farther, that night coming on, Tromp drew his fleet to the back of the Goodwin sands, and the next morning sailed for Zealand. The Dutch own the loss of two ships, but affirm the English had six sunk, and that night only saved their fleet from entire destruction.

The Dutch Ambassadors, knowing the intention of their masters, endeavoured, in an audience obtained of the Parliament, to show, the battle was a pure effect of chance. On the other hand, the States sent to the Parliament an Ambassador Extraordinary, to propose an agreement. This was Adrian Paw, who had been Plenipotentiary at the peace of Munster. But the Parliament not receding from any of the articles proposed before the rupture, the States recalled the Ambassadors, and resolved to continue the war. A manifesto was published, in which they pretended to demonstrate, the Parliament attacked them, without any provocation; and the Parliament answered in another, declaring all

---

labour, kept him prisoner, and sent a party of sixty, who routed the rest of the clergy, bruised their bodies sorely, took all their baggage, and twelve horses. One of the ministers, after a mile's running, taking all creatures for his foes, meeting with a soldier, fell on his knees, who knowing nothing of the matter, asked the black coat what he meant? The female conquerors, having laid hold on the synod clerk, beat him till he forswore his office. Thirteen ministers rallied about four miles from the place, and voted that this village should never more have a synod in it, but be accursed, and that though in the years 1638-9, the godly women were cried up for stoning the Bishops, yet now the whole sex should be esteemed wicked.

* Hostilities began between the two nations in October 1651, when an English man of war, meeting with some Dutch fishermen, demanded of them the tenth herring, as an acknowledgment of England's sovereignty in those seas, (or else, insisted upon their striking sail) which the Dutch refused; whereupon they fell from words to blows, and the Dutch shooting first at the English, the English man of war sunk one of their ships, and all the men were lost.

† The refusal of striking the flag, and the broad-side given by Tromp to Blake, seem to put it out of all doubt, that the Dutch were the aggressors.

‡ The Lord Clarendon says, the council of the admiralty of Holland, who govern the maritime affairs without communication with the states-general, ordered Tromp not to strike.

the occasions of complaint above-mentioned. To this was added the refusal of the striking the flag, a right they were resolved to maintain, at all hazards. The States replied, it was true, their republic, in its infancy, had paid that compliment to the royal dignity, when England was under the dominion of a King, but they could not believe themselves obliged to the same respect since the monarchy was changed into a commonwealth.

The war being sufficiently declared, Van Tromp put to sea with a fleet of seventy ships, whilst Van Gallen sailed to the Mediterranean to fight the English there. Tromp's design was to engage Admiral Ascough who lay in the Downs with part of the English fleet. But, while he was waiting an opportunity, Admiral Blake with forty ships sailed to the northward, to attack the Herring fleet, and their convoy. Tromp being informed of it, followed and overtook him near Newcastle. But while he was preparing for the fight, a furious tempest so dispersed his fleet that he returned to Holland, with but forty sail. The rest that escaped shipwreck, arrived not at the Texel till some weeks after.

About the same time, Ruyter convoying a fleet of merchant-men with thirty-four ships,* was met by Sir George Ascough, and a furious engagement ensued, which was bravely fought on both sides till Ascough, at last was forced to retire to Plymouth, and leave Ruyter free passage to convoy his fleet into Holland.

During the engagements in the Channel, Van Gallen attacked and beat the English into the Mediterranean: but his victory cost him his life, being slain in the fight.

Meantime, the English putting to sea with a formidable fleet, made themselves masters of the Channel, the Dutch not daring to appear. Meanwhile, a considerable number of Dutch vessels returning from Holland, without being informed of the war, fell into the hands of the English, and amongst others, a fleet of forty sail from Portugal, and six India ships richly laden.

Whereupon the Dutch, not to expose their merchants to greater losses, gave notice to the merchant-men, homeward bound, to sail to the Isle of Rhe, where a fleet should be ready to convoy them. Pursuant to this project, Tromp left Goree in November, with seventy men of war, and six fire ships, and met Blake, who expected him in the Channel. This fight lasted from eight in the morning till night, when part of the English fleet retired to the Downs, and part into the Thames. A wound received by Blake having thrown his fleet into some disorder, he could not hinder Tromp from pursuing his course.†

In February, Blake again put to sea, with a fleet of eighty sail, being assisted, at his own request, with Monk and Dean, newly arrived from Scotland for that purpose. The intention of the three Admirals was to call upon Tromp in his return from the Isle of Rhe, with three hundred merchant ships, he was to convoy to Holland. The States being informed of the great preparations in England, had equipped twenty ships to join their Admiral in his passage, but they were hindered by contrary winds. In the meantime, Tromp entered the Channel, and conducting the merchant-men along the coasts of France, met the English fleet, much superior to his own number of ships. But finding himself too far advanced to recede, a furious engagement began, which lasted three days, and would have been renewed the fourth, had the ships on either side been able to sustain a fresh charge. The Dutch lost in this engagement eighteen men of war, and eight merchant-men. But their historians pretend, that one and twenty ships of the enemy were sunk, and three stranded. Each side challenged the victory. However that be, Tromp convoyed his three hundred merchant-men into Holland, the eight excepted, which fell into the hands of the English. After he had secured the merchant-men, he engaged the English four several times, but not in so important a manner.

A. D. 1653.] Shortly after, the King imagining, he had friends amongst the commanders of the English fleet, offered the States to put himself on board their fleet, without any command, except of such English ships as should come and join him. But the States thought not fit to accept his offer. It was considered by them as a snare, to engage them to declare for him, to which, in their present circumstances, they had no inclination. They wanted peace, and were unwilling to remove, or render it impossible, by espousing the King's cause. They even found a way to convey privately, to Lenthal the Speaker, a letter from the particular States of Holland, to propose an agreement. Some say, this was owing to a private intimation from Cromwell, who began to discover, that peace was now proper for his interests. He had the address to obtain from the Parliament a civil answer to the letter received by Lenthal; but the answer was directed to the States General. This drew from the States a letter of the 30th of April, in which it was openly desired, the Parliament would please to name a place for a treaty.

Cromwell at last perceived, the continuation of the war was a contrivance of his enemies, that the expence might render it necessary to disband the army, now become useless, to which he saw the House was inclined. This tended manifestly to undermine his authority. For though he had excellent qualities, and by his valour and capacity had raised the Commonwealth to its present grandeur, he was still feared. Had he not been supported by the army, his ruin had been infallible, the Parliament fearing that his credit, already too great, would become still greater, to the prejudice of the Commonwealth. Cromwell had even private information, that a conspiracy was forming against him, in which were engaged not only several Presbyterians and Royalists, but also some considerable members of the House, though of the Independent-party. Affairs therefore were in such a situation, that the Parliament was either to be subdued, or himself ruined.‡ Such a choice does not long amuse the ambitious. Cromwell, displeased at a design to requite his services with ingratitude, easily determined to risque every thing to make himself master of the Parliament, rather than become their slave, who properly owed all their power to him. He therefore caused the officers of the army, in a general council, to frame a petition, and present it to the Parliament; in which they demanded, "the arrears of their pay, that they might not be compelled to take free quarter upon their fellow subjects, who already paid such great contributions and taxes, which, they were well assured, if well managed, would defray all the charges of the war, and of the government."

The Parliament, as Cromwell had foreseen, complained of the insolence of this petition, and ordered a reprimand to the officers for their presumption, to intermeddle in affairs which belonged not to them, and to arraign the Parliament's management of the treasury. This drew from the army a second petition, which put the House in mind of some former professions they had made, "That they would be glad to be dissolved, and that there might be successive Parliaments, to undergo the same trouble they had done. They therefore desired them to remember, how many years they had sat, and though they had done great things, yet it was a great injury to the rest of the nation, to be utterly excluded from bearing any part in the service of their country, by their engrossing the whole power into their hands: and thereupon besought them, that they would settle a council of war for the administration of the government, during the interval, and then dissolve them-

* Our historians say, there were ninety sail of them, whereof thirty were merchant-men. Ascough had but thirty-eight sail.

† With a broom on his main-top-mast, as if he had swept, or would sweep, all the English shipping out of the channel. This year Prince Maurice was lost in a hurricane in the West-Indies.

‡ The little popularity and credit acquired by the republicans, farther stimulated the ambition of this enterprising politician. These men had not that large thought nor those comprehensive views which might qualify them for acting the part of legislators; selfish aims and bigotry chiefly engrossed their attention. They carried their rigid austerity so far as to enact a law declaring fornication after the first act to be felony, without benefit of clergy. A bill was introduced into the House against painting, patches, and other immodest dress of women, but it did not pass.

selves, and summon a new Parliament; which, they told them, would be the most popular act they could perform."

This remonstrance, though intended to exasperate the Parliament, appeared very just in itself, and agreeable to the general sentiment of the nation. They were themselves sensible of this; but, besides that it was very mortifying to them to divest themselves of an authority which had so many charms, they had reason to fear, that an account would be demanded of their actions. They were unwilling to quit possession, and yet could not avoid solemnly deliberating upon the petition. In this debate, all the members, who were officers in the army, strenuously supported the petition. The Presbyterians, who had been received into the House upon their swearing to the engagement, were also of opinion, that the Parliament ought to dissolve themselves, since it could not be doubted, that it was the nation's desire. But the negative was carried by a majority of voices. It was therefore resolved, that it was not yet time to dissolve this Parliament, while affairs were depending that could not be left unfinished, and particularly the important war with Holland. That nevertheless, the Speaker should issue out writs for filling the vacant seats in the House. At the same time, a committee was appointed, speedily to prepare a bill, by which all persons were forbidden to present such petitions, under pain of being declared guilty of high-treason.

This was what Cromwell expected. Being therefore very certain, this Parliament was odious to the people, and not more agreeable to the army, he believed, he owed no farther regard to men, who only sought his ruin. When things were concerted with the principal officers, he came to the House, the 20th of April, with some officers and soldiers, and without any ceremony, told the members, he was come to put an end to their power, of which they had made an ill use; and therefore, they were immediately to be dissolved. The officers and soldiers entered at the same time, and staid at the door till the members walked out. Cromwell, as they came by him, reproached one with drunkenness, another with corruption, not sparing any of those whom he knew to be his enemies. After that, he gave the mace to one of his officers, and locked the door.* This was an extraordinary action, but no more than was done a few years before by General Fairfax, when he expelled and imprisoned the members, who were disagreeable to the army.

It cannot, however, be affirmed, that Cromwell, by this proceeding, had pulled off the mask. Had he, after this, called a free Parliament, and submitted to it himself, the people would have loaded him with blessings. But the sequel clearly discovered, he was only labouring for himself.

A little after, Cromwell published a declaration to justify the dissolution of the Parliament, and as his designs were not yet manifested, this declaration was subscribed by the Colonels of the army, and all the sea-captains, and met with a general approbation. He might have taken the administration of the government, by the same authority that he had dismissed the Parliament. But he had no design to usurp it so notoriously. He had contrived, that it should be given him by a Parliament, in order to dazzle the eyes of the public with so venerable an authority. The council of officers, who had presented the petition to the Parliament, being still assembled, Cromwell caused them to resolve, that a hundred and forty-four persons should be intrusted with the supreme power. In the choice of these persons, Cromwell at once displayed his abilities, and discovered, that he had some secret design, which would at a proper season manifest itself. They were chiefly men of no birth, illiterate, with no particular merit, unexperienced in affairs, in a word utterly incapable of an employ of that consequence. Cromwell easily foresaw, they would soon be weary, and forced to put the government into his hands, and so, furnish him with a pretence to assume it to himself. This notable choice being made, he wrote to each in particular, to require them to assemble at Whitehall the 4th of July in order to take upon them the administration of the government.†

These new Sovereigns meeting on the day appointed, Cromwell made a speech, and when it was ended, gave them an instrument signed by himself and the principal officers of the army, by which the supreme power was lodged in their hands. This instrument imported, that all these members, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the supreme authority of the nation, to whom all persons were to yield obedience and subjection till the 3d day of November, in the year 1654, that is, during one year and four months. That three months before their dissolution, they were to make choice of other persons to succeed them, whose authority should not exceed one year, and then they were likewise to provide and take care for a like succession in the government. But it will presently appear, that Cromwell did not intend, this regulation should be exactly observed. These members, thus empowered, made no scruple to call themselves a Parliament, and chose one Rouse for their Speaker. Amongst these members was one Barebone a leather-seller, who, in his neighbourhood, passed for a notable speaker, because he used to entertain them with long harangues upon the times. From this man the people, in derision, called them Barebone's Parliament.‡

The letter written by the States General to the Parliament the 20th of April, the day on which the Parliament was dissolved, was referred to the council of state, established by Cromwell and his officers, till the new Parliament should assemble. This council, under the direction of Cromwell, gave a favourable answer to the states, with hopes of a peace, upon sending plenipotentiaries to London. At last the States General named four ambassadors to negotiate a peace at London.

Whilst their instructions were preparing, the fleets of England and the States met, the 2d of June, and came to an engagement, which was renewed the next day. In this last engagement, Tromp, fighting with great disadvantage, was obliged to retire in disorder, having lost many ships, which were sunk or taken by the English.§

After this battle, the English fleet being reinforced to the number of a hundred ships, saw itself, some time, mistress of the sea, and gave frequent alarms to the coasts of Holland. At last, Tromp having repaired his fleet as much as possible, though it was inferior to the English both in the number and largeness of the ships,‖ attacked the enemies' fleet again near the Texel. The fight lasted from morning till night without any considerable advantage to either side. It was renewed the next day with the same fury, Tromp being reinforced

* Whitelock, who was present, says, Cromwell led into the House a file of musqueteers with him, and in a furious tone bade the Speaker leave his chair, and told the House, "They had sate long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whoremasters, (looking toward Henry Martin, and Sir Peter Wentworth,) others of them were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous in the profession of the Gospel; and that it was not fit they should sit any longer, and desired them to go away." Whereupon, among all the Parliament men, of whom many wore swords, and would sometimes talk big, not one offered to draw against Cromwell, but all tamely departed the House. He bade one of his soldiers "take away that fool's bauble, the mace."

† After a short preamble, the letter ran thus: "I Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General, and commander in chief of all the armies and forces raised, or to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you (being one of the persons nominated) personally to appear at the council chamber at Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, upon the 4th of July next ensuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the trust unto which you are hereby called and appointed, to serve as a member of the county of——and hereof you are not to fail." O. Cromwell.

Given under my hand and seal,
the 8th day of June, 1653.

‡ His name was Praise-God Barebone.

§ There were six sunk, and twelve taken, with thirteen hundred and fifty prisoners. The English fleet was at first commanded jointly by Blake, Monk, and Dean. Dean was killed, and in the engagement which followed, Monk commanded alone.

‖ The Dutch had ninety men of war, and the English one hundred and six.

with twenty-seven ships, nor did this second day decide the victory. The third day opened with a fresh engagement, in which Tromp was killed by a musket-ball. But Vice-Admiral De Witzen continued the fight, till the two fleets, as if by consent, retired to their own coasts, unable to fight any longer. The loss on both sides was very considerable,* and neither could justly boast of the victory; but the loss of Admiral Tromp was irreparable to Holland.

Cromwell took care speedily to repair the English fleet, in hopes of receiving some advantage from the consternation caused by the death of Tromp, the loss of so many ships, and the division then reigning amongst the United Provinces. But a violent storm so damaged his fleet, that he was under a necessity of either making a peace, or loading the people with new taxes, which, in his present situation, was very improper. He listened therefore to the propositions of the States, and the whole following winter was spent in this negotiation.

Barebone's Parliament did nothing considerable, in a session of more than five months.† At last, the 12th of December, the Speaker, with a good number of the members, who knew Cromwell's intentions, being assembled sooner than usual, one of them rose up and said, that they were unequal to the burthen laid upon them, and therefore proposed a dissolution of themselves, and a resignation of the sovereign authority into the hands from whom it was received. This proposal met with a ready and unanimous approbation. Then the Speaker and all the present members, without waiting for those who were not yet come, left their seats and went directly to Cromwell and the council of officers, to whom they declared, that they found themselves incapable of the trust reposed in them, resigned the instrument they had received, and besought them to take care of the government. Thus Cromwell and his council of officers were once more invested with the supreme power, by that Parliament on which themselves had conferred their pretended authority. This artifice was so gross, that Cromwell's belief to impose upon the people, is amazing.

Two days after, the council of officers, by virtue of the authority lately given them by the Parliament, declared that for the future the government of the republic should reside in a single person, namely, Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General of the forces of England, Scotland and Ireland, who should have the title of Protector of the three kingdoms, and be assisted by a council of twenty-one persons.

The 16th of December the council of officers sent for the commissioners of the Great Seal, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and informing them that Cromwell was made Protector, caused to be read in their presence a writing called the Instrument of Government, the substance whereof was:

I. A Parliament to be called every three years by the Protector.

II. The first to assemble on the 3d of September, 1654.

III. No Parliament to be dissolved till they had sat five months.

IV. Such bills as are offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if not confirmed by him in twenty days, to be laws without him.

V. That his council should not exceed the number of one-and-twenty, nor be less than thirteen.

VI. That immediately after the death of Cromwell, the council shall chuse another Protector before they rise.

VII. That no Protector after the present shall be General of an army.

VIII. The Protector shall have power to make war and peace.

IX. That the Protector and his council may make laws, which shall be binding to the subjects, during the intervals of Parliament.

After the reading of this instrument, Cromwell took an oath to observe it to the utmost of his power. Then he was conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, Lambert carrying the sword of state before him, and from that time the title of Highness and Lord Protector was given him. Immediately after, he was proclaimed as such at London, and then in the three kingdoms, which formed but one Commonwealth. The city of London invited him to a splendid entertainment, where the solemnity of his reception was such as had been at any time performed to the King.‡

---

* Twenty-seven Dutch ships were fired or sunk, and above one thousand prisoners taken. The English lost four ships, four hundred common sailors, and eight captains; and had above seven hundred men, and five captains wounded.

† They made an act for marriages, ordering the banns to be published in the next market, three several days, and the ceremony to be performed by a justice of peace. And that there should be a register appointed in every parish to keep an account of them.

‡ At the time of Barebone's Parliament, mentioned above, it was usual for the pretended saints to change their names from Henry, Anthony, William, Edward, &c. which they regarded as heathenish, into others more sanctified and godly: even the New Testament names were not held in such regard as those which were borrowed from the Old Testament, Hezekiah, Habakkuk, Joshua, and Zerobabel. Sometimes a whole godly sentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury said to have been enclosed in the county of Sussex about that time.

Accepted, Trevor of Norsham.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.
Faint not, Hewit of Heathfield.
Make Peace, Heaton of Hare.
God Reward, Smart of Fivehurst.
Standfast on High, Stringer of Crowhurst.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lowe of the same.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.

Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be Faithful, Joiner of Britling.
Fly Debate, Roberts of the same.
Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
More Fruit, Fowler of East Hudley.
Hope for, Bending of the same.
Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

"Cromwell," says Cleveland, "hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The muster-master has no other list than the first chapter of St. Matthew." The brother of this Praise-God Barebone had for name, "If Christ had not died for you, you had been damned Barebone." But the people tired of this long name, retained only the last two words, and commonly gave him the appellation of Damn'd Barebone.

PART II.

OLIVER CROMWELL, *Protector.*

A. D. 1654.] THE peace between England and the United Provinces was at last concluded, and the treaty signed the 5th of April, 1654. By this treaty Cromwell made great advantage of the necessity, the States were under, to make peace. They could not obtain it without promising to pay large sums for the damages done to the English thirty years since.* They consented to strike to the ships of the commonwealth, as they had before done to those of the King. They entirely abandoned the interest of Charles II. and obliged themselves to receive no exile from England into their dominions. They promised to restore to the English twenty-two merchant ships confiscated by the King of Denmark, or to pay their full value. Lastly, by a separate article, the States bound themselves never to admit the young Prince of Orange to be their Stadt-holder, General, or Admiral. But this article was ratified only by the province of Holland, the other provinces refusing it, and Cromwell not judging it proper to continue the war to force them to it. Thus ended a war which had been very warm on both sides, and inexpressibly destructive to both nations. It is said, the two Provinces of Holland and Zealand lost in it fifteen hundred ships, which fell into the hands of the English. And this very war, which had been undertaken to ruin Cromwell, served to advance him, as it obliged him to dissolve the Parliament for his own preservation.

Though the new Protector met with a general submission, it was with open complaints of his usurping the supreme power, by a pretended title, conferred on him by men without authority. The royalists considered Cromwell's advancement as a mortal wound to the King. The Presbyterians were not much more pleased with it: for though their government still subsisted in the church, they could hardly endure the liberty of conscience enjoyed by all the Protestants. Besides, they were excluded from the best posts, which it was Cromwell's care to fill with men of approved fidelity to himself. The Presbyterians were nevertheless caressed by him, because their assistance was needful to accomplish his project of being confirmed in his dignity by a free Parliament, where he foresaw they would have considerable influence. But he hated the cavaliers, and kept them very low. This occasioned many conspiracies against him, the authors of which were rigorously punished,† particularly Mr. Vowell, and Mr. Gerard, the first of whom was hanged in London, and the other beheaded in the Tower.

At the same time, and upon the same scaffold, Don Pantaleon Sa, Knight of Malta, and brother of the Portuguese Ambassador, lost his head. That gentleman having quarrelled with the same Mr. Gerard on the New Exchange, returned next day with a strong retinue. Unhappily, he singled out a man in the crowd whom he mistook for Gerard, and entering into a new quarrel, killed him, and others were wounded by his servants; after which, he retired to his brother the Ambassador's. This tumult drew the people together, who surrounded the Ambassador's house, and threatened to drag the criminals to justice. Cromwell being informed of it, dispatched an officer, with some soldiers, to demand the murderers. The Ambassador loudly complained of the insult offered him, and demanded an audience of the Protector, but was refused, and told, that if the criminals were not delivered, the people would not be appeased, nor could the Protector answer for the consequences: that as a man had been killed, and several wounded, justice must be satisfied. In the mean time, the people continued their noise and menaces; so that the Ambassador, seeing himself too weak to resist, was at last forced to deliver up his brother, and the rest that were concerned, in expectation of afterwards obtaining their pardon. But Cromwell continuing inflexible, the Portuguese gentleman was beheaded in the Tower, and his accomplices hanged at Tyburn. The situation of Portugal prevented her from resenting this infraction of the law of nations; and her ambassador soon after signed with Cromwell a treaty of peace and alliance, greatly to the advantage of English commerce.

Since Charles II.'s arrival in France, after his miraculous escape from the battle of Worcester, he had lived in extreme want, not having wherewithal to subsist. The court of France took no notice of his necessities, whether in complaisance to Cromwell, or from a desire of making a strict alliance with him, or through dread of his declaring in favour of Spain. So, the King was in a melancholy state. He had even the mortification to see Monsieur de Bourdeaux, who till then had been his resident in England, appointed Ambassador by the French court, upon Cromwell's being declared Protector. This alteration convinced the King, that France designed an alliance with Cromwell, and he did not doubt but the treaty would be followed with a request to him to depart the kingdom. To prevent this compliment, he let Cardinal Mazarin know, that he intended to withdraw. To facilitate the execution of this design, the Cardinal promised him the arrears of a pension of six thousand livres a month, which had been granted him, but never regularly paid, and the continuance of the same, as long as he should be out of France. At the same time, the King received another small relief, which enabled him to discharge his debts. Prince Rupert arrived safely at Nantes with the fleet, after having lost his brother Maurice in a storm. Besides that the ships were extremely damaged, and the King unable to repair them, he was in great want of money, which determined him to sell the ships, with the ordnance and tackling. Cardinal Mazarin was the purchaser, at a very cheap rate, and paid him the money without delay. After that, Prince Rupert repaired to Paris, and taking leave of the King, withdrew into Germany. The King, as soon as he had received the money, left Paris, and chose Cologne for his retreat, where he continued some years.

The King, before his departure from France, sent Wilmot, now Earl of Rochester, ambassador to the Emperor, and some other Princes of Germany, to procure a supply of money. He even applied to the Pope, by the mediation of Cardinal de Retz, and it is pretended

* To deliver up the island of Polerone in the East-Indies, taken from the English in the reign of King James, and to pay, it is said, three hundred thousand pounds for the affair of Amboyna, (85,000*l.* whereof to the English East India company,) for which the two last Kings could never get any satisfaction.

† There was a high court of Justice erected on purpose, "To try such as were accused of holding a correspondence with Charles Stuart, and of having a design against the life of the Protector."

that

RAPIN'S

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Published by Alexander Jobson Paris London &c

that in order to succeed; the Cardinal prevailed with him to change his religion, and privately received his abjuration.

While the King was in this state of adversity, Cromwell was honoured, respected, and feared by all the powers of Europe.

Since Cromwell had left Ireland, in 1650, Ireton his son-in-law, who commanded there as his deputy, treated the Irish rebels, who fell into his hands, with great severity, the Parliament having ordered no mercy to be shewn to the massacrers. But this was not capable to lead the Irish to an union with the Marquis of Ormond. On the contrary, a religious zeal prevailing among them, by the persuasions of their monks and clergy, they could not bear to be under a Protestant commander. They even conspired against the life of the Marquis, and in an insurrection at Limeric, raised by a monk, he was in danger of being killed. At last, the Irish Bishops, in a full assembly, published a declaration, protesting they would have no communion with heretics, nor obey the Marquis of Ormond. Then, they required him to resign his command to a Catholic, on whom they could better rely. The Marquis being thus exposed to the suspicious and treacherous designs of the Irish, and utterly unable to restore the King's affairs, made the Marquis of Clanrickard his deputy, and retired into France, whence afterwards, he accompanied the King to Cologne.

Ireton dying of the plague in 1651, the Parliament gave the command of their forces in Ireland, to Lieutenant-General Edmund Ludlow, a republican, and one of Charles the First's Judges.

The Irish were not more obedient to Clanrickard than to Ormond. The Catholic clergy, and all Ulster, refused to have any society with the English, under the command of the Marquis, though a Catholic.

In the following years, the Irish, wholly unable to resist the Parliament forces, were exposed to the utmost severity of the English commanders. The barbarity they had exercised upon the English Protestants, settled in Ireland, was justly retaliated upon them. Many were executed, and others, to the number of a hundred thousand, most of whom perished with hunger and misery, had leave to go into the service of foreign Princes. The families which remained in the country, were, for the most part, removed into Connaught, where some lands were assigned them for their subsistence, while the rest was delivered to the adventurers, who advanced money for the Irish war. Part also of these confiscated lands was given to the officers and soldiers in payment of their arrears, and part was sold to the best bidders. In 1654, Fleetwood, who had married Ireton's widow, Cromwell's daughter, was made Governor of Ireland, and two years after, was succeeded by Henry Cromwell, younger son of the Protector.

Though Scotland was subdued, it was not entirely free from disturbances. The general assemblies of the kirk had been suppressed by Cromwell, knowing, that from thence flowed all the troubles which had been for so many years in Scotland. Besides, as it was his intention to introduce in that kingdom a liberty of conscience as well as in England, he knew it would be impossible to execute his design so long as these assemblies subsisted. The people of Scotland were enraged at a liberty so contrary to their covenant, and the maxims of their kirk. They sufficiently discovered their sentiments, though to no purpose, since they had neither places, nor forces, nor arms, nor leaders, to enable them to attempt a deliverance. On the other hand, some Lords and Gentlemen of the King's party still kept in the High-lands, with troops under the command of the Earl of Glencairn. But these troops, neither well armed nor disciplined, were defeated by Colonel Morgan. Nevertheless, with the remains of their troops, they still kept in some inaccessible places. At last, discord arising among them, they were forced to send to the King for Colonel Middleton. On Middleton's arrival, Glencairn quitted them. Middleton supported the remains of this party about a year, and then was obliged to forsake it.

As by the Instrument of Government, a Parliament was to assemble the 3d of September, Cromwell called one for that day. But in his writs for election of members, there was a strict order not to elect any persons, or their sons, who had borne arms for the King; and this was punctually obeyed, A new regulation was also made to proportion the number of representatives to the largeness of the boroughs and counties, and to their respective shares of the public expences.

The Parliament being assembled, Cromwell made a speech in the Painted-Chamber, where the House waited on him. He briefly touched upon the disorders of the preceding government, and endeavoured to justify the present establishment. After an assurance of his good intentions, he represented to them his services for the nation, since the dissolution of the long Parliament, and told them, he had called a free Parliament, agreeably to the desire of all good Englishmen; adding, that he did not speak to them as one that would be a lord over them, but as one that would be a fellow-servant, in the great affair of settling the government. Upon his recommendation, Lenthal, Speaker of the long Parliament, was chosen again to that post. It appeared very soon, that the Parliament had many members who were enemies of tyranny, and having served in the long Parliament, had imbibed maxims very contrary to those established by Cromwell. The first thing proposed, was to examine by what authority they were assembled; a question unexpected by Cromwell. In all appearance, his enemies designed to give him a mortal blow, by a decision that his authority was imaginary and illegal. Perhaps too, the Parliament intended to seize the Sovereign power, though convened by an unlawful authority. Cromwell himself had given them an instance of what could be done with the assistance of force. But as he had friends, as well as enemies, in the House, he found means to make them lose time, by the opposition they met with, from the officers and others who espoused his interest. So, though he could not hinder the frequent debates on this question, he gave his enemies cause to apprehend, that they should not carry it, when it came to be put. At last, perceiving they only waited a favourable opportunity to put the question, he sent for the members to meet him in the Painted-Chamber, where he told them, they were too free in calling an established government into question, from which themselves had derived their authority, since if they were not lawfully convened, they had no power to debate. At their return to the House, they found a guard at the door, refusing entrance to any person, who would not first sign an engagement in these words.—"I. A. B. do hereby freely promise and engage myself, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and to the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and shall not (according to the tenor of the indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament) propose or give any consent to alter the government, as it is settled in one single person and a Parliament." Many refusing to sign this engagement, were excluded the House.

Notwithstanding all this, the members themselves, who had signed the engagement, were not more tractable, and ceased not to shew their ill-will to Cromwell. They had only signed, to have it in their power to destroy him, when a favourable occasion offered. A plot was formed chiefly by the cavaliers, but with the privity of many members of Parliament, to raise an army in several parts of the kingdom. Cromwell being informed of it by his spies, prevented the design of his enemies, by a dissolution of the Parliament eleven days before the time fixed for its continuance, by the Instrument of Government, namely, on the 22d of January. Though he was not informed of all the particulars, he knew, in general, that an insurrection was intended in several places, and had the names of some that were to be the principal actors. Two days after the dissolution of the Parliament, Major Wildman was arrested by his order, and a declaration was found in his house, containing the reasons which obliged the English to take up arms against Cromwell. Some others, as well republicans as royalists, were also apprehended.

Since the King's retreat to Cologne, he had received frequent expresses from his friends, informing him of the general dislike of Cromwell's government, and of the favourable opportunity for a general rising. What they said concerning the general discontent, was very true. But they built upon a false principle, which had often deceived Charles I. and now likewise deceived them. They imagined, that all who were displeased with the government were disposed to serve the King, and restore him without any condition. Upon this foundation it was, that they formed the project of an insurrection in the west, and of another in the north, not doubting of the army's joining, or at least suffering the cavaliers to act undisturbed against Cromwell. This project was communicated to the King, who approved of it as well as of the day appointed for the execution, namely, the 18th of April. The King dispatched the necessary commissions, and privately came into Zealand to be ready to pass into England if the undertaking should be crowned with success. At the same time, Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, repaired secretly to London with Sir Joseph Wagstaff, who had been Major-General in the army of the late King. At London their friends were consulted, and it was resolved, Wagstaff should conduct the insurrection, which was to be in the west, and the Earl of Rochester that in the north.

On the day appointed, Wagstaff came within two miles of Salisbury, where he found Penruddock, a Cornish gentleman, Jones, Grove, and some others, who had assembled about two hundred horse. With this small force they entered Salisbury without any opposition. For as it was then the time of the assizes, little notice was taken of those who entered the city. The market place was immediately seized, and all the stables locked up, that the horses might be at their devotion. After this, the judges were seized, with the sheriff, and were in great danger of being hanged for their refusal to proclaim the King, who notwithstanding was proclaimed. But soon after, the conspirators perceiving, that the inhabitants remained in their houses, without offering to join them, they were discouraged, and leaving the town, took the western route. A troop of horse, accidentally quartered in the neighbourhood, pursued and inspired them with such terror, that at their approach they laid down their arms. Wagstaff fortunately escaped, but Penruddock, Grove, and Jones were taken. The two first were beheaded, and the other hanged; and many, concerned in the plot, were sold for slaves, and sent to Barbadoes. Notwithstanding the great hopes conceived by the royalists of a general rising throughout the kingdom, the people no where attempted to favour the enterprise; and the whole was ended in two or three days.

The Earl of Rochester repaired to the county of York, where he found some gentlemen zealous for the King's service. But after an enquiry into what they could perform, he thought it not proper to make any attempt, but returned to the King with an account of what had passed.

The King, having lost the hopes he had been made to conceive, returned to Cologne. Soon after his arrival it was discovered, that one of his domestics, named Manning, lately come from England, held a secret correspondence with Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary, and acquainted him with the transactions of the King's court. He was apprehended and shot to death in a castle belonging to the Duke of Newburg.

After the death of Charles I. the commonwealth of England grew so powerful, that it was too late for France to endeavour to weaken it, especially as she was then engaged in a war with Spain. If France had assisted Charles II. she would have run the risk of seeing the Parliament in alliance with Spain, which in that juncture was not to be hazarded. For this reason, the interests of Charles II. were entirely abandoned by France, and all his assistance from thence was a pension too inconsiderable for his subsistence. The English feared her so little, that in 1652, their fleet made no scruple to attack that of France, sent to the relief of Dunkirk, besieged by the Spaniards, and taken by them the same year. Notwithstanding that affront, France sent an ambassador to the Parliament to desire their friendship.

After the death of Charles I. the King of Spain paid great regard to the Parliament, and gave them no just cause to make war upon him. All that England could reproach him with, was, his receiving, though very coldly, in 1649, Lord Cottington and Mr. Hyde, as ambassadors from Charles II. but without entering with them into any negotiation, that might create jealousy in the Parliament. The sole design of this embassy was, to procure some money from the Spanish court for the King's subsistence, in which the ambassadors were unsuccessful. Nevertheless, Cromwell, now made protector, had no sooner concluded a peace with Holland, then he resolved to attack Spain. The grounds of this war are not easy to be guessed.*

On his advancement to the Protectorship, he sent out two fleets, one under the command of Blake, to the Mediterranean, to chastise the Algerines, who frequently took English vessels, and the other under Penn, with thirty ships, and about five thousand land soldiers commanded by Venables. The two last commanders had sealed orders from Cromwell, which were to be opened at a prefixed time. This fleet sailed from Portsmouth the 27th of December, and arrived at Barbadoes the 28th of January, whence they sailed again the 30th of March 1655. By the sealed orders, the two commanders were to proceed to Hispaniola and take St. Domingo, the capital of the island. Cromwell's instructions for this undertaking were so particular and circumstantial, that they appeared to be drawn by men thoroughly acquainted with the country. At the approach of the English fleet, the Spaniards abandoned St. Domingo. But Venables, instead of landing his troops, according to his instructions, within a mile of the place, disembarked them at a much greater distance. This gave the inhabitants time to come to themselves, return to the town, and put it in a posture of defence. The English, when they approached St. Domingo, were so fatigued, by a long march, by the excessive heat, by hunger and thirst, that they were easily repulsed, and forced to retire to their ships, leaving many dead and wounded in the island.

This attempt miscarrying, the English fleet sailed to Jamaica, and seized the isle with little opposition. Some troops were left there, which were afterwards reinforced by Cromwell, in order to preserve this conquest, which the English have ever since retained. Venables was sent to the Tower on his return to London, but soon discharged. The war being sufficiently declared by this attempt, the King of Spain ordered the effects of the English merchants in all his dominions to be seized. Nor did the mischief stop there; for by this war, so unjustly undertaken, the English forfeited the Spanish trade, which, transferred to the Dutch, helped them to repair the losses sustained in the last war.

The war with Spain was soon followed by a peace with France, proclaimed at London the 23d of October. This peace was easily made, since France was willing to forget the injury received from the English in 1652.†

A. D. 1655.] Cromwell's usurpation was so visible, that a man must have wilfully shut his eyes not to see it. He himself was so convinced of the unlawfulness

* It is probable, the chief motive of it was, that he might be able, with the help of Spanish gold, to carry on his design in England, without depending upon a Parliament for money.

† This confederacy was dearly purchased on the part of England, for by it the balance of the two crowns of France and Spain was destroyed, and a foundation laid for the future greatness of the French, to the unspeakable prejudice of all Europe in general, and of the English nation in particular, whose interest it had been hitherto accounted to maintain that equality as near as might be. It is remarkable, that, in this treaty, Cromwell would not allow the French King to call himself King of France, but of the French; when he himself assumed the title of Protector of England and France. And, what is more, in the instrument of the treaty, Cromwell's name was put before the French King's.

of his power, that he would fain have had it confirmed by a free Parliament, being the only way which could furnish him with a plausible pretence to exercise it. But failing of success, he continued where he was, that is, invested with the dignity of Protector, by men who had no power to confer it. Wherefore, the authority of a Parliament appeared to him absolutely necessary to confirm him in his own. But, as he had experienced what was to be expected from a free Parliament, he resolved to call one which might be more at command. He therefore summoned a Parliament to meet the 17th of September; but he took such measures that though the people seemed to enjoy a perfect freedom in the choice of their representatives, he secured a majority of voices. Besides, he would admit no man into the House, who had not first promised under his hand, to do nothing against the established government. This Parliament, composed of the representatives of the three kingdoms, met on the day appointed. But above a hundred members, refusing to sign the engagement, were denied their seats in the House. The rest appeared ready to perform Cromwell's desires. An act was forthwith passed, for renouncing the title of Charles Stuart, (so they called the King) which was signed by all the members. By another act, it was declared high treason to attempt the life of the Protector. In short, in the space of some months, the Parliament liberally granted all the money desired by Cromwell, as well for the maintenance of the army and government, as for the continuation of the war against Spain.

Some days before the Parliament met, Blake and Montague, their Admirals, falling in with eight Spanish ships, returning from the West Indies richly laden, took two, and stranded some others. This action was performed near Cadiz, where the English Admirals had long expected this fleet. Cromwell ordered the two prizes to be brought to Portsmouth, and the money and goods to be conveyed in waggons, in a sort of triumph, to London.

In January 1656-7, a conspiracy against his person was discovered by Cromwell, by one Sindercomb, discharged out of his guards. This man being convicted, and condemned to die, was found dead in prison, the day on which he was to be executed. No accomplices were discovered.

A. D. 1657.] About two months after, some Anabaptists were discovered, who had projected to kill Cromwell. Major-General Harrison, Vice-Admiral Lawson, Colonel Rich, Major Danvers, and some others, all Anabaptists, on suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy, were put under arrest.

Since Blake and Montague had taken the two prizes, they had continued cruising off Cadiz, in expectation of the Spanish fleet returning from Peru. As this fleet did not appear, though it should now have been arrived, Blake had notice, it was retired to Teneriffe, one of the Canaries, till the English fleet should be sailed from Cadiz. Whereupon, he stood for the Canaries, the beginning of April, and found there the Spanish fleet, consisting of six galeons richly laden, and ten other ships of less burthen. The commander of this fleet had anchored in the bay of Santa Cruz, and taken all imaginable care to secure himself against an attack. The ten smaller ships were moored close to the land, and defended by two forts well mounted with guns, and several batteries erected on the shore. But the galeons drawing more water, could not come so near the land, but lay farther off, with their broad-sides towards the sea. Blake seeing no possibility of approaching the ten ships, resolved, notwithstanding the rashness of the undertaking, to attack the galeons. Accordingly, with a fair wind, he approached the galeons, received their fire, and boarded them. After an obstinate fight, he possessed himself of the galeons, and as the wind, which had brought him into the bay, would not serve to carry them out, set them on fire. Immediately after, a land breeze arising, put him safe to sea again. The Spaniards, on this occasion, sustained a great loss, in ships, money, men, and merchandize: but the English acquired nothing but glory. Blake dying in his return to England, was pompously buried by Cromwell, in Henry the VIIth's chapel, among the monuments of the Kings.

The Parliament, which met the 17th of September, continued their session without interruption, being employed in the most important affair that could ever come under their consideration. Whether Cromwell had now formed the project of his higher advancement, or the disposition of the House in his favour, inspired him with the thought, he suddenly became more popular than ever. He caressed all parties alike. The Presbyterians were told, he was not far from their sentiments; the nobility met with great respect from him; and he appeared less incensed against the King's party. At last, after his friends and creatures had been long labouring to dispose men in his favour, Mr. Pack, a member of Parliament, and one of the city aldermen, proposed, in direct terms, that he might be invested with the title of King. This proposition was immediately seconded by a great many members, and it was even observed, that his known enemies very readily gave their consent to it. These imagined, there was no better way to ruin him, and excite plots against his life. But for the same reason, his principal friends opposed it with all their power. It is, nevertheless, very probable, he was privy to this proposal, though he thought not fit to tell it to Desborrow his brother-in-law, or Fleetwood his son-in-law, from whom it met with the greatest opposition. This contract between Cromwell's friends, held those in suspence, who only intended to make their court to him, and caused them to be irresolute. Wherefore this proposal was debated in the House two days successively. In all appearance, the irresolute were informed, in this interval, what they were to do. However that be, it was at last carried by a majority of voices, that the crown should be offered to Cromwell. Pursuant to this resolution, the House immediately appointed a committee, to acquaint his highness with what had been resolved for the public good. He seemed surprised at the offer, and told the committee, he thought it very strange, the Parliament should entertain such a design: that he did not believe it proper for them to offer, nor would his conscience give him leave to accept it. The committee expecting this answer, replied, they did not question but he would grant their desire, when he should be informed of the reasons which had induced the Parliament to take this resolution, and which they besought him only to hear. Whereupon, he appointed a day to hear what they had to say to him.

The committee, on the day appointed, entertained him with long discourses, concerning the reasons on which the Parliament founded their request, of which the principal were: "That the people of England had for many ages been accustomed to the government of Kings: that in changing this government, there had necessarily been an abolition of many laws, customs, and formalities, and an establishment of others, which would never be endured by the people on account of their novelty: that according to the laws of England, there could be no security to any act concerning the government, without the intervention and authority of a King: that hitherto, those concerned in the war, and the late changes, could not be safe, but would remain liable to dangerous inquisitions, agreeable to the laws of the land: that the daily conspiracies against the present government, clearly showed, the people were inclined to a King, nor would be satisfied without one: in a word, that the kingdom would never be in peace, till things were brought back to their ancient channel. That it was very true, the royal family had been rejected on account of their tyrannies; but this was no objection to the choice of a King of another family, nor could any kingdom be produced, where the like had not happened, as well as in England."

These very reasons had been alledged in the debates in the House, and were answered by the republicans to this effect: "That an oath had been taken to be faithful to the commonwealth without a King; and to make

make a new King, was returning to Egypt. Where was the necessity of recurring to Kings, since it was agreed, they invaded the rights of the subject? That it was advantageous that all the subjects should be equally liable to be called to an account, that they might be more united amongst themselves. That if a King was at last necessary, they would chuse rather to have the true heir to the crown." Cromwell was not unacquainted with the reasons alledged on both sides in the House, and therefore to show, he would neither accept nor refuse the offer without deliberation, he appointed the 8th of May for his final answer.

It is pretended, that in this interval, he was in the utmost distraction, not knowing what to determine. His ambition prompted him to accept the offered crown, the whole intrigue probably being directed by himself. But the disposition of his relations and principal friends made him tremble. For how could he promise himself allegiance from strangers, when he saw his own most intimate friends determined to abandon him? Nay, it is said, some of them threatened to kill him, and that he was informed of a plot to assassinate him, the moment he accepted the crown. The very day he was to give his answer, Desborrow and Fleetwood, walking with him in St. James's Park, told him, if he accepted the crown, they could serve him no longer. He was discouraged by all these things, at the very instant the crown was about to be placed on his head. His answer therefore to the committee was, that he could not accept the government under the title of a King.* Whether this refusal was for or against his interest, is a problem that admits of great dispute.

To reward in some measure so great a moderation, the Parliament confirmed his dignity of Protector, with more power than was annexed to it by the council of officers. This was done by a solemn instrument, called "The Humble Petition and Advice;" the Parliament thereby showing it was not a law to be imposed on him, but an advice, which was submitted to his judgment and discretion, with freedom to accept or refuse it, as he should think proper.†

Cromwell having solemnly sworn the punctual observation of the respective articles, appointed the 26th of June for the day of his inauguration, which was performed with great pomp.‡ This done, the House adjourned to the 20th of January 1657-8.

Since the renewal of the ancient treaties between France and England, another negotiation was begun, for a league offensive and defensive against Spain. This negotiation, set on foot by the ambassador of France in 1656, at London, was concluded at Paris the 13th of March 1657, by a treaty of league, importing, that Cromwell should join six thousand men with the French army; that Mardyke and Dunkirk should be besieged, and when taken, delivered to the English.

King Charles being informed of this negotiation, sent a trusty messenger to Archduke Leopold, still governor of the Low-Countries, to offer a league with Spain. The Archduke accepted the proposal, believing, if the King of England was attached to Spain, he would have credit enough to draw the Irish forces from the French, into the Spanish service. The King and the Archduke concluded a treaty, by which the King's residence at Bruges was to be connived at by Spain. Spain was moreover to furnish him with six thousand men, as soon as he should be possessed of some good port in England. With the ratification, Philip settled upon the King a monthly pension of six thousand guilders, and another of three thousand upon the Duke of Gloucester, who had been sent for out of France by his brother the King, where his mother was persuading him to change his religion. So, the King left Cologne in April 1657, and retired to Bruges, at the same time that the Archduke Leopold resigned the government of the Low-Countries to Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV.

As soon as the treaty of league between France and England was signed, Cardinal Mazarin signified to the Duke of York, that he was to retire out of the dominions of France. All the English of the King's party, in the service of France, had the same orders.

In consequence of the league, Cromwell sent six thousand men of his best troops into France, under the command of Reynolds, who had concluded the treaty at Paris in quality of his ambassador. In this campaign, the French took several places from the Spaniards, and amongst the rest Mardyke, which was delivered to the English. Reynolds was unhappily drowned in his return to England, and was succeeded in the command of the English forces in the service of France, by Lockhart, a Scotchman, and ambassador to that crown.

As by the 2d article of the Humble Petition and Advice, the Protector was every year to summon a Parliament, consisting of two Houses, Cromwell resolved to observe that article, which had been inserted in the instrument by his sole direction. He therefore chose a certain number at his own pleasure, to compose the other House. Most of these were officers, or other persons devoted to him, to whom he added some of the ancient Peers; but they refused to take their seats with these men. This choice being made, he issued writs for their meeting in Parliament, in a separate House, the 20th of January 1657-8. His intention was to have this House considered as a House of Peers, and invested with the same privileges, the Peers had formerly enjoyed. He durst not however give it that name, but

* A crown had actually been made, and brought to Whitehall.

† The substance of it was:

"That his Highness Oliver Cromwell should, under the title of Protector, be pleased to execute the office of chief magistrate, over England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the territories and the dominions thereunto belonging, and to govern according to all things in that petition and advice. And also that he would in his lifetime appoint the person that should succeed him in the government: that he would call a Parliament consisting of two Houses once in a year at farthest: that those persons who are legally chosen by a free election of the people to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by consent of that House whereof they are members; that none but those under the qualifications therein mentioned, should be capable to serve as members in Parliament: that the power of the other House be limited as therein is prescribed: that the laws and statutes of the land be observed and kept; no laws altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, but by new laws made by act of Parliament: that the yearly sum of a million of pounds sterling be settled for the maintenance of the navy and army; and three hundred thousand pounds for the support of the government; besides other temporay supplies, as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities of the nation to require: that the number of the Protector's council shall not exceed one-and-twenty, whereof seven shall be a Quorum. The chief officers of the state, as chancellors, keepers of the great seal, &c. to be approved by Parliament: that his Highness would encourage a godly ministry in these nations; and that such as do revile and disturb them in the worship of God, may be punished according to law; and where laws are defective, new ones to be made: that the Protestant Christian religion, as it is contained in the Old and New Testament, be asserted and held forth for the public profession of these nations, and no other; and that a confession of faith be agreed upon, and recommended to the people of these nations; and none to be permitted, by words, or writing, to revile or reproach the said confession of faith."

‡ A place being prepared at the upper end of Westminster hall, in the midst of it was set a rich cloth of state, with a chair of state under it, upon an ascent of two steps. Before it a table and chair for the Speaker, and on each side of the hall covered seats one over another, for the members. About two o'clock his Highness came, the Earl of Warwick carrying the sword before him, (and being the only nobleman that was present at that solemnity, says Ludlow,) and the Lord Mayor of London, with the city sword. His Highness standing under the cloth of state, the Speaker presented to him a robe of purple velvet lined with ermines, which Sir T. Widdrington the Speaker, assisted by Whitelock, put upon him. Then he delivered to him the Bible richly gilt and bossed; after that he girt on his sword, and delivered into his hands the sceptre of massy gold, and then made a speech to him, and gave him the oath. After this, the people gave several shouts, and the trumpets sounded: the Protector sat in the chair of state, holding the sceptre in his hand; on the right side sat the ambassador of France, on the left the ambassador of the United Provinces: near him stood his son Richard, Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland; Claypole, Master of the Horse, the Council and others of State. The Earl of Warwick held the sword on the right, and the Lord Mayor the city sword on the left side of the chair. Near the Earl of Warwick stood Viscount Lisle, General Montague, and Whitelock, each of them with a drawn sword in his hand. Then the trumpets sounded, and a herald proclaimed his Highness's title, and proclamation was made to the people, crying, God save the Protector. The ceremonies being ended, he went in state to Westminster-hall gate, where he took coach, and went to the House, and passed some bills.

contented

contented himself with calling it the Other House, till a more proper name could be given it.

Cromwell was now supported only by the army, filled by himself with fanatics and enthusiasts, who imagined the time was come to erect a fifth monarchy, or the reign of Jesus Christ upon earth. Cromwell was not ignorant, his enemies had designed to destroy him, on pretence of raising him higher, and this had made him refuse the title of King. It was also to break their measures, that he had asked and obtained a power of erecting another House, to oppose it occasionally to the House of Commons, where he knew he had but too many enemies, of which he had cause very soon to be still more sensible.

His enemies having had time to concert their measures during the adjournment, took another course to destroy him when the Parliament re-assembled. As by the 3d article of the Humble Petition and Advice, it was said, the members legally chosen, should not be excluded without the consent of their House, a motion was made to admit all the elected members, who had refused to sign the engagement. This motion was so suddenly received and approved, that Cromwell had not time to oppose it. By this means above a hundred members, Republicans and Presbyterians, all enemies to the Protector, were admitted into the House of Commons. From that time, the face of affairs began to change, Cromwell's enemies having gained the superiority in the very House which would have made him a King. As they had formed great projects against him, their first care was to hinder the Other House, wholly consisting of his creatures, from using their pretended negative voice to break their measures. Cromwell, perceiving to what all this tended, sent for the Parliament to Whitehall, and in a speech maintained the authority of the Other House with such vehemence, that the Commons fearing an immediate dissolution, found it necessary to acknowledge the Other House as an essential part of the Parliament.

Notwithstanding this, the Commons took into consideration the Humble Petition and Advice, and many were of opinion, it was null and void, because it was made when many members were excluded from the Parliament, without any lawful cause. This manifestly tended to a revocation of the act, and withal of the subsequent confirmation of Cromwell's Protectorship. Cromwell was too quick sighted not to see how much it concerned his interest, not to suffer this Parliament to sit any longer. Wherefore he came to the Other House, and sending for the Commons, dissolved them, in great anger.

A. D. 1658.] When the Parliament was dissolved, Cromwell suspecting, or perhaps being informed, that Lambert was one of the principal authors of the plot formed against him, dismissed him from all his employments; allowing him, however, 2000*l.* a year. Fleetwood was recalled from Ireland to succeed Lambert in the Lieutenant-Generalship, and Henry Cromwell, younger son of the Protector, was sent into Ireland in Fleetwood's room. Since Cromwell had been confirmed in the Protectorate, he had called his eldest son Richard to court, and made him chancellor of the university of Oxford. He had married his second daughter to the Lord Falconbridge, and his third to Mr. Rich, grandson to the Earl of Warwick. His eldest had been long since married to Mr. Claypole, and a fourth lived unmarried, till the reign of William III.* Soon after the dismission of Lambert, Cromwell so reduced the authority of the Major-Generals, that they had no longer the power, as they had before, of oppressing the people.

Another conspiracy had been forming in England in favour of the King. The principal managers of this plot were John Mordaunt, brother of the Earl of Peterborough, Sir Henry Slingsby, a rich and popular man in the county of York, and Dr. Hewet, a minister of the church of England. This plot had been represented to the King in so advantageous a manner, that he conceived hopes of success. And therefore he had himself made some preparations in the Low-Countries, and four regiments raised by him, and after the miscarriage of the design, added to the Spanish army, were intended for his service. He had moreover sent commissions into England, for those who would engage in his interest. One of these commissions to raise a regiment of horse had been granted to one Mr. Stapley, whose father had been Cromwell's great friend, and one of the King's judges. Cromwell, upon some intimation, sent for Stapley, and artfully drew from him a confession of whatever he knew, and that he had received his commission from Mr. Mordaunt. He also told him, the Marquis of Ormond had been at London, and stayed there three weeks to concert measures with the conspirators, and give them his directions; which was true. However, the Marquis had the good fortune to leave England, and return to the King. Immediately after the dissolution of the Parliament, Mordaunt, Slingsby, and Hewet were committed to the Tower, and many of their accomplices were apprehended in all parts of the kingdom. After which, Cromwell erected a high court of justice for trial of the criminals, and especially of the three principal. Mr. Mordaunt escaped death by means of his wife, who bribed some of the judges, and prevailed with Colonel Mallory, one of the two witnesses against her husband, to make his escape. Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet were condemned and executed.† The same court tried and condemned several others.

In June, this year, Marshal Turenne, General of the French army, besieged Dunkirk, contrary to the opinion of Don John of Austria, who expected that he would have opened the campaign with the siege of Cambray. As this belief had made him neglect to provide for the defence of Dunkirk, he was forced to hazard a battle to save that place, which was not in a condition to make a long resistance. But this battle proved fatal to the Spaniards, who were entirely defeated, and the siege was continued by Turenne, who made himself master of Dunkirk the 26th of June. The town, in pursuance of the treaty with England, was surrendered to Cromwell, who placed a strong garrison in it, and made Lockhart the governor.

Cromwell had for some time appeared more uneasy and fearful than ever. This is not very strange, since he had informations from divers parts, of a design to assassinate him, by some of his former most zealous adherents. This caused him to use new precautions, as not to lye two nights together in the same chamber, nor appear in public without a strong guard. But all these precautions to avoid a violent, could not secure him from a natural, death. In August, this year, he was seized with a fever at Hampton-court, which at first had no dangerous symptoms, but his distemper daily increasing, he was removed to Whitehall, where, after nominating his eldest son Richard for his successor, he expired in the 60th year of his age, on the 3d of September, on which day he had gained the two great battles, of Dunbar in 1650, and of Worcester in 1651.‡

Cromwell's family was originally of Glamorganshire in Wales, and called Williams, one of which marrying a sister of Cromwell, Vicar-General in the reign of Henry VIII. assumed the name of Cromwell, and transmitted it to his posterity. Oliver Cromwell was

* The marriages of his daughters; Mary to the Lord Falconbridge, and Frances to Mr. Rich, the Earl of Warwick's grandson, were celebrated first according to ceremonies then in use, but privately afterwards, according to the rites of the church of England. Bridget had two husbands, Ireton and Fleetwood, and Elizabeth (whom Rapin by mistake says lived unmarried) was wife to Claypole. The Lady Falconbridge lived to extreme old age.

† They were both beheaded on Tower-hill, June 8. Hewet's greatest crime was collecting and sending money to the King, and dispersing his commissions. Mrs. Claypole used all her interest with her father the Protector, to save the Doctor's life, but without success; which denial so afflicted her, that it was reported to be one cause of her death; she dying August 6.

‡ There was that day one of the greatest storms of wind that ever was known, a circumstance much noticed by the superstitious of both parties.

born at Huntington, April 25, 1599. His education had nothing extraordinary,* nor is it known how he spent his time before he arrived at the age of thirty-five years, when he began seriously to reform his manners and lead a very regular life, without indulging himself in any indecent or ill action. Probably he then, if not sooner, engaged in the Presbyterian party.† The reputation he had acquired of an honest man and good Christian, and doubtless his principles concerning the government, were the cause of his being returned for the town of Cambridge, to the Parliament which met the 3d of November 1640.‡ He sate two years without being distinguished, not having a genius for speaking to place him upon a level with some of the members of that Parliament. His delivery was ungraceful, and his speeches prolix and confused. It was, probably, in these two years that he was gained by the Independents, and enlisted in their party, though concealed under the name of rigid Presbyterians. Agreeably to the views and interests of that party, Cromwell affected an extraordinary zeal for Presbyterianism, and the liberty of the nation against the usurpations of the court, in which he followed the directions of the then leading members of the House. So, when the civil war began, in 1642, he had a post in the army, as a man entirely devoted to the House of Commons, of which he was member. He was at first a Major of horse, and though he was two-and-forty years of age before he had drawn a sword, he was so distinguished by his valour in that office, that he had soon after a regiment given him. There was not in the army an officer that faced danger with more intrepidity, or that more ardently sought occasions to signalize himself. His reputation increased so such a degree, that he became Major-General, then Lieutenant-General under Fairfax, and at last his successor. His great talents for war gave him occasion to show that he had no less genius for civil affairs. He entered into the deepest designs of his party, and at last became one of the principal leaders, advancing here with the same rapidity as in the army. It was he, who accusing the Earl of Manchester of not having done his duty in the second battle of Newbury, broke the ice, and gave occasion to the new model of the army, which was the first step to the triumph of the Independents. From that time, he was looked upon as the chief of the Independent party, and, properly as General of the army, Fairfax acting only as directed by Cromwell. The troops believed themselves invincible under his command, and that he was never once forced to turn his back. The victory gained over Prince Rupert, at Marston-moor, was chiefly ascribed to his valour. The reduction of Ireland in less than a year, greatly increased his fame, and the battles of Dunbar and Worcester carried it to the highest degree.

If his government be compared with those of the two last Kings, there will appear a very great disparity with regard to the glory and reputation of the English nation. James I. and Charles I. seemed to have studied to disgrace the English name, whereas Cromwell, in the space of four or five years, carried the glory of his nation as far as possible, and in that respect was not inferior to Elizabeth.§

As for his morals and conduct, as a private person, they may be said to have been very regular. He was guilty of none of the vices to which men are commonly addicted. Gluttony, drunkenness, gaming, luxury, and avarice, were vices with which he was never reproached. On the one hand, it is certain, he promoted virtuous men; as, on the other, he was inflexible in his punishments of vice and ill actions. It is true, his own preservation obliged him sometimes to employ men of ill principles, but this is not uncommon to those, who are at the head of a government.

Though, as to his religion, he was an Independent, his principle was to leave every man at liberty in the religion he had chosen, and he never persecuted any person on that account. He even connived at the private meetings of those, who remained attached to the church of England, though he was well informed of them. If they were not favoured with the free and public exercise of their religion, it was because they were considered by him as royalists, always ready to form plots in the King's favour, and from whom, consequently, he had great reason to secure himself. Dr. Burnet, in the History of his own times, says, that if Cromwell had accepted the title of King, he intended to establish a council, in imitation of the congregation de propaganda fide at Rome, to have an eye to what passed all over the world, with regard to the interests of the Protestant religion. He adds, that a fund was to have been settled upon this council, of ten thousand pounds a year, for ordinary emergencies, besides a salary of five hundred pounds a-piece to four secretaries.

It may also be added, that never man was better acquainted with the inward springs of human actions, though he seemed not to have made it his particular study: never man had more address to manage people, and lead them to his ends, nor more natural capacity for affairs, which had received no assistance from learning; for he scarcely remembered the little Latin he had brought from school: in a word, never man chose at once his most advantageous course with more judgment, or executed a design with more vigour and readiness.

Although the royalist authors traduce Cromwell's memory as much as possible, and though in particular, the action by which he was possessed of the government, is the principal foundation of all their complaints, it is certain, the King was no way interested in the change it produced. It was not Charles II. but a republican Parliament, that was deprived of the supreme power by Cromwell.

The republicans were enraged against Cromwell, and deemed him the most perfidious of men. This is not strange, since he had wrested from that Parliament the sovereign power, seized by these republicans without any lawful authority. But, what was this Parliament? It was an assembly of independents, anabaptists, fanatics, enthusiasts, and others of no religion, who, under colour of establishing a free commonwealth, held the nation in servitude; who, to confirm their own authority, had treated their fellow-members with unheard of violence, and dared to embrue their hands in the blood of the late King, at a time when he had almost granted every thing that was desired; who, in short, were industrious to break the union of the church, to subvert all religion, or introduce the most ridiculous and extravagant one.

But what cannot be justified in his conduct, is, his throwing himself, from the beginning of the Parliament, into a violent party, which aimed at the ruin of Church and State; his directing afterwards that party; and his being the chief author of the violences put upon the Parliament and the King.

The second charge against him is, his excessive dissimulation. It is pretended, that he carried his dissimulation so far, as to mock God and religion, by expressing a piety and devotion which he had not, and by making long prayers, full of seeming zeal.

In the republican party were two sorts of men, whom it was very difficult to govern. The one were Deists, or men very indifferent as to religion, who acted only upon the principles of civil liberty. The others were Enthusiasts, who expected every day when Christ should appear to reign upon earth. These were the most difficult to manage, because they would not hear reason,

* His education was suitable to his birth, he being first sent to Cambridge, and then to Lincoln's-Inn.

† In 1637, Cromwell, Haslerigg, Hampden, and some others, resolved to take refuge in New England, on account of the persecution raised by Archbishop Laud against the Puritans, and were actually embarked for that purpose; but they were prevented, by a proclamation against transporting his Majesty's subjects to the Plantations in America; and by an order of council, for stopping eight ships in the river Thames, prepared to go for New England, in one of which Cromwell was.

‡ The reason of his being chosen, was, because he opposed the draining the Fen-lands in the Isle of Ely, which was then proposed, and not liked by the town of Cambridge.

§ He said once in Parliament, "That he hoped he should make the name of an Englishman, as great as ever that of a Roman had been."

when it contradicted their headstrong and violent zeal. Cromwell's accepting the Protectorship, was considered by them as a step to Kingship, to which they were such enemies; that they affirmed it to be the great Antichrist, that hindered Christ's reign upon earth. Cromwell found means so to divide these two parties, that all combinations between them, for his ruin, became impossible. To the Deists he made himself merry with the extravagant zeal of the fanatics; and to these last, he talked of the others as of heathens and infidels. But as the Enthusiasts were the most obsinate, he intimated to some of them, that he would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than a Protectorship, had it not been to prevent every thing from running into confusion: that he would resign his dignity with more joy than he accepted it, as soon as things should be settled: that nothing was more contrary to his inclination, and principles, than a grandeur which obliged him to assume an outward superiority over his fellow-labourers. To convince them of what he said, he frequently called them into his closet, and shutting the door, made them sit covered, familiarly talking with them as his equals. Commonly these discourses ended in a long prayer.

He took care to have spies amongst all the parties, and was thereby fully informed of what was contriving against his person or government.* Among others, he gained Sir Richard Willis, Chancellor Hyde's agent, for conveying the King's orders to his friends in England. All the royalists confided in Willis, knowing he received the King's orders, and yet he betrayed them. But to keep the correspondence more secret, Cromwell assured him, that the informations from him should only be used to disconcert the plots of his enemies, that none might ever suffer for them; and if he imprisoned any of them, it should only be for a little time, and on other pretences. By that means, he defeated their designs, as by accident, in committing them to prison for supposed crimes, and releasing them when their measures were broken.

He sometimes intimated a willingness to treat with the King. Probably, his aim was to engage the royalists to offer propositions, which would have given him opportunity to amuse them, and to prevent any conspiracies against his person; for he was informed from several parts of designs to assassinate him. Wherefore he affected to speak publicly of assassinations with the utmost detestation, and to declare, he would never begin them, but if an attempt was made upon his life, and miscarried, he should not scruple to use the same method, and that he did not want instruments to execute it, nor money to reward them. This declaration kept the royalists in awe, through a fear of their own danger, or that of the King and royal family.

The third and last charge against Cromwell, is, cruelty, for having, whilst Protector, put some men to death, for conspiring against his person and government. That is, according to this reproach, he should have patiently suffered the plots against him, and when one failed, liberty should have been given for a second and a third, till some one had succeeded. This deserves no confutation. But to shew, that Cromwell was not for an unnecessary effusion of blood, we need only recite what is owned by the Earl of Clarendon in his history, who assures us, that when it was proposed in a council of officers, that there might be a general massacre of the royalists, Cromwell would never consent to it.

In the beginning of the long Parliament, Cromwell was a Presbyterian. After that, he threw himself into the Independent party, and was even one of the leaders, and affected to be one of the number of the Enthusiasts. But when he had accepted the Protectorship, he was neither Presbyterian, nor Independent, nor Republican, nor Enthusiast. As he had to manage all these different parties, who were equally opposite to him, he was not to appear an enemy to any in particular, and this management furnishes convincing proofs of his great ability.

What can never be entirely excused in him, is the death of Charles I. to which he contributed to the utmost of his power, and which will be an indelible blot on his memory. Another principle, and of which he made great use, is likewise to be condemned in him: which was, that moral laws were only binding on ordinary occasions, but might be dispensed with upon extraordinary cases.

Cromwell's death was followed by so many alterations in the government, that the interval between that and the Restoration, may be justly called a time of true anarchy. Cromwell should have had a successor like himself, to finish what he had so ably begun. But two such great men are not commonly found so near one another, nor often in the same age.†

* He laid it down for a maxim, to spare no cost or charge in order to procure intelligence. When he understood what dealers the Jews were every where, in that trade that depends upon news, the advancing money upon high or low interest, in proportion to the risque they run, or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in the buying and selling of the actions of money so advanced, he brought a company of them over to England, for which some say, he received a consideration of two hundred thousand pounds, and gave them leave to build a synagogue. Among other good regulations, he also appointed a Council of Trade, to consider how to improve, order and regulate, the trade and navigation of the Commonwealth.

† Amongst his old friends, Cromwell could relax himself; and by trifling and amusement, jesting and making verses, he feared not exposing himself to their most familiar reproaches. With others, he sometimes pushed matters to the length of rustic buffoonery; and he would amuse himself by putting burning coals into the boots and hose of the officers who attended him. Before the King's trial, a meeting was agreed on between the chiefs of the Republican party and the general officers, in order to concert the model of that free government which they were to substitute for the monarchial constitution, now totally subverted. After debates on this subject, the most important that could fall under the discussion of human creatures, Ludlow tells us, that Cromwell, by way of frolic, threw a cushion at his head; and when Ludlow took up another cushion in order to return the compliment, the General ran down stairs, and had almost fallen in the hurry. When the high court of justice was signing the warrant for the execution of the King, a matter, if possible, still more serious, Cromwell, taking the pen in his hand, before he subscribed his name, bedaubed with ink the face of Martin, who sat next him. And the pen being delivered to Martin, he practised the same frolic upon Cromwell. He frequently gave feasts to his inferior officers; and when the meat was set upon the table, a signal was given; the soldiers rushed in upon them; and with much noise, tumult, and confusion, ran away with all the dishes, and disappointed the guests of their meal.

PART III.

RICHARD CROMWELL, *Protector.*

A. D. 1658.] In the last days of Cromwell's illness, some of his most intimate friends, seeing him in danger, asked him twice concerning the succession, and he readily answered, he would have his son Richard to succeed him. He had, however, in the time of his Protectorship, signed an instrument by which he appointed Fleetwood his son-in-law for his successor; but probably he had burnt that paper, for it could never be found.* An hour after his death, the Privy-Council met, and upon the report made of the will of the deceased, as also upon the Instrument of Government, impowering them to chuse a Protector, they immediately elected Richard Cromwell. Fleetwood even relinquished before them, the right, he might have, in case the paper signed in his favour should be found. Presently after, the Lord Mayor of London was acquainted with the election, and the day following Richard was proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The same proclamation was made in all the principal towns of the three kingdoms, without the least opposition. On the contrary, addresses were presented to Richard from all parts, signed by many thousands to congratulate him upon his accession to the dignity of Protector, and to assure him, they would willingly hazard their lives and fortunes to support him. Thus Richard was installed successor to his father Oliver, and took the same oath. The first care of the new Protector, after his installation, was to gain Monk, Governor of Scotland, to his interests. After the voluntary resignation of Fleetwood his brother-in-law, of Desborough his uncle, and all the officers of the army, as well Republicans as Presbyterians, he seemed to have nothing to fear from England. Henry Cromwell his brother, then Governor of Ireland, held that island in subjection. Scotland therefore only remained to be secured to his interests. Monk had commanded in that kingdom, ever since his reduction of it, and had so artfully managed the Scots, sometimes by rigour, sometimes by gentleness, and the exact discipline of his army, that he had acquired their esteem and affection, who were never more happy than under his government. Many blamed the confidence Cromwell reposed in Monk, who had borne arms for the late King, and only engaged in the service of the Parliament, to free himself from captivity after the battle of Nantwich, where he was taken prisoner. It was, perhaps, for these suspicions, that Richard thought himself obliged to neglect nothing to gain him to his interests. For this purpose, knowing Monk's esteem and affection for Clarges his brother-in-law, he sent him to desire his friendship. But Clarges, as well as Monk, had been zealously attached to the King, and was still so in his heart, though outwardly he complied with the times. So, in the discharge of this commission, he took occasion to sound him, and easily found he was far from being the King's enemy. From that time Monk and Clarges held a strict correspondence. Clarges informed Monk of the transactions at London, and, in all appearance, designed then to serve the King, though perhaps he thought it not yet proper to explain himself to Monk, who was very reserved. Clarges, according to his instructions, acquainted Monk with the new Protector's great esteem for him, in which he followed the sentiments of Oliver his father, who had expressly charged him to be entirely directed by his advice. Monk readily submitted to Richard's government.

Cromwell's funeral was solemnized with great magnificence, large sums of money being borrowed for that purpose by the new Protector.† After the ceremonies usually paid to deceased sovereign princes, his body was deposited in Henry VII.'s chapel, amongst those of the Kings and Queens of England.‡

Richard proposed to begin his Protectorate with his father's maxims. He formed the design of making himself master of the deliberations of his council, and of reducing the army to receive his orders with submission. But Richard had none of Oliver's great talents, to command fear and respect, or to inspire his friends with hopes of a powerful protection. Meanwhile, knowing that the bare election of his person by the council, and the addresses presented to him, were insufficient to establish his authority, he believed it expedient to have his dignity confirmed by Parliament, and accordingly summoned one to meet the 27th day of January 1658-9. This Parliament was to consist of two Houses, namely, a House of Commons, containing four hundred English, thirty Scotch, and thirty Irish members; and of the Other House (for as yet it had no other name) which was instead of a House of Peers, and consisted chiefly of officers. They were generally men of no birth, who had advanced themselves by military posts, during the last war.

Richard had made no change in his father's council, but he was soon sensible, that this council, which was entirely directed by Oliver, was aspiring to more power under his successor. On the other hand, the army appeared less devoted to the son than to the father. They had even begun before Oliver's death, to appear less submissive, which had obliged him to remove Lambert, and some other Colonels and officers, who were sowing division among the troops. Richard was desirous to tread in his father's steps, but being sensible that his authority was not great enough, he thought he should attempt nothing, without consulting some of his principal friends. He therefore held a Privy-Council, in which he proposed, first, the admission of more new counsellors, to secure a majority, and make himself master of the debates, in spite of the old counsellors, who were less tractable than in the time of his father. Secondly, he proposed to reduce the army to an entire dependence upon him.

His friends, whom he consulted on this occasion, were self-interested, and attached to him, only in hopes of governing in his name. Instead of approving his design, they advised him to call into his council two Colonels, wholly devoted to the Republican party. Nor

* Some say, that Oliver had actually made Fleetwood his heir; but one of his daughters knowing where his will was, took it away, and burnt it, before Fleetwood could come at it: and a few minutes before Cromwell's death, when he was asked, "Who should succeed him?" He replied, "in such a drawer of the cabinet, in my closet, you will find it."

† The charges of it came to sixty thousand pounds.

‡ The corpse was removed, September 26, privately in the night, from Whitehall, to Somerset-house; where it lay in state till the 23d of November, and then it was carried, in a very solemn and magnificent manner, to Westminster-Abbey, where it was deposited.—— Some say, that it was deposited, as to outward appearance there, but that in reality, it was carried below bridge, and thrown into the Thames.——And again, others affirm, that it was buried in Naseby-field.

was this all; some of the leading officers of the army were informed of the Protector's designs, and that was sufficient to put them in motion. Fleetwood his brother-in-law, and Desborough his uncle, were the first to combine against him, and cabal with the officers, to deprive him of the Generalship of the army, to which they were authorized by the Instrument of Government. It was insinuated, that the Parliament which was going to sit, might prove dangerous to his authority, should they not be tractable, and therefore it was necessary to fortify himself with a good number of officers, as well to consult them, as to shew the Parliament, he was supported by the army, which could not but produce a good effect. Richard believing, this advice proceeded from their zeal for his service, was easily persuaded to order every regiment to send to London as many officers as could be spared. This order was punctually executed, and immediately a great number of officers appeared in London, who formed amongst them a council, which frequently met, and assumed the title of the Great Council of the Army.

Besides this great council, some members of the Privy-Council, and officers of the army met also at Desborough's house, as well to consult how to deprive Richard of the Generalship, as to direct the great council, which being composed of many inferior officers, wanted to be directed in their deliberations. The result of this council was, that Desborough, attended with several officers, waited on the Protector with a petition, "That no officer or soldier should be turned out but by sentence of a council of war: that no member of the army should be proceeded against capitally, otherwise than by martial law: and lastly, that the army might have power to chuse their own General." As nothing was more contrary to Richard's designs than this demand, he positively rejected it, and threatened even to cashier them if they brought him any more such proposals.

The Parliament assembling the 27th of January, it was immediately debated in the lower House, by what right the Scots and Irish sent representatives to the English Parliament. The authority of the Other House was also taken into consideration, and the same objections made to it, as had been in Oliver's last Parliament. The debate upon these two articles held two whole months, and it was the 28th of March, before it was resolved, by a majority of voices, that the Other House should subsist, and the Scotch and Irish Representatives continue to sit in the House of Commons. After that, the Parliament made an act, to recognize Richard Cromwell for Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

A. D. 1659.] At last, on the 22d of April, Richard had notice, that the officers had resolved to dissolve the Parliament. He immediately assembled his council to prevent, by their advice, this attempt. Some were of opinion, that he ought absolutely to refuse such a demand, and adhere to the Parliament, as his only support. But he was not directed to the means to defend himself against the officers, who began to assemble in the neighbourhood of Whitehall, and would probably have been too strong for his guards. Others advised him to leave Whitehall, and suffer the officers to do as they pleased with the Parliament, without any promise to dissolve it. But the officers, foreseeing he might take that course, had now seized all the avenues about Whitehall. During these irresolutions, Desborough, with a strong retinue, demanded an audience of the Protector, and required him, in the name of the officers, to dissolve the Parliament. Richard at first refused to grant this demand; but he was told, his refusal would be attended with danger to himself, and that, in a word, they were resolved to obtain, by fair means or foul, what they demanded. He therefore promised to dissolve the Parliament by commission under the Great-Seal. But as the Commons, being informed of what passed, had adjourned themselves for three days, the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

After the Parliament was dissolved, the great council of officers thought themselves empowered to settle the government as they pleased, without consulting the Protector, who was now regarded but as a private person.* This anarchy however lasted only a few days, during which the officers elected Fleetwood for their General. They discharged also by their own authority five Colonels, who advised Richard to adhere to the Parliament, namely, Ingoldsby, Goff, Whaley, Lord Falconbridge, brother-in-law to Richard, and Howard afterwards Earl of Carlisle, and restored Lambert and others dismissed by Cromwell a little before his death. After this, they considered of settling the government, it being impossible for things to continue long in their present situation.

Lambert was a man of immoderate ambition, and would not have scrupled to follow the example of Oliver, had the juncture seemed favourable to him. But Fleetwood being his General, and the idol of the army, he could not hope to succeed in an attempt to sieze the government. He therefore thought proper to wait a more favourable opportunity, and, in the mean time, hinder Fleetwood from putting himself at the head of the government, whether under the name of Protector, or any other title, to which he had several reasons to believe he was aspiring. Lambert therefore secretly engaged Colonel Lilburn to cabal among the inferior officers, and break Fleetwood's measures, if they pointed to the Protectorship, whilst he regularly made his court to him, and endeavoured by his flatteries to influence him as Cromwell had formerly influenced Fairfax.

Lambert's cabal being made with the greatest secrecy, Fleetwood, as General, convened his officers to Wallingford house to settle the government. All the superior officers came, but at the same time the inferior, by the intrigues of Lambert and Lilburn, assembled at St. James's in much greater numbers. In this assembly the settlement of the government was likewise debated, and occasion taken, to magnify the happiness which England enjoyed under the administration of the Parliament, from the 6th of December, 1648, to the 20th of April, 1653, when it was dissolved by Cromwell. Their prudence, steadiness, and happy success in England, Scotland, Ireland, and in the Dutch war were extolled, with some intimations of advice, that nothing could be more advantageous to the three nations, than the restoration of that Parliament.

This debate was carried no farther; but it sufficed to convince the assembly at Wallingford house, that a division between them and the inferior officers could not but be dangerous to both, and that their best way was to join with the inferior officers in their restoring the Long Parliament. They all, therefore, declared for the good old cause, that is, for the cause supported by the Parliament, which brought the King to the scaffold, and turned the monarchy into a Commonwealth. It was, consequently resolved, in a general council at Fleetwood's house, to restore the Long Parliament.

Things being thus settled, Lambert at the head of a considerable number of officers, repaired to the house of Lenthal, Speaker of the Long Parliament, and presented to him the declaration of the great council of officers, by which the members of the Parliament, dissolved by Cromwell, April the 20th, 1653, were invited to return to the exercise of their authority. Lenthal answered, he would communicate the declaration to the members then in London, which he did the next day, and, the invitation being accepted, they met in Parliament the 7th of May, to the number of only forty-two. Thus the three nations were once more under the tyrannical dominion of a Parliament, which had not feared to imbrue their hands in the blood of their Sovereign: but with this difference, that the number

* Ludlow says, one great offence given by Richard to the nation was, by his irreligion. For an officer having murmured at the advancement of persons, who had been cavaliers, to commissions in the army, was brought to Whitehall to answer for it. Richard, in a deriding manner, asked him, "Whether he would have him prefer none but those that were godly? Here, continued he, is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before you all."

was reduced to the half of what it was in 1648, when the Presbyterian members were excluded. Hence they were called in derision the Rump-Parliament, in allusion to a fowl all devoured but the Rump. The Presbyterian members, who had been expelled in 1648, would have resumed their seats, but none were admitted besides those who had sat, from the first of January 1648, to the 20th of April 1653, and in this the pretended Parliament was supported by the officers.

When the Parliament was restored to their authority, they sent Clarges to Monk, to engage him to submit to the new government. Monk had so little foreseen the late change in England, that he had not time to take any measures to regulate his conduct. When he sounded his officers, he found they were pre-engaged by letters from their friends in London. So, all he could do after the arrival of Clarges, was to acquiesce, and express his satisfaction to see the Parliament restored.

Four days after the Parliament met, Lambert, attended by several officers, presented a petition and address from the general council of officers; to which the Parliament returned a general answer, and thanked the army for their affection to the public. Then, taking it into consideration, they approved of all the articles in general, but appointed a particular committee to examine those which concerned the government. As to what related to Richard Cromwell and his mother, it was not to be debated, till they should be assured of his submission to the government, which was speedily obtained, without any opposition on his part.

When the Parliament examined the account of Richard's debts, the article of expences for his father's funeral was rejected, so that Richard was forced to pay that debt out of his inheritance, which swept away the greatest part of his estate, which was not large, considering Cromwell's advancement during his life. As to the revenue, and annual pension desired by the officers for Richard and his mother, the Parliament referred the consideration of them to another opportunity, and contented themselves with assigning twenty thousand pounds for the payment of his private debts. When they granted him the twenty thousand pounds, they required him to remove from Whitehall in six days.*

Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, and the rest of the principal officers, were by no means pleased with the proceedings of the Parliament, but knowing, the inferior officers considered their dependence on the Parliament as an advantage, they dissembled their resentments, and received their commissions from the Speaker. On the other hand, the Parliament believed it of the utmost importance, to be master of the army; which they flattered themselves, would enable them to rule peaceably and absolutely, and, without doubt, to perpetuate their authority. But till this was done, they saw they were to expect a strong opposition, considering the restless temper of the principal officers, who were ever seeking to make themselves necessary, for fear of losing their posts. This was the first, and almost open design of the Parliament. For this purpose, a committee which had been appointed to examine commissions was continued, who knowing the intentions of the House, made great alterations in the army, displacing such as were suspected, and substituting others of more assured fidelity. The same thing was done to the army commanded by Monk, and many officers being removed, others were appointed to succeed them. Clarges had now acquainted Monk with the Parliament's designs, which were so manifest, and Monk had but too much cause to perceive them, by the alterations the committee would have made in the army of Scotland. He wrote to the committee so, as to show them, he plainly saw their design to undermine his authority. He used some expressions in his letter, which made the Parliament apprehensive there would be danger of driving a man to extremities, who had twelve thousand men, and all Scotland at his disposal. For this reason, the officers appointed by the committee to go into Scotland, received orders, not to proceed on their journey.

The 18th of June the Parliament voted the continuation of the monthly assessment of thirty-five thousand pounds, imposed by the Parliament of the year 1646. Then, commissioners were named for the civil government of Ireland, and a commission granted to Edmund Ludlow, one of the King's Judges, and a most zealous Republican, to command the forces of that country.

The Parliament having received confused intimations of a plot forming in favour of the King, the royalists had orders to withdraw twenty miles from London. This intimation was not groundless. In March this year, the King, by a declaration, had empowered commissioners to treat in his name with those, who having been against him, or his father, were willing to return to his obedience. These commissioners spared neither pains nor promises, to increase the number of the King's friends. All were weary of the tyranny of an Independent Parliament, consisting of forty persons, and of an army, whose officers were mostly fanatics, and who, under colour of promoting piety, and extending the kingdom of Christ, had only their interest in view. The Presbyterians themselves, and the members of that party, who had been expelled the House in 1648, seeing little appearance of ever recovering the ground they had lost, and that nevertheless they remained exposed to the tyranny of the Independents and fanatics, agreed at last with the King's party, to deliver the nation from the servitude to which it was reduced.

On the hopes, that the Presbyterians would assist, the Royalists projected an insurrection in several parts of the kingdom. For this purpose, they intended to seize at once Gloucester, Lynn, Plymouth, Exeter and Chester. Mr. Mordaunt crossed the sea, to inform the King of the project, which he thought so well laid, that he repaired secretly to Calais, and then to St. Malo's, to be nearer England, in case the plot succeeded. But this project vanished. Sir Richard Willis, who betrayed the King's party, informed Thurloe of it, and Thurloe the Council of State, who immediately put the militia in safe hands, and took other precautions, which invincibly obstructed the execution of the project. Massey was taken in attempting to surprise Gloucester, but found means to escape. The Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townsend, who were gone to the West to serve the King, were arrested and sent to prison. There was only Sir George Booth, who, assembling about four or five thousand men, took Chester, and published a manifesto against the tyranny of the Parliament, without any mention of the King, intending to make the public believe, that the people's discontent was the sole motive of his taking arms. Sir Thomas Middleton joined him with some troops, but these two united bodies were so inconsiderable, that Lambert, who marched against them, by order of Parliament, easily defeated them, and re-took Chester. Sir George Booth had the good fortune at first to escape, but was taken some days after in woman's clothes, and brought to the Tower of London. Middleton retired to a castle of his own, which held out but few a days.†

During these transactions, the King's friends, not doubting of success, sent the Reverend Nicolas Monk, the General's brother, into Scotland, to engage him in the King's party. Some have pretended, that Monk, full of hopes, that the King's party in England would succeed, was upon the point of marching to support them, but was stopped by the news of Booth's defeat, and forced to feign himself entirely devoted to the Parliament. The Parliament certainly looked on Monk as

* After the Restoration he went to France, and continued some years in obscurity at Paris; but upon the rumour of a war between France and England, he removed to Geneva. Some years before the death of King Charles II. he returned to England, and died at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire in 1712.—Richard, unlike his father, was of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition. Some of his party offering to put an end to these intrigues in his government by the death of Lambert, he declared, that he would not purchase power or dominion by such sanguinary measures.

† After this defeat, the Parliament thought of transporting the loyal families into Barbadoes, Jamaica, and other Plantations; and by degrees so to model the army, that they might never give them more trouble.

a man in whom they could not confide. This the Parliament plainly showed, immediately after Booth's and Middleton's defeat by Lambert. For judging that that victory would keep Monk in awe, they readily confirmed the changes before intended in the army of Scotland. Monk was so offended with this proceeding, that he wrote to the Speaker, to desire his dismission, but Clarges prevailed with the Speaker not to communicate this letter to the Parliament, who doubtless would not have failed to grant his request.

As the peace between France and Spain was to be treated at St. Jean de Luz, by the prime ministers of the two crowns, the King believed his presence at this negotiation might procure him some advantage. He therefore departed for Fontarabia in September, and crossed the kingdom of France incognito.

The principal officers of the army were still highly displeased with the Parliament, plainly perceiving, their design was to become master of the army. Wherefore, they began to think of means to maintain themselves in their credit and posts. One difficulty, however, was to be surmounted, before any resolution could be taken. This was, that the inferior officers were very well pleased with the Parliament, who greatly caressed them, intending to use them, to get rid of their commanders. Lambert, who commanded the forces about Chester, was entirely in the Party of Fleetwood and Desborough, knowing, the Parliament had no better intentions for him, than for the others. Besides, his chief aim was to procure a perpetual confirmation of the Generalship to Fleetwood, in hopes to govern and make use of him for his advancement to that post. At last, it was resolved, that Lambert should try to gain the inferior officers of his army. Pursuant to this resolution, Lambert coming to Derby, so managed, that his officers, whom he had carefully inspired with discontent, met to draw a petition, which, before it was offered to the Parliament, was to be communicated to Fleetwood, for the approbation of the general council of officers. Sir Arthur Haslerig having received advice that the petition was come to London, informed the Commons, and told them, the army was contriving a very dangerous plot, of which it was necessary to prevent the consequences. Upon this declaration, Fleetwood was examined by the Parliament, whether he knew any thing of the petition? He answered, he had a copy of it, and the original was in the hands of three officers, whom he named. Whereupon he was ordered to give notice to these officers to attend the House that afternoon with the petition, which was done, and the petition read. The House, the next morning, voted, "That to have any more general officers in the army than are already settled by the Parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Commonwealth; and that Fleetwood shall acquaint them with this resolve." In their subsequent debates upon the proposals of the officers, a particular answer was returned to each article, and the officers were given to understand, that their complaints were causeless, and the Parliament neither obliged nor pleased to give them an account of their conduct. This answer convinced the officers, that things were come to that point, that they were either to submit to the Parliament, or endeavour a dissolution. But they could not resolve to submit, without trying first to render themselves superior. To this end, Lambert marched his brigade towards London, and appeared there himself to support his friends. The Parliament, on their side, seeing a breach with the army was not very remote, hastily passed an act, to declare it high-treason to levy money upon the people, without the consent of Parliament. Herein their aim was to hinder the army's subsistence. They did still more: for Monk the clergyman being arrived from Scotland, with assurances from his brother the General of his supporting the Parliament, and marching to their assistance if required, Lambert, Desborough, and some other principal officers, who had signed the address, were displaced by the Parliament. Then they annulled Fleetwood's commission, and named commissioners for the government of the army, from the 11th of October to the 22d of February. But these proceedings not being supported with power, the officers received the Parliament's orders with scorn.

The Council of State, being informed, that Lambert was assembling the army, ordered two regiments to Westminster, to guard the Parliament, whose Colonels and officers were devoted to them, and had refused to sign the address. This did not prevent Lambert from executing his design. Having drawn some regiments into London, on the 13th of October, he secured all the avenues to the Parliament. Presently after, the Speaker appearing in his coach as he was going to the House, was stopped by Lambert, and forced to return. Then he sent to the Colonels of the two regiments, in Palace-yard, to retire to their quarters, which they refusing to do, he smiled and bade them stay there as long as they pleased. At the same time, he took care to stop all the members who were going to the House, and hinder them from entering. So the Parliament, as well for want of a sufficient number of members, as for the absence of the Speaker, not being able to sit that day, the two regiments placed at Westminster to secure them from violence retired, after having remained there till night. They were no sooner gone, than Fleetwood seized the posts, and placed a strong guard at the door of the Parliament House, to hinder the members from assembling. Next day, the discontented officers cashiered, by their own authority, those of the two regiments appointed to guard the Parliament, and sent others to fill their places. The soldiers obeyed their new officers, and abandoned the old.

This anarchy lasted ten days, before the officers thought of settling any form of government. All they did, was to nominate ten of their own body to form a council, to take care of the most urgent affairs. Then they declared Fleetwood their General, Lambert their Lieutenant-General, and Desborough Commissary-General of horse. They established likewise a council of Seven to nominate such officers as were not suspected, with orders to exclude those, in whom they could not confide. Meanwhile a discipline so exact was observed by the troops, that it was wonderful to see soldiers so submissive to their officers, and so inoffensive to the people during such an anarchy. As the officers were still uneasy about Monk, whom they suspected, because he was not of their principles, and besides, was an enemy to Lambert, Colonel Cobbet was sent to try to gain him to their party, with secret orders, in case he could not succeed, to endeavour to corrupt his troops, and if possible, put him under an arrest. Clarges gave Monk intelligence of Cobbet's secret commission.

During these transactions in England, the King was on his journey to Fontarabia, where he arrived but a little time before the treaty between the two crowns was concluded. Don Lewis de Haro, Prime Minister of Spain, received him very civilly, and expressed a sense of his unhappy condition, by making him a present of seven thousand pistoles. But Cardinal Mazarin, for fear of rendering himself suspected to the Parliament, would not so much as see him. So, the King left Fontarabia, for Brussels, where he arrived the latter end of December.

The Great Council of Officers held frequent assemblies in London, to endeavour at some settlement of the government. At last, on the 26th of October, thirteen days after the dispersion of the Parliament, they agreed to establish a Committee of Safety,* and put the government into their hands. Sir Henry Vane, who, since the last change, had come into the measures of the army, was of this committee, with Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Ludlow, &c. At the same time, a declaration was published, to annul the acts or orders of the Parliament, of the 10th, 11th and 12th of October. In this paper the officers declared, that they had no design to erect a military government, but had already lodged the executive part in a Committee of Safety, who were to prepare such a form of government as might best

* Consisting of twenty-three persons.

comport

comport with a free state and commonwealth, without a single person, Kingship, or House of Lords.

While the officers ruled in England, Monk was greatly embarrassed in Scotland. A neutrality would have exposed him to the danger of being sacrificed by both parties, if they should be reconciled, which was not impossible. At length he determined to side with the Parliament, and, without any evasion, sent his resolution to Fleetwood. For this purpose, he prepared for a speedy march into England with the best part of his army.

This resolution naturally created a belief, that Monk, under colour of re-establishing the Parliament, secretly intended to serve and restore the King. But it is not clear what was his plan, or his means to accomplish such a design.

He was preparing, however, with all possible diligence for his expedition, though not without several obstacles:

I. His forces being dispersed through all Scotland, required at least, six weeks to draw them together.

II. Ready money was to be provided for their maintenance, because he could expect no more from England. For this purpose, the taxes were to be anticipated, and even extraordinary supplies obtained of the Scots.

III. In his troops were some officers, on whose fidelity he could not rely.

IV. In short, it was absolutely necessary to his design, to have some towns on the frontiers of England, to facilitate his entrance, as he knew that Lambert was marching to oppose him.

All these difficulties were happily surmounted, except the first, because of the remoteness of his forces. As to the rest, he began with cashiering several of his suspected officers, and substituting others in their room. He kept those whom the Parliament had displaced, and whose successors were not yet come. Then he summoned to Edinburgh the officers of the nearest regiments, and communicating to them his design of marching into England, to restore the Parliament, he had the satisfaction to meet with their concurrence. This done, he found means to secure Berwick, and arrest Colonel Cobbet, who was there, and whose secret instructions were told him by Clarges. Cobbet was sent to Edinburgh, and there imprisoned. Monk also attempted to surprise Newcastle, but was disappointed. As to the money he wanted, he raised as much as was possible, and while his army was assembling, solicited the Scots for an extraordinary supply.

While Monk was making these preparations, Clarges his brother-in-law arrived in Scotland, with a proposal for a treaty with the Committee of Safety. It was resolved between them to accept the proposal, not with design to conclude the treaty, but to gain time till Monk's army was ready. Pursuant to this resolution, Monk, with the consent of his officers, made choice of Colonel Wilks, Lieutenant-Colonel Cloberry, and Major Knight, to go and treat in his name with the committee, and sent them away with such instructions, as he thought would raise insurmountable obstacles to the conclusion of the treaty. These three commissioners met Lambert at York, who told them, he was sufficiently impowered to treat with them. But to their demand for restoring the Parliament, he answered, his power did not extend to that article, and so they were obliged to go on to London.

These commissioners, ignorant of Monk's secret intentions, were no sooner at London, than they made all possible haste to conclude with the Committee of Safety, and the rather, because every thing which they proposed was accepted. So, the treaty was concluded and signed the 15th of November, to the great dissatisfaction of Monk. The treaty was never executed; but by the first article, a vigorous opposition to the King's restoration was agreed to. Monk, upon receiving the treaty, sought evasions to hinder the ratification, pretending, his commissioners had acted contrary to their instructions, and thereby became still more suspected by the committee of safety.

While Monk was preparing to march into England, the members of the late Parliament were not idle. They were ardently endeavouring to re-establish themselves, and wrest from the officers their usurped authority, but without the least thought of restoring the King. They believed, or pretended to believe, that Monk had no other view than the restitution of the Parliament, and, in this belief, considered Monk's friends as their own. This was true in general, though some there were of Monk's adherents in London, better informed than the rest, who knew what they were to believe. Be this as it will, all the friends of the Rump united to support Monk's designs, imagining, his sole intention was to restore the Parliament. For that reason, the members who had formed the council of state, before the interruption of the Parliament, being privately assembled, sent to Monk a commission, constituting him general of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

On the other hand, Colonel Whetham, governor of Portsmouth, Monk's particular friend, declared for the Parliament, and received into his garrison Haslerig, Walton, and Morley, three members of Parliament, the most incensed against the army. The Committee of Safety, upon the first notice of this defection, sent a detachment of the army to block up Portsmouth, but the soldiers deserted their officers, declared for the Parliament, and were received into Portsmouth as friends. Another detachment sent from the army on the same errand, did almost the same thing, so that the committee knew not on whom to rely. At the same time, Lawson, Vice-Admiral, declared for the Parliament against the army, and entered the Thames with several of his ships, to awe the adherents of the committee. Lambert, who commanded a body of the army in the north, being informed of the ill situation of the committee's affairs, detached Desborough's regiment to the assistance of his friends in London, but that regiment, at St. Albans, declared for the Parliament.

The Committee of Safety seeing all this opposition, seemed to be discouraged. Haslerig, Walton, and Morley, finding themselves sufficiently strengthened by the soldiers of the army, which had retired to Portsmouth, marched in the head of these troops, towards London. Then it was that Fleetwood, and the rest of the Committee of Safety, were in the utmost perplexity. They durst not trust their own soldiers, and knew not what course to take. Whitelock, as appears in his Memorials, advised Fleetwood either to head the army, or agree with the King. He seemed to approve of this last course, but presently after altered his mind. At last, his colleagues and himself wanting capacity and resolution to extricate themselves out of such an emergency, consented to the meeting of the Parliament, and voluntarily resigned their usurped authority. They had no sooner given their consent, than they were entirely abandoned by their whole party.

Thus the Parliament met peaceably the 26th of December, and named a committee to govern the army in their name, and under their direction. Then they dispatched express orders to Lambert to disperse his forces, and send them into the quarters assigned by the same order. But Lambert's troops hearing the Parliament was restored, had in some measure prevented this order, and put their general under arrest, who was sent prisoner to the Tower of London. At the same time Sir Henry Vane, and some other members of Parliament, who had taken part with the army, were confined to their own houses. Thus, by a revolution little expected, the first and most difficult part of Monk's undertaking, namely, the restitution of the Parliament, was executed even before he left Scotland, and without having any other share in it, than his resolution to march into England.*

Meanwhile, this revolution seemed entirely to destroy the hopes of the King. France and Spain began to think of making a firm and lasting alliance with the

* This year, on October 31, died John Bradshaw, President of the court that condemned King Charles I.

Parliament, whereby the King would not have known where to retire for a subsistance.*

Monk entered England with his army the 2d of January 1659-60, and consequently might now be informed of the Rump's re-establishment. Some days after, he received a letter from the Speaker, acquainting him with the late transactions, thanking him, in the name of the Parliament, for his kind intentions, and insinuating, that if he thought it proper, he might save himself the trouble of coming to London, since the Parliament was in peaceable possession of their authority. But this letter did not interrupt his march. On his arrival at York, he found the Lord Fairfax, formerly General to the Parliament, at the head of some troops of that county, and in possession of the city, in order to hinder the Committee of Safety from being masters of it. The Lord Fairfax received Monk into York without any difficulty, and they had many conferences together. Fairfax was a Presbyterian, though Cromwell had made him subservient to the rise of the Independents. It would therefore be hard to conceive what interest he could have in countenancing Monk's designs, if the Presbyterian party had not secretly agreed to concur in the King's restoration.

Whatever dissimulation Monk had used, in pretending that he had no other view than to restore the Rump, the members of that Parliament were too wise not to perceive, he had some other hidden design. But they hesitated between two opinions, in appearance equally probable, namely, that he intended either to advance himself, in imitation of Cromwell, or to restore the King. For this reason, the Rump, a few days after their meeting, appointed A COUNCIL OF STATE, consisting of twenty-eight members, of whom Monk was one, and ordered each counsellor to take the following oath:

"I do hereby swear that I do renounce the pretended title of CHARLES STUART, and the whole line of the late King James, and of every other person as a single person, pretending, or which shall pretend to the crown or government of these nations of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of them, and the dominions and territories belonging to them, or any of them; and that I will, by the grace and assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and constant to the Parliament and Commonwealth, and will oppose the bringing in, or setting up any single person or House of Lords, and every of them in this Commonwealth."

This precaution however did not remove the fears of the Parliament with regard to Monk, who daily became more suspected. It was therefore resolved to send two of their members to him, under the pretence of doing him honor, but in reality, to observe his proceedings. Scot and Robinson were named, who found him at Leicester the 22d of January.†

When he came to St. Albans, he wrote to the Parliament, to desire that the regiments in the city, might be sent to more distant quarters, it not being convenient, that troops, which had so lately been in rebellion, should mix with those which were entirely devoted to the Parliament, and come to offer their service. With this letter he sent the manner in which his soldiers might be lodged in London, and the quarters that might be assigned to the regiments which were to be removed. Though this demand was suspected by many members to have some mystery in it, it was granted by a majority of voices, and the regiments in the city were ordered to remove. This shews, either that Fleetwood and Desborough were no great politicians, if they did not see that Monk's demand tended to make himself master of the city and Parliament, or that they believed they had not a sufficient influence over their inferior officers, to venture to oppose it.

Monk, artfully improving the division between the Parliament and the army, entered London, in triumph, the 3d of February 1659-60. After he had given orders for quartering his troops, he repaired to the council of state, who immediately tendered him the abjuration oath, which all the members were obliged to take. But he asked time to resolve, saying, he had been informed that strong objections had been made to this oath, even in the Parliament itself. Upon this refusal he was denied admittance into the council of state, till he had taken the oath, and was obliged to withdraw.

The 6th of February he went to the Parliament, where by the mouth of the Speaker, he received the thanks of the House, for the eminent services which he had done his country. Monk was a prudent not an eloquent speaker. He told the House, that the services, which he had been enabled to perform, were no more than his duty, and merited not such praises as those with which they were pleased to honour him: that among many persons of greater worth, who bore their commission, he had been employed as the instrument of providence for effecting their restoration; but he considered this service as a step only to more important services, which it was their part to render to the nation: that while on his march, he observed all ranks of men, all places to be in earnest expectation of a settlement, after the violent convulsions to which they had been exposed; and to have no prospect of that blessing but from the dissolution of the present Parliament and from the summoning of a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: that applications had been made to him for that purpose; but that he, sensible of his duty, had still told the petitioners, that the Parliament itself, which was now free, and would soon be full, was the best judge of all these measures, and that the whole community ought to acquiesce in their determination: that though he expressed himself in this manner to the people, he must now freely inform the House, that the fewer engagements were exacted, the more comprehensive would their plan prove, and the more satisfaction would it give to the nation: and that it was sufficient for public security, if the fanatical party and the royalists were excluded; since the principles of these factions were destructive of both government and liberty.

This speech was not agreeable to all; some of the members complained, Monk spoke too positively, and assumed too great an authority: that he affected a popularity, which justly rendered him suspected: that he engaged for the fidelity of the Irish officers, which, however, was to be doubted: that in saying, the cavaliers were not yet to have a share in the government, he gave that party hopes of being one day admitted: in short, it left them in suspense as to his real intentions.

Two days after, the Parliament had occasion to try Monk's fidelity. The common council of the city of London, assembling the 7th of February, resolved to pay no more taxes till the Parliament was filled. Upon advice of this resolution, the Parliament ordered Monk to lead his army into the city, seize eleven members of the common-council, and pull down the chains, gates, and port-cullices. Monk readily and instantly obeyed the order. He assembled his forces, entered the city, and arrested the eleven members of the common-council. Then he wrote to the Parliament an account of what he had done, praying them withal to moderate their rigour, with respect to the gates and port-cullices. But the Parliament, whether through animosity against the city, or a farther trial of Monk's fidelity, insisted upon a punctual compliance with their order, and were immediately obeyed. After that, he returned with his troops to Whitehall, which displeased the Parliament, believing Monk ought not to have quitted the city without their order. The same, or the following day, Praise God Barebone presented a petition to the House, subscribed by many persons, desiring the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart might be taken by all persons without exception, and he received the thanks of the House.

* It does not appear that the King was apprised of Monk's favourable intentions towards him.

† All the way from Leicester to St. Albans, they lodged in the same house with him, and when they withdrew to their own apartment, they always found or made some hole in the door or wall to look in or listen.

Monk's late proceedings astonished both his friends and the city of London. The magistrates, enraged at this treatment, looked upon him as a perfidious man, who had amused them with hopes of his supporting the re-admission of the secluded members, in order to know their sentiments, and as one absolutely devoted to the Parliament. On the other hand, his friends represented to him, that he was guilty of an irreparable fault, in quarrelling with the Londoners, who alone were able to support him against the Parliament bent upon his ruin, whatever they might pretend. That this commission was a snare, which had lost him the confidence of the city, and exposed him to the Parliament's designs against him; besides that, without the assistance of London, he would never, with his small army, be able to execute his intentions.*

Monk, convinced by these reasons, thought only of repairing his error, by an open rupture with the Parliament. He therefore sent Clarges, his confident, to Sir Thomas Alleyne, Lord Mayor, to tell him, he was very sorry for what he had done, and desired a conference with him, and the Common-council. But Clarges could obtain nothing from the Lord Mayor, who was persuaded that Monk was deceitful and treacherous. Notwithstanding this, Monk assembled his forces, with a resolution to march once more into the city, and be reconciled to the magistrates, whatever might be the consequence. At his departure, he sent a letter to the Parliament, written with the approbation of his principal officers, complaining, "That they gave too much countenance to Lambert, Vane, and several that engaged with the late Committee of Safety; and that they had permitted Ludlow and some others to sit in their House, who had been, by Sir Charles Coot and some of the Irish officers, accused of high treason; and had countenanced too much a late petition to exclude the most sober and conscientious, both ministers and others, by oaths, from all employment and maintenance; and in fine, peremptorily demanded, that by Friday next, they would issue out writs to fill up their House; and when filled, should rise at an appointed time, to give place to a full and free Parliament."

By this letter the Parliament easily perceived, Monk sought an occasion of quarrel, which, as it was difficult to avoid, it was judged the wisest course to vote Monk the thanks of the House, for his care, and that his desires should be satisfied without delay. At the same time, Scot and Robinson were dispatched to him with this resolution. But Monk had now marched into the city, and had, though with great difficulty, prevailed with the Mayor to assemble the Common-council that afternoon. Meantime, the two commissioners of the Parliament, having waited on Monk with the message, returned with little satisfaction. He only told them, "All would be well, if his letter was complied with." Upon this answer, the Parliament voted, that the command of the army should be lodged in five commissioners, of whom Monk himself was one, and that the Quorum of them should be three; but when it was moved, that Monk should always be one of the three, it was carried in the negative.

In this interval, Monk repairing to the Common-council, made a speech, in which he testified his concern for having accepted a commission, so disagreeable in the execution to the city. That he was forced to accept it, or quit his command, which he had thought proper to keep at such a juncture, for the good of the city, and of the whole nation, whose happiness and advantage he should always promote to the utmost of his power.

To give an unquestionable proof of the sincerity of his intentions, he communicated to the council his letter to the Parliament, and answer to the two commissioners. As these last proofs were convincing, the council was appeased, and Monk was looked upon as a friend come to their relief, notwithstanding the transactions of the foregoing day. When the news of this reconciliation was dispersed through the city, it was followed with ringing of bells, and bon-fires in every street, at which were roasted numberless rumps in contempt of the Parliament. Some days after, the council of state sent to desire Monk to come and assist them with his counsels, in regulating the affairs of the nation: but he did not think fit to expose himself to this danger. He answered, that the inhabitants of London were so dissatisfied, that his presence was absolutely necessary in the city, to keep them in awe. On the other hand, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen conjured him to stay in the city, acquainting him, that the Parliament was secretly endeavouring to corrupt his army, and that Sir Arthur Haslerig had written to several persons in London, to that purpose. So Monk took care to avoid the snare laid for him.

At last, on the 18th of February, Monk so ordered it, that some of the sitting members had a conference with some of the secluded, concerning their re-admission. But the conference was fruitless, because the sitting members could not, or would not, undertake for the Parliament's accepting the conditions which should be agreed on. Monk at length made the secluded members engage, that after their re-admission, they would call a free Parliament, and dissolve the present.

These resolutions being taken, Monk repaired to Whitehall the 21st of February, attended by all the secluded members, and after an exhortation to take care of the interests of the nation, gave them a guard to conduct them to the Parliament, where they took their seats, without any previous notice to the sitting members. They were so superior in number to the Independents, that the heads of that party, after a short demur among themselves, thought fit to withdraw, and abandon their cause.

The same day, Monk wrote a circular letter to all the regiments, to inform them of the change in the Parliament, to assure them of the zeal of the restored members for the interests of the army, and to desire their opposition to all attempts in favour of Charles Stuart. This last clause was thought necessary to keep the army in temper, which was yet far from desiring the King's restoration. This letter was signed by Monk himself, and his principal officers, and sent the same day to the Colonels of the several regiments.

This Parliament continued their session but twenty-five days, during which they did several things, plainly shewing they were far from being the King's enemies.

I. They annulled all votes and orders made by the Parliament since the 6th of December 1648, against the secluded members.

II. They released all the imprisoned friends of the King, and amongst the rest Sir George Booth.

III. They constituted Monk, by act of Parliament, Captain-General of the armies of the three nations.

IV. They repealed the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart, and all the royal family.

V. They appointed a new council of state consisting of one-and-thirty members, most of them royalists, and well disposed to serve the King.

VI. They made great changes in the militia of London, and the several counties, and revoked all commissions granted by the republicans.

VII. They abrogated the engagement "To be true and faithful to the Commonwealth without a King, or House of Peers," by which the Lords, who were generally the King's adherents, were restored to their right of constituting a separate House in Parliament. Lastly, they dissolved themselves the 16th of March, after having issued out writs for a free Parliament to meet the

* In Skinner's life of Monk, it is said, that the orders to march the army into the city, were not directed to Monk alone, but also to the other commissioners, whereof Haslerig, Walton, and Morley, where upon the place, and, ever since his arrival at London, had acted jointly with him; so that had the General refused his orders, the others might have done the business without him, and consequently, put it to the hazard of removing him from the command of his army. But as he did not let his friends know this reason, the action was variously censured.

25th

25th of April, who were to restore the King, which was no longer doubted.*

However, as such a change could not please every one, the Parliament, before their separation, thought it necessary to amuse the public, or at least to leave room to doubt whether the King's restoration was intended. Wherefore it was voted, first, that no person should be admitted to any military employ, before he had sworn to acknowledge the lawfulness of taking arms against the late King. Secondly, that no person who had been in arms against the Parliament, should be chosen a member of the next Parliament. In all appearance, these resolutions were only taken to prevent disturbances from the mal-contents, in the interval between the two Parliaments.

But these deceitful votes were not capable of imposing on the republicans. To prevent the blow which could not but crush them entirely, they endeavoured to persuade Monk to take upon himself the government, and supply the place of Oliver Cromwell, chusing rather to own him for governor or even sovereign, than be exposed to the King's vengeance. Monk having constantly rejected this offer, they applied to Clarges to desire him to persuade the general to accept the government. But Clarges discovered their plot to the council of state, who, if Monk had not interceded for them, would have punished them severely.

This attempt failing, they privately excited a number of officers of their own principles to draw up a declaration, by which they engaged to support the republican government. They brought this declaration to the General to sign, pretending it should afterwards be subscribed by the whole army. But Monk excused himself, alledging, this precaution was needless, after the vote, that no adherent of the King should be elected to serve in the ensuing Parliament. In short, as they continued to importune him, he peremptorily forbade them to assemble without his permission.

The transactions in England being quickly carried to Cardinal Mazarin, it was not difficult for him to perceive, that Monk had some great design in view. But as he could not judge whether that General was labouring for himself or the King, he ordered Monsieur de Bourdeaux, the French ambassador at London, to offer his friendship to Monk, and every thing in his power, whatever were his designs.†

The day after the dissolution of the Parliament, Sir John Greenvil, sent by the King to General Monk, was introduced to him in the night. The King punctually followed the instructions thus received, and removed from Brussels to Breda.

Meanwhile, Monk displaced, on divers pretences, such officers as were most suspected by him, and filled their posts with others in whom he could entirely confide. Moreover, some officers, by his direction, framed an engagement in form of an address to the General, by which they promised a ready obedience to the orders of the Parliament, when assembled. This engagement being presented to Monk, he approved it, and ordered it to be subscribed by all the regiments in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

A. D. 1660.] While the hopes of the King and his party were daily increasing, an accident happened, which might have been attended with ill consequences, had it not been speedily remedied. This was Lambert's escape out of the Tower, and his putting himself at the head of some troops. As he was greatly esteemed by the soldiers, there was danger that all the republicans, who were very numerous in the army, would declare for him. Wherefore Monk lost not a moment to prevent this danger before the mischief reached any farther. Lambert having assembled some discontented troops at Daventry, Ingoldsby was immediately sent against him, with Monk's own regiment, and ordered to take some other troops in his way, and give him battle. This extreme diligence did the business effectually. As Lambert had not yet time to assemble many troops, Ingoldsby met him the 22d of April, thirteen days after his escape, defeated, and sent him to the Tower. Thus the fear which Lambert's escape had infused into the King's party was entirely dispelled.

Two days before the Parliament met, the republicans made another attempt to prevent the King's restoration, by dispersing a forged letter from Brussels, in which it was said, that the King only waited his restoration, to be severely revenged upon all his opposers. It was also added, that his party was preparing to put them all to the sword. This forged letter beginning to do mischief, the Lords, and others of the King's party, published a declaration, signed by seventy persons, in which they disavowed the intentions ascribed to them, and protested, that their desire was to live peaceably, without any thoughts of revenge upon the authors of their sufferings.

The new Parliament met the 25th of April, in two Houses, the one of Lords, the other of Commons, agreeably to the ancient constitution.‡ In the House of Lords most were the King's friends. In that of the Commons, it was found, that many royalists were elected. Some Presbyterians, who were not in the secret, had a mind to complain, and moved for an examination of the elections, but were not heard. Most of the Presbyterian members were no less zealous than the royalists for the King's restoration, which every one wished, not so much, perhaps, out of affection to him, as to deliver the kingdom from the dominion of the Independents and Fanatics, and from the tyranny of the army, which had lasted twelve years.

Two days after the opening of the Parliament, Greenvil, returning from Brussels, waited on Monk, with a commission from the King, constituting him Captain-General of all the forces of the three kingdoms, and also with a letter from his Majesty to be communicated to the council of state, and the officers of the army. But Monk declined to open the letter, till he had received the Parliament's directions. Meantime, the Commons having adjourned themselves for two or three days, Greenvil applied himself to the Lords, and presented to them a letter from the King, with a declaration dated the 14th of April. In the letter the King told the Lords, that hearing, they were again acknowledged to have the authority, belonging to them by their birth, he hoped they would make use of it for the public good, for composing the distractions of the kingdom, and for restoring him to his just prerogatives, the Parliament to their privileges, and the people to their liberties. The declaration was well calculated to uphold the satisfaction inspired by the prospect of public settlement. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever; and that without any exception, but such as should afterwards be made by Parliament; it promised liberty of conscience; and a concurrence in any act of Parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, should be offered for insuring that indulgence: it submitted to the arbitration of the same assembly the inquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations: and it assured the soldiers of all their arrears, and promised them, for the future, the same pay which they then enjoyed.

* They also raised an assessment of one hundred thousand pounds a month, for the payment of the army, and defraying the public expences for six months.

† Locke says, that Monk had agreed with the French Ambassador to take the government on himself, by whom he had promise from Mazarin of assistance from France, to support him in this undertaking. This bargain was struck between them late at night, but not so secretly, but that Monk's wife, who had posted herself behind the hangings, where she could hear all that passed, finding what was resolved, sent immediately notice of it by her brother Clarges to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper. She was zealous for the Restoration of the King, and promised Sir Anthony, to watch her husband, and inform him from time to time how matters went. Upon this notice Sir Anthony summoned the Council of State, and before them, indirectly charging Monk with what he had learned, proposed, that to remove all scruples, Monk would at that instant take away their commissions from such and such officers in his army, and give them to those whom he named. By this means the army ceased to be at Monk's devotion, and was put into hands that would never serve him, in the design he had undertaken.

‡ Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester, was chosen Speaker for the Lords, and Sir Harbottle Grimstone for the Commons.

Immediately after the reading of this declaration, the Lords voted, "That, according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons."

Then, Sir John Greenvil came to the House of Commons, and presented a letter to them from his Majesty, with the same declaration inclosed, which was read, as well as the letter directed to General Monk to be communicated to the council of state and the army. These papers, which, three months before, would have lain unregarded on the table, were now considered as convincing proofs of the King's good intentions, and sufficient reasons to restore him to the exercise of the kingly power, without requiring other conditions than what he should himself be pleased to grant. The Commons therefore readily agreed to the vote of the Lords, and so the King saw himself restored without any of the conditions which had caused so long a war, and so great an effusion of blood. This is a clear evidence, either that the Royalists were much superior in number in the House, which nevertheless is not very probable, or that the Presbyterians were willing to desist from conditions which they had formerly so ardently demanded, for certain terms relating to their religion, which had been positively promised, but which, as they were never performed, gave afterwards too just cause of complaint.

The King being effectually recognized, by the vote of both Houses, the Commons ordered, that fifty thousand pounds should be presented to him, ten thousand to the Duke of York, and five thousand to the Duke of Gloucester.*

Then the Commons ordered, that all the journals should be searched, and those acts and orders razed out which were inconsistent with the government of King, Lords, and Commons. The army, the navy, and the city of London prepared addresses to congratulate his Majesty on his restoration, and to promise him perfect obedience, and these addresses were delivered to Clarges, who undertook to carry them to the King. The 8th of May, the King was proclaimed in London with great solemnity, and commissioners from the Parliament and city departed on the 11th to wait on the King, who expected them at the Hague. Some Presbyterian ministers also repaired thither, as well to imprint on the King a sense of the service lately done him by their sect, as to sound his inclinations with regard to the liberty, which they had probably stipulated, before they engaged in the affair of his restoration. The King confirmed verbally what he had promised by his declaration. But when they besought him not to revive the use of the common prayer in his chapel, and that the surplice might be discontinued, he warmly answered, "That whilst he gave them liberty he would not have his own taken from him."

After the King had given audience to the Parliament's commissioners, the 16th of May, and received the homage of Admiral Montague, and the other officers of the navy, who waited on him at Scheveling, he remained some days at the Hague, as well to prepare for his departure, as to receive the compliments of the states, and embarked the 23d. He arrived at Dover the 25th, and the same day at Canterbury, where on the morrow, he honoured Monk with the Order of the Garter. The 29th, his birth-day, he arrived at Whitehall, through a numberless multitude of people, who, by their acclamations, demonstrated their joy at his restoration.†

The

* The city of London sent also ten thousand pounds to the King, and a thousand pounds a-piece to his two brothers.

† The reader must have remarked, that no people could undergo a change more sudden and entire in their manner than did the English nation, during the period just closed. From tranquillity, concord, submission, sobriety, they passed in an instant to a state of faction, fanaticism, rebellion, and almost of frenzy. Their violence indeed, exceeded any thing which we can now imagine. Between the Royalists and the Republican, no social intercourse was maintained, no marriages or alliances were contracted. "Your friends, the cavaliers," said a Parliamentarian to a Royalist, "are very dissolute, and debauched." "True," replied the Royalist, "they have the infirmities of men; but your friends, the roundheads, have the vices of devils,—tyranny, rebellion, and spiritual pride." The Royalists, though ruined by confiscations and sequestrations, kept up their spirits. "As much as hope is superior to fear," said a poor but merry cavalier, "so much is our situation preferable to that of our enemies; we laugh, while they tremble!"

By the rigid severity of the Presbyterians and Independents, horse-racing and cock-fighting were prohibited, as the greatest enormities. Even bearbaiting was esteemed heathenish, and unchristian; the sport of it, not the inhumanity, gave offence. Colonel Harrison, inspired with pious zeal, marched with his regiment into London, and destroyed all the bears, which were kept there for the diversion of the citizens.

Amongst the remarkable events of the age, was the rise of the Quakers. George Fox, born at Drayton, in Lancashire, in 1624, was the founder of this sect. He was the son of a weaver, and himself a shoemaker. Feeling a stronger impulse towards spiritual contemplations, than towards that mechanical profession, he left his master, and went about the country clothed in a leathern doublet, a dress which he had long affected, as well for its singularity, as for its cheapness. That he might wear himself from sublunary objects, he broke off all connections with his friends and family, and never dwelled a moment in one place; lest habit should beget new connections, and depress the sublimity of his aerial meditations. He frequently wandered into the woods, and passed whole days in hollow trees, without company, or any other amusement than his Bible. Having reached that pitch of perfection as to need no other book, he soon advanced to another state of spiritual progress, and began to pay even less regard to that Divine composition itself. His own breast, he imagined, was full of the same inspiration which had guided the prophets and apostles themselves; and by this inward light must every spiritual obscurity be cleared, by this living spirit must the dead letter be animated.—When he had been sufficiently consecrated in his own imagination, he felt that the fumes of self-applause soon dissipate, if not continually supplied by the admiration of others; and he began to seek proselytes. Proselytes were easily gained, at a time when all men's affections were turned towards religion, and when the most extravagant modes of it were sure to be the most popular. All the forms of ceremony, invented by pride and ostentation. Fox and his disciples, from a superior pride and ostentation, carefully rejected: even the ordinary rites of civility were shunned, as the nourishment of carnal vanity and self-conceit. They would bestow no titles of distinction: the name of friend was the only salutation with which they indiscriminately accosted every one. To no person would they make a bow, or move their hat, or give any signs of reverence. Instead of that affected adulation, introduced into modern tongues, of speaking to individuals as if they were a multitude, they returned to the simplicity of ancient tongues; and thou, and thee, were the only expressions which, on any consideration, they could be brought to employ. Dress, too, a material circumstance, distinguished the members of this sect. Every superfluity and ornament were carefully retrenched: no plaits to their coat, no buttons to their sleeves, no lace, no ruffles, no embroidery. Even a button to the hat, though sometimes useful, yet not being always so, was universally rejected by them with horror and detestation. The violent enthusiasm of this sect, being too strong for weak nerves to sustain, threw the preachers into convulsions, shakings, and distortions in their limbs; whence they received the appellation of "Quakers." Some attempted to fast forty days in imitation of Christ; and one of them bravely perished in the experiment. A female Quaker came naked into the church where the Protector sat, being moved by the spirit, as she said, to appear as a sign to the people. Amidst the great toleration which was then granted to all sects, and even encouragement given to all innovations, this sect alone suffered persecution. From the fervour of their zeal, the Quakers broke into churches, disturbed public worship, and harassed the minister and audience with railing and reproaches. When carried before a magistrate, they refused him all reverence, and treated him with the same familiarity as if he had been their equal. Sometimes they were thrown into mad-houses, sometimes into prisons: sometimes whipped, sometimes pillored. The patience and fortitude with which they suffered, begat compassion, admiration, and esteem. A supernatural spirit was believed to support them under those sufferings, which the ordinary state of humanity, freed from the illusions of passion, is unable to sustain.—The Quakers crept into the army: but as they preached universal peace, they reduced the military zealots from their profession, and would soon, had they been suffered, have put an end, without any defeat or calamity, to the dominion of the saints. These attempts became a fresh ground for persecution, and a new reason for their progress among the people.—Morals with this sect were carried, or affected to be carried, to the same degree of extravagance as religion. Give a Quaker a blow on one cheek, he held up the other: ask his cloak, he gave you his coat also: the greatest interest would not engage him in any court of judicature, to swear even to the truth: he never asked more for his wares than the precise sum which he was determined to accept. This last maxim is laudable, and continues still to be rigorously observed by that sect.—No fanatics ever carried farther the hatred to ceremonies, forms, orders, rites, and positive institutions. Even Baptism and the Lord's Supper, by all other sects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of Christianity, were disdainfully rejected by them. The very sabbath they profaned. The holiness of churches they derided; and they would give to these sacred edifices no other appellation but that of "shops" or "steeple-houses." No priests were admitted in their sect: every one had received from the immediate illumination a character much superior to the sacerdotal. When they met for Divine worship, each rose up in his place, and delivered the extemporary inspirations of the Holy Ghost: women were also admitted to teach the brethren, and were considered as proper vehicles to convey the dictates of the spirit. Sometimes a great many speakers were moved to speak at once: sometimes a total silence prevailed in their congregations.

James

KING CHARLES II. LANDING AT DOVER.

Published by J. & J. Gundee, Albion Press, London, 1834.

The Parliament, on April 25, 1649, agreed upon a new sort of Coin, whereof there were coined, crowns, half-crowns, shillings, six-pences, pence, and half-pence. The larger pieces were inscribed on one side, THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, and had St. George's cross in a shield, between a palm branch and a laurel; reverse, the same shield conjoined to another, in which is a harp for Ireland (vulgarly called the breeches) above which there is XII. the legend GOD WITH US. The six-pence has VI. above the shields. The two-pence and pence have no inscription, only the initial figures; and the half-penny only the single shield, with the harp on the reverse. There were likewise coined pieces of fine gold, of the same form and inscription as the silver money, XX. above the arms. The half of them have X. (fig 2.) The six-pences 1651, is, strictly speaking, the first milled money, Queen Elizabeth's being only marked on the flat edge. The copper farthing has the cross under a garland, ENGLANDS FARTHING. Reverse, a harp, FOR NECESSARY CHANGE. Oliver Cromwell's crown-piece is inimitably performed, and preserved as a choice medal in the cabinets of the curious, being the first milled money that has an inscription upon the rim. It has his head laureat, OLIVAR. D. G. RP. ANG. SCO. HIB. &c. PRO. Reverse, in a shield crowned with the imperial crown of England, St. George's cross in the first and fourth quarters; St. Andrew's for Scotland in the second, and the harp for Ireland in the third; and in a scutcheon of pretence: his paternal coat, namely, a lion rampant, legend PAX QVÆRITVR BELLO. 1658. upon the rim, HAS. NISI. PERITVRVS. MIHI. ADIMAT. NEMO. The dye of this piece having received a flaw or crack the first stroke, leaves a mark upon the money just below the neck; a sure token to distinguish the true crown-pieces from the counterfeit. The half-crown is equally beautiful, though not so rare. The shilling is likewise a very fair piece, milled on the edge, and very rare. (fig. 1.)

James Naylor fancied that he himself was transformed into Christ, and was become the real Saviour of the world; and in consequence of this frenzy, he endeavoured to imitate many actions of the Messiah, as related in the Evangelists. As he bore some resemblance to the common pictures of Christ, he allowed his beard to grow in a similar form: he procured a woman to make oath before a magistrate, that she had been dead two days, and that he had restored her to life: he entered Bristol mounted on a horse; his disciples spread their garments before him, crying "Hosanna, to the highest, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Sabaoth." The Parliament at length condemned him to the pillory, to be whipped, burned in the face, and to have his tongue bored through with a red hot iron. He was sent to Bridewell, confined to hard labour, fed on bread and water, and debarred all society. The consequence was, that he came out an ordinary man, and returned to his usual occupations.

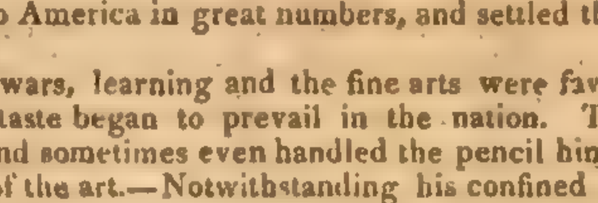
Tea, coffee, and chocolate, are first mentioned about the year 1660. About the same time, asparagus, artichokes, cauliflowers, and various sallads, were introduced into England.

The colony of New England increased by means of the Puritans, who fled thither, in order to free themselves from the constraint which Laud and the church party had imposed upon them; and, before the commencement of the civil wars, it is supposed to have contained 25,000 souls. For a like reason, the Catholics, afterwards, who found themselves exposed to many hardships, and dreaded still worse treatment, went over to America in great numbers, and settled the colony of Maryland.

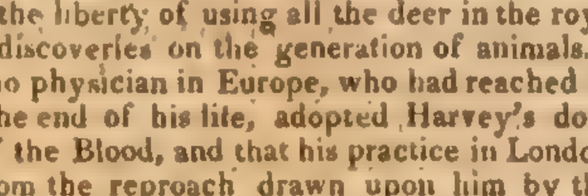
Before the civil wars, learning and the fine arts were favoured at court, and a good taste began to prevail in the nation. The King loved paintings, and sometimes even handled the pencil himself, and was a good judge of the art.—Notwithstanding his confined revenue, and his freedom from vanity, he possessed four-and-twenty palaces, all of them elegantly, and completely furnished.

Civil wars, especially when founded on principles of liberty, are not commonly unfavourable to the art of eloquence and composition; or rather, by presenting nobler and more interesting objects, they amply compensate that tranquillity of which they bereave the muses. The speeches of the Parliamentary orators during this period, are of a strain much superior to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compass of our tongue were then first put to trial. It must, however be confessed, that the wretched fanaticism, which so much infected the Parliamentary party, was no less destructive of taste and science, than of all law and order. Gaiety and wit were proscribed: human learning despised: freedom of enquiry detested: cant and hypocrisy alone encouraged. It was an article positively insisted on in the preliminaries to the treaty of Uxbridge, that all play-houses should be for ever abolished. Sir John Davenate, says Whitelock, speaking of the year 1658, published an opera, notwithstanding the nicety of the times. All the King's furniture was put to sale: his pictures, disposed of at very low prices, enriched all the collections in Europe. The cartoons, when complete, were only appraised at 300*l.* though the whole collection of the King's curiosities was sold at above 50,000*l.* even the royal palaces were pulled to pieces, and the materials of them sold. The very library and medals at St. James's were intended by the General's to be brought to auction, in order to pay the arrears of some regiments of cavalry quartered near London: but Selden, apprehensive of the loss, engaged his friend Whitlocke, then Lord Keeper for the Commonwealth, to apply for the office of librarian. This expedient saved that valuable collection.

Milton, Waller, Cowley, and Sir John Denham, were the great poets of the day. Hobbes, though now much neglected, was then highly celebrated, both abroad and at home; he died in the year 1679, aged ninety-one. Harrington's Oceana was well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary republics were the daily subjects of conversation and debate; and even now, it is justly admired as a work of genius, and invention. Harvey, the eminent discoverer of the Circulation of the Blood, was much favoured by Charles the First, who gave him the liberty of using all the deer in the royal forests for perfecting his discoveries on the generation of animals. It was remarked, that no physician in Europe, who had reached forty years of age, ever, to the end of his life, adopted Harvey's doctrine of the Circulation of the Blood, and that his practice in London diminished extremely, from the reproach drawn upon him by that great and signal discovery. So slow is the progress of truth in every science, even when not opposed by factious or superstitious prejudices! Clarendon was the only historian of note, at this period. He is less partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters, as although too honest a man to falsify the former, his affections were easily capable, unknown to himself, of disguising the latter. An air of probity and goodness runs through his whole work, as these qualities did in reality embellish the whole life of its author. Selden, whose learning was his chief excellence, and Chillingworth, an acute disputant against the Papists, can scarcely be ranked amongst the Classics of our language or country. The cant of the pulpits, the declamations of party, and the subtilties of theology, with which the press then abounded, have long since sunk into deserved oblivion.



1



2

BOOK XXIII.

26. CHARLES II.

A. D. 1660.] AT the arrival of the King, the face of England was entirely changed, and joy, pleasures, public and private rejoicings succeeded to trouble, fear, and consternation.

Charles II. at the time of his restoration, was thirty years of age, and but little known to most of his subjects. His actions in the west, during his youth, where he commanded for the King his father, had been distinguished by no advantageous event. His conduct in Scotland, when he was called to the crown of that kingdom, had not redounded to his honour, since, in his declaration published there, he had not scrupled to sacrifice the King his father to his own private advantage. In short, the battle of Worcester had acquired him no reputation, in which some pretend he had been too careful of his person, though others speak of his valour on that occasion with great commendation. Nevertheless, his friends, with a view to his restoration, had published such extravagant praises of him, that, before his arrival in England, he passed for an accomplished Prince, endowed with all the virtues and noble qualities of a hero.

Charles is said to have embraced the Catholic religion, before his return into England. Some say, he abjured the Protestant religion to Cardinal de Retz, before he left France the last time. Others pretend, it was in the year 1659, in his journey to Fontarabia, in order to procure his restoration, by the assistance of the two crowns of France and Spain. However this be, the secret, known only to the Earl of Bristol, and Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, was so well concealed, that the public was ignorant of it, till after the King's death, when his successor, James II. was pleased to divulge it. It may be affirmed, his embracing the Catholic religion was not through a principle of conscience, since, in the whole course of his life, he showed no sense of religion. However, he lost no opportunity, in his speeches to the Parliament, to boast of his attachment to the Protestant religion, and his zeal for its advancement.

He had a maxim, that there was neither sincerity nor chastity in the world out of principle, but that some had the one or the other out of humour or vanity; and believed nobody served him out of love, and therefore he was quits with all the world, and loved others as little as he thought they loved him. He was extremely affable, and so easy and complaisant, that he seemed to take a pleasure in bestowing favours, by his manner of receiving the requests that were made to him. But he forfeited at last the esteem and affection of his subjects, who had almost adored him in the beginning of his reign, because they discovered how little they could depend on kind words, and fair promises, in which he was liberal to excess.

He was so addicted to his pleasures, that though he was very capable of business, had a good judgment, quick apprehension, and great penetration, his ministers could hardly prevail with him to suspend his pleasures some hours, and attend to affairs, which required some application. But it happened also, sometimes, that when he would apply himself to business, he dispatched more in one day, than his ministers in several.*

As his mistresses devoured his whole time, so they consumed all his treasures. Though his revenues were larger than those of any of his predecessors, except Henry VIII. and the Parliament often granted him extraordinary supplies, he was ever in want, because he spent his money without measure or discretion, as he received it. This threw him upon his Parliament, and, not to break with the Commons, he was obliged to promise what he never intended to perform.

These are the principal faults imputed to King Charles. But, on the other hand, he had many good qualities, which might have produced happy effects, had he made a better use of them. His wit was lively, his conception wonderful, and his judgment exquisite. He knew the interests of the Princes of Europe, better than any of his ministers. He had applied himself, during his exile, to the study of physic and the mathematics, and more particularly to navigation, and the building of ships. With these qualities, he might very easily have governed his dominions, in a manner glorious to himself, and advantageous to his subjects, and made himself arbiter of Europe. Yet, his reign cannot be said to be either glorious to himself, or happy to his subjects. The reason is, that because of his attachment to his pleasures, and natural remissness, he delivered himself up to the counsels of his ministers, and particularly of his brother the Duke of York, who had but too much influence upon the resolutions of the King's council, into which he found means to introduce such as he believed proper for the execution of his projects, with regard to church and state. The Duke of York was of a temper more active, violent, haughty, and revengeful. He had formed the design of raising the royal authority to a great height, and withal, of restoring the Catholic religion in England. He never ceased to pursue these projects, more especially, after he was assured, the King his brother could not expect any legitimate children.

The King's first care was to establish a council, composed chiefly of those who had shown most zeal and affection for himself, or the King his father. He received, however, some men into it, who seemed naturally to have no pretensions thereto. This was the effect of his policy: his intention was to stifle, as much as was possible, the enmities which had so long divided his subjects, and to unite them all in an obedience to the laws, and a sincere attachment to his person as their true centre.

Edward Hyde, Lord Chancellor, and soon after Earl of Clarendon, was the King's Prime Minister; but he was a mortal enemy of the Presbyterians, and consequently, little proper to preserve the King in his resolution of procuring tranquillity for all his subjects without distinction.

As soon as the King was arrived in England, the assembly, which from the 25th of April had been honoured

* Sir Thomas Killegrew, his jester, once used the following expedient to admonish him of his extreme negligence in regard to the affairs of this kingdom. He dressed himself in a pilgrim's habit, went into the King's chambers, and told him that he hated himself and the world, that he was resolved immediately to leave it, and was then entering upon a pilgrimage to hell. The King asked him what he proposed to do there. He said "To speak to the devil to send Oliver Cromwell to take care of the English government, as he had observed, with regret, that his successor was always employed in other business."

RAPIN'S

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHARLES THE SECOND.

with the name of Parliament, was only called the Convention, the King being unwilling to own for Parliament, an assembly which had not been summoned by his writs. But this change of name was of no long continuance. Two days after his arrival, the King went to the House of Lords, where he sent for the Commons, and gave the royal assent to three acts; the first was, to change the convention into a Parliament; the second, to continue the monthly tax of seventy thousand pounds for three months; and the third, to continue all judicial proceedings.

The affairs of this Parliament, after the King's arrival, consisted in three principal points. The first was an act of pardon or indemnity for whatever had passed since the beginning of the trouble. The second was to enable the King to disband the army. The third was the settling the King's revenue, since it was absolutely necessary to give him wherewithal to support the government, and put him in a condition to be courted and feared. The Parliament began with the act of indemnity, as being the most urgent. For this purpose the House of Commons solemnly declared, in an address presented to the King by the whole House, that they accepted, in the name of themselves, and all the Commons of England, the gracious pardon offered by his Majesty in his declaration from Breda, with reference to the excepting of such as should be excepted in an act of pardon. The Lords likewise presented a petition of the like import.

Immediately after, the King published a proclamation, declaring, that all such of the late King's judges as did not surrender themselves within fourteen days, should be absolutely excluded from the general pardon. Though, by the words of this proclamation, those who surrendered themselves could not be assured of their lives, it was nevertheless understood, that the King made use of this artifice only to have it believed, that he would not limit the power and resolutions of the Parliament on this point, and it was not doubted that the two Houses considered this proclamation as a sort of pardon, at least for life, to those who should confide in it. In consequence of this proclamation, twenty of the late King's judges voluntarily surrendered themselves. Others withdrew out of the kingdom, and some were taken in attempting to escape.

While the Parliament proceeded in the bill of indemnity, some leading republicans, who had not been the King's judges, but had exercised civil or military employs during the troubles, fearing to be called to an account, demanded of the King letters of pardon under the great seal, in order to screen themselves from all prosecution. The King readily granted their request, showing thereby that he really intended to perform his promise in his Breda declaration.

Though the King really intended the act of indemnity should be quickly dispatched, it met with great obstacles in the House of Commons with regard to the clauses which were to be inserted. Some were for having no regard to the Breda declaration, but for making examples of all who had most ardently supported the late usurpation. This raised a suspicion that the King encouraged these men, and intended to suspend the effect of his declaration by means of the Parliament, till he was revenged of his enemies. This was industriously dispersed amongst the people in libels, tending to destroy all confidence in the King's promises, and revive the troubles by driving to despair those who knew themselves most guilty. To dispel therefore these suspicions, the King sent a message to the House, to press them to dispatch the act of indemnity, and to make it agreeable to his declaration from Breda. This message so quickened the debates, that a few days after the act passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords for their concurrence.

In this bill, the House of Commons excepted for life and estate, but a few of the most notorious and active regicides. But the Lords, incited by divers petitions of the widows, children, and relations of persons executed by the sentences of the courts erected during the usurpation, were for excepting from pardon all who had been judges in those courts. The King fearing new delays from this difference of sentiment between the two Houses, came to the House of Lords, the 27th of July, and in a pathetic speech, endeavoured to persuade them to pass the bill as sent up by the Commons. He represented to them, "That he was obliged in honour to perform what he had promised in his declaration; that he never thought of excepting any but the immediate murderers of his father; that the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom entirely depended upon the performance of his promise, 'which' (says he) 'if I had not made, I am persuaded neither I nor you had now been here:' I pray therefore let us not deceive those who brought or permitted us to come together, and earnestly desire you to depart from all particular animosities and revenge, or memory of past revocations, and pass this act without other exceptions than of those who were immediately guilty of the murder of my father."

This speech, and a message sent by the King to both Houses on the same subject, determined the Lords to conform to the declaration from Breda. At last, the King repairing to the House of Lords the 29th of August, gave the royal assent to the act of indemnity, which contained in substance:

Penalties against those who should use any words of reproach tending to revive the memory of the late troubles, with an absolute pardon to all who had been engaged in them, excepting the following persons:—

Forty-nine of those who had been the late King's judges, with this distinction, that, as to the twenty, who had voluntarily surrendered themselves, if they were condemned, their execution should be suspended till the King and Parliament should order the same. Oliver Cromwell, Bradshaw, Pride, and one-and-twenty others, who were dead, were made subject to confiscations, and other penalties which the King and Parliament should ordain. Phelps and Sir Arthur Haslerig were put in the same condition. Hutchinson and Lassels were declared incapable of exercising any office, and condemned to one years forfeiture of the revenue of their estates. It was moreover ordained, that Oliver St. John, and seventeen others named in this article, should be excluded from any benefit by this act, if they accepted, or executed any office in England, either ecclesiastical, civil, or military. All that had given sentence of death in any of the late illegal high-courts of justice, except Colonel Ingoldsby and Colonel Thomlinson, were disabled from being members in any Parliament, or bearing any office in England or Wales. Those who had converted to their use any goods, belonging to the church, were excluded from the benefit of this act. Sir Henry Vane, and Lambert, were excepted from pardon, both as to life and estate.

The King likewise passed on this occasion the following acts:—

I. An act for confirmation of judicial proceedings from the 1st of May 1642, notwithstanding their illegality.

II. An act for provision of monies to pay off the armies and navy.

III. An act to fix the interest of money at six per cent.

IV. An act for a perpetual anniversary thanksgiving on the 29th of May, the day of his Majesty's nativity and restoration.

After the King had given his assent to these acts, he made a speech to both Houses, to testify how much he was pleased with them; concluding, "I am so confident of your affections, that I will not move you in any thing that immediately relates to myself: and yet I must tell you, that I am not richer, that is, I have not so much money in my purse, as when I came to you. The truth is, I have lived principally ever since, upon what I brought with me, which was indeed your money: for you sent it to me, and I thank you for it. The weekly expence of the navy eats up all you have given me by the bill of tonnage and poundage; nor have I been able to give my brothers one shilling since I came into England, nor to keep any table in my house, but what

what I eat at myself. And that which troubles me most is, to see many of you come to me at Whitehall, and to think you must go somewhere else to seek your dinner. I do not mention this to you as any thing that troubles me: do but take care of the public, and for what is necessary for the peace and quiet of the kingdom, and take your own time for my own particular, affairs which I am sure you will provide for, with as much affection and frankness, as I can desire."

The Commons then made a present to the Duke of York of ten thousand pounds, and of seven thousand to the Duke of Gloucester. After this, they proceeded to the settling the King's revenue, and resolved to raise it to twelve hundred thousand pounds, which was more than any King of England had ever enjoyed, except Henry VIII. But before this could be compleated, the King came to the Parliament the 13th of September, and, passing some bills that were ready, they adjourned themselves to the 6th of November.

The same day died the Duke of Gloucester, the King's brother. This Prince, now twenty years of age, was unexpectedly taken out of the world by the small pox. As he had very good qualities, the King his brother, who loved him tenderly, appeared more concerned for this loss, than for any misfortune which had ever befallen him.

During the adjournment, the King appointed commissioners for trial of the regicides. The number of those concerned in the late King's death, as judges, officers of the court of justice, and others, amounted to fourscore and one, of whom twenty-five were dead, nineteen had made their escapes, seven others, for having been less engaged in the crime, were thought worthy of the King's clemency, and twenty-nine were condemned to die. But of these, twenty who had surrendered themselves upon the proclamation of the 6th of June, were pardoned as to life, but reserved for other penalties, as imprisonment, banishment, and forfeiture of estate. So, ten only were executed, namely, Harrison, Carew, Cook, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scroop, Jones, Hacker, and Axtel. What was most remarkable in the death of these men was, that not one expressed any signs of repentance, or did not think himself a martyr. Two only were prevailed with to pray for the King. They were almost all anabaptists, enthusiasts, fifth-monarchy-men, who believed no violence unlawful to advance the kingdom of Christ, and all, men of mean birth, except Carew and Scroop.*

A few days after the adjournment of the Parliament, the King published a proclamation concerning religion, containing eight articles, most of which prescribed certain rules to the Bishops in the exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction. The VIIth ran, that a certain number of divines should be appointed to revise the liturgy, and make such alterations in it as should be judged necessary, and that scrupulous persons should not be punished or troubled for not using it at present. The VIIIth was concerning ceremonies, to which, for the present, no person should be obliged to conform.

There were yet living, nine of the old Bishops, who were restored to their sees without any difficulty. Seven or eight others were newly consecrated for other dioceses, and Cosins, against whom so many complaints had been brought before the Parliament in 1640, for the see of Durham, where he had once been prebend. Bishopries and ecclesiastical benefices were offered to the most eminent Presbyterian ministers, but all refused except Reynolds, who accepted the Bishopric of Norwich.

September the 25th, the Princess Dowager of Orange came to London to congratulate the King her brother upon his restoration. And in November arrived from France the Queen-mother, who brought with her the Princess Henrietta her daughter, and the Prince Palatine Edward, brother to Prince Rupert. It is pretended the Queen endeavoured to persuade the King to marry Hortensia Mancini, niece to Cardinal Mazarin: but her proposal being coldly received, she advised him to pursue the negotiation already begun, of his marriage with the infanta of Portugal. Thus much is certain, she proposed to the King the marriage of the Princess Henrietta, with the Duke of Orleans, to which she found no obstacle.

The Parliament meeting the 6th of November, appointed a committee to congratulate the Queen-mother on her return to England. Shortly after, the Commons made a present of ten thousand pounds to each of the two Princesses her daughters.†

The Parliament having, in their first session, dispatched every thing relating to the act of indemnity, applied their next care to put the King in a condition to disband the army. For this purpose, several sums were granted him, and as the money was raised, regiments were broke, so that this work was finished in the space of a few months. Thus, the army, which had so long been the terror of England, was reduced to Monk's single regiment. But in disbanding the army, the King introduced a novelty, which displeased many. He formed, for his ordinary guard, two regiments, one of horse, and one of foot, in imitation of the practice in France, and other kingdoms. This was so much like a standing army, that many began to fear, the King had ill designs upon the public liberty. His predecessors had no other guards than the gentlemen pensioners, established by Henry VII.

The disbanding of the army being in such forwardness, the King told the Parliament, it was his intention to dissolve them in December. Whereupon, the Commons, to give his Majesty a fresh instance of their zeal, confirmed and renewed their former resolution, of granting the King an annual revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds. But the time being too short to settle the funds on which this revenue was to be raised, the House thought it more proper to employ what remained, in preparing the bills to be passed, before the dissolution.

The Parliament, before their dissolution, ordered the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, to be taken out of their graves, drawn on a hurdle to Tyburn, there hanged from ten o'clock till sun-set, and then buried under the gallows. At the same time, an act of attainder passed, not only against these four, but against the nineteen judges of the late King, who had fled from justice; among whom was Ludlow, author of the Memoirs under his name.

* General Harrison, who was first brought to his trial, with great courage, and elevation of sentiment, told the court, that the pretended crime, of which he stood accused, was not a deed performed in a corner: the sound of it had gone forth to most nations; and in the singular and marvellous conduct of it had chiefly appeared the sovereign power of heaven. That he himself, agitated by doubts, had often, with passionate tears, offered up his addresses to the Divine Majesty, and earnestly sought for light and conviction: he had still received assurance of a heavenly sanction, and returned from these devout supplications with more serene tranquillity, and satisfaction. That all the nations of the earth were, in the eyes of their Creator, less than a drop of water in the bucket, nor were their erroneous judgments aught but darkness, compared with divine illuminations. That these frequent elapses of the spirit he could not suspect to be interested illusions; since he was conscious, that for no temporal advantage, would he offer injury to the poorest man or woman that trod upon the earth. That all the allurements of ambition, all the terrors of imprisonment, had not been able, during the usurpation of Cromwell, to shake his steady resolution, or bend him to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant. And that when invited by him to sit on the right hand of the throne, when offered riches and splendor and dominion, he had disdainfully rejected all temptations; and neglecting the tears of his friends and family, had still, through every danger, held fast his principles and integrity.

† The Duke of York had, since his return to England, married Ann, Chancellor Hyde's eldest daughter, to which he had been in some measure compelled. The young lady proving pregnant, there were not wanting persons to dissuade the Duke from so unequal a match. But the King's affection then for the Chancellor, over-ruled all considerations of the injury which the Duke, his brother, and the royal family, might receive from it. He signified to the Duke, that it would oblige him not to use any shifts, and plainly told him, he must drink as he had brewed; to which the Duke submitted, from a motive of obedience. It may easily be imagined, the Queen-mother, who hated the Chancellor, was not pleased with this marriage. Accordingly, she long refused to see her daughter-in-law, and it was at the pressing instances of the King that she at last consented to receive her respects. But during her stay in England, she ever treated her with so much coldness, that her aversion to the marriage was very visible.

At

At this time likewise several officers, who had served under Cromwell, Desborough, Morgan, Overton, and several others, were arrested upon an uncertain rumour of a plot to secure the King's person, seize the Tower, and kill the Queen-mother, but it did not appear that this rumour had any good foundation.

At last, on the 29th of December, the King came to the Parliament, and gave the royal assent to various acts; after which, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, he thought proper to dissolve them.

The conclusion of this year brought the King a new cause of affliction, in the death of the Princess of Orange, his sister, who died of the small pox the 24th of December, at the age of twenty-nine years. She left but one son, who was afterwards King of England, by the name of William III.*

After the King left Scotland, with an army to invade England, the English entirely conquered that kingdom, under the conduct of General Monk, who served the Parliament. If the King, after that, thought of Scotland, it was only to cherish the discontents, and try, by means of his adherents, to excite a revolt. For though he had been recognized and crowned in Scotland, he always considered his interests as directly opposite to those of that kingdom, or at least, of the government party. He never loved the Scots, and his belief of their selling the King his father to the English Parliament, greatly inflamed his prejudice against them, nor was it diminished by his residence in that country. Nothing would have been easier than to leave Scotland in dependance upon England, there being no likelihood that the Scots would ever be able to recover their liberty. It even seems, the King was not averse to this thought; but at last he resolved to restore that kingdom to its ancient form of government. For this purpose, Monk wrote in the King's name to the English commissioners who had been employed as judges there, to discontinue their functions the 22d of August; and at the same time proclamation was made, for the convening of the committee of estates, till a Parliament should be called. The King named the great officers of the kingdom, and took care to chuse for these posts and for his council, such as were believed most firmly devoted to him. The Earl of Glencairn was made Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford, Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Cassilis, Justice General, the Earl of Lauderdale first Secretary of State, and General Midleton, the King's commissioner. These men, as well as those who formed the council, had been always firmly attached to the King's interest. Thus the Scots, freed from the yoke laid on them by Cromwell, were exactly in their former state, as before the troubles in 1637; that is under the government of a King and ministers of the very same principles with Charles I. and the ministers of that time. But there was this disadvantageous difference, that they were no longer able to make themselves feared, being entirely subdued. They had soon occasion to know what they were to expect. Some of their ministers assembling for the drawing up a remonstrance concerning their grievances, were sent to prison by the committee of estates, without any examination of the nature, motives, or language of the remonstrance, as if the bare design of presenting it had been criminal. Moreover, a proclamation was published against all unlawful assemblies and seditious writings, on supposition, that the assembly of the ministers and their petition were of that nature.

The Marquis of Argyle repairing to London to pay his duty to the King, was arrested, sent to the Tower, and afterwards to Scotland, to be tried on an impeachment of high treason. The King in his declaration from Breda, had not mentioned Scotland. So, the Scots were exposed to the resentment and vengeance of their enemies. Amongst these, Chancellor Hyde was one of the most violent, as he has plainly discovered in his history of the civil wars, and, unhappily for the Scots, he was prime minister in England, and had the principal direction of the King's affairs.

The King summoned a Parliament, in Scotland, and published a proclamation, declaring, that he left it entirely to this Parliament, to examine the conduct of his subjects of Scotland; and that after his honour was vindicated, and his prerogative established, he would grant a pardon which would witness how much he desired the happiness of his people.

As for Ireland, the King committed the government of it to Sir Maurice Eustace, Chancellor, and the Earls of Orrery, and Montrath, in quality of Lords-Justices, till a Lord-Lieutenant should be appointed.

The year 1661 was ushered in by an extraordinary event. This was an insurrection of some fifth-monarchy men, who believed themselves bound in conscience to use their utmost endeavours to advance the kingdom of Christ on earth.† The 6th of January, while the King was attending the Queen-mother, and the Princess his sister, to Dover, in their return to France, about fifty of these men, under the conduct of one Thomas Venner, assembled in the evening in St. Paul's church yard, and killed a man, who, upon demand, had answered, "For God and the King." This giving an alarm to the city, some trained bands were sent against them, whom these men quickly routed, and then marched through several streets, and at last retired to Cane-wood, (between Highgate and Hampstead) whence a party of horse and foot, sent by General Monk, dislodged them, and took some prisoners. This did not prevent the rest from returning to the city, where they fought furiously, till they were obliged to take sanctuary in a house. They there defended themselves like men fearless of death, or rather, as secure from all danger, under the protection of Jesus Christ. Here it was that Venner, being wounded, and twenty of his men killed, with as many of the assailants, was taken with the rest of his fellows. A few days after, they were all tried, condemned, and executed, without any confession of guilt, and persisting in their extravagances to the last. Two young men only shewed some signs of repentance.

Though this attempt could not justly be considered as the consequence of a design formed by a whole party, the court urged this insurrection to confirm the rumours of a conspiracy against the government. The King took occasion to publish a proclamation, forbidding all meetings, and conventicles, under pretence of religion, and commanding the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered to all persons disaffected to the government, and in case of refusal, they were to be prosecuted on the statute of the 7th of James I.

It will be immediately seen, that the ruin of the Presbyterian party was now resolved, and that pretences were seeking to execute this resolution. To succeed in this design, an admirable expedient was devised. This was to range, under the same denomination, all the sects differing from the church of England. This denomination was, that of dissenters, or non-conformists, under which were comprehended, as well the Presbyterians, as the Papists, Anabaptists, and other sects. By this affected confusion, all the non-conformists were charged with the faults of one of the sects comprised under that name, and, as if they had made but one body, punished without distinction, on pretence of keeping them in awe, and preventing them from disturbing the state.

Some of the Presbyterian ministers observing they were industriously confounded with sects, with whom they had no relation, petitioned the King for a conference between them and the Bishops, in order to examine wherein consisted their differences, and the objections of the Presbyterians, to the book of common prayer. The King granted their request, and immediately named twelve Bishops, as principals, and nine other

* It was also this year that the Royal Society was erected by the King's letters patent, who besides granted it all the necessary encouragement towards a discovery of the secrets of nature, and of what is most curious and necessary in natural philosophy and mechanics.

† They thought, it was not enough to believe that Christ was to reign on earth, and to put the saints in possession of the kingdom, but that the saints were to take the kingdom themselves: some of them seemed persuaded, that Christ would come down and head them.

clergymen as assistants; and on the Presbyterian side, twelve ministers as principals, and nine others as assistants, to confer together at the Bishop of London's house, who then lodged in the Savoy.

A. D. 1661.] Such conferences upon religion are seldom attended with a happy success; first, because the two parties must be equally animated with the spirit of peace and charity, which is rarely found amongst men. Secondly, because in these conferences, one of the parties is usually superior, and in possession of power, and therefore not very ready to quit that advantage, to be reduced to an equality. Thirdly, the animosity between the two parties, generally hinders the conferences from succeeding. The one cannot bear to receive laws from the other, nor think of revoking what has been once advanced. Fourthly, instead of thinking seriously on peace, both parties seek only to surprize one another. Lastly, it too often happens, that these conferences are granted by the prevailing, to the oppressed party, only to have it said, that peace was offered, but rejected by the contrary party. There is room to believe, that in this conference all these circumstances met, and therefore it is no wonder, it succeeded like the rest of the same nature; for, in short, it broke off without any effect, and, as too commonly happens, each party threw the blame upon the other.

During this conference at the Savoy, the King was magnificently crowned on St. George's day, the 23d of April.

The Parliament met on the day appointed. The greatest part were high-church-men, that is, violent enemies of the Presbyterians, great assertors of the minutest ceremonies of the church, and most devoted to the King and the royal prerogative. They literally followed the principles of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. In a word, this Parliament may be said to have been composed by Chancellor Hyde, Prime-Minister, and now Earl of Clarendon. This Parliament was called the Pensionary Parliament, because it was afterwards discovered, that many of the members received pensions from the court.

The King going to the Parliament the 8th of May, made a speech to both Houses, in which, after some expressions of his great affection for his people, he recommended two bills, which he had prepared to confirm the act of indemnity. He also communicated to them his intended marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, which had been resolved with the approbation of his whole council.

The Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, afterwards enlarged on the particulars mentioned by the King in his speech, but chiefly upon two points untouched by the King. The first, related to the seditious Sermons of certain preachers, which tended to renew the old troubles, and whose license it was necessary to curb. The second point on which he insisted, was the late insurrection, which he aggravated in the strongest expressions, intimating, that by intercepted letters it might be concluded, that the combination reached very far, and if the vigilance of the Lord Mayor had not prevented it, the city had been in danger of being burnt to ashes.

Sir Edward Turner, the Duke of York's Attorney-General, being chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, at the recommendation of the court, both Houses unanimously voted their thanks to the King for the gracious communication of his resolution to marry, and went in a body to congratulate him. Then the House of Commons ordered all their members to receive the Sacrament according to the prescribed liturgy within a certain time, upon pain of being expelled the House.

The 20th of May the two Houses jointly ordered, that the writing called the Solemn League and Covenant should be burnt by the common hangman; which was performed with great triumph. Three days after, the following acts were also ordered to be burnt: the act for erecting a high-court of justice for trying and judging Charles Stuart, &c; the act for subscribing the engagement against a King and House of Peers: the act for declaring the people of England to be a Commonwealth, &c; the act for renouncing the title of Charles Stuart and another for the security of the Protector's person.

The zeal of the two Houses breeding a fear in the Republicans, that the act of indemnity passed in the late Parliament, would not be sufficient for their security, if it was not confirmed by the present, they addressed the King for this confirmation. Upon their petition, the King wrote to both Houses the 2d of June, earnestly recommending to them to pass the bill he had prepared for them. This letter having produced the desired effect, the King came to the Parliament the 8th of July, and passed an act to confirm the act of indemnity passed in the late Parliament; and an act to empower the King to receive from his subjects a free and voluntary contribution for his present occasions; after which, the Parliament proceeded with vigour in finishing the other bills which were before them, and in particular, one for the confiscation of the estates of twenty-one regicides deceased, and to punish three, who were spared as to life, but liable to other penalties. These were the Lord Monson, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Robert Wallop. It was ordered, that they should, on January 30, be drawn upon sledges, with ropes about their necks, to the gallows at Tyburn, and from thence conveyed to the Tower, there to remain prisoners during their lives.

The 30th of July the King came to the Parliament, and gave the royal assent to several acts; among which was an act for the safety and preservation of the King's person and government; which had three remarkable clauses. The first, that if any person should compass, imagine, or intend the King's death, destruction, or bodily harm, to imprison or restrain his royal person, or depose him, or should levy war against him within or without his realm, or stir up any foreign power to invade him, or should declare or express such his wicked intention, by printing, writing, preaching, or malicious and advised speaking, he should, being thereof legally convicted, be adjudged a traitor. The second, that if any man should maliciously or advisedly publish or affirm his Majesty to be heretic or a papist, or that he endeavoured to introduce popery; or should stir up the people to hatred or dislike of his royal person or government; that every such person should be made incapable of any office or employment either in church or state. The third, that if any man should maliciously and advisedly affirm, that the Parliament, begun at Westminster the 3d of November 1640, is yet in being, or that any covenant or engagement since that time imposed upon the people, doth oblige them to endeavour a change of the government either in church or state, or that either, or both Houses of Parliament have a legislative power without his Majesty, that then every such offender, being legally convicted thereof, should incur the penalties of a Præmunire mentioned in the statute of the 16th of Richard II.*

After these acts had received the royal assent, the King thanked the two Houses, and gave them leave to adjourn to the 20th of November.

While these things passed in England, the Parliament in Scotland proceeded with no less vigour. They began with abrogating and annulling the solemn league and covenant of the two kingdoms; and commanded that none of his Majesty's subjects presume, on pretence of any authority whatsoever, to require a renewing, or swearing to the said league and covenant, with-

* The other acts now passed were:—

An act to repeal the law made in the 17th year of Charles I. for the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Peers. An act to prevent tumults and disorders committed under pretence of preparing, or presenting petitions to the King or Parliament. An act to declare the sole right of the militia to be in the King. An act to impower his Majesty to dispose of the land forces. An act for the regulation and government of his Majesty's navies and forces by sea. An act to impose certain pains and penalties upon the persons or estates of those who had a hand in the horrible murder of the late King. An act for the collection of the great arrears of the duty of excise. An act for providing necessary carriages for the King in all his progresses and removals.

out

out his Majesty's special warrant and approbation. They next declared the power of the militia to be in the King alone, and the act of the 16th of January, 1647, by which the late King was delivered to the English, to be infamous, disloyal, and contrary to all laws divine and human.

Episcopacy was restored in Scotland, and for that purpose, four Presbyterian ministers, Sharp, Hamilton, Barwell, and Leighton came to London, where, after being ordained deacons and priests, they were consecrated Bishops. All four renounced their first ordination as invalid, and, before their departure for Scotland, obtained from the King a declaration of his pleasure to restore in Scotland the government of the church by Archbishops and Bishops, as it was in the year 1637. Upon this declaration, the Privy-Council of Scotland strictly discharged all ecclesiastical meetings at synods and Presbyteries, &c. till they should be authorized by the Archbishops and Bishops. An act was also passed in the Scotch Parliament to prohibit all meetings and conventicles in private houses for religious worship. By another act the right of patronage was revived. And lastly, by another, it was ordained, that all persons in any public office, should sign a solemn declaration against the national covenant in 1638, and the solemn league and covenant in 1643, in which they declared it unlawful to subjects, upon pretence of Reformation, or any other pretence whatsoever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or take up arms against the King, or those commissioned by him.

The Marquis of Argyle having been sent prisoner to Edinburgh, was there tried, and condemned; and beheaded the 27th of May. Many believed, that revenge, and the avarice of some persons,* who hoped for the confiscation of his estates, were more powerful motives for his sentence, than justice. A few days before his death, the remains of the unfortunate Marquis of Montrose were solemnly interred, and the head of the Marquis of Argyle was set up in the place where his stood.

In England the bodies of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, who were shot at Colchester in 1648, were likewise honourably interred.

During the recess of the English Parliament, the cavaliers or royalists made great complaints of the King's ingratitude, for suffering them to perish with hunger, while, by the act of indemnity, he procured his enemies the secure enjoyment of immense riches, acquired by illegal means. The city swarmed with libels on this subject. One, amongst the rest, written by L'Estrange, told the King bold truths with great freedom. But the King thought not proper to take notice of them, believing, the least he could do for the loyal sufferers, was to let them complain, since it was neither in his inclination nor power to reward them.

To suspend these complaints, the city was filled with rumours of projects and plots against the King's person and government.† But many believed this only an artifice to incense the Parliament against the non-conformists in general, and the Presbyterians in particular, and afford a pretence to proceed against them. Thus much is certain, the project of the act of uniformity was now formed.

The Earl of Sandwich, Vice-Admiral, being sent with a fleet to Lisbon, to bring home the new Queen, appeared before Algiers to make a treaty with the Corsairs, or reduce them to reason by force. But he found them so well prepared, that he was obliged to return to Lisbon without any thing done.

The Parliament re-assembling the 20th of November, the King made a speech to both Houses. He desired the Commons, "to think seriously upon settling his revenue, and providing for the expences of his navy; adding, that he asked nothing for himself, but as his interest was united with that of his people." He told them, "that he was willing they should make a full inspection into his disbursements and receipts, but would not have them believe any loose discourses, of giving away eighty thousand pounds in a morning. Tha the had much more reason to be sorry, that he had not rewarded those who had ever faithfully served the King his father and himself, than ashamed of any bounty he had exercised towards any man." After this, he told the two Houses, "that he was sorry to find, the general temper and affections of the nation were not so well composed, as might have been expected, after such signal blessings from God Almighty upon all, and after so great indulgence and condescensions from him towards all interests. That there were still many wicked instruments, who laboured night and day to disturb the public peace, and make all people jealous of each other. That it was worthy of their care and vigilance, to provide proper remedies for diseases of that kind; and if they found new diseases, they must study new remedies. That the difficulties which concerned religion were too hard for him, and therefore he recommended them to their care and deliberation, who could best provide for them."

This speech was as the signal to the persecution, which, soon after, broke out against the non-conformists, and particularly the Presbyterians.

To prepare the way for the designed alteration, solely founded upon rumours of an imaginary conspiracy, the Parliament thought proper to support these rumours, by a petition to the King for a proclamation, to order all officers and disbanded soldiers to depart twenty miles from London.

The same day, the Commons voted the King a supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds for his present occasions.

Then, the Parliament resumed the affair of the nineteen regicides, who had voluntarily surrendered themselves upon the proclamation of the 26th of June, and yet had been sentenced to death. They were asked, what they had to say, why judgment should not be executed upon them? They alledged the King's proclamation, on which they had relied, believing it was his intention to pardon them. But this did not prevent a bill from being brought in for their execution, which was read twice and then dropped, probably, on the King's powerful solicitation in favour of the condemned.

The Earl of Clarendon, at a conference between the two Houses, affirmed positively, that there was a real conspiracy, which had been forming ever since March, to disturb the peace of the kingdom. He named several persons engaged, and gave an exact account of the manner how it was to be executed. The Lords, upon this information, named a committee of twelve of their House, to whom they desired the Commons to add a proportionable number of their members, to examine this horrible design, that the execution of it might be prevented, and the peace of the kingdom secured.

The 20th of December, the King came to Parliament, and passed an act to grant the King twelve hundred and sixty thousand pounds, for his present occasions, to be levied by a monthly tax of seventy thousand pounds, for eighteen months; and an act for regulating corporations.‡

A. D. 1661-2.] Parliament was then adjourned to the 10th of January. The first thing the Lords then did, was to receive the report of the committee, appointed to examine the conspiracy, supposed to have been forming now almost a year, but which had yet produced no effect.

* Particularly of the Earl of Midleton. The Marquis was condemned, as guilty of high treason, upon some letters formerly written by him to Monk, wherein he expressed a great zeal for the republican cause. These Monk basely set down to the Marquis's judges.

† Of which the authors were, Praise-God Barebone, Colonel Salmon, Major Wildman, Alderman Ireton, &c.

‡ This act, which was called the corporation act, ran, that in order to perpetuate the succession in corporations, in the hands of persons well affected to the government, it was ordained, that every mayor, alderman, common-council-man, or any other officer in a corporation should be obliged, besides the common oath of allegiance and supremacy, and a particular declaration against the solemn league and covenant, to take an oath, declaring, "That it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King; and that he did abhor that traitorous position, of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those commissioned by him.

When it is considered, that after a strict examination of this conspiracy by a numerous committee of both Houses, the whole amounted only to a list of one hundred and forty officers found upon a man, without any other circumstance; and concerning one of the accomplices not named; to secret intelligence that never failed; to a company of men assembled about Huntingdon, in the night, for some unknown reason; that not any of these pretended conspirators, who might have been known by one of their party who had discovered the whole plot, was either punished or prosecuted for this supposed crime; that in short the noise of this conspiracy ceased at once after the uniformity-act had passed, who can help thinking it a mere invention, to give some colour to this act?

The 1st of March, the King sent for the Commons to Whitehall, and reproached them, though civilly, with having done nothing towards the settling of his revenues.

The Commons being returned to their House prepared several bills, and amongst the rest one against the Quakers, for refusing the oaths. This act, and another for the repairing of the streets and high-ways in and about London, were passed by commission.

On the 17th of May, the King gave his assent to the following acts:—

An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and the administration of the Sacraments. An act for the better regulation and ordering of the standing forces of the nation. An act for laying a perpetual and annual tax of two shillings on every chimney-hearth in each house, alms-houses excepted. An act to empower his Majesty to levy for the next ensuing three years, a tax of seventy thousand pounds per month, if necessity shall so require. Moreover, the House of Commons ordered sixty thousand pounds, which exceeded the sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds, granted by a former act, to be distributed among the poor cavaliers, who had been sufferers in the late troubles.*

After the passing of these acts, the Parliament was prorogued to the 18th of February.

The session of Parliament being ended, the court was wholly employed in preparing for the reception of the new Queen, who was daily expected. She left Lisbon the 15th of April, and arrived at Portsmouth the 14th of May, where the King went to receive her.† This marriage had been proposed by the Portuguese ambassador, to General Monk, at the time that he was labouring the King's Restoration. The ambassador's aim, was to procure Portugal a powerful assistance from England, since, by the Pyreneean treaty, the King his master had no farther expectations from France. To prevail with Monk, and, by his means, with the King, he engaged, that the King of Portugal should give, with the Princess his sister, three hundred thousand pounds sterling, the town of Tangier upon the coast of Africa, and the Isle of Bombay in the East-Indies. Monk, pleased with these offers, proposed this marriage to the King immediately after his arrival. The King approved of it, and accordingly it was concluded in the year 1661.‡ Some pretend, that Chancellor Hyde strenuously opposed the marriage, upon an information, that the Princess of Portugal, by some natural infirmity, was incapable of having children, but that the King took this for an artifice of the court of Spain to prevent a marriage, which could not but prove prejudicial to their great designs upon Portugal. Before the consummation of the marriage, the King, in a treaty with Portugal, engaged to assist that kingdom against Spain, and in the nineteenth article, obliged himself never to restore Dunkirk to that crown.

When this marriage was completed, the Queen-mother arrived in England, with design, as it seemed, to spend there the residue of her days. The King assigned Somerset-house for her residence; but she did not, it seems, find the satisfaction she expected, as after three years she returned to France.

The most considerable transaction at the English court, in the remaining part of this year, was the sale of Dunkirk; a measure which has not had the good fortune to be justified by any party; but, on the contrary, is often considered as one of the greatest mistakes if not blemishes, of Charles's reign. By the treaty with Portugal it was stipulated that Dunkirk should never be yielded to the Spaniards. France was therefore the only purchaser that remained. D'Estrades was invited over by a letter from the Chancellor himself in order to conclude the bargain. Nine hundred thousand pounds were demanded. One hundred thousand were offered. The English by degrees lowered their demand: the French raised their offer: and the bargain was concluded at 400,000 pounds. The artillery and stores were valued at a fifth of the sum. The importance of this sale was not, at any time, sufficiently known, either abroad or at home. The French monarch himself, so fond of acquisitions, and so good a judge of his own interests, thought that he had made a hard bargain; and this sum, in appearance so small, was the utmost which he would allow his ambassador to offer. It appears however from many of D'Estrades' letters, particularly that of the 21st of August, 1661, that the King might have transferred Dunkirk to the Parliament, who would not have refused to bear the charges of it, but were unwilling to give money to the King for that purpose. The King, on the other hand, was jealous lest the Parliament should acquire any separate dominion or authority in a branch of administration which seemed so little to belong to them: a proof that the government was not yet settled into that composure and mutual confidence which are absolutely requisite for conducting it.§

While this negotiation employed the King and his first minister, three of the late King's Judges, who had found means to escape out of the kingdom, were publicly executed at Tyburn. They had, after wandering through Low and High Germany, settled for some time at Hanau under borrowed names, and returned in the spring to Delft in Holland, having appointed their wives to meet them there, in order to learn the state of affairs in England, and what hopes were left for them; but Sir George Downing, the King's resident at the Hague, and formerly of their party, having intercepted their

* By the act of uniformity, every minister was obliged, on pain of losing all his ecclesiastical preferments, to conform to the worship of the church of England, according to the new book of Common Prayer, before the feast of St. Bartholomew next, from whence it was called the Bartholomew act. Every minister was also obliged to sign the following declaration. "I do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled the Book of Common Prayer," &c. Besides this, every person was obliged to sign a declaration contained in the militia act, in which declaration he was not only to promise to conform to the liturgy of the church of England, but likewise to renounce the solemn league and covenant, declaring it to be an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom The penalties annexed to this act were many, particularly.——"No person should be capable of any benefice, or presume to consecrate and administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, before he be ordained priest by episcopal ordination, upon pain to forfeit for every offence the sum of one hundred pounds."

† Queen Catherine was born November 14, 1638.

‡ The Spanish ambassador opposed this marriage to the utmost of his power. He proposed to the King a Protestant Princess, namely, either the Princess of Denmark, or of Saxony, or of Orange. But, as Bishop Burnet observes, King Charles pretended a contempt of the Germans, and of the northern crowns. France had no sister. Spain had only two infantas; the eldest whereof was married to the King of France, and the second was to go to Vienna. So the house of Portugal only remained to furnish the King a wife.——France strenuously promoted this marriage, and, to succeed the better, offered the Earl of Clarendon a pension of ten thousand pounds a year; but the Earl rejected that offer with indignation.

§ Charles had secretly received the sum of 200,000 crowns from France for the support of Portugal; but the forces sent over to that country, and the fleets maintained in order to defend it, had already cost the King that sum; and together with it nearly double the money which had been paid as the queen's portion. The time fixed for the payment of his sister's portion to the Duke of Orleans was approaching. Tangier a fortress from which great benefit was expected, had become an additional burthen to the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded in Dunkirk, had increased the charge of that garrison to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year. These considerations had such influence, not only on the King, but even on Clarendon, that this uncorrupt minister was the most forward to advise accepting a sum of money in lieu of a place which he thought the King, from the narrow state of his revenue, was no longer able to retain.

letters,

letters, obtained the consent of the States to seize and put them on board an English ship, which brought them to England, where they were executed.* The names of these three regicides were Corbet, Okey, and Berkstead.

The execution was followed with the trials and condemnation of Sir Harry Vane and General Lambert, who had been particularly excepted in the act of pardon, though they were not amongst the King's Judges, because they were considered as the chief authors of the troubles. Vane had been confined, shortly after the King's arrival, on a bare suspicion of framing some plot against the government. But though he was excepted in the act of indemnity, he had, by means of his friends, found so much favour from the same House of Commons, who had excepted him, that they petitioned the King, jointly with the Peers, that he might not suffer death, which was granted by the King. He was therefore kept in prison without being tried, till the time we are speaking of. But this second Parliament being composed of men of a different character from the first, the Commons addressed the King to bring him, as well as Lambert, to his trial. In vain did he alledge in his defence the petition of the first Parliament, and many other reasons; he was sentenced to die as a traitor. Lambert was also tried and condemned, but was reprieved at the bar, just as he was going to receive sentence. He was confined in the Isle of Guernsey, where he lived a prisoner thirty-six years, and died a Catholic. Sir Henry Vane met not with the same favour from the King. This, it is pretended, was owing to his insolent behaviour at his trial. But many believed him a sacrifice to the manes of the Earl of Strafford, to whose death he had greatly contributed. His indiscretion and insolence, as well at his trial as his execution, have been extremely exaggerated.†

St. Bartholomew's day being come,‡ on which the act of Uniformity was to take place, two thousand Presbyterian ministers chose rather to quit their livings, than to submit to the conditions of this act. It was expected, that a division would have happened amongst them, and that a great number would have chosen rather to conform to the church of England, than see themselves reduced to beggary. It was not therefore without extreme surprise, that they were all seen to stand out, not so much as one suffering himself to be tempted.

We have already mentioned the corporation act, made to prevent disaffected persons from being admitted into offices. For the better executing the act, the Parliament appointed commissioners, who were employed all this year in visiting corporations, and inspecting the conduct of the members. The design of this act was to divest of all credit, every person not entirely devoted to the King and the church of England. This power was exercised with all imaginable rigour: so that the corporations had not one member left, who was not of the same principles with the House of Commons. Moreover, the walls of Gloucester, Coventry, Northampton, Leicester, and Taunton were, by order of these commissioners, demolished, because these towns had distinguished themselves by their fidelity to the Parliament.

About the end of the year a conspiracy was discovered, formed by the fifth-monarchy-men, and upon the informations of some of the accomplices, six were executed. Nevertheless, many believed, this was only an artifice to excuse the severity practised against the nonconformists.

After the Earl of Sandwich left Lisbon, to conduct the Queen into England, Vice-Admiral Lawson sailed with a squadron to Algiers, and forced the Algerines to a peace with England. Shortly after, the King declared Tangier a free port, and invested it with great privileges.

The Presbyterians had behaved in a manner which gave no just cause of complaint against them, and the King had made them a positive promise, either that he would never consent to the Uniformity act, or procure them a particular exemption; but he performed neither, his aim having been only to keep them united, by giving them hopes of his protection. After this act was passed, he continued to feed their expectations, and hence it was, that they addressed the King and council, for a dispensation from the penalties annexed to the act of Uniformity. This petition would doubtless have been rejected, if the King had not signified to the council the obligation he was under to grant their request. Some time after, he published a declaration, dated the 26th of December last, which appeared not till the beginning of January, 1662-3. In this declaration, after an assurance of his firm adherence to the act of Uniformity, he said however, that for the sake of others, he was willing to dispense with some matters in it.

The King meant to procure some advantages for the Presbyterians, in order to procure the same for the Papists. This was his scheme, and as it was directly contrary to the Earl of Clarendon's principles, whose credit, for that reason, began now to decline. The King had plainly shewn, he had not the same affection for him, by obliging his intimate friend Secretary Nicholas, worn out with age, to resign his post to the Chancellor's professed enemy, Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington. On the other hand, though the King affected a great zeal for the Protestant religion, the choice of Bennet, to be Secretary of State, showed his inclination for the Roman Catholic, as Bennet was strongly suspected of being a papist in his heart, and known for their protector.

The Parliament meeting the 18th of February, the King made a speech to both Houses, in which he confined himself to one single point, namely, his declaration concerning the act of Uniformity.

This speech, with the declaration of the 26th of December, alarmed the House of Commons. It may almost be affirmed, that whatever they had done in favour of the King, was only to procure his assent to the act of Uniformity, yet, they saw him not only dispense with this act, but even desire a power to dispense with it, that is, to set it aside as often as he pleased. They found in the King's demand, two articles equally opposite to their principles, namely, indulgence for the Presbyterians, and indulgence for the Catholics. Wherefore, they presented an expostulatory address to the King, against granting any indulgence to such persons as presumed to dissent from the act of Uniformity, and the religion established. This address shewed to the King, it would be in vain to endeavour to obtain from the Parliament a power of dispensing with the Uniformity act. He answered in writing, about three

* It had been usual for the States to grant these warrants; though, at the same time, they have ever been careful secretly to advertise the persons, that they might be enabled to make their escape. This precaution was eluded by the vigilance and dispatch of Downing. He quickly seized the criminals, hurried them on board a frigate which lay off the coast, and sent them to England. These three men behaved with more moderation and submission, than any of the other regicides who had suffered. Okey in particular, at the place of execution, prayed for the King, and expressed his intention, had he lived, of submitting peaceably to the established government. He had risen during the wars from being a chandler in London to a high rank in the army; and in all his conduct appeared to be a man of humanity and honour. In consideration of his good character and of his dutiful behaviour, his body was given to his friends to be buried.

† Though timid by nature, the persuasion of a just cause supported him against the terror of death; while his enthusiasm, excited by the prospect of glory, embellished the conclusion of a life, which, through the whole course of it, had been so much disfigured by the prevalence of that principle (14th June.) Lest pity for a courageous sufferer should make impression on the populace, drummers were placed under the scaffold, whose noise, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice, and admonished him to temper the ardour of his zeal. He was not astonished at this unexpected incident. In all his behaviour, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity; and he considered death, but as a passage to that eternal felicity, which he believed to be prepared for him.

‡ The Presbyterians remembered, what a St. Bartholomew's day had been held at Paris ninety years before, which was the day of that massacre, and did not stick to compare the one with the other. ——There was a great debate in council a little before St. Bartholomew's day, whether the act of Uniformity should be punctually executed or not. Some moved to have the execution of it delayed till the next session of Parliament. Others were for executing it in the main, that is, to let some eminent men preach in their churches, till they should die, and to put curates to read the common prayer. The Earl of Manchester laid all these things before the King with much zeal. Sheldon, on the other hand, pressed the execution of the law.

weeks after, that he was unwilling to reply to their reasons, though he found he had been misunderstood, but renewed his thanks for their declaration to assist him against any person, that should presume to disturb the peace of the kingdom.

As in the King's speech and declaration, there were two articles which gave an alarm to the Parliament, the one relating to the non-conformists in general, the other concerning the papists in particular, the Commons, after acting against the former, resolved also to proceed against the latter. To this end, they obtained the concurrence of the Lords, for an address to be jointly presented to the King, wherein both Houses said, "That his Majesty's lenity towards the papists, had drawn into the kingdom a great number of Romish priests and jesuits: they were therefore humble suitors to him, to issue out a proclamation to command all jesuits, and all English, Irish, and Scottish popish priests, and all such other priests as have taken orders from the see of Rome, or by authority thereof, (except such foreign jesuits or priests, as by contract of marriage are to attend the persons of either of the Queens, or by the law of nations to attend foreign ambassadors) to depart this kingdom by a day, under pain of having the penalties of the law inflicted upon them." The King answered in writing: "That he was not a little troubled, that his lenity and condescension towards many of the popish persuasion (which were but natural effects of his generosity and good nature, after having lived so many years in the dominions of Roman Catholic Princes; and out of a just memory of what many of them have done and suffered in the service of his father and himself) had been made so ill use of, and so ill deserved, that the resort of jesuits and priests into this kingdom, had been thereby increased, with which his Majesty was and is highly offended. But that he would issue a proclamation as he was desired, and take care it should be more effectual than any proclamation of that kind had ever been."

This proclamation was accordingly published, but no better observed than all those published for the same purpose, since the beginning of the reign of James I.

This affair being ended, the Commons proceeded to examine the state of the King's ordinary revenue, and to think of means to raise it to twelve hundred thousand pounds, according to their promise. But as this affair required a long discussion, the King, who designed an immediate prorogation of the Parliament, thought proper to make an attempt for a speedy and extraordinary supply from the Commons, till his revenues should be settled. For this purpose, he sent for them to the Banquetting-house, and in a speech, the most flattering, pathetic and affectionate, he had ever yet made, demanded a present supply of money, without which he assured them it was impossible to struggle with the difficulties, he was pressed with. He offered to show, that the twelve hundred thousand pounds formerly granted him, had been, to the last penny, disposed of for the public service. The Commons, moved with the King's great affection for his people, and his ardent zeal for the Protestant religion, granted him four entire subsidies, and the clergy in convocation, following their example, gave him the same.

The Chancellor's credit daily declined. If his enemies had met with encouragement from the King, he would have been already disgraced, but his services, affection, and fidelity, as well during the King's exile, as since his restoration, could not easily be forgotten. Wherefore he was continued, not only in his post, but in some degree of favour, which made the papists fear, he would at last recover his credit, and break all their measures. This probably engaged the Earl of Bristol, a professed papist, to endeavour utterly to ruin the Chancellor, by impeaching him, before the Lords, of high-treason, believing doubtless, the King would not be displeased to see him fall by this means, without his having any hand in it. The articles, however, were unanimously rejected, as improbable, and even contradictory.*

In this session, the Parliament granted the Duke of York the revenues of the Post-office, (worth upwards of 20,000l. a year) and wine-licenses. These revenues, which afterwards considerably increased, enabled the Duke of York to keep a separate court, and live independent of his brother.

The 27th of July, the King gave his assent to the subsidy-act and some others, after which he prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of March the following year 1663-4.

Shortly after, the King and Queen made a progress into the west, where they were received with great pomp and magnificence, particularly at Oxford. They returned to London in October.

While the King was upon his progress, a conspiracy was discovered, carried on by the old Republicans, and Independents, to restore the commonwealth. It is pretended, they were to seize several towns, particularly in the north, where they believed themselves strongest, and then raise a general insurrection. But being discovered by one of the accomplices, many were apprehended, and one-and-twenty convicted, and executed the January following.

A. D. 1663-4.] The Parliament meeting the 16th of March, the King, in a speech to both Houses, demanded a repeal of the triennial act made in 1641. To come to this demand, he enlarged on the late conspiracy, which he said was still on foot, and that there were men, who, on pretence that this Parliament was at an end, by some clause in the triennial bill, fancied they might assemble themselves and chuse new members. He desired the two Houses not to leave an act in being, which passed in a time very uncareful for the dignity of the crown, or security of the people. Lastly, he told them, he loved Parliaments: that never King was so much beholden to them as himself, nor did he believe the crown could ever be happy without frequent Parliaments: but he would never suffer a Parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that bill. He then told them, that the four subsidies granted the last session, had fallen very short of what he expected, or they intended: that the revenues of the excise, and tonnage and poundage, were greatly diminished by the frauds of brewers and merchants, and the tax upon chimnies declined, the last half year having brought in less than the former. He therefore prayed them to let him have the collecting of this tax by his own officers.

The Commons returning to their own House, proceeded immediately upon a bill to repeal the triennial act, and made another in its room, namely, that the sitting of Parliaments should not be discontinued above three years at most. This bill being ready, and passed by the Lords, the King came to their House the 5th of April, and gave it the royal assent.

The King had sometime since resolved upon a war with Holland; but it is difficult to know the true motive of this resolution. The 27th of April, 1662, the States-General of the United Provinces made a treaty with the King of France, by which both parties engaged to assist each other, in case of any attack upon either in Europe. The same year they made a like treaty of league and alliance with the King of England. This had relation to another made in 1659, between England and the States, before the King's Restoration,

* According to some writers, the Earl of Bristol's friendship with Clarendon, which had subsisted with great intimacy during their exile and the distresses of the royal party, had been considerably impaired since the restoration, by the Chancellor's refusing his assent to some grants, which Bristol had applied for to a court lady; and a little after, the latter nobleman, agreeably to the impetuosity and indiscretion of his temper, broke out against the minister in the most outrageous manner. He even entered a charge of treason against him before the House of Peers; but had concerted his measures so imprudently, that the judges, when consulted, declared, that neither for its matter nor its form, could the charge be legally received. The articles indeed resembled more the incoherent altercations of a passionate enemy, than a serious accusation, fit to be discussed by a court of judicature; and Bristol himself was so ashamed of his conduct and defeat, that he absconded during some time. Notwithstanding his fine talents, his eloquence, his spirit, and his courage, he could never regain the character which he lost by this hasty and precipitate measure.

and

and seemed to be renewed only to remove the defect of that of 1659, made on the part of England by an unlawful authority. However, it happened, in the interval between the two treaties, that the Dutch had sunk or taken in the Indies two English ships, called the Bonadventure and the Good-Hope, which occasioned a misunderstanding between the two nations. The English pretended, these two ships were attacked without any just cause, and the Hollanders maintained the contrary. In the treaty of 1602, the affair of these two ships was again debated; but as their value was inconsiderable, it was not thought proper to delay a treaty advantageous to both nations. It was therefore agreed, that the English should be allowed to prosecute the process commenced on account of these ships, and the States deposited fourscore thousand florins by way of security to pay the full value in case the affair was decided against them. Some time after, another dispute arose upon the same subject, and this was, the King pretended, that the States-General were judges of this process, to which the States replied, that it belonged to the cognizance of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, who alone had a right to decide it. The affair remained in this state till April this year, 1664, when the Commons, after an enquiry into the obstructions of the trade of the nation, voted, and obtained the concurrence of the Lords to their vote, "That the wrongs, dishonours, and indignities done to his Majesty by the subjects of the United Provinces in India, Africa, and elsewhere; and the damages done by them to the English merchants, are the greatest obstructions of the trade of England. That the same be speedily presented to his Majesty, and he be moved to take some effectual course for redress of these injuries, and all other of the like nature, and for prevention of the like for the future. And in prosecution thereof, they will with their lives and fortunes assist his Majesty, against all oppositions whatsoever." In pursuance of this resolution, the two Houses presented, the same day, an address to the King, to which, on the morrow, they received this answer in writing. "That he was pleased with their zeal for the advancement of trade, and the removal of all obstructions which might hinder the same; being convinced, that nothing would more contribute to the honour of the nation, and the prosperity of his people. That he would examine the particular complaints which had been represented to his Parliament, and order his minister in Holland to demand speedy reparation, and in case of a denial, he relied on their promise and declaration to stand by him."

Since the treaty of 1662, the States had great cause of complaint against the Algerines, notwithstanding the peace concluded with them in 1661. England was no less concerned than the States in the depredations committed by the Algerines upon all sorts of ships, and therefore the States desired the King of England to join a squadron of his ships with a fleet they were equipping, to oblige the Algerines to a more exact observation of the peace. The King answered, he would rather act separately.

After this answer, the States sent Ruyter into the Mediterranean, with a squadron of twelve ships, and the King sent thither a fleet of twenty sail, under the command of Lawson. These two fleets departed in May this year, and about the same time the Duke of York, as Governor of the Royal African company, sent Vice-Admiral Holmes to Cape Verd, with a squadron of fourteen men of war, to take all possible advantages against the Dutch East-India Company. Lawson meeting Ruyter in the Mediterranean, was saluted by the Dutch Admiral, but returned not the compliment, contrary to what had been stipulated in the treaty of 1662.

In the months of August and September, Holmes made himself master of Fort St. Andrews, and most other places belonging to the Dutch in the neighbourhood of Cape Verd, and, after taking the fort built on the Cape itself, he gave it the name of York. He erected a fort in the mouth of the river Gambia, and then sailing for Guinea, seized all the forts the Dutch had on that coast, except Fort Achin and Fort St. George de Mina. After this, he returned to England. If it be considered, that Holmes sailed from England in May, or, at the latest, in June; that some time was required to equip this fleet; and that the Parliament's address was presented to the King but the 27th of April, it will be easily perceived, that the war was resolved in England before any complaints of depredations committed by the Dutch had been represented to the Parliament, and that these complaints were only pretences for the war.*

But what clearly shews, the King, since the Restoration, had ever intended this war, is, his conduct, whilst the treaty between France and the States was negociating at Paris: for he did his utmost to obstruct it. The principal condition of this treaty consisted in a reciprocal guarantee of what the two parties possessed, or should afterwards lawfully acquire. In this general clause, the States comprehended the article of the fishery, as an essential article, and the King of France made no objection to it. But Charles opposed it, and endeavoured to hinder the King of France from agreeing to that article. Lewis, in complaisance to Charles, sought expedients to satisfy him, by confining himself to a general guarantee, which should include all without exception. But the States refused to conclude the treaty, unless the article of the fishery was expressly inserted in the guarantee. Charles finding, the King of France would at last consent, ordered Count d'Estrades, the French Ambassador at London, to be told, that he had resolved to oblige the ships of all nations without exception to strike to his. But perceiving, the King of France, instead of being intimidated by this menace, answered it in a high strain, he let him know, he would desist from this pretension as to him, provided he would desist from the guarantee of the fishery in favour of the Dutch. But Lewis, being sensible, the Dutch would never recede from that particular clause, agreed to it at last, and the treaty was concluded.

Hence it appears, that Charles was then seeking a quarrel with the Dutch, on the article of the fishery. But finding, France had expressly engaged to the gaurantee of it, he himself concluded, that very year, a treaty of alliance with the Dutch, in expectation of some other occasion to begin a war with them.

The 17th of May, the King coming to the Parliament, the Speaker presented the bills which were ready, and amongst the rest, one for empowering the King to levy the chimney-money by his own officers, as he had desired. This bill was afterwards the cause of great vexations, complaints, and murmurs, which obliged King William III. to drop this tax, though, as it was levied in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. it amounted to above two hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds a year. By the act of Uniformity, every clergyman, who should officiate without being properly qualified, was punishable by fine and imprisonment: but this security not being thought sufficient for the church, it was now enacted, that wherever five persons above those of the same household should assemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable, for the first offence, to be imprisoned three months, or pay five pounds; for the second, to be imprisoned six months, or pay ten pounds; and for the third, to be transported seven years, or pay a hundred pounds.

After passing these acts, the King prorogued the Parliament to August, signifying, that it should not meet till November, unless a certain affair obliged him to assemble it sooner. This affair was the Dutch war. Downing presented to the States a memorial, drawn in very high terms, wherein he demanded reparation for the damages done to the English, which, by his calculation, amounted to seven or eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. The King was bent on a war at any

* King Charles II. the next year after his restoration, viz. 1661, sent Sir Robert Holmes, with a squadron of men of war, and some soldiers, to America, with which he reduced New York, and all that which the Dutch had taken from the English in Long-Island. And from thence, Sir Robert Holmes sailed to Africa, and took Cape Verd, and some other places, where the Dutch had factories.

fate, whilst the States used all possible endeavours to avoid it. Nevertheless, not judging it proper to treat with Downing, who behaved to them with great haughtiness, they said, in answer to his memorial, that they would send an ambassador to the King. Accordingly, they dispatched Van Goch, who had his first audience of the King the 25th of June. While Downing at the Hague, and Van Goch at London, fruitlessly presented memorials upon memorials, the King was diligently equipping his fleet. As he wanted money, he borrowed one hundred thousand pounds of the city of London, who willingly lent him that sum, in the belief, that he intended only the good of the English trade, by the destruction of that of Holland. The States, on their side, prepared for their defence, but not with equal vigour. Their design was to gain time, in hopes, their fleets of merchantmen would return before the declaration of war; and the King's intention was to intercept those fleets before the publishing of any declaration. Sending his fleet to sea under the command of the Duke of York, as High-Admiral, it met, in November, with the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, homeward bound, laden with wine and brandy, and took one hundred and thirty ships, which were brought into England, and condemned for lawful prizes, though no war had been proclaimed. Some authors endeavour to palliate this action, by remarking, that about the same time, Ruyter dispossessed the English of their factories at Cape Verd, and on the coast of Guinea. But, they take no notice, that these factories were mere usurpations of the English, who had the same year dispossessed the Dutch of them. In point of fact, Ruyter did not recover the forts at Cape Verd, and on the coast of Guinea, till the following year 1665.

Meantime, the King of France, apprehending he should at last be involved in this war by assisting the States, pursuant to the treaty of 1662, believed it incumbent upon him to use some endeavours to prevent it, and to that end offered his mediation to the two parties. The States willingly accepted it, but it was rejected by Charles. He had now sent Sir Richard Fanshaw to Spain, and the Lord Holles to France, to endeavour to engage these two crowns in a war with the Dutch. But he succeeded neither at Paris, nor Madrid.*

The Parliament meeting the 24th of November, after two prorogations, the King made a speech to both Houses, and found them so well disposed in his favour, that they sent their thanks to the city of London for their loan to the King. A few days after, the Commons voted to the King a supply of two millions five hundred thousand pounds, towards the maintenance of a war so necessary to the State; and, in less than three weeks, ways and means were found for raising that sum in three years; after which both Houses adjourned to the 12th of January.

Immediately after, the King published a declaration, by which General Reprisals were granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the States-General; and the court of Admiralty was ordered to condemn them as prizes, according to the course of Admiralty, and law of nations.

When the States were informed of the hostilities committed by Holmes at Cape Verd and in Guinea, they sent an express to Ruyter, to order him to repass the Streights, and sail towards these coasts, to recover what the Dutch West-India Company had lost. Ruyter executed this order with great vigour, and retook most of the forts seized by the English. He likewise took several of their ships. This news reached London the beginning of February, and furnished the King with a new pretence for the declaration of war, which was published in a few days.

This declaration was founded upon the numberless injuries and unspeakable damages, the English had suffered from the Dutch, without being able to obtain the least reparation. The King added, that the ships belonging to the Dutch were not detained by him, till he found that Ruyter was ordered not only to abandon the consortship against the Algerines, to which he had been invited by the States, but also to use all acts of depredation against his subjects in Africa. He therefore declared to all the world, that the Dutch were the aggressors, and ought in justice to be so looked upon by all men. This declaration was approved by twenty-two Privy-Counsellors only, the Earls of Southampton and Clarendon having been either unable, or unwilling, to be present when it was resolved.

Parliament met on the 12th of January. The King came down the 2d of March, and after passing some bills, he prorogued the Parliament to the 21st of June. Afterwards, he continued the prorogation to the 1st of August, and then to the 9th of October.

In this session the clergy voluntarily resigned their right of taxing themselves in convocation, and from this time have been taxed in common with the people in Parliament. This has made convocations less necessary to the King, and consequently less considerable in themselves.

A. D. 1665.] The Duke of York, in the end of March, repaired to the fleet which he was to command, consisting of one hundred and seven men of war, and fourteen fire-ships; but as it was not yet ready, he could not sail till May.

Some time since, the States, perceiving a war unavoidable, had pressed the King of France to declare against England, pursuant to the treaty of 1662, but had not yet prevailed. Charles on his side solicited him to abandon the States, and allured him with very tempting advantages. Lewis was not a little embarrassed. The course therefore which he took on this occasion, was to gain time, one while by cavilling at the terms of the treaty of 1662, another while, by giving hopes to the States of his declaring against England, and lastly, by a splendid embassy to London, with the Duke of Verneuil at the head of it, to mediate a peace between England and Holland.

Whilst his ambassadors were at London, he could say, that the hope of a reconciliation was not entirely desperate. He managed so artfully, that he kept them there till the end of the year 1665, declared not against England till January 1666, and his declaration was of little service to the States.

The Duke of York sailed with the English fleet in May, and before the Dutch could be ready, alarmed the coasts of Holland. He continued a fortnight near the Texel, to prevent the fleet of Holland from joining that of Zealand, in which he could not fail of success. In the mean time, he took several Dutch homeward bound ships, who had not been informed of the war. However, as the war was not only made to hinder this junction, the Duke at last sailed away with design to meet Ruyter, who was returning to Holland by order of the States. But finding, his provisions were consumed upon an uncertain expectation, he retired with the fleet to Harwich, contenting himself with sending some frigates to cruise in the Channel, and bring him intelligence of the enemy.

Meanwhile, the Holland and Zealand squadrons joined, and formed a fleet of one hundred and twenty-one men of war, besides fire ships, under the command of Obdam de Wassenaer. He had under him Cortenaer, Vice Admiral of the Maese; Evertzen, Vice Admiral of Zealand; and Cornelius Tromp, son of the famous Martin Tromp. The Rear-Admirals and Captains

* Some say, this war ought to be ascribed to the Duke of York's ambition, who was impatient to distinguish himself, by commanding, as Lord High Admiral, the King his brother's fleet. Others believe, the King finding his coffers empty, notwithstanding all the money given him by Parliament, and that raised by the sale of Dunkirk, engaged by his intrigues the Parliament to propose this war to him, to have a pretence of demanding extraordinary supplies, which should not be all expended in the war. There are others who believe, the King, the Parliament, the city of London, found this war absolutely necessary to humble the maritime power of the Dutch, who aimed to engross the whole commerce of Europe, as they had already done that of the Indies: that though the causes of the war were never fully made known, every one understood, it was a war occasioned by the jealousy of trade. Lastly, there are who suspect, that the project to introduce Popery into England being now formed, the execution of it was only suspended till the Dutch were rendered unable to succour the English Protestants, since it was only from them that they could receive assistance.

were very far from answering to their superiors in capacity, more care having been taken to fill these posts with the relations and friends of those, whom the Pensionary wanted to preserve his credit, than with experienced officers. Though de Wit managed affairs as he pleased, he had for enemies all the party of the House of Orange, who were spies upon his conduct, and misrepresented all his proceedings, in order to ruin him. The Pensionary was not ignorant of it, and therefore believed, the only way to secure himself, and preserve his authority, was to hazard a sea engagement. Success would disarm the malice of his enemies, and the loss of a battle would of course oblige the French to execute the treaty of 1662, and silence the complaints and murmurs of the Orange party, who industriously published, that Lewis only amused the States. Agreeably to this resolution, which the Pensionary caused the States to approve, an order was sent to Obdam, to go in quest of the enemy. He obeyed, and came in sight of them the 1st of June, not far from Harwich. But the wind being southerly, and the next morning south-west, he retired to the mouth of the Maese. He acquainted the States by an express, with the reason of his retreat, and that he did not think proper to attack the English while they had the advantage of the wind. But he received still more positive orders to fight let the wind be as it would, on peril of answering it with his head. After so express an order, there being no way to recede, he weighed anchor at break of day, and within an hour discovered the English fleet divided into three squadrons. The first, under the red flag, was commanded by the Duke of York, assisted by Penn and Lawson. The second being the white squadron, was conducted by Prince Rupert, assisted by Minnes and Sampson. The third, which was the blue squadron, was commanded by the Earl of Sandwich, who had with him Cuttings, and Sir George Ascough. The result of the ensuing fight, on the 3d of June, was, that the Dutch fleet was overthrown, chiefly by the ill conduct of several Captains who were wanting in their duty; by the death of Obdam, who with his ship and all his men were blown up; by the loss of Cortenaer, who was killed upon the deck after hoisting the Admiral-flag; and by many other causes scarcely intelligible but to those who are versed in sea-affairs. The Dutch lost nineteen ships burnt and sunk, with about six thousand men.* On the English side, the loss was only of four ships, and about fifteen hundred men, among whom were Charles Berkley, Earl of Falmouth; Admiral Sampson, James Ley, Earl of Marlborough; and Vice-Admiral Lawson, who died shortly after of his wounds.† The remains of the Dutch fleet retired to the Maese or the Texel, and were pursued all the next day, being Sunday, though, according to some, the Duke of York did not, in this pursuit, discover the same ardour he had shown in the battle.‡

The Duke of York seeing, it was in vain to continue his pursuit, retired to the coasts of England, and repaired to Whitehall to receive the acclamations of the court and city of London. The King appointed a day of thanksgiving throughout the kingdom for this victory, and several medals were struck in honour of the victorious Duke of York.

Shortly after, the Queen-mother having resolved to pass the residue of her days in France, the King and the Duke of York attended her in the Catherine Yacht to the Nore, and there took their last leave of her.

However glorious the first sea-fight of the Duke of York might be, the King and council did not think it proper he should venture his person in a second engagement. Therefore, the command of the fleet was given to Edward Montague, Earl of Sandwich, who used his utmost endeavours to prepare it for the sea as soon as possible, in order to intercept that of the States, which was reparing with all possible diligence. Besides, the States, having appointed Ruyter to succeed Obdam, ordered him to return immediately with the fleet, consisting of seventeen men of war. The diligence used by the States to repair their fleet, was not so much to be revenged of the English, as to secure their merchant-men homeward bound from Smyrna and the East-Indies. The English, on their side, were less desirous to fight than to seize the riches which those fleets were bringing to Holland.

The Dutch Smyrna-fleet, and several East-India ships not daring to enter the Channel, retired to the port of Berghen in Norway, waiting for Ruyter to convoy them to Holland. The King of Denmark, discoursing one day with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English Envoy, made great complaints of the Dutch, who, he said, had drawn the Swedish war on him, that he might be forced to have recourse to them for supplies of money and ships, and deliver to them the customs of Norway and the Sound for their security. Upon this the Envoy told him, he had now a good opportunity of being revenged, by the seizure of their ships at Berghen, worth many millions. But the King answering, he wanted strength to execute such a design, the Envoy told him, he doubted not but the King of England would lend him his ships, provided he was assured of equally partaking of the spoil; to which the King of Denmark consented. The King of England was pleased with Talbot's project, and sent orders to the Earl of Sandwich to sail immediately and seize the Dutch ships at Berghen. The Admiral readily obeyed, though he had received no intimation of the agreement between the two Kings.

Several accidents ruined this affair. The Governor of Berghen, who was to receive orders from the Vice-roy of Norway, was not informed soon enough. On the other hand, Talbot's express, sent from Copenhagen to the English fleet, was taken by the Dutch. In fine, the Earl of Sandwich, hearing, Ruyter was shortly expected, and being desirous to perform the deed before his arrival, detached the squadron commanded by Sir Thomas Tyddeman, who attacked the Dutch with great resolution. But they had now had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. On the other hand, the Governor of Berghen, who had not received any particular directions how to behave, seeing this open hostility, and observing that the shot from the English damaged the town, fired upon them from the citadel. In a word, this squadron was almost ruined, and obliged to return to the fleet. The next day, the 4th of August, orders came to the Governor of Berghen, but it was too late. It appeared, the King was not pleased with the Earl of Sandwich's conduct, since, instead of continuing him in the command of the fleet, he sent him Ambassador to the court of Spain.

Rupert, arriving in Holland with many English prizes, took the oath to the States as Vice-Admiral-General, after which he took the command of the fleet, consisting of ninety-three ships well equipped. But though he bore the title of Admiral, three commissioners attended him; namely, De-Wit the Pensionary, Huygens, and Borreel, who had properly the command. The grand design of these commissioners was to meet the India fleet, which was to sail round Ireland, to avoid entering into the Channel. But the wind was so contrary,

* Our Historians say, that we lost but one ship; and that we took eighteen Dutch men of war, and sunk and fired about fourteen more. We also took two thousand and sixty-three prisoners, whereof sixteen were Captains.

† Also the Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, the Earl of Burlington's second son: these two, with the Lord Falmouth, were killed with the same cannon ball, just by the Duke of York, and so near him, that he was sprinkled with their blood and brains. The Earl of Portland was likewise killed.

‡ King James, in his memoirs, gives an account of this affair different from what we meet with in any historian. He says, that while he was asleep, Brounker brought orders to Sir John Harman, Captain of the ship, to slacken sail. Sir John remonstrated, but obeyed. After some time, finding that his falling back was likely to produce confusion in the fleet, he hoisted the sail as before: so that the Prince coming soon after on the quarter-deck, and finding all things as he left them, knew nothing of what had passed during his repose. Nobody gave him the least intimation of it. It was long after, that he heard of it by a kind of accident; and he intended to have punished Brounker by martial law; but just about that time, the House of Commons took up the question and impeached him, which made it impossible for the Duke to punish him, otherwise than by dismissing him his service. Brounker, before the House, never pretended that he had received any orders from the Duke.

trary, that the fleet would not have got soon enough out of the Texel, if the Pensionary, who understood sea-affairs very well, had not by sounding it himself all over very carefully, found more ways to get out by different winds, then was thought formerly practicable. So, the fleet at last sailed out, and appeared before Berghen, where the commissioners gave their orders for convoying the merchant-men which were in that port. But it was not in their power to prevent a storm, which dispersed them, and threw twenty of them into the hands of the English.* This storm obliged Ruyter and the commissioners to return to Holland, with their fleet very much damaged.

At this time, the plague raged dreadfully in London, where it first appeared about the middle of May. It is said, that in less than a year, it swept away, in that single city, nearly seventy thousand persons. The King at first retired to Hampton-court, but afterwards, to be farther from London, resided at Salisbury.

This year, the Republicans had projected an insurrection, and were even encouraged by emissaries from the States-General, who would have been glad to employ the King at home in domestic troubles. But this was a bare project, which served only to furnish the enemies of the Non-conformists with an opportunity to magnify the danger with which the kingdom was threatened from the enemies of the church in general, and to include, in that number, the Presbyterians.

It was not only against England that the States-General had to defend themselves. Charles had raised them another enemy who had no less embarrassed them. This was the famous Bernard Van Ghalen, Bishop of Munster; who, upon very slight pretences, entered the Province of Over-yssel, at the head of an army paid by the English. He made himself master of a great many small places, and then attempted to surprize Groningen, but was repulsed. At last, before the end of the campaign, the King of France, and the Dukes of Lunenburg, having sent a powerful assistance to the States, the Bishop was forced to relinquish his great projects, and think of a peace, especially as the money promised by the King of England was not regularly paid.

The Parliament, which had been prorogued to the 9th of October, met on the day appointed, but at Oxford, on account of the plague which still raged in London. In his speech to both Houses, the King told them, the supply of two millions five hundred thousand pounds granted him for carrying on the war, was already spent. He insisted particularly on the great sums paid to the Bishop of Munster, for making a diversion in the bowels of his enemy's country, though it appears in Sir William Temple's letters, that these sums were never well paid. The Commons voted the King a new supply of twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds to continue the war, and one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to the Duke of York, for the great service he had done to the nation.

After this, was brought into the House a bill, which passed without any difficulty; namely, "That no Non-conformist teacher, under what denomination soever, shall dwell, or come, unless upon the road, within five miles of any corporation, or any other place where they had been ministers, or had preached, after the act of oblivion, unless they first took the following oath." "I do swear that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government either in the church or state."† This bill met with great opposition in the House of Lords; but it was at length passed, and the King gave it the royal assent the 31st of October, as well as to the money-bill and some others, after which he prorogued the Parliament to the 26th of February 1665-6.‡

In the beginning of the year 1666, the King's affairs were in an ill situation. The King of France, pressed by the repeated instances of the States-General, recalled his Ambassadors, and published the 19th of January a declaration of war against England.

On the other hand, the States found means to secure the King of Denmark, by the promise of paying him yearly, as long as the war with England should continue, fifteen hundred thousand florins, three hundred thousand of which were to be paid by the King of France. For this he engaged to maintain a fleet at sea of thirty men of war for the service of the allies.

The States also raised so many enemies to the Bishop of Munster, that he was forced to make peace and disband his forces. This peace was concluded at Cleve, and signed the 18th of April.

The King returning to London the 1st of February, proclaimed war against France, on the 10th.§

The command of the English fleet was given to Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Albemarle. They repaired to it the 23d of April, but were not ready to sail till the end of May. It consisted of seventy-eight ships of the line, besides frigates and fire ships. In all appearance, the King was till then ignorant of the French King's secret intentions. But he knew, the Duke of Beaufort had orders to repair to Belle-Isle with his fleet, said to consist of thirty-six sail, to join the Dutch fleet in the Channel. Wherefore, he sent express orders to Prince Rupert, to sail with twenty great ships, and join ten more at Plymouth, in order to go in quest of the Duke of Beaufort, which the Prince immediately obeyed.

The fleet of the States, commanded by Ruyter, put to sea with seventy-one ships of the line, twelve frigates, thirteen fire-ships, and eight yachts, and anchored between Newport and Dunkirk. Ruyter had under his particular conduct the squadron of the Maese: that of North Holland and Frieseland was commanded by Evertzen, and that of Zealand by Tromp. The English having a fair wind, sailed to attack the enemy, who, on their side, cut their cables to be the sooner ready to receive them. Tromp's ship was so disabled at the first, that he was obliged to leave it for another. The same thing happened to Ruyter, who was coming to his assistance, and the powder of a Dutch ship taking fire, she blew up into the air. Ruyter sunk an English ship of fifty guns, then another of seventy, and afterwards three others of the first rate. In short, this first day, the advantage was wholly on the side of the Dutch, except that they lost Vice-Admiral Evertzen, who was killed by a cannon-ball.

The fight, interrupted by the night, was renewed early the next morning, but after lasting some hours, was discontinued till noon by reason of a calm. After that, the wind rising, both fleets renewed the engagement with equal bravery. Tromp being once more obliged to change his ship, found himself so engaged in the English fleet, that he would have been infallibly taken or sunk, if Ruyter, by prodigious efforts, had not brought him off. This second day, the English had still the disadvantage, by losing eight of their largest ships either sunk or burnt, and six taken, with Sir George Ascough, Admiral of the White. The Duke of Albemarle would have taken the advantage of the night to retire, but was pursued too closely to execute his design. So that he was obliged to fight all the next day, as he retired towards his own shore. About the evening he discovered Prince Rupert's squadron coming

* Together with twelve men of war, and two East India ships.

† The penalty was forty pounds, and six months imprisonment, unless they took the said oath before their commitment.

‡ This year, the council of Scotland showed no less animosity against the Presbyterians. On pretence of some insolence committed by Alexander Smith, a private minister, a proclamation was published the 24th of December, ordering that all the silenced Presbyterian ministers should, within forty days, remove themselves and their families from the places where they had been ministers, and not to reside within twenty miles of the same; or within six miles of Edinburgh, or any Cathedral church, nor within three miles of any royal borough, nor should be more than two together in the same parish, on pain of incurring the penalties of the law against movers of sedition.

§ A few days before, the Queen miscarried, which entirely destroyed the common report that she was incapable of having children.

to

to his assistance. Whereupon the two English Admirals attacked their enemies again the next morning. But this fourth day proved as unsuccessful to them as the three former. They lost four of their best ships, and were obliged to retreat with precipitation. A mist happily conveyed them from Ruyter's pursuit. In these four days the English lost twenty-three great ships, besides several others of less note, six thousand men, and two thousand six hundred prisoners. Amongst the slain were Sir William Berkley, Vice-Admiral of the White squadron, and Sir Christopher Minnes. The Dutch lost six ships, two thousand eight hundred soldiers, and fourscore sailors, besides the Admiral Evertzen, Vander Hulst, and Stockhover, with some other officers. Though the victory was so evidently on the side of the Dutch, bonfires and rejoicings were made at London, as if the English had been conquerors.*

The two fleets soon put to sea again, and as they were in quest of each other, they met the 24th of July, and fought a furious battle, where the victory was obstinately disputed. The English fleet consisted of above a hundred sail; and the Dutch, of eighty-eight ships of the line, besides nineteen fireships. While Ruyter, and young Evertzen, engaged the red and white squadrons, Tromp after a long dispute routed the blue squadron, commanded by Sir Jeremy Smith. But by an unpardonable error, instead of remaining with the fleet, he amused himself with pursuing the flying ships of the enemy. On the other hand, young Evertzen, who commanded one of the Dutch squadrons, was killed with a cannon-ball, and his squadron entirely defeated. But the English Admiral who fought against him, was not guilty of the same error as Tromp. Instead of pursuing the flying enemy, he joined the red squadron, commanded by Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Albemarle, and these two squadrons attacked Ruyter, who nevertheless, by means of the night, disengaged himself. But the next day, he was obliged to sustain the fight alone against these two squadrons, there being no news of Tromp. He never in his whole life showed so much bravery and capacity as in this second engagement. He sustained, with his single squadron, the brunt of the two English squadrons, and at last retreated with such wonderful conduct, that he gained more honour by it than he would have done by a victory. The English leaving the chace in sight of Flushing, went after Tromp, who, though he was met off Harwich, recovered the Texel without any loss. Ruyter, at his return, loudly complained of Tromp's conduct, and, to satisfy him, the States put Tromp under an arrest, dismissed him his post, and put Van Ghent in his place.*

About the same time of these engagements between the English and Dutch, the Duke of Beaufort arrived with his fleet at Rochelle, where he staid to take in fresh water, which he greatly wanted.

As in the last engagement the Dutch fleet was dispersed, part retiring to Flushing, and part to the Texel, the Duke of Albemarle, finding himself master of the sea, detached twenty men of war to brave the coasts of Holland. Holmes coming to the Isle of Vlye, burnt a hundred merchant ships, and two men of war designed for convoys. Then he advanced to the Isle of Schelling, and making a descent, burnt many houses in the little town of Brandaris. His design was to improve a treason carrying on in this Isle by one Hemskirk, for which Buat a French gentlemen, who secretly corresponded with the English, was beheaded at the Hague. But Holmes not finding things so ready as he expected, returned to the fleet.

After this expedition, the English fleet sailed into the Channel, and anchored at St. Helen's; the Isle of Wight being the most proper station for hindering the junction of the French and Dutch fleets. Ruyter on his side posted himself in St. John's Bay, near Boulogne, where he was seized by a distemper, which for some time was believed mortal. This obliged the States to recall their fleet, of which they gave notice to the King of France.

The Duke of Beaufort, ignorant of the retreat of the Dutch fleet, left Belle-Isle, where he arrived about the 20th of September, and entering the Channel, safely sailed by the Isle of White, without being attacked, and got into Dieppe. He staid there a whole day without hearing any news of Ruyter. At last, being informed, that the Dutch fleet had retired, he sailed once more by the Isle of Wight, without meeting with any opposition, and got into the Ports of Bretagne.

This year, the States had intended to assist the malcontents in England and Scotland, in order to give the English arms a diversion at home. This design was even communicated to the King of France. But he found so many objections to it, that it was suffered to fall unexecuted.

The misfortune which this year befel the city of London (the terrible fire which laid so great a part of that vast city in ashes,) gave a fresh occasion to the enemies of the Republicans, to charge them with being the authors thereof. To represent, without any aggravation, the ravages made by this fire in London, we need only insert the inscription upon one of the sides of the column, erected on the place where the fire broke out.

"In the year of Christ 1666, the second day of September, at the distance of 202 feet (the height of this column) a terrible fire broke out about midnight, which, driven on by a high wind, not only wasted the adjacent parts, but also very remote places, with incredible noise and fury. It consumed eighty-nine churches, the city-gates, Guild-hall, many public structures, hospitals, schools, libraries, a vast number of stately edifices, thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling houses, four hundred streets. Of the six and twenty wards, it utterly destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered and half burnt. The ruins of the city were four hundred and thirty-six acres, from the Tower by the Thames side, to the Temple church, and from the north-east gate, along the city-wall to Holborn-bridge. To the estates and fortunes of the citizens, it was merciless, but to their lives very favourable, that it might in all things resemble the last conflagration of the world. The destruction was sudden, for in a small space of time the same city was seen most flourishing, and reduced to nothing. Three days after, when this fatal fire had baffled all human counsels and endeavours in the opinion of all, it stopped, as it were, by a command from Heaven, and was one very side extinguished."‡

* De Wit was on board the Dutch fleet, who was said to have invented chain-shot on this occasion, which did incredible damage to the rigging of the English, and was a great means of the Dutch getting the advantage. And it is thought, if Prince Rupert had not come up when he did, the English fleet was so unrigged, that they would have been all taken and sunk, or burnt. And yet a day of thanksgiving was appointed. Echard says, the English had but nine men of war taken or burnt; and the Dutch lost above fifteen ships, twenty-one Captains, and above five thousand common sea-men.

† According to Echard, there were about twenty Dutch ships sunk or burnt in this engagement; four thousand seamen killed, and near three thousand wounded.

‡ The fire broke out in a baker's shop, near London Bridge, and spread itself on all sides with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it laid in ashes a considerable part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to provide effectually for their relief, were reduced to be spectators of their own ruin; and were pursued from street to street by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houses, that it was at last extinguished. The King and Duke used their utmost endeavours to stop the progress of the flames; but all their industry was unsuccessful. The causes of this calamity were evident. The narrow streets of London, the houses built entirely of wood, the dry season, and a violent east wind which blew; these were so many concurring circumstances, which rendered it easy to assign the reason of the destruction that ensued. But the people were not satisfied with this obvious account. Prompted by blind rage, some ascribed the guilt to the Republicans, others to the Catholics; though it is not easy to conceive how the burning of London could serve the purposes of either party. As the papists were the chief objects of public detestation, the rumour, which threw the guilt on them, was more favourably received by the people. No proof, however, or even presumption, after the strictest enquiry by a committee of Parliament, ever appeared to authorize such a calumny; yet, in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inscription, engraved by authority on the monument, ascribed this calamity to that hated sect. This clause was erazed by order of King James, when he came to the throne; but after the resolution it was replaced. So credulous, as well as obstinate, are the people, in believing every thing which flatters their prevailing passion.

The Parliament meeting the 21st of September, the King told them, the money granted him had not sufficed to carry on the war, considering his two powerful enemies. He boasted of the great success with which God had been pleased to bless his arms, supposing his fleet to have been always victorious. Immediately after, the Commons liberally voted the King a supply of eighteen hundred thousand pounds. Thus in the space of two years, this war cost the people of England five millions, five hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The two Houses beginning to discover, that the King was not the zealous Protestant he affected to appear; that the Papists had great influence in his council, and that their religion made a visible progress, presented to him an address for executing the laws against Popish priests and jesuits, who were labouring to pervert his subjects. The King immediately published a proclamation for banishing the priests and jesuits,on pain of being punished according to law, if found in the kingdom after the 10th of December. But the more rigorous the proclamations were, the more favourable was the execution.

The rigour exercised against the Presbyterians in Scotland, caused some of the most impatient to rise in arms, to the number of fifteen hundred, and form a regular body, with officers in proportion to head them. Probably, they hoped, if they should gain some advantage, to be joined by their brethren. But in their first action with the King's forces, they were dispersed with the loss of three hundred men, and one hundred prisoners, who were most of them executed.

The King, impatient for the dispatch of the money-bill, thought it necessary to quicken the Commons by a message. But this message produced no great effect. The Commons were then examining complaints against the Lord Mordant, Governor of Windsor Castle, who was accused of some arbitrary and tyrannical actions. But neither this affair, nor the money-bill, could be finished before the conclusion of the year.

A. D. 1666-7.] The Parliament met the 2d of January, after a short adjournment, and immediately the Commons accused the Lord Mordant, at the bar of the Lords House, and then preferred articles of high crimes and misdemeanors against him. But they were displeased, that the accused was suffered to be within the bar of the House, whilst his accusation was reading. This occasioned a dispute between the two Houses. There was also another difference between them, concerning the commissioners appointed by the Commons to levy the poll-tax, and to take the public on oath.

The King came to the Parliament the 8th of February, and after passing several acts, he assured them, the money granted should be laid out for the ends it was given. Then he prorogued the Parliament to the 10th of October. The acts passed were; an act to continue for eleven months, the monthly assessment of seventy thousand pounds, which, with the poll-tax, was conceived sufficient to make good the eighteen hundred thousand pounds, granted to the King. The other acts concerned chiefly the new buildings in London, which were finished sooner than could be expected, and in a manner more beautiful and regular than before the fire.*

It is now time to speak of the peace between England and Holland, which was secretly negotiating, at the time the Parliament granted eighteen hundred thousand pounds for carrying on the war. In November 1665, before the King of France had declared against England, the States, for a foundation of peace, had offered the King one of these two conditions; either that each of the parties should restore what had been taken, or both keep what they were possessed of. The last of these conditions was very advantageous to England, by reason of the great number of ships taken from the Dutch before even the war was proclaimed. This offer was renewed at Paris about the middle of the year 1666, in a conference there between Mr. de Lionne, the Lord Holles, the English ambassador, and Mr. Van Beninghen, envoy from the States. Probably, Charles expected greater advantages in the continuance of the war, since he returned no answer to this offer. He only complained of its obscurity, without signifying wherein it consisted. Nevertheless, he received this advantage from it, that he knew how the States were disposed, and what he could depend on: so that it was in his power to make peace whenever he should think proper. The 17th of September the same year the States repeated the same offer in a letter to the King. But as this was when the Parliament was going to sit, and when the King expected a large supply for carrying on the war, he did not think fit to embrace it. He contented himself with signifying to the States, in a letter of the 4th of October, his dissatisfaction at their proceedings, and at the calumnies they had raised against him, in accusing him of being the aggressor, and rejecting all proposals for peace. Then he largely justified himself upon what had been alledged by the States against him. But the most important part of this letter was, the King's positive assurance that he had accepted the mediation of Sweden. A place therefore to treat was to be agreed on. The choice of this place afforded the King a pretence to defer the negociation some months. He was at first for having the peace negociated at London, to which the States would have readily consented, if the Kings of France and Denmark had believed it consistent with their honour. Upon the representation made by the States, concerning the refusal of the two Kings their allies, he answered, that he had no affair to negociate with France, and complained of the King of Denmark for making war against him without any reason. He was so offended with that King, that he made no scruple to tell the States, it was at the instigation of Denmark, that he sent his fleet to Berghen, and agreed with him to divide the spoil. At last, the States left the nomination of the place to him, provided it was approved by their allies. The King accepted the offer, but insisted that the States should first write to him, to testify that they would willingly have sent their plenipotentiaries to London, if the two Kings, their allies would have given their consent. This letter was written, as he desired, the 13th of January 1666-7, and the King, in his answer of the 20th, named the Hague for the place of conference. He knew, the Pensionary would not accept it, on account of the cabals which the English Ambassadors might make against him in favour of the young Prince of Orange. Accordingly De Wit privately caused the King of France to reject this proposal. Soon after, the Earl of St. Albans was sent to Paris to notify to the King of France, that Charles consented that things should remain in the state to which the chance of war had reduced them. He added however one condition, namely, that France should restore to him the Isle of St. Christopher's, and three other small Islands in America, seized by that crown the last year.

The King of France, to serve De Wit, in preventing the King of England from insisting upon his nomination of the Hague, for the place of conference, thought of an expedient in which he succeeded. This was to name Dover for the place of Congress. And when it was objected to, he added Breda, Bois-le-duc, and Masetricht, leaving to the King of England the choice of one of these four towns. At last, Charles having no longer interest to delay the peace, wrote to the States, the 18th of March, that he was willing to send his plenipotentiaries to Breda. (a) It was agreed the conferences for the peace should begin the 10th of May. But the

(a) A. D. 1667.

* To this end, a bill was now passed, for laying twelve-pence upon every chaldron, and twelve-pence upon every ton of coals, that should be brought into the Port of London, for ten years, the better to enable the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to recompence those persons, whose grounds should be taken from them, in order to enlarge the streets, &c.——And about this time was set up an office for ensuring houses from fire, which was principally contrived by Dr. Barbon, one of the first and most considerable rebuilders of the city.

English

English plenipotentiaries arrived not at Breda till the 20th.

At the first opening of the Congress, the King pretended the States should make him satisfaction for the two ships, the Good Hope, and the Bon Adventure, taken, or sunk before the treaty of 1662. Moreover, he pretended, that as the States were obliged by the same treaty to restore him the Isle of Poleron in the East-Indies, and as that Isle was still in their possession, it should be delivered to him.

To decide these two articles, couriers were to be sent several times to London and the Hague, and those from London brought only stricter orders from the ambassadors to insist upon the two ships, and the Isle of Poleron. At length the King yielded the last, so that the whole negotiation was reduced to the satisfaction demanded for the two ships. Relying on the certainty of a peace, he had laid up his great ships, and kept only a squadron of twenty-sail, while the States continued their preparations as usual.

The States, seeing what difficulties the King formed, believed, or pretended to believe, he was averse to peace. They therefore resolved, either to force him to relinquish his pretensions, or at least to continue the war this summer with advantage, because they knew, that the King would have no fleet at sea.

Pursuant to this resolution, Ruyter sailed out of the Texel with fifty ships, and came the 8th of June to the mouth of the Thames, whence he detached Vice-Admiral Van Ghent, with seventeen of his lightest ships, and some fire-ships.

Van Ghent, the 10th of June, sailed up the Medway, made himself master of the fort of Sheerness, and after burning a magazine full of stores, to the value of forty thousand pounds, blew up the fortifications. This action alarmed the city of London; so that to prevent greater mischiefs, several ships were sunk, and a large chain put across the narrowest part of the river Medway. But by means of an easterly wind, and a strong tide, the Dutch ships broke through the chain, and sailed between the sunken vessels. They immediately burnt three large ships, the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth, all taken from them in the present war, and carried away with them the hull of the Royal Charles, besides burning and damaging several others. After this, they advanced as far as Upnore castle, and burnt the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James. The English fearing all the Dutch fleet would sail up to London bridge, sunk thirteen ships at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall, and platforms, furnished with artillery to defend them, were raised in several places. The consternation was very great, and the complaints were no less so. It was openly said, the King out of avarice had kept the money so generously given him to continue the war, and left his ships and subjects exposed to the insults of the enemy, though he had exclaimed against the injustice done him, in believing him capable of such an action. The King was under an inexpressible concern, as well for fear of greater damage from the Dutch fleet, as for the mortification this affair gave him, and the shame of having nothing to say to the murmurs of his people.

After this exploit, Ruyter sailed to Portsmouth, with a design to burn the ships in that harbour; but finding them secured, he sailed to the west, and took some ships in Torbay. He then sailed eastward, beat the English before Harwich, and chaced a squadron of nineteen men of war commanded by Sir Edward Spragg, who was obliged to retire into the Thames. In a word, he kept the coasts of England in a continual alarm all July, till he received the news of the conclusion of a peace.

This event had so changed the face of affairs, that the English ambassadors at Breda grew more pliant, and were easily persuaded to yield the article of the two ships. On the 21st of July, the treaty of peace was signed. By this treaty, the island of Poleron remained with the Dutch; satisfaction for the ships Bon adventure and Good-Hope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer insisted upon: Acadie was yielded to the French. The acquisition of New York, a settlement so important by its situation, was the chief advantage which the English reaped from a war, in which the national character of bravery had shined out with lustre, but where the misconduct of the government, especially in the conclusion, had been no less apparent.

Complaints, murmurs, and suspicions against King Charles and his ministers succeeded the animosity with which the Dutch war had begun. These suspicions and complaints reaching the King, he resolved to appease them by sacrificing the Earl of Clarendon, who had hitherto acted as prime minister. He knew, the people are always excessively pleased with sacrifices of ministers; but this was only a pretence used by the King to be delivered of a minister, whom he no longer loved, and whose presence and counsels were become insupportable to him. The Chancellor's regular life, his aversion to debauchery and libertinism, his grave and severe manners, his neglect of the King's favourites and mistresses, and his principles and maxims concerning religion and the state, ill agreed with the disorderly life of the court, and still less with the projects formed in favour of the Papists, under colour of easing the Presbyterians. He had often taken the liberty to reprove the King for his disorderly life, and at first his reproofs were well received. But when the King had once abandoned himself to his pleasures, he could no longer bear the presence of a man, whose advice he had formerly received with a sort of submission. The Duke of Buckingham and some others perceiving this disposition of the King, neglected nothing to cherish it. As often as they saw the Chancellor coming, they would say to his Majesty, "Here comes your school master!" At other times they mimicked him before the King, in order to make him ridiculous. The Duke of Buckingham used to walk in a stately manner, with a pair of bellows before him for the purse, whilst Colonel Titus carried a fire shovel on his shoulder for the mace. The King suffered these buffooneries, and thereby discovered his disgust to his minister.*

The King, under colour of giving some satisfaction to his people, deprived him of his office of High-Chancellor, and made Sir Orlando Bridgeman Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal.

The Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer, dying three months before the Chancellor's disgrace, the King was at once deprived of two great and faithful ministers, whose loss was never repaired, at least with regard to their morals, their religion, and affection for their country. A little before Southampton's death, some person in council speaking against the Chancellor, he with

* As the King's disgust turned at last into real hatred, it is proper to relate the more serious causes which have been offered in vindication of the King's resentment.

I. It is pretended, the King, designing to be divorced from his Queen, on several weak pretences, could never obtain the Chancellor's approbation.

II. The King intended, after his divorce, to marry Mrs. Stuart, his relation, with whom he was in love. The Earl of Clarendon, to prevent this, persuaded the young Duke of Richmond to marry her, by representing, how serviceable it would be to gain him the King's favour. The Duke, following this advice, made his addresses to the lady, who, knowing nothing of the King's design, believed she ought not to refuse so good an offer, and the marriage was immediately concluded. The King, thus disappointed, banished the Duke, with his new Duchess, from the court, and never forgave the Chancellor.

III. Another cause of the King's resentment against the Chancellor, was his opposing Popham's project of settling an annual revenue of two millions of pounds sterling upon the King, which was seconded by the Earl of Southampton.

IV. The most probable cause of the Chancellor's ruin was, that the Papists, whose counsels and projects were listened to, and approved by the King, omitted nothing to destroy him, knowing, that under his ministry they could never hope to accomplish their designs.

V. A stately house built by him near St. James's Park, and in the very year of the plague, did him great injury in the minds of the people. It is pretended, it cost him fifty thousand pounds sterling, though at first he designed to lay out but fifteen or sixteen thousand. People gave it the name of Dunkirk-house, because it was supposed that his advice for the sale of that place had furnished him with the means to build it. He committed another error, in purchasing for this House the stones designed for repairing St. Paul's.

some emotion said——"The Earl of Clarendon is a true Protestant, and an honest Englishman, and while he is in place we are secure of our laws, liberties, and religion: but whenever he shall be removed, England will feel the ill effects of it."

After the Earl of Southampton's death, the King put the treasury into commission. Among the commissioners was Sir Thomas Clifford, a known Papist, on whom afterwards fell the King's choice for Lord Treasurer.

The Parliament meeting the 10th of October, the Lord Keeper communicated to them the conclusion of the peace, and desired them to settle the balance of trade with Scotland. He said, the King having named commissioners to state the public accounts, and examine to what uses the money granted by Parliament had been applied, and this commission not having succeeded as he expected, he left them to follow their own method, and examine them as strictly as they pleased. He added, that some malicious persons had dispersed false reports against the government, with design to create a disaffection in his subjects: but that his Majesty promised himself from their affection, they would, on the contrary, endeavour to preserve a good understanding between him and his people. That if any just grievances have happened, his Majesty was ready to redress them, and did not doubt they would imprint upon the hearts of his subjects that known truth——"That there is no distinct interest between the King and his people, but the good of one is the good of both."

Some days after, the two Houses presented an address to the King to thank him for several things:

I. That he had disbanded the late-raised forces.

II. That he had dismissed the Papists from out of his guards, and other military employments.

III. That he had revoked the Canary patent.

IV. And more especially, that he had displaced the late Lord Chancellor, and removed him from the exercise of public trust and employment in affairs of state. The King answered to this last article, "That he would never employ the Earl of Clarendon again in any public affairs whatsoever."

The King sufficiently discovering his intention not to protect the Earl of Clarendon, the House was thereby encouraged to seek reasons or pretences to impeach him of treason.

Upon the foundation of certain articles, seventeen in number,* the Commons, on the 12th of November, impeached the Earl of high treason, at the bar of the Lords House, and desired that he might be sent to the Tower.† But the Lords did not think proper to commit him upon an accusation of treason in general, without any particular charge.

This raised a warm dispute between the two Houses, which several conferences could not allay. At last, the Commons came to this resolution. "That the Lords not having complied with the desire of the Commons, in committing the Earl of Clarendon, and sequestering him from Parliament, upon the impeachment from that House, was an obstruction of the public justice of the kingdom, and a precedent of evil and dangerous consequence." At the same time, they appointed a committee to draw up a declaration to vindicate their proceedings.

But the Earl of Clarendon seeing himself exposed to the Commons' rage, and knowing, the King and the whole court were against him, thought it adviseable to withdraw into France, and leave an apology behind him, addressed to the Lords. He therein said, that his fortune, which was but moderate, had been gained entirely by the lawful avowed profits of his office, and by the voluntary bounty of the King; that during the first year after the restoration he had always concurred in opinion with the other counsellors, men of such reputation that no one could entertain suspicions of their wisdom or integrity; that his credit soon declined, and however he might disapprove of some measures, he found it vain to oppose them; that his repugnance to the Dutch war, the source of all the public grievances, was always generally known, as well as his disapprobation of many unhappy steps taken in conducting it; and that whatever pretence might be made of public offences, his real crime, that which had exasperated his powerful enemies, was his frequent opposition to exorbitant grants, which the importunity of suitors had extorted from his Majesty.

The Lords having received this apology the 3d of December, desired a conference with the Commons, to communicate it to them. The Duke of Buckingham, who was to deliver it, said, "The Lords have commanded me to deliver you this scandalous and seditious paper, sent from the Earl of Clarendon: they bid me to present it to you, and desire you in convenient time to send it to them again, for it has a style which they are in love with, and therefore desire to keep it."

The reading of this apology threw the Commons into a flame; and, at last, they voted his apology scandalous and malicious, and a reproach to the justice of the nation, and ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. The Parliament next proceeded to exert their legislative power against Clarendon, and passed a bill of banishment and incapacity, which received the royal assent. He retired into France, where he lived in a private manner. He survived his banishment six years, and he employed his leisure chiefly in reducing into order the History of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials. The performance does honour to his memory; and, except Whitelocke's Memorials, is the most candid account of those times, composed by any contemporary author.

Before the Parliament met again in October, the King published a proclamation, for the rigorous execution of the laws against those who repaired to hear mass at the chapels of ambassadors. This same month of October, he rode in great state into the city, and laid the first stone of the foundation of the Royal Exchange. This building was finished in a very short time.‡

After the removal of the Earl of Clarendon, the King and his ministers, of whom the Earl of Arlington, and Sir Orlando Bridgeman were the principal, believed it absolutely necessary to give the people some satisfaction, by demonstrating the court's attention to the welfare of the nation. The King of France, by his invasion of Flanders, had so clearly shown, he did not intend to stand to his Queen's renunciation of all the members of the Spanish monarchy, that he could not possibly be mistaken. Besides, his power was daily increasing, whereas that of Spain was visibly declining. It was therefore the interest of Europe in general, and of England in particular, to take early and effectual measures, to set bounds to this formidable power,

* The articles were: that he had advised the King to govern by military power, without Parliaments; that he had affirmed the King to be a papist or popishly affected; that he had received great sums of money, for procuring the Canary patent and other illegal patents, that he had advised and procured divers of his Majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against law, in remote islands or garrisons, thereby to prevent their having the benefit of the law; that he had procured the customs to be farmed at under rates; that he had received great sums from the Vintner's Company, for allowing them to enhance the price of wines; that he had in a short time gained a greater estate than could have been supposed to arise from the profits of his offices; that he had introduced an arbitrary government into his Majesty's plantations; that he had rejected a proposal for the preservation of Nevis and St. Christopher's, which was the occasion of great losses in those parts; that when he was in his Majesty's service beyond sea, he held a correspondence with Cromwell and his accomplices; that he advised the sale of Dunkirk; that he had unduly altered letters patent under the King's seal; that he had unduly decided causes in council, which should have been brought before the chancery; that he had issued quo warrantos against corporations, with an intention of squeezing money out of them; that he had taken money for passing a bill of settlement in Ireland; that he betrayed the nation in all foreign treaties; and that he was the principal adviser of dividing the fleet in June 1666.

† The impeachment was carried up by Edward Seymour, Esq. who was also the first man that charged him in the House of Commons, with many great and heinous crimes.

‡ This year took out of the world Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer. The other less remarkable deaths were those of Dr. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely; (great enemy of the Presbyterians, who, out of revenge for his severity to them before the civil wars, kept him prisoner in the Tower from the year 1642, till the restoration, when he was restored to his Bishopric of Ely, where he died aged eighty-one years.) And the famous poet Abraham Cowley.

which

which might produce great changes, if care was not taken to stop its progress. Nothing was more popular than such a design, and nothing more capable to reingratiate the King with his subjects. So, the 1st of January 1667-8, a resolution was taken, to enter into a strict union with the States General of the United Provinces, to prevent the King of France's entire reduction of Flanders, and the rest of the Spanish Netherlands. The court likewise resolved, to endeavour to engage the King of Sweden into the same measures, and so form a triple alliance, capable to intimidate Lewis XIV. and oblige him to proceed with more caution.

To execute this project, Sir William Temple was ordered to the Hague, with the character of envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary. By the address of this envoy, the treaty of alliance between the King and the States was concluded in five days, and, what is more, signed by the States General, without communicating it to the particular provinces, which had never been practised before. Moreover, the Count de Dhona, ambassador of Sweden, engaged for his master that he should enter into this treaty, if a place was left for him as a principal. Afterwards, this Count signed a like treaty, in the name of the King of Sweden, with the King of England and the States General, it being agreed, that this treaty should be considered as part of the former when ratified. These treaties were first sent into England, and ratified by the King, and, shortly after, the King of Sweden's ratification was likewise received. Thus was concluded, in a very little time, a triple league, the most important that had been long since made in Europe, and which was to check the power, as well as vast designs of France.

For the understanding this treaty, it must be observed, that Lewis XIV. after his last campaign, during which he had seized many strong places of the Spanish Netherlands, had, at the pressing instances of the States General, consented to a treaty with Spain, till the end of March, 1668. Moreover, he had left to the Queen Regent of Spain, the choice of either yielding to him the places conquered by him in the last campaign, or else the Duchy of Luxemburgh, or, instead of it, Franche-Comté, Cambray, and Cambresis, Douay, Aire, St. Omer, Bergue, Furnes, and Linck, for which he promised to surrender all the rest of his conquests. These offers, as it appears, were founded upon the supposition, that the French Queen's renunciation, in the treaty of her marriage, was of no force. Though the thing had been decided only by the King of France himself, the States General, seeing no possibility of obliging him to desist from his pretensions, had approved of this alternative, and positively engaged to join their forces with those of France, to compel Spain to embrace one or other of these offers. They could not therefore recede, after such an engagement. For which reason, they resolved to make with England three different treaties, which, however, were to take place, as containing but one and the same treaty.

The first treaty contained a defensive alliance between England and the States General, against all who should attack either of the parties, with a specification of the succours to be mutually given, in case of such an attack. This alliance to be perpetual.

By the second treaty, the King and the States were obliged to use their joint endeavours to dispose the King of France to make peace in the Netherlands, upon one of the proposed conditions, and likewise the King of Spain to make choice of one of the two before the end of May. But, in case of any difficulty from the Spaniard, they engaged to use their endeavours to induce the King of France to stop all farther progress of his arms in Flanders, and leave it wholly to the allies, to procure the ends proposed in the league.

The third treaty contained:

I. That if in procuring peace between France and Spain, any difficulties should arise concerning the renunciation, care should be taken so to settle the articles of peace, as to create no prejudice to the rights of either. But if one side only should reject this expedient, then the allies should proceed against the refuser, in the manner agreed in the second treaty.

II. That the allies should use their endeavours to establish peace between Spain and Portugal. And though they did not pretend to hinder the King of France from assisting Portugal, they would however prevent, as far as lay in their power, his assisting that nation by making war in the Netherlands.

III. But, in case the King of France, rejecting the conditions contained in the second treaty, should make farther progress in Flanders, then the allies should join with Spain, and make war upon the King of France, till they should compel him to comply with the terms of the Pyrenean treaty.

IV. That all these articles should be ratified within four weeks.*

This treaty, which was called the triple league, received the applauses of all Europe, except France. Indeed, the tendency of it was not only to save the Netherlands, pursuant to the true interests of England and the States General, but to prevent a fatal war, which must have thrown all Europe into a flame.

Shortly after, Sir William Temple concluded a treaty of commerce with the States General, and about the same time the treaty of peace between Spain and Portugal was happily finished, under the guarantee of the King of England.

While these affairs were transacting, the Parliament met the 10th of February. The King informed them, that he had made a league defensive with the States of the United Provinces, and another for an efficacious mediation of peace between France and Spain, into which the King of Sweden had, by his ambassador, offered to enter as a principal. He added, that the posture of his neighbours, and the consequence of the new alliance, obliging him to set out a fleet to sea, he should want a speedy supply; that besides it was necessary to build some large ships, and fortify the ports.

The Commons joyfully received the news of the triple alliance; but before they proceeded to the consideration of the King's speech, they resolved to inquire into the mismanagements during the late war. They appointed for this purpose a committee, which discovered many misdemeanors in the conduct of several persons, "As in the affair of Berghen in Norway; in the plundering the East India ships while the Dutch passed by; in the not setting out a sufficient fleet last year; in the separation of those that were out, so that they became useless; in the want of provision and ammunition in the fleet, and in the sorts; in payment of the seamen by tickets; in the want of intelligence, and dividing the fleets in the second year of the war; in the business of Chatham, &c." The Commons accused Brounkard, that, after the first battle, he had carried false orders from the Duke of York, while that Prince was reposing himself, which had prevented the entire destruction of the enemy's fleet; and, expelling him the House, ordered him to be impeached. As to the affair of Chatham, they accused commissioner Pett, for having neglected his duty. Sir William Penn was accused of having embezzled great quantities of rich goods taken in a Dutch prize.

A. D. 1668.] The King was concerned to put an end to these examinations, since most of the miscarriages reflected upon him. He therefore pressed the Commons, by three several messages, to hasten the money bill, telling them, that he intended to prorogue the Parliament the 4th of May. But, being informed, the House was not pleased with his message, because a prorogation would have defeated all their proceedings against delinquents, he let them know, that he intended only an adjournment for three months; and withal desired, that the money bill might be ready against the 4th of May.

Besides the supply, the House of Commons was employed in another affair, with which they were greatly affected.

* This triple alliance was signed January 23.

affected. They presented an address to the King, to pray him "That he would issue out his proclamation for enforcing the laws against conventicles; and that care might be taken for the preservation of the peace against all unlawful assemblies of papists and non-conformists."—The king, according to his usual custom, failed not to publish a proclamation, declaring, "That upon information, that divers persons abusing the clemency used to the Dissenters, (even whilst it was under consideration to find out a better union of his Protestant subjects) had of late openly held unlawful assemblies and conventicles, he would by no means permit such notorious contempts of himself and his laws to go unpunished, &c."

At this time a great dispute arose between the two Houses, occasioned by Mr. Skinner, a merchant of London, who believing to have just cause of complaint against the East India Company, brought the matter by petition into the House of Lords originally. The Lords, after an examination, relieved him, in five thousand pounds costs. On the other hand, the company having petitioned the Commons, Skinner was taken into custody, for applying originally to the Lords, in a common plea, which was not agreeable to the law. The petition presented to the Commons by the East India company, was voted scandalous by the Lords, and several conferences between the two Houses, were not capable to decide this difference. At last, the Commons voted, "That whoever should be aiding or assisting in putting in execution the order or sentence of the House of Lords, in the case of Thomas Skinner against the East India company, should be deemed a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Commons of England, and an infringer of the privileges of the House."

The same day this vote passed in the House of Commons, being the 8th of May, the King came to the House of Peers, and passing the bill for raising three hundred and ten thousand pounds by an imposition on wines and other liquors, and some other acts, he adjourned the Parliament to the 11th of August. He adjourned it again a second time to the 1st of March, and at last, prorogued it to the 19th of October, 1669.*

We have already mentioned the affairs between France and Spain, and the alternative offered by the French King. The Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, or rather the court of Spain, not being in haste to make a choice, Lewis XIV. in February invaded Franche-Comté, and in less than a fortnight subdued the whole province. He was still willing however, to stand to the offer of the two conditions he had proposed. But the court of Spain delayed, to declare upon the offered alternative, designing to engage England and the States in a war against France. Meanwhile, as the treaty of the triple league was directly contrary to the design of Spain, (the three allies having only engaged to take arms in case the King of France refused to stand to his proposal) it was not possible for the court of Spain to accomplish their ends. At last, after many tergiversations, the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo declared, he accepted the first condition, by which France was to keep what had been conquered the last campaign. This choice greatly surprised the States, who had relied on the Spaniards accepting rather the second condition, which appeared less advantageous to them. But the policy of the Spanish court was to throw England and the States into an unavoidable necessity of making war against France, if she should offer to pursue her conquest in the Netherlands.

This choice being made, the peace was no longer difficult. The town of Aix la Chapelle was agreed on for the place of treaty, and the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain, of England, Sweden, and the States, repairing thither, the treaty was concluded and signed the second of May, after a fortnight's negotiation. The treaty contained in substance, that the King of France should keep possession of Charleroy, Binch, Acth, Douay, Fort-de-la-Scarpe, Tournay, Oudenarde, Lisle, Armentieres, Courtray, Berghes, and Furnes, with all their dependencies. The King of France, on his side, restored Franche-Comté to the crown of Spain. The allied States were guarantees of this peace, and all other Princes and States were allowed to be so, if they pleased.†

Though the treaty of Aix la Chapelle had considerably increased the power of France, the States General of the United Provinces believed it a great advantage, to have stopped the progress of the French arms. To immortalize their glory, they struck a medal, on one side of which was seen Holland leaning against a trophy, and on the reverse, an inscription to this effect: "That they had secured the laws; reformed religion; assisted, defended, and reconciled Kings; restored freedom to the ocean; procured by their arms a glorious peace, and established the tranquillity of all Europe." On the other hand, Joshua Van Beuninghen, who had been employed in negotiating this peace, struck a medal, and compared himself to Joshua stopping the course of the sun. As the King of France had taken the sun for his device, the meaning of this medal could not be mistaken. But the States immediately suppressed it. As for the first, and some others, which discovered too great presumption, they were not broken till two years after. They had afterwards cause to repent of this insult offered to Lewis XIV.

After the removal of the Earl of Clarendon, the face of the English court was entirely changed. The King, more at ease by the absence of a troublesome minister, whose very presence was a reproof to his conduct, gave himself up to his pleasures, without any reserve or discretion. The Duke of Buckingham, who had no religion, and gloried in his debaucheries, and Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, the greatest wit, and the most satirical and licentious poet of his age, were his principal favourites. With these two men, and his mistresses, the King spent almost his whole time, and it was with difficulty that his ministers could find an opportunity to speak to him of his affairs. Pleasures and debauches were the sole entertainments of the court, and vice appeared there bare-faced. In a word, England had never seen a more disorderly court, and unhappily, their example had but too much influence on the rest of the people. The King was prodigal to excess. Besides his standing revenues, which, as we have seen, amounted to twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, he had consumed the eighteen hundred thousand pounds given him the last year by the Parliament, in uses for which that money was not intended. This year, he had asked a supply of his Parliament, pretending a necessity to build some new ships of war, and to put a great fleet to sea, in maintenance of his engagements by the triple alliance. The Parliament had granted him three hundred and ten thousand pounds, but the act not passing till two days after the signing of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, not a single ship was built, and the necessity of putting a fleet to sea vanished at once. Notwithstanding this, he was always in want, and his revenues perpetually anticipated.

But a still greater misfortune to England was, that only Papists, or men of no religion, had any credit at court. The Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Rochester, and the King's mistresses, were not persons who gave themselves any trouble to stop the progress of Popery. The Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State, was, like the King, a disguised, and Clifford, a declared Papist. The Duke of York was not only a Catholic, but also very zealous for his religion. Being considered as presumptive heir to the crown, great

* In the beginning of May, the Queen miscarried a second time.

† From this time, England had the best opportunity of holding the balance of Europe, which if it had immoveably observed, and with reasonable vigour, it might have saved the spending of millions of treasure, and oceans of blood.——Whatever the Spanish lost by the French ravages, the English gained a very great private benefit by it: for one Brewer, said to be of English parents, with about fifty Walloons, who wrought and dyed fine woollen cloths, thereupon came into England; and by them the English were in a few years instructed to dye fine woollen cloths, cheaper by forty per cent. than they could before.

court was made to him, and with the more application, as his revenues being large, and his management frugal, he had wherewithal to gain courtiers. It may be judged, that his zeal had suffered him not to advance Protestants to places of trust, when he could introduce persons of his own religion. He had so powerful a party at court, and so many creatures about the King's person, that he was in a manner absolute there, and directed the resolutions of the council. Lastly, if the King had any religion, he was most inclined to Popery. He found, besides, a considerable advantage in caressing the Papists, whom he esteemed his firm friends, whereas he could not help dreading the zeal of the Protestants, in case they should discover, he had abjured their religion.

This summer, the King diverted himself with making several progresses into the country, to view the ports and the navy. He sent a squadron into the Mediterranean, commanded by Sir Thomas Allen, who forced the Algerines to a peace very advantageous to England.*

Though the year 1669, produced no memorable events, it was fatal to Europe, since it was, probably, this year that measures began to be taken for the strict union of France with England. At least, it appears in Sir William Temple's letters, that Mr. Puffendorf, who had this year been sent envoy from Sweden to the court of France, calling at the Hague in his return, said to De Wit, that a minister at the French court had assured him, that the triple alliance would not subsist, and that the English court had already changed their measures. The same Mr. Puffendorf saw a letter in Marshal Turenne's hands at Paris, from Monsieur Colbert the French ambassador in London, wherein that ambassador, speaking of the English court, has these words——"I have at last made them sensible of the whole extent of his Majesty's liberality." So, it is scarcely to be doubted, that Colbert's embassy to London was designed to gain or corrupt the English court, and that he succeeded.

In all appearance, the King had now formed a sort of scheme with regard to religion; in pursuance of which, he and his ministers affected to express great kindness for the Presbyterians, and this kindness encouraged them to appear more openly, and hold their assemblies with less caution and secrecy. Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Lord Keeper, acquainted two of the most eminent Presbyterian ministers, that he desired a conference with them. They waited on him accordingly, and he freely told them, he designed to make them some proposals for a comprehension for the Presbyterians, and a toleration for the Independents and the rest. Upon this occasion, these two Presbyterian ministers had several conferences with two episcopal doctors, one of whom was chaplain to the Lord Keeper. They agreed among them, concerning re-ordination, which was the point they most differed about, that all Presbyterian ministers who had been already ordained, should be admitted into the ministry of the church of England with this form of words, "Take thou legal authority to preach the word of God, and administer the Holy Sacraments, in any congregation of England, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto." This was not properly a new ordination, but only a power to exercise their ministry in the church of England. It was also agreed, that ceremonies should be left indifferent, so that they might be used or not, according as every one should think fit; and that the liturgy should be altered: moreover, that those who could not be comprehended should be indulged: and for security to the government, the names of the teachers, and all the members of the congregations, should be registered. Agreeably to this scheme, the Lord Chief Justice Hale undertook to draw up a bill against the ensuing Parliament, and the Lord Keeper promised to support it with all his power. This project, however necessary to the King's designs, was directly contrary to the principles of the Parliament, who were averse to all condescension. Accordingly it came to nothing.

The Archbishop of Canterbury went to the King, and obtained from him a proclamation to inforce the laws against conventicles, and particularly the act for restraining non-conformists from inhabiting in corporations. This proclamation was executed like those against the Papists.

The Parliament met the 19th of October. The King in a short speech demanded money for the discharge of his debts, and briefly proposed the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The Commons, instead of taking the King's speech into consideration, proceeded upon other affairs. The public accounts were examined, with the uses to which the King had applied the money given him by the Parliament, and Sir George Carteret, who had the keeping of some of the books, being found very blameable, was expelled the House. Then they addressed the King to thank him for his proclamation against conventicles, praying him to continue the same care to suppress them for the future.

Not contented with this, they appointed a committee to enquire into the behaviour of the non-conformists. This committee reported, "That there were divers conventicles and other seditious meetings near the Parliament, where great numbers of disaffected persons frequently met, which was not only an affront to the government, but of imminent danger to both Houses, and the peace of the kingdom." Upon the report of the committee, the House declared, that they would firmly adhere to the King in the maintenance of the established government of the church and state, against all enemies whatsoever.†

At last, the Commons voted the King a supply of four hundred thousand pounds. But, before they considered of the means to raise this sum, they revived the debate concerning Skinner and the East India company, and came to several resolutions, which the Lords looked upon as so many violations of their privileges in point of judicature. The difference between the two Houses daily increasing, the King saw, it would be very difficult to reconcile them, and that the Commons would not proceed upon the money bill till this affair was adjusted; and as he had no room to expect an agreement, he prorogued the Parliament the 11th of December, to the 14th of February following.‡

A. D. 1669-70.]

* This year died, Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who was succeeded by his son; the famous poets Davenant, and Denham; and the great soldier Sir William Waller, so often mentioned in the history of the civil wars. He had been imprisoned by the Independent Parliament, and confined till the King's restoration, when he was delivered, being considered on account of his sufferings as a sort of royalist.

† This year the King's mother died in France, the 10th of August, in the sixtieth year of her age. The famous Duke of Albemarle died likewise the 3d of January, and was succeeded in his estate and honour by Christopher his only son. To these deaths may be added that of the famous Prynne, the indefatigable author of more than two hundred treatises, most of them of little esteem.

‡ The Parliament of Scotland met the same day with that of England. The Duke of Lauderdale; the King's High-Commissioner, made so great a figure in this reign, both in England and Scotland, that his character must not be thought foreign to our history. John Maitland Earl (afterwards Duke) of Lauderdale, was, during the troubles in Scotland, a rigid Presbyterian, a zealous covenanter, and a distinguished enemy of the royal authority. But he turned to the King's interest in 1647, when Duke Hamilton invaded England, for the service of Charles I. From that time, he was looked upon in Scotland as an enemy of his country. But, after the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland, and the composure of the differences between the Scots, he followed the King into England, was taken at the battle of Worcester, and confined in several prisons, till the King's Restoration. During his imprisonment he had great impressions of religion on his mind. But, after the King had received him into his favour and council, he so entirely wore them out, that scarcely any trace of them was left. Whether he knew the secret sentiments of the King and Duke of York, with regard to religion, and the government, or only suspected them, he imagined, the best way to preserve his favour, was to enter into all the King's supposed views, and endeavour to render him absolute in both kingdoms. Upon the King's Restoration, it was debated in council, whether Episcopacy should be restored in Scotland. The Earl of Lauderdale strenuously opposed it, for an extraordinary reason, namely, "That if the King pleased the Scots, he would be sure of them in order to the executing of any design he might afterwards be engaged in." This advice, though it was not followed, was acceptable to the King, and rivetted the Duke

A. D. 1669-70.] The Parliament meeting, the King told the two Houses, "That when they last met, he asked them a supply, and now asked it again with greater urgency: the uneasiness and straitness of his affairs could not continue without very ill effects to the whole kingdom. He let them know, that having fully informed himself of the expences of the last war, he could assure them, that no part of the money they had given him, had been diverted to other uses. But on the contrary, a very great sum had been raised out of his standing revenue and credit, and a very great debt contracted, and all for the war. Lastly, he recommended to them, not to suffer any occasion of difference between themselves to be revived."

The Commons, as an effectual mark of their affection for the King, voted him a supply capable to deliver him from his heavy burden. They prepared two bills, "One to lay a duty upon all wines and vinegar imported into the kingdom, from the 24th of June, 1670, to the 24th of June 1678; the other, for the advancing the sale of his Majesty's fee-farm rents, and other rents." The first is computed at five hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling; the other, is believed to have raised more than double that sum, so that he could depend upon seventeen hundred thousand pounds. Thus the King received for the war with Holland, seven millions seven hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling.

The difference between the two Houses being revived this session, the King, fearing the consequences, summoned both Houses to Whitehall, and proposed to them an expedient to end it; namely, by erasing all entries and records, votes and resolutions concerning Skinner's affair, to which they consented, and thereby the quarrel was appeased, which was agreed to, and so the dispute was at an end.

This agreement produced an address, presented jointly to the King by both Houses the 11th of March, to pray him to give order for the suppression of conventicles in and near London and Westminster, and to put the laws in execution against Popish recusants. The King answered, that effectual course should be taken in both cases.

A. D. 1670.] The 11th of April the King came to the House of Peers, and passed twelve bills, among which were the two money bills, and a third for the suppression of seditious conventicles.*

After passing these acts, the King adjourned the Parliament to the 24th of October.

It seems, that the King, instead of being zealous for the Protestant religion, was anxious to overturn it. Instead of destroying the Presbyterians, his design was to grant them an indulgence, in order to have a pretence to procure the same for the Papists. Instead of being content with the power ascribed him by the Parliament, he thought it unworthy a King to found the extent of his authority upon acts of Parliament only. Besides, it was a pain to him to be forced to demand money, and to use for that purpose pretences notoriously false, though the Parliament seemed to be satisfied with them. It would have been more agreeable to him to say, "It is my will and pleasure," than to be obliged to use humble intreaties to the Commons. This his favourites were continually representing to him, and to this the example of what he had himself seen practised in neighbouring states strongly prompted him. He was therefore impatient to free himself from this yoke of the Parliament, and the more, as by augmenting his power, he should be better able to countenance the Papists, and introduce their religion, which was his own as well as his brother's.

This resolution being taken, the King easily saw, that the execution of it required an artful and cautious conduct, and such secret and imperceptible methods, as would not too plainly discover his intentions. For he could not suppose, that because he desired to be absolute, the people of England would immediately give up their liberties and privileges. It was therefore necessary, to lead them to it insensibly and by degrees, and to that end he wanted a secret council composed of few persons, in whom he might entirely confide, and whose interest it was to accomplish this design. The ordinary council, consisting of twenty-one persons, was not proper to conduct this affair; for, besides that some counsellors had a right to their places, as for instance the Archbishop of Canterbury, it was very difficult to engage so many persons of the first rank in such a plot. To effect therefore this undertaking with the more caution, the King established a cabinet council of five persons only, namely,

Clifford,
Arlington,
Buckingham,
Ashley,
Lauderdale.

As the initial letters of these five names compose the word CABAL, this secret council was from thence called the Cabal. But before we proceed to the resolutions taken by this council, it will be necessary to give a brief character of the members.

Sir Thomas Clifford was a declared and known Papist, so that he took no pains to disguise his religion. It was he who, after the triple alliance was concluded, said, "Notwithstanding all this noise, we must yet have another war with Holland." As the event justified his prediction, very probably, the scheme just mentioned, was then formed, and he in the secret.

Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State, passed for a man of the least genius of the five, but this was well supplied by his great experience, and knowledge in foreign affairs. It is pretended, that being one of the King's retinue in his journey to Fontarabia in the year 1659, he was the principal instrument to induce him to change his religion. However that be, he was truly a Catholic, though, with the King, he outwardly professed the Protestant religion.

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the King's favourite, had a very lively wit. He might have made a great minister of state, had not his strong passion for pleasures, and all sorts of debauches, diverted him from business. But nothing could tempt him to quit a dissolute life, to which he had been used from his youth. He gloried in having no religion, and was reckoned an Atheist.†

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, created two years after Earl of Shaftsbury, was one of the greatest geniuses England had produced for many years. Father Orleans gives the following character of him: "He was the most capable of the five to manage any important undertaking, and was the soul of this I am now speaking of.

Duke in his favour. The resolution to restore Episcopacy having been executed, no man appeared more ardent against the Presbyterians, nor had they a more violent persecutor. It was through his means and intrigues that the Parliament, held this year in Scotland, passed an act which raised the King's supremacy higher than ever. The same Parliament approved the raising of the militia, and it was enacted, that it should be kept up, and be ready to march into any of the King's dominions, for any cause in which his Majesty's authority, power, or greatness, should be concerned; and that orders should be transmitted to them from the council, without any mention of orders from the King. It was not at first known, what could be the intent of an act which seemed to take the militia out of the King's hands, and put it into the power of the council. But it was afterwards perceived, that this was Lauderdale's contrivance, that if the King should have occasion to call in the Scottish army, it should not be necessary to send any orders himself, but that the council, upon a secret intimation, might do it without order; and then, if the design should miscarry, it should lie on the council, whom the King might disown, and so none about him be liable for it.

* The substance of this act was, that, "If any person upwards of sixteen, should be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in any other manner, than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, where there were five persons, or more, besides those of the household; in such cases the offenders were to pay five shillings for the first offence, and ten for the second. And the preachers and teachers in any such meetings, were to forfeit twenty pounds for the first, and forty for the second offence. And lastly, those who suffered any such conventicles in their houses, barns, yards, &c. were likewise to forfeit twenty pounds."

† Burnet says farther of him, that he had the art of turning persons and things into ridicule beyond any man of his age: he possessed the King when abroad with very ill principles, both as to religion and morality, and with a very mean opinion of his father King Charles I. whose stiffness was with him a frequent subject of raillery.

He had a vast genius, was penetrating, bold, and equally steady, both on the right and the wrong side; a constant friend, but an implacable enemy, and the more dangerous, as being void of all religion and conscience, it was the easier for him to plot, because he was not deterred by the number or enormity of any crimes, when he judged them necessary to preserve himself, or destroy those who had incurred his hatred."

The Duke of Lauderdale, whom we have before mentioned, was the most proper of the five to serve the King in this affair.

If to these five members of the Cabal are joined, as in reason they ought, the King and the Duke of York, it will be found, that all the seven were for an absolute and arbitrary government; and that, with regard to religion, four were Papists, namely, the King, the Duke, Arlington, and Clifford, and three without any religion, or at least they considered it only as an engine of state; these were Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

It would be difficult to know the transaction of the Cabal, if Father Orleans, instructed by King James II. had not told us that a war with Holland was there resolved, in order to furnish the King with a pretence to keep on foot both land and sea forces. For it is manifest, that such a design could be accomplished, but by force or fear. The pretence for this war was to be taken from the dispute about the flag, which might easily be renewed, and from the general complaints of the English merchants concerning their commerce, of which so great use had been made for undertaking the former war. "But," adds Father Orleans, "the true reason of making this war upon Holland, was the secret correspondence between the Republicans of England and the Dutch, who were incessantly exciting them to rebellion, and to shake off the yoke of monarchy, being ever ready to support those that should attack it." This seems to contradict what the same author advances a few lines before, namely, that the true ground of this war was to furnish the King with a pretence for raising an army. There is however no contradiction: for it must be considered, that the design of the King and the cabal concerned two points, which went hand in hand, and formed properly but one design; namely, to introduce an arbitrary government, and to extirpate the Protestant religion.

Some time before, M. Colbert de Croissy, the French ambassador at London, having sounded the King and his ministers, concerning a strict alliance with his master, found them very favourably disposed, especially when he had told them, that the design of this alliance was to humble the pride of the States General. The King of France, to finish this affair so happily begun, came to Dunkirk on pretence of viewing the Risbank which was then raising; and bringing with him the Duchess of Orleans his sister-in-law, she took occasion from the neighbourhood of England to desire leave to visit her brother, which was readily granted. She was met by the King at Dover, where she arrived the 15th of May, and stayed above a fortnight amidst continual pleasures and diversions. But these diversions hindered her not from executing the commission she was charged with, which was, as it is pretended, to make a proposal to her brother in the name of his most Christian Majesty, of insuring him an absolute authority over his Parliament, and restoring the Catholic religion in his three kingdoms, as soon as the States should be sufficiently humbled. Though the conferences between the King and his sister were managed with great secrecy, the events with which they were followed, clearly discovered that this was the subject of them.

An accident which happened shortly after, seemed likely to break the good understanding between the courts of France and England. The 19th of June, the Duchess of Orleans, in perfect health, called, according to custom, for a glass of succory water, at four in the afternoon. She had no sooner drunk it, but she found herself ill, and her pain increasing, she died about two in the morning. She was universally believed to be poisoned, but the author of her death is not so unanimously agreed on, though the Duke of Orleans her husband was by many secretly accused.*

The King was soon comforted for the loss of his sister, and not thinking that this death, uncommon as it was, ought to break, or even retard, the measures taken with the court of France, he sent the Duke of Buckingham to Paris, to conclude and sign the Dover agreement. The pretence used by the Duke of Buckingham for his journey, was his desire to see France, and learn the language.

In September, Lewis XIV. made an irruption into Lorraine, by his General, Marshal de Crequi. The Duke, who had not expected to be attacked, was obliged to fly, and leave his Duchy a prey to the Marshal, who took possession in the name of his master. In vain did the Duke hope for the intercession of Charles to the King of France, in return for the money lent and given him in his exile, and for the offer to serve him with all his forces. His envoy was answered, "That the King was sorry for what had happened, and that the present violence, like the mischiefs of a sudden inundation, must be endured at this time."

The Parliament being to meet the 24th of October, the King, a few days before, published a proclamation, commanding all officers and soldiers serving in any of the armies of the late usurped powers, not having a constant habitation, to depart out of the cities of London and Westminster, and not to return again or come within twenty miles, till after the 10th day of December next, and in the mean time to carry no sword, pistol, or any other arms. This was to show the Houses his care of their preservation.

The Parliament assembling, the King, after a short speech to both Houses, referred all to the Lord Keeper. That minister much insisted on the King's great want of supply; the mighty increase of the naval power of France, now triple what it was before the last war with Holland; the decay of the English navy; the necessity of fitting out next year a fleet of fifty sail; the obligations which the King lay under by several treaties to exert himself for the common good of Christendom. Among other treaties, he mentioned the triple alliance, and the defensive league with the States.

The House of Commons, charmed with these representations, prepared immediately three bills, one to raise eight hundred thousand pounds by way of subsidies;† another to lay an additional excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors for six years; a third for laying impositions upon proceedings at law for nine years. These three bills were to produce to the King two millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling. But, before any bill was finished, the King adjourned the Parliament to the latter end of January.

The Prince of Orange came to London about the close of the year 1669, to pay a visit to the King his uncle. The principal motive of his journey, was to demand of the King the repayment of money lent him by the Prince his father in the time of his exile. He was graciously received, and after a stay of about three months returned into Holland.

Before his arrival, Sir William Temple was recalled from his embassy in Holland. He was not a proper instrument to be employed in the designs of the Cabal. Besides, the court was disposed to a speedy rupture with the Dutch.‡

A. D. 1670-1.] The Parliament meeting towards the latter end of January after a short recess, the Commons began with preparing a bill which made it death for any

* The Duke her husband, heard such things of her behaviour, that it was said, he ordered a great dose of sublimate to be given her in a glass of succory water, of which she died a few hours after in great torments: and when she was opened, her stomach was all ulcerated.

† Upon real and personal estates.

‡ This year died Henry Jenkins, who deserves to be remembered on account of his extreme age. He was a poor fisherman of Yorkshire, born in 1501, and, living in the reigns of eight Kings and Queens of England, died this year, aged 169 years, exceeding the famous Thomas Parr, who died 1635, full seventeen years.

man

man, "Maliciously to disable or dismember another, to put out an eye, to cut off a nose or lip, &c."* This was owing to an attempt upon Sir John Coventry, a member of the Commons, in the street, in which his nose was slit. The perpetuation of this act was, by the King's order, committed to the Duke of Monmouth his natural son, and the Duke had employed some other persons, who, after the deed, retired to his house†.

The 14th of February the King sent a message to the House of Commons to hasten the money bills. But the House thought proper, before these bills were presented to the King, to address him concerning the growth of Popery, for which the concurrence of the Lords was obtained.

A few days after, the King published a proclamation, which ran much in the same stile with those that had been issued on this occasion, and was no better observed.

This affair being ended, the Commons proceeded upon the three money bills, and as if these had not been sufficient to supply the King's extreme wants, they afterwards added a fourth, for impositions on foreign commodities.

The two first money bills, namely, the subsidy bill, and the additional tax upon beer, and other liquors, being ready, the King came to the House of Lords the 6th of March, and passed these two acts, with another, "For revesting the power of granting wine licences in his Majesty's heirs and successors, and for settling a revenue on his royal highness in lieu thereof," which amounted to twenty-four thousand pounds a year.‡

There still remained two other money bills, which had been sent to the Lords, one for "impositions on proceedings at law," and another for "an additional imposition upon several foreign commodities." The first bill passed the House of Lords without any difficulty. But the second occasioned a violent contest between the two Houses. Against this bill the merchants of London appealed by petition before the House of Lords. The Lords entered into their reasons, and began to make amendments on the bill sent up by the Commons. This attempt was highly resented by the Lower House, as an encroachment on the right, which they pretended to possess alone, of granting money to the crown. Many remonstrances passed between the two Houses; and by their altercations the King was obliged to prorogue the Parliament to the 16th of April, 1672, and afterwards by several prorogations to the 4th of February 1672-3.

Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, daughter to the Earl of Clarendon, died the 31st of March in the 34th year of her age, after an abjuration of the Protestant religion during her long indisposition. From her marriage proceeded eight children, two of which only survived her, Mary and Anne, who were both Queens of England.

The Duke of York was a Papist before the King's restoration. It was a secret for some time, but had now been so divulged, that it was openly talked of in the court and country. Soon after the death of his Duchess he made a formal abjuration of the Protestant religion before Father Simons an English Jesuit, and from that time openly declared himself a Papist.§

After the prorogation of the Parliament, the Cabal sought with all possible ardor, means to execute their projects. These were, first, to render the King absolute, or in their language, a great Prince: and under this article was comprised, the establishment of Popery, if not the entire destruction of the Protestant religion. The second project was to break the triple alliance. The third, to make war upon Holland, though it was difficult to invent any the least plausible pretence. To execute the two last, Mr. Henry Coventry, who had been plenipotentiary at the treaty of Breda, was sent to Sweden, and Sir George Downing to the Hague. Temple, as we have said, was recalled, but, to amuse the States, the King feigned to send for Temple only to be informed of some matters, and that he should immediately return. At last, he was openly recalled, and obtained leave for his wife and children to come over who were still at the Hague. The recalling of Temple, and sending of Downing in his place, sufficiently discovered the King's intentions.‖ The first was extremely beloved in Holland, as he had always behaved with integrity, and a concern for the common interests of both nations. The second had served as an instrument to engage the King and the States in the late war, and was looked upon in Holland as a man of no honour, and a real incendiary. Meanwhile Downing being arrived at the Hague, was not wanting in protestations, that the King his master was resolved to maintain the triple alliance, and if he was equipping a fleet, it was wholly owing to the great preparation of his neighbours, and particularly the King of France, of whom he had just cause to be jealous. But withal, he failed not to complain of the obstinacy of the Dutch, upon an affair of little importance, concerning the colony of Surinam; adding some complaints of the English merchants against the Dutch East India company. These were the two articles on which the King intended to found a rupture, but as he did not think them of sufficient weight, he projected to draw the States into a sort of insult upon him, which might give him a more plausible pretence for a war.

To this end, the King having granted Sir William Temple a yacht to bring over his lady, the Admiralty gave express orders to the Captain to go in quest of the Dutch fleet, then at sea, and if they refused to strike, to fire upon them. The Captain met with them as he was returning with the ambassadress and her children. When he saw, the fleet paid no regard to the King's yacht, he fired several shots at them. Mr. de Ghent, who commanded the fleet, surprised at this insult, sent a boat to the yacht to know the meaning of it The Captain only answered, he had his instructions, and was bound to follow them. Upon this Mr. de Ghent

* This was afterwards called the Coventry act.

† The persons that committed this act, were, Sir Thomas Sandys, Charles Obrian, Esq. Simon Parry, and Miles Reeves, who all, fled from justice. The reason of his usage, it seems, was this: he was an opposer of the money bills, and when passed, moved the laying a tax on the play houses, which were become nests of prostitution. This was opposed by the court: it was said, the players were the King's servants, and a part of his pleasure. Coventry asked, whether did the King's pleasure lie among the men or women players? This was carried with great indignation to court. It was said, this was the first time the King was personally reflected on: if it was passed over, more of the same kind would follow. Whereupon, the forementioned persons were sent to watch for Sir John, and leave a mark upon him. He defended himself so well, that he got more credit by it, than by all the actions of his life. His nose was so nicely needled up, that the scar was hardly to be discovered. The Commons put a clause in the bill, that it should not be in the King's power to pardon the persons concerned.

‡ There was also passed at the same time, among others, an act to prevent the malicious burning of houses, stacks of corn, and killing or maiming of cattle.

§ His inducement, as it is said, to make public profession of this religion, was this. The King had, for some years, even before Clarendon's disgrace, entertained a secret design of divorcing his Queen, whom he had never loved. He had communicated this design to some of his confidents, but it was always opposed by the Earl of Clarendon. After the removal of that minister, the King finding himself more free, persisted in his design, which, as it is affirmed, was encouraged by the Papists, and approved by the court of Rome. One pretence for this divorce, was, that the Queen had been pre-engaged to another, who however was not named. It was also pretended, she was incapable of having children, though she had twice miscarried. But, as these facts are very difficult to be proved, the King was assisted to find a more plausible pretence; which was, to lay snares to betray the Queen into such freedoms, as might be the ground of an accusation of adultery. But the King could not resolve to use a method so unjust, and dishonourable. The priests and jesuits who were continually about the Duke of York, had long pressed him to make open profession of the Roman Catholic religion, but had not yet been able to succeed, because the Duke saw, it would make him forfeit the affection of most of the English. At last, upon the Duke of York's refusal, they strenuously laboured the affair of the divorce, and caused, as it is said, the Pope to promise his consent. When the business was thus far advanced, they intimated to the Duke of York, that they were able either to effect or hinder the King's divorce, and would undertake the latter, if he would make open profession of the Catholic religion. This, as it is pretended, engaged him to declare himself a Papist, being apprehensive, that if the King should be divorced from his Queen, he would marry again, and have legitimate children.

‖ Mr. De Witt told Sir William's secretary, that he should take Sir William's stay or coming back for certain signs of what the King's intentions were, towards the preserving or changing the measures he had taken with the States.

went

went to the yacht on pretence of paying a compliment to the ambassadress, which being performed, he talked with the Captain, and was answered as before. The Admiral replied, he had no orders from his masters in that point, and did not know how the affair was agreed between his Majesty and the States; but though it were settled, the Captain could not pretend the fleet should strike to a yacht, which was but a pleasure boat, and could not pass for a man of war. The fleet did not fire a single shot at the yacht, and the Captain pursued his course, pleased that he had come off so well.

Besides the two millions and a half granted to the King by the Parliament, the King of France, if Abbot Primi is to be credited, sent him also a considerable sum to enable him to equip a fleet much superior to that of the States. So the King thought only of war, though he endeavoured to remove all suspicion of his having any such design. He spent the whole summer, and part of the autumn, in progress through several parts of his kingdom. The 28th of May he celebrated the feast of St. George in a very solemn manner at Windsor, and installed in the order of the garter, the King of Sweden, and the Elector of Saxony, by their proxies, and after them the young Duke of Albemarle. He also made a visit to the University of Cambridge, where he was magnificently entertained, and to several other places. After his return, both their Majesties were invited to the Lord Mayor's feast, on the 30th of October, where no cost was spared to display the grandeur and riches of the city of London.

Before we proceed to the transactions of the next year, we must take notice of an attempt, the most extraordinary that could possibly be devised by a private man—That of Blood, a famous villain, robber, and assassin, who formed the design of stealing the crown, sceptre, and globe, which are kept in the Tower. With the assistance only of two or three more, he executed this design so dexterously, that they had got out of the Tower with their booty, before they were seized.* The Duke of Ormond, when he was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, having caused some of Blood's accomplices to be hanged, who intended to surprise the castle of Dublin, Blood swore he would revenge their deaths. For this purpose, Blood followed the Duke of Ormond into England, when he was recalled, and watched him so well, that with the assistance of seven or eight persons on horseback, he stopped his coach, in the night, as he was going to Clarendon house, where he lived, knocked down his footmen, and forced the Duke up behind one of the horsemen, in order to carry him to Tyburn, and hang him there, with a paper pinned on his breast, to show the cause of this execution. But the Duke forcibly throwing himself off the horse, with the villain who had tied the Duke fast to him, defeated the design, and the authors could never be discovered till after Blood's attempt upon the crown. This attempt was very extraordinary, but the King's conduct on that occasion was still more surprising. For having a curiosity to examine Blood himself, he ordered him to be brought to Whitehall, and put several questions to him, which the villain answered with astonishing boldness, confessing all, and unconcernedly relating the circumstances of the thing. Then, the King asked him, whether he knew the authors of the attempt upon the Duke of Ormond? Blood confessed, it was himself. Not content with this, he told the King, he had been engaged in a design to kill him with a carbine, from behind the reeds by the Thames-side above Battersea, where he often went to swim. But that when he had taken his stand in the reeds for that purpose, his heart was checked with an awe of Majesty, and he did not only relent himself, but diverted his associates from the design. He also told the King, he was prepared to suffer death, as having deserved it; but he must tell his Majesty, that he had hundreds of accomplices, who had bound themselves by a horrible oath, to revenge the death of any of the fraternity, upon those who should bring them to justice; which would expose his Majesty and all his ministers, to the daily fear and expectation of a massacre. On the contrary, if he spared the lives of a few persons, his own would be secure. The King was surprised, and probably, intimidated by Blood's discourse, and thought, doubtless, the attempt of this villain on the Duke of Ormond, to revenge the death of his accomplices, might be imitated, in revenge of his death, by his surviving comrades. However this be, the King sent the Earl of Arlington to the Duke of Ormond, to desire him not to prosecute Blood, which the Duke could not refuse. Afterwards, he gave him his pardon, and not content with saving his life, conferred on him five hundred pounds a year in land in Ireland. From this time, Blood was continually at court, and the King treated him with that freedom and familiarity, that many persons applied to him for favours from the King. This gave occasion to the King's enemies to say, that he kept this villain about him, to intimidate those who should dare to offend him in things which were not punishable by law, as had been practised in the case of Sir John Coventry, for some railleries upon him in the House of Commons. As for Edwards, the keeper of the crown, a man fourscore years old, who had done his utmost, though in vain, to hinder the theft, and had received so many wounds, that he was left for dead, the King contented himself with assigning him a reward of two hundred pounds, the payment of which was so long delayed, that the poor man died before he received it.†

The league against Holland was still kept so secret, that the States could only suspect it. The design of the Allies was to begin with the ruin of the Dutch, before declaration of war, and then to attack them altogether, at the same time, and in different places. The King of France, the Elector of Cologne, and the Bishop of Munster, were to invade them by land, and the English and French fleets jointly to attack them by sea. This was the project, but it met with an unforeseen difficulty. Though Charles had received two millions five hundred thousand pounds from the Parliament, and seven hundred thousand pounds from the King of France, he was still in want. Indeed, he had applied part of the money received, to the equipment of his fleet, which could not amount to half, and it was difficult to conceive, what was become of the rest. However this be, he signified to his ministers, that he could not begin the war without fifteen hundred thousand pounds, and as he could not apply to the Parliament, which was prorogued, he promised the Treasurer's staff, to the person who should invent the means of raising that sum. Sir Thomas Clifford proved the most happy and ingenious. He went to the King, and told him, that by shutting up

* The manner of Blood's stealing the crown was thus: he went to the Tower in a clergyman's habit, with a woman whom he called his wife, and who, he pretended, wanted to see the crown; and having seen it, she feigned to be taken with a qualm, and desired Mr. Edwards, the keeper of the crown, to send for some spirits, who immediately caused his wife to fetch some, of which she drank, and being invited to repose herself on a bed, she did so, and soon recovered. At their departure, they were very thankful for this civility. Three days after, Blood came with a present of gloves from his wife, and having thus begun an acquaintance, he improved it by frequent visits. At last, he told Mr. Edwards, that he had a mind to make a match between a nephew of his, and Mr. Edwards's daughter, which nephew, he said, had three hundred pounds a year. Accordingly, a day was appointed for the young couple to see each other. Blood came with three more, armed with rapier blades in their canes, and every one a dagger, and a pair of pocket pistols. One of the fellows stayed at the door, and the others went in. Blood told Mr. Edwards, he would not go up stairs till his wife came down, and desired him, in the meantime, to shew his friends the crown, to pass away the time. As soon as they were in the room, and the door shut as usual, they immediately gagged the old man, and knocked him down for endeavouring to make a noise. One of the companions put the globe in his breeches, Blood kept the crown under his gown, and the third was filing the sceptre, (being too long to manage) when their companion without gave them notice, that young Mr. Edwards was just come home, and gone up stairs; upon which they all made off with the crown and globe. But old Edwards getting up and making a noise, they were pursued and taken, as they were making to their horses, which waited at the Iron Gate in St. Katherine's. Blood, though he saw himself a prisoner, had the impudence to struggle for the crown.

† In the course of this year, died two famous generals, distinguished by their bravery and experience in the civil wars. The first was the Lord Fairfax, the Generalissimo, and the other Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester. This year also died William Seymour, Duke of Somerset.

the Exchequer he would be sure of that sum. The King readily understood this advice, and resolving to follow it, performed his promise, and made Clifford, Lord-Treasurer. Some however ascribe this project to the Lord Shaftsbury, and say, that Clifford having artfully drawn it from him, gloried in it to the King.*

A. D. 1671-2.] But Charles had in his thoughts a project which would furnish him with still more considerable sums. This was to surprize the Dutch fleet returning from Symrna richly laden, before any declaration of war. He had practised the same thing the last year, with regard to the Bourdeaux fleet, and received a great advantage from it. This fleet being much richer, inspired him with great expectation. To this end he put to sea thirty-six men of war, under the command of Holmes, who had orders to cruise in the Channel, and intercept this fleet. Holmes being informed that the Dutch fleet approached, divided his own into three squadrons. That of Holland consisted of seventy-two sail of merchant-ships, many of which had no guns, under the convoy of five men of war, commanded by experienced officers. These drew up the merchant-men in three squadrons, in good order, and put themselves between them and the English fleet, after having enjoined them to pursue their course without breaking their line. Holmes attacked this fleet the 13th of March, and fought the whole day without gaining the least advantage The next day at nine in the morning the fight was renewed, and lasted all the day, though on the side of the Dutch, Captain De Haes, who acted as Admiral, had been killed about noon. On the side of the English the Vice-Admiral's ship was disabled. On the morrow, at eight in the morning, Holmes, who had been reinforced by some frigates, renewed the engagement, and at last took a man of war, the Captain and most of the sailors being slain, and three merchant ships which were brought into the Thames. This was all the advantage the English received from an action, which reflected much discredit on the King. It was carefully published at London, that this engagement was but an effect of chance, because the Dutch refused to strike. The King, however, instead of repairing the injury done to the States, in seizing their ships before the war was declared, sent out a squadron to meet four Dutch India-men, which were immediately taken and condemned. At the same time, he ordered all the Dutch ships in his ports to be seized, though by an express article of the treaty of Breda, no merchant-men's ships were to be taken till six months after a declaration of war. The States, seduced by so ill an example, seized also the English ships. But, upon the strong representation of some of the deputies, how much the honour of Princes and States was wounded by these depredations, and that the King of England's acting against the faith of treaties, was not a sufficient reason to engage the States to imitate so blameable a conduct, the English ships were discharged and sent into England. The King could not then help releasing some of the Dutch ships, but did not restore all.

Charles resolved to make use of his supreme power in ecclesiastical matters: a power, he said, which was not only inherent in him, but which had been recognized by several acts of Parliament. By virtue of this authority, he issued a proclamation; suspending the penal laws enacted against all non-conformists, or recusants whatsoever; and granting to the Protestant dissenters, the public exercise of their religion, to the Catholics the exercise of it in private houses. A fruitless experiment of this kind, opposed by the Parliament, and retracted by the King, had already been made a few years after the restoration; but Charles expected that the Parliament, whenever it should meet, would now be tamed to greater submission, and would no longer dare to controul his measures. Meanwhile the dissenters, the most inveterate enemies of the court, were mollified by these indulgent maxims: and the Catholics, under their shelter, enjoyed more liberty than the laws had hitherto allowed them.

Two days after, the King published his declaration of war against the States, dated the 17th of March.†

This war was so contrary to the interests of England and all Europe, the defence of which Charles had so often boasted to undertake by means of the triple-league; it was so directly opposite to justice, equity, faith, and the religion of the English, publicly professed by the King, that no man could believe it till the blow was struck. The Hollanders imagined, he only intended to exact some money from them, or at most, to intimidate them in order to oblige them to restore the Prince of Orange his nephew to the post enjoyed by his ancestors. France herself could hardly believe, but that he intended to deceive her, till he had fallen upon the Smyrna fleet. But all were mistaken in ascribing to the King any affection for his people. His sole aim was to render himself absolute, in order to enjoy all the riches of England without controul, and without any obligations to his Parliament. The Duke of York, his presumptive heir, found his account in so fine a scheme, and, besides, thought of establishing his religion, for which he was excessively zealous. As for the Cabal, they were men entirely destitute of all principles of honour, justice, or religion, each of whom was solely intent upon making his fortune by sacrificing the interest of the public.

The same day that the declaration of war against the States was published at London, the like was published at Paris, founded upon no juster grounds. For the King of France gave no other reason of the war, than his displeasure at the conduct of the States.

About a month after, the Bishop of Munster also proclaimed war against the Dutch, on pretence, that they had endeavoured to corrupt the Governors of his frontier-places. As for the Elector of Cologne, he had already introduced French troops into his dominions, to provide, as he pretended, for his security. But though he protested an intention to observe an exact neutrality, the States were perfectly informed of his treaty with France. Thus these four Princes were united for the utter destruction of the Republic of the United-Provinces, without mentioning several Princes of Germany engaged by the King of France to stand neutral, that they might not assist Holland.

The States having some time foreseen this impending storm, had endeavoured to divert it, by giving the King of England all the satisfaction he could reasonably expect. They had offered to agree to whatever he desired concerning the flag, and besides, they had on the 24th of February, made the Prince of Orange Captain-General, and Admiral, though he was then but twenty-two

* It had been usual for the bankers to carry their money to the Exchequer, and to advance it upon security of the funds, by which they were afterwards reimbursed, when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight, sometimes ten, per cent. for sums which either had been consigned to them without interest, or which they had borrowed at six per cent. profits, which they daily paid for by this egregious breach of public faith. The income was so suddenly taken, that none had warning of the danger. A general confusion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many. The bankers stopped payment; the merchants could answer no bills; distrust took place every where, with a stagnation of commerce, by which the public was universally affected. And many, full of dismal apprehensions, asked each other, what must be the scope of those mysterious counsels, whence the Parliament, and all men of honour were excluded, and which commenced by the forfeiture of public credit, and an open violation of the most solemn engagements, both foreign and domestic.

† Reasons more false and frivolous never were employed to justify a flagrant violation of treaty. Some complaints are there made of injuries done to the East India company, which yet that company disavowed: the detention of some English in Surinam is mentioned, though it appears that these persons had voluntarily remained there: the refusal of a Dutch fleet, on their own coasts, to strike to an English yacht, is much aggravated: and to piece up all these pretensions, some abusive pictures are mentioned, and represented as a ground of quarrel. The Dutch were long at a loss what to make of this article; till it was discovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the pensionary, painted by order of certain magistrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town house, had given occasion to this complaint. In the perspective of this portrait, the painter had drawn some ships on fire in a harbour. This was construed to be Chatham, where De Wit had really distinguished himself, and had acquired honour; but little did he imagine, that, while the insult itself, committed in open war, had so long been forgiven, the picture of it should draw such severe vengeance upon his country. The conclusion of this manifesto, where the King still professed his resolution of adhering to the triple alliance, was of a piece with the rest of it.

years

years of age. They believed, this would suffice to content the King his uncle, for they were yet ignorant that his design was to overturn their Republic, without any regard to the interests of the Prince of Orange. This change in favour of the young Prince, would, perhaps, have never been made, had it not been deemed necessary to appease the King of England. There were three parties in Holland: that of the Pensionary, (which was the more powerful, and called the Louvestein party, from the name of the castle where the Prince's father had confined the leading men of this faction:) that of the Prince of Orange; and a third which affected a neutrality, and had hitherto joined with neither of the two first, but on this occasion believed it necessary to join with the second, in hopes of satisfying the King of England. The States therefore sent a deputation to the Prince, to offer him the dignities of Captain General, and Admiral; and the Pensionary de Wit, to his mortification, was appointed head of this deputation. Thus the Prince of Orange saw himself Captain-General, but without an army, or at least, with an army so inconsiderable, and filled for the most part with inexperienced officers, chosen more for their attachment to the Pensionary, than their personal merit.

The King of France took the field the beginning of May; made himself master of several places on the Rhine, without almost any opposition; and swimming that river, subdued all Guelderland with the towns upon the Yssel, and at last arrived at Utrecht, which had sent deputies to Doesburgh to offer their submission to his orders. At the same time, the Bishop of Munster, after ravaging the Province of Overyssel, invaded Friseland and Groninghen, so that only Holland and Zealand remained free, of which the former was threatened with a like invasion.

But this was not all the States had to fear. Whilst three of their Provinces were lost, and two others attacked, the danger from sea was no less. The two fleets from France and England joined the beginning of May; the first consisting of forty, and the last of a hundred, men of war. That of the States had seventy-two large ships, and forty frigates and fireships, and consequently was very inferior in number to the combined fleet of England and France. It was commanded by the famous Ruyter, assisted by Cornelius de Wit, the Pensionary's brother, as deputy from the States. Ruyter having put to sea before the enemies' fleets were joined, had endeavoured to prevent the junction. But not succeeding, and being informed, that the two fleets lay at anchor in Solebay in Suffolk, he resolved to attack them. He had like to have surprized them, but being disappointed, prepared for battle. The two fleets of France and England (now composing but one) were ranged in three squadrons. The Duke of York, High-Admiral of England, commanded the red squadron; the Count de'Estrees, the white; and the Earl of Sandwich, the blue. The fleet of the States was likewise divided in the same manner; Ruyter was opposed to the Duke of York, Bankert to Count d'Etrees, and Van Ghent, to the Earl of Sandwich. In this battle, fought the 28th of May, both sides displayed all the art and skill which experience had taught the commanders and officers; they fought with equal bravery, with almost equal loss, and both sides challenged the victory. The Admiral-ship of the English being disabled, the Duke of York was obliged to hoist his flag in the London. The Royal James, commanded by the Earl of Sandwich, not being able to disengage from a fire-ship, after she had sunk two, was blown up, with the Earl and her whole crew.* The English lost two ships more, the Hollanders three, and Van Ghent was killed. Bonfires were equally made at London, and the Hague, for the success of this battle, though with very little reason. The English complain, the French did not discharge their duty, and only fought at a distance, after having separated from the fleet. This conduct is ascribed to secret orders given to Count d'Estrees, not to expose too much his Majesty's ships, but to leave the English and Dutch fleets to destroy one another.†

Some time before, the King had created the Earl of Lauderdale, Duke of the same name; the Lord Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftsbury; the Lord Arlington, Earl of Arlington; and Sir Thomas Clifford, Lord Clifford. About the same time Sir Thomas Osborn was sworn into the Privy-Council, and the new Duke of Lauderdale, and the Earl of Arlington, received the Order of the Garter. This was doubtless, to recompence these members of the cabal, for their great services, in advising him to suspend, by his whole authority, the execution of two acts of Parliament,‡ till he should think fit to take off the suspension.

We have already taken notice of the sad condition of the States of the United Provinces. There were two Provinces, Guelderland, and Utrecht, in the power of the French. Overyssel was in the hands of the Elector of Cologne, and the Bishop of Munster. The two Provinces of Frieseland and Groninghen were not only threatened, but attacked. In short, the Province of Holland found no readier way to stop the progress of the French King,§ who was at Utrecht, than by opening the sluices, and laying the country under water.‖ This melancholy situation of affairs raised a great discontent in the people of Holland, and as the Pensionary de Wit had been many years at the head of the government, all the calamities of his country were charged to his ill conduct. Moreover, the people openly accused him of betraying his country. At last, this general discontent rose into sedition, and caused the States of Holland to annul the perpetual edict made in the year 1667, by which they had obliged themselves never to own the Prince of Orange for Stadtholder, and to dispense with that oath; after which the Prince was made Stadtholder. Some time after, the two brothers, Cornelius, and John de Wit, the first grand bailiff of Putten, and the other Pensionary of Holland, but who had lately thrown up his employ, were torn in pieces by the mob of the Hague. It suffices to say, the Prince of Orange remained in peaceable possession of the government of Holland and Zealand; for Frieseland, and Groninghen had a separate Stadtholder, namely, the young Prince John Casimir of Nassau, under the tuition of the Princess his mother, and three Provinces were in the hands of the enemy.

The King of France, who had ever feared the Prince of Orange's advancement, no sooner saw him invested with his eminent dignity, than he endeavoured to corrupt him with the offered sovereignty of Holland. But he found this young Prince deaf to all his offers, and resolute to serve the State which had intrusted him with its government, to the last moment of his life. The King of England seconded his ally in this design. The States had sent Ambassadors to him with proposals of peace, as they had also to the King of France at Utrecht. But the King, after a refusal to treat but in conjunction with France, and fearing the States' design was to disunite them, or render them jealous of each

* Of the thousand men on board, six hundred were killed on the deck. When the ship was on fire, the Earl retired to his cabin, where he was followed by his Captain Sir Richard Haddock, who finding him with a handkerchief before his eyes, told him of the danger; but he answered, "He saw how things went, and was resolved to perish with the ship." It seems, the day before the Earl observing, that the English fleet rode in Solebay, in danger of being surprised by the Dutch, advised, that they should weigh anchor, and get out to sea. But the Duke of York, slighting the advice, told the Earl, "That he spake that out of fear:" which the Earl is thought to have so highly resented, that it rendered him careless of his own safety.

† There were two English ships burnt, three sunk, and one taken; and of the French, one was burnt, and another sunk. The English also lost the Captains of the following ships; of the Henry, Cambridge, Prince, St. George, Ann, Triumph, and Alice. They lost also the Lord Maidstone, Mr. Montagne, Sir Philip Cartwright, Sir Charles Harbord, Mr. Cotterel, Mr. Napier, &c.——The body of the Earl of Sandwich was discovered by one of the King's ketches, (being known by the George he had on) and being taken up, and brought to Harwich, was thence removed to London, and solemnly buried in Westminster abbey.

‡ One was, for the encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation; and the other, for the encouragement of trade.

§ Who was approaching with an army of one hundred and eighteen thousand foot, and twenty-six thousand horse; commanded by the Prince of Condé, and the Marshal de Turenne.

‖ By which the country received damage, to the value of eighteen millions of guilders.

other,

other, dispatched the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Arlington, and Lord Hallifax into Holland, on pretence of treating of a peace jointly with France. These Ambassadors passing through the Hague, in their way to Utrecht, affected to give out, that they were come to bring peace. But when they came to treat, their proposals were so exorbitant, that it was evident peace was not the King's view in this embassy. It was rather to draw closer the alliance between France and England, and concert new measures for the prosecution of the war, as the sequel clearly discovered. In repassing through the Hague, the Duke of Buckingham asked the Prince, what it was he proposed to himself in the desperate situation of his country. To which the Prince replied, "That it was true, their condition was dangerous, but he had one way still not to see its ruin completed, and that was to die in the last dyke." It is reported, the same Duke, in a visit to the Princess of Orange, having told her that they were good Hollanders, was immediately answered by her, "That was more than they asked, which was only that they should be good Englishmen." For this war was so evidently contrary to the interest of England, that the English themselves openly murmured at it.

In the meantime, the King of France seeing, that the drowning of Holland put a stop to his conquests, marched his army into Flanders, leaving the Duke of Luxemburgh at Utrecht, and came to Paris in August, attended by the Duke of Monmouth, who, in pursuance of Charles's engagement in their treaty, had brought him at the opening of the campaign, six thousand effective men.

The States had some success against the Bishop of Munster; but their affairs were reduced to a wretched condition, and the neighbourhood of the Duke of Luxemburgh, scarcely gave them time to breathe. Their whole refuge lay in the alliances they expected to make with the Emperor, Spain, and some Princes of Germany, and in the hopes that the English Parliament which was to meet, according to the prorogation, the 30th of October, would see the interest of England, and of all Europe. But the King deprived them of this last resource, by proroguing the Parliament to February.

The 4th of December the King declared in Council, that he would raise more forces, and dispose of them in convenient quarters, to be employed on occasion. And for payment of them, he ordered that the Exchequer should continue shut till the 1st of May, 1673, though he had positively promised it should be opened the beginning of the year.

The ways and means used by the King to effect a peace, consisted, in that his two Ambassadors at Utrecht were contented to demand in his name, a million of pounds sterling, for the expences of the war; the compliment of the flag without any exception; a hundred thousand pounds yearly for the liberty of fishing; the sovereignty of all that should remain of the United Provinces, for his nephew the Prince of Orange; a participation of the whole of the India trade; the town of Sluis, the Isles of Cadsant, Walcheren, Goree, Voorne, and lastly, an entire satisfaction to the King of France.

Sir John Trevor dying this year, Sir Henry Coventry, lately returned from Sweden, where he had successfully negotiated for the King, succeeded him in the office of Secretary of State.

Sir Orlando Bridgeman resigning the Great Seal, the new Earl of Shaftsbury was made Lord-High Chancellor.* A few days after, the King performed his promise to Clifford, by making him Lord-Treasurer.

Hitherto the Cabal had sailed with a prosperous gale on a very dangerous sea, famous for wrecks, without any opposition. But at last they were stopped in their course by the Parliament. It was now almost two years since the Parliament was assembled, and as, in that interval, the King had taken some steps which instilled great fears into his subjects, the new session was expected with the utmost impatience, in hopes, that the Parliament would apply proper remedies to the present evils, and find means to prevent those with which the kingdom was still threatened. The Parliament therefore met the 4th of February, and chose a Speaker by the direction of the court, Sir Edward Turner, the last Speaker, having been made Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The choice falling upon Sir Job Charleton, he desired to be excused; but the Lord Chancellor Shaftsbury told him, before the King and both Houses, that no excuses would be admitted. "The conjuncture of time, (says he,) and the King's and kingdom's affairs, require such a House of Commons, and such a Speaker. For, with reverence to the Holy Scripture, the King may on this occasion say, 'he that is not with me is against me:' For he that doth not now put his hand and heart to support the King in the common cause of this kingdom, can hardly ever hope for such another opportunity, or find a time to make satisfaction for the omission of this." Presently after the King addressed them with all the appearance of cordiality and confidence. He said, that he would have assembled them sooner, had he not been desirous to allow them leisure for attending to their private affairs, as well as to give his people respite from taxes and impositions: that since their last meeting, he had been forced into a war, not only just but necessary; necessary both for the honour and interest of the nation: that in order to have peace at home, while he had war abroad, he had issued his declaration of indulgence to dissenters, and had found many good effects to result from that measure: that he heard of some exceptions which had been taken to this exercise of power; but he would tell them plainly, that he was resolved to stick to his declaration; and would be much offended at any contradiction: and that though a rumour had been spread, as if the new levied army had been intended to control law and property, he regarded that jealousy as so frivolous, that he was resolved to augment his forces next spring, and did not doubt but they would consider the necessity of them in their supplies. The rest of the business he left to the Chancellor.—The Chancellor enlarged on the same topics, and added many extraordinary positions of his own. He told them, that the Hollanders were the common enemies of all monarchies, especially that of England, their only competitor for commerce and naval power, and the sole obstacle to their attaining an universal empire, as extensive as that of ancient Rome: that, even during their present distress and danger, they were so intoxicated with these ambitious projects, as to slight all treaty, nay, to refuse all cessation of hostilities: that the King, in entering on this war, did no more than prosecute those maxims which had engaged the Parliament to advise and approve of the last; and he might therefore safely say, that it was their war: that the States being the eternal enemies of England, both by interest and inclination, the Parliament had wisely judged it necessary to extirpate them, and had laid it down as an eternal maxim, that "delenda est Carthago," this hostile government by all means is to be subverted: and that though the Dutch pretended to have assurances that the Parliament would furnish no supplies to the King, he was confident that this hope, in which they extremely trusted, would soon fail them.

The House of Commons had given some indications of vigour, before the King and Chancellor had delivered their speeches. Presently after their meeting, they loudly complained of writs issued out by the Lord Chancellor, for electing and returning of persons to sit in their House, in the room of such as were dead, or removed. This complaint caused the King, immediately after the two speeches, to declare to the Commons, "That he had given order to the Lord Chancellor to send out writs, for the better supply of their House, having seen precedents for it; but if any scruple or question did arise about it, he left it to the House to debate as soon as they could." Accordingly, the next day the Commons voted those writs and returns irregular, and expelled all the members thus elected.

Though the Chancellor's speech made but little im-

* He refused to put the great seal to the Declaration for Indulgence, as judging it contrary to law: so he was dismissed.

pression on the Commons, they would however show, that in demanding a redress of grievances, as was their intention, they did not act through a spirit of passion and revenge. Wherefore, though they were by no means convinced of the necessity or justice of the war undertaken by the King, they voted a supply of an eighteen months' assessment of seventy thousand pounds per month, which in all amounted to twelve hundred and sixty thousand pounds, for the King's extraordinary occasions, without specifying that it was for the support of the war. But for fear the King should prorogue them when the money-bill was passed, they resolved that the redress of grievances should keep an even pace with it.

For this purpose, the 19th of February the Commons presented an address to the King, against the declaration of indulgence, as an undue exercise of prerogative. The King defended his measure. The commons persisted in their opposition to it; and they represented, that such a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free course of the laws, and alter the legislative power, which had always been acknowledged to reside in the King and the two Houses. All men were in expectation with regard to the issue of this extraordinary affair. The King seemed engaged in honour to support his measure; and in order to prevent all opposition, he had positively declared that he would support it. The Commons were obliged to persevere, not only because it was dishonourable to be foiled, where they could plead such strong reasons, but also because, if the King prevailed in his pretensions, an end seemed to be put to all the legal limitations of constitution.

At this time, Sir Job Charleton, Speaker of the House of Commons, being taken ill, humbly prayed his Majesty, that he might be eased of the burden he was not able longer to sustain. Edward Seymour, so famous in the reign of William III. was, by the court's recommendation, chosen in his room.

The King and the cabal were extremely mistaken in imagining, that the declaration for liberty of conscience, would gain the Presbyterians, in return for so great a favour. The leaders of the Presbyterians were too wise to be taken in so palpable and dangerous a snare. It was easy for them to see, they were only designed for instruments to advance the interests of the Romish religion. When they reflected, that this favour was received from the King, the Duke of York, and the members of the Cabal, they could not believe, it flowed from a principle of religion or humanity. They saw besides so many extraordinary proceedings, so many invasions upon the rights of the people; the Papists indulged in their religion; the King making exorbitant demands upon his Parliament; an army encamped at the very gates of London * in the midst of winter; a war begun, to destroy the only Protestant State capable of supporting religion; and the Papists in the principal posts; all this sufficiently demonstrated, that the suspension of the penal laws was not for their sake. So, instead of thanking the King for this pretended favour, Alderman Love, a city member, and an eminent dissenter, spoke with great warmth against the declaration.† This declaration for liberty of conscience, wrought a great change in the House of Commons. For that House, which had been so fiercely animated against the Presbyterians, seeing them sacrifice their own, to the interest of religion and the kingdom, ordered a bill to be brought in for their ease; a bill by which all the penalties against them in the act of Uniformity were removed, and nothing required but the taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. This bill was read the first time on the 27th of February, and in a very few days was completed. But the Lords having made some amendments, the King prorogued the Parliament before these amendments could be agreed to by the Commons.

There is no plainer indication of what the Parliament thought of the designs of the court in favour of the Papists, than the address presented by both Houses to the King about the same time. This address contained, first complaints on the growth of Popery; on the great resort of Romish priests and jesuits in the kingdom; on the admission of so many recusants into places of trust, and particularly in the army. Upon this address, the King published a proclamation in the usual stile, the seventh of that kind, by which (after a declaration, that as he had always adhered to the church of England, against all temptations whatsoever, so he was resolved to maintain and defend it) he strictly commanded all jesuits and Romish priests to depart the kingdom, and the laws to be put in due execution, against all popish recusants, or justly suspected to be so, &c. This proclamation was not satisfactory to the Commons, because it extended but to one single article of their petition, without any mention of the removal of Papists from places of trust. Wherefore, they proceeded to a new bill, in order to obtain their end, being resolved not to finish the money-bill, till they had procured a redress of their grievances, and particularly a revocation of the declaration for liberty of conscience.

The King was never so perplexed since his restoration. The Cabal had promised to make him absolute, but, after all, suggested no other means, that the using of force, at all hazards. But as the Commons were proceeding, the time was come, that the King must either give way, or break with the Parliament. In this last case, he had too much sense to believe, that a handful of Papists, with a few flattering courtiers and ministers, were able to support him, at a time when he could expect no assistance from France, and when the malcontents might be countenanced by a Dutch fleet. Besides, his Exchequer was empty.

All this was very capable to hold the King in suspence. It is believed, the ladies engaged in this affair, and fearing that a rupture would deprive them of the King's bounties, strongly solicited him to recall his declaration. However that be, the King, after some hesitation, called for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the seal.

The 8th of March the King came to the Parliament, and after pressing the Commons to dispatch the money-bill, said to both Houses,—— "If there be any scruple yet remaining with you touching the suspension of the penal laws, I here faithfully promise you, that what hath been done in that particular, shall not for the future be drawn into example and consequence; and as I daily expect from you a bill for my supply, so I assure you, I shall as willingly receive and pass any other you shall offer me, that may tend to the giving you satisfaction in all your just grievances."

This speech was so agreeable to the Parliament, that both Houses went in a body and thanked the King for so full and satisfactory an answer.

But if the two Houses were pleased, the Cabal was not so. They had formed a project, and prepared a scheme to render the King absolute. They had even taken some steps towards the execution. They saw, to their great astonishment, the King was retreating, when he should have prepared for battle, and consequently the hopes of victory were entirely vanished. But this was not all they had to fear; they were in danger of being abandoned by the King, after this first step, to the resentment of the two Houses.

The Earl of Arlington had, in some measure, deserted the cabal, by his advice to the King, to revoke his declaration for liberty of conscience. The Earl of Shaftsbury soon followed him, but in a manner more surprising, more public, and with more remarkable circumstances. As soon as he saw, the King had not sufficient resolution to execute the great work which was projected, he thought it but just to forsake a Prince, who had forsaken himself, and left his counsellors exposed to danger. This was the second time the Earl

* On Blackheath; raised without advice of Parliament, and under many Popish officers.

† He declared, he had much rather still go without their desired liberty, than have it in a way that would prove so detrimental to the nation.

had experienced the King's inconstancy, and want of resolution. This affair of the declaration was common to him with the rest of the Cabal. But the writs issued out of chancery for the election of members to fill the vacancies in Parliament, were peculiar to him. He had undertaken to issue these writs as Chancellor, on precedents which were never known, upon the King's positive promise to stand by him, and yet, he was deserted by the King, at the first instance of the Commons, or rather before their complaints.

The Earl of Shaftsbury believed, therefore, he had no other way to divert the impending storm, than by quitting the King's party, and throwing himself into the contrary. "He executed this resolution, says Father Orleans, the day after the King resolved to revoke his declaration for liberty of conscience. It was eleven at night before the King had taken his last resolution, and the next morning the Earl of Shaftsbury appeared in the House of Lords, at the head of the most violent party, against the Catholic religion, the Dutch war, and the union with France."

Immediately after this change in the Earl of Shaftsbury, the Commons passed a bill, afterwards called the Test act, intituled, "An act for preventing the dangers which may happen from Popish recusants." This act required, that all persons enjoying any office or place of trust or profit, should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy in public and open court, and should also receive the sacrament in some Parish church, immediately after divine service; and deliver a certificate signed by the ministers and church wardens, attested by the oaths of two credible witnesses, and put upon record: and that all persons taking the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy should likewise make and subscribe this following declaration——"I do declare, that I do believe, that there is not any transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of bread or wine, at, or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever."——This bill readily passed the House of Commons, and after some difficulties, was also approved by the Lords.

Besides this bill there was another preparing to prevent intermarriages between Protestants and Papists. This tended directly to break the present negotiation of the Duke of York's marriage with an Archduchess of Inspruck,* and to hinder him from marrying any other Catholic Princess. The King, in the meanwhile, was very uneasy, as he saw, the Parliament was informed of his secret resolutions, and effectual measures were taken to prevent their execution. Wherefore he quickened the Commons by several messages, to finish the money bill. But, instead of satisfying him, the Commons, having provided for the security of religion, presented him two addresses of grievances, one concerning England, the other Ireland. In the former they mentioned an arbitrary imposition on coals for providing convoys, the exercise of martial law, the quartering and pressing of soldiers; and they prayed, that after the conclusion of the war, the whole army should be disbanded. The King gave a gracious, though an evasive answer. When business was finished, the two Houses adjourned themselves.

After this the money bill passed without opposition. But, not to approve expressly the war for which this money was intended, the bill was intituled, "A supply for his Majesty's extraordinary occasions,"† and a particular proviso was tacked to it, "That no Papist should be capable of holding any public employment."

A. D. 1673.] Before the bill in favour of the Protestant dissenters and some others were ready, the King came to the Parliament the 29th of March, and passed several acts, amongst which were the money bill, the Test act, and an act for a general and free pardon, but with many exceptions. Then he adjourned the Parliament to the 20th of October.

The Test act having received the royal assent, most of the Catholic officers quitted their places. The Duke of York himself who was Lord High Admiral, resigned that profitable office, and the Lord Clifford that of High Treasurer. He retired to his paternal estate in Devonshire, where he died shortly after.

While these things passed in the Parliament, preparations for the sea war were making in England and Holland with equal ardour and vast expence. The Duke of York having resigned his office of Lord High Admiral, Prince Rupert was appointed to command the fleet. Ruyter having secret intelligence, that the English fleet would not be ready so soon, put to sea with forty-two men of war, and sixteen vessels to be sunk in the Thames.‡ He came into the mouth of the river the 2d of May, where he found he had been misinformed, and that forty-five large ships were coming to attack him. Upon this disappointment, he retired to expect the rest of his fleet at Schonevelt in Zealand. In this interval, Prince Rupert sailed to meet the French fleet coming from Brest, and joined them in the channel the 16th of May. After this junction, the combined fleet consisted of one hundred and forty sail of all sorts, of which there were thirty large French ships. The Dutch fleet had but a hundred and nine sail, namely, fifty-four large ships, fourteen frigates, twenty-four fireships, eleven advice-boats, and six galliots. This year was signalized by three naval engagements, fought with such equal loss, that neither could justly boast of victory, though both challenged it in every battle. The first was fought near Schonevelt the 28th of May. The second off Flushing the 4th of June, but this was rather a cannonading of about four hours, after which, both sides retired to their respective coasts. The third, fought the 11th of August, was the most obstinate. The English lost Vice Admiral Spragg, who was drowned in changing his ship,§ and the Dutch, Vice Admiral Sweers. The loss of the great ships in these three engagements was inconsiderable, but on both sides many lesser ones were either burnt or sunk.

The King of France took Maestricht in June, and the Prince of Orange, Naerden, a town near Amsterdam, in September, and afterwards Bonn, the residence of the Elector of Cologne, in October. These two conquests, and the necessity the King of France was under to maintain the war against Spain, (which had at last declared against him, besides that the Emperor, and several German Princes, were also upon the point of declaring for the States) obliged him to abandon all his conquests in the United Provinces, except Maestricht and Grave, where he left garrisons, after having drawn out all the rest in November.

In the mean time, a congress was held at Cologne for peace, but with no success.

The 19th of June the King, at Buckingham's recommendation, made Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards Earl of Danby, Lord Treasurer.

The Parliament was now assembled (October 20,) and discovered much greater symptoms of ill humour than had appeared in the last session. They had seen for some time a negotiation of marriage carried on between the Duke of York and the Archduchess of Inspruck, a Catholic of the Austrian family; and they had made no opposition. But when that negotiation failed, and the Duke applied to a Princess of the House of Modena, then in close alliance with France; this circumstance, joined to so many other grounds of dis-

* The articles of that marriage were concluded in October 1672; and, as the Earl of Arlington sent word to Sir William Godolphin, "upon terms somewhat incongruous as to our government here, but in substance much to his Majesty's and Royal Highness's satisfaction." But though the Princess of Inspruck's religion pleased the French King, the interest this marriage would bring with it, did not; so that he pronounced for the Princess of Modena. The Duke had, before this, made his addresses to the Lady Bellasis, who was a Protestant.

† The sum granted was twelve hundred thirty-eight thousand, seven hundred and fifty pounds.

‡ In order to stop the Canary, Bourdeaux, and Newcastle fleets from coming in.

§ He was forced to remove out of his ship into the St. George, but this soon after losing her main-mast, he was obliged to leave her; and as he was going on board the Royal Charles, his barge was sunk with a cannon-shot. In this last engagement, Sir William Reeves and Captain Heyman were also lost; and also Captain le Neve, and Captain Merryweather, both foot officers.

content

content, raised the Commons into a flame and, they remonstrated with the greatest zeal against the intended marriage. The King told them, that their remonstrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The Commons still insisted; and proceeding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the standing army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared, that the Dutch were so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions of peace.

The 4th of November, the King came unexpectedly to the House of Peers, and sent for the Commons. It happened that the Speaker and the Usher of the Black Rod met both at the door of the House of Commons, but, as the Speaker was within the House, the door was immediately shut against the Usher, who came with the King's message. The Speaker was forced into the chair, and while the Usher continued knocking at the door, the House voted:

"I. That the alliance with France was a grievance.

"II. That the evil counsellors about the King were a grievance.

"III. That the Duke of Lauderdale was a grievance, and not fit to be trusted or employed in any office or place of trust."

Upon which there was a general cry, to the Question, to the Question! But, the Black Rod knocking earnestly at the door, the Speaker leaped out of the chair, and the House rose in great confusion. When the Commons came to the House of Lords, the King made a short speech to both Houses, in which he represented the great advantages which the enemy would reap from the least appearance of a difference between him and his Parliament.——He told them, he would not be wanting to let all his subjects see, "That no care could be greater than his own in the effectual suppressing of Popery." He then prorogued the Parliament to the 7th day of January following, and thus put an end to the twelfth session of this long Parliament, which had continued but nine days.

Immediately after the prorogation of the Parliament, the King took the Great Seal from the Earl of Shaftsbury, and gave it to Sir Heneage Finch, with the title of Lord Keeper. Soon after the King ordered that no person who was a Roman Catholic, or reputed to be so, should presume to come near his person or court. He likewise published a proclamation for the rigorous execution of the laws against Papists. This was the eighth of the kind since his restoration, and executed as the other seven.

But this proclamation was not capable to remove the fears occasioned by the Duke of York's marriage with the Princess of Modena, which was consummated the 21st of November, on the day of her arrival in England with the Duchess her mother.

A. D. 1673-4.] The Parliament meeting the 7th of January, the King represented to both Houses—— "That no proposals of peace from the Dutch had been yet offered with an intent to conclude, but only to amuse; that therefore, the way to a good peace, was to set out a good fleet, which there was time enough to do effectually, if the supply was not delayed.——That a speedy, a proportionable, and above all, a cheerful aid, was now more necessary than ever."

In a word, the King's and the Keeper's speeches were founded upon this principle, that the war with the States was just and necessary, and consequently to be vigorously maintained, in order to an honourable peace. The Parliament, without regarding his words, considered his actions, and laboured to take effectual measures, to prevent the execution of the court's designs. There were many things concerning which they openly expressed their fear and discontent.

I. The growth of Popery publicly encouraged by the court.

II. The exorbitant power of France, which in the end could not but prove prejudicial to England.

III. The Dutch war, undertaken directly contrary to the interest of England, and for which however the King was incessantly demanding supplies, on a supposition of its being just and necessary, though he had alledged no lawful cause for it.

IV. The management of affairs in Ireland, where the act of establishment was openly trampled upon, and Papists continually advanced or encouraged.

V. The King's proceedings in England, which were clear evidences of his principles and designs; namely, his raising a land army without any necessity; his granting liberty of conscience by his sole authority; his shutting up the Exchequer; his dispensing with acts of Parliament; his making a strict alliance with France, when he should rather have used his endeavours to oppose the increase of her greatness.

VI. The open profession of the Popish religion by the Duke of York, and his marriage with a Popish Princess, authorised by the King notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Parliament.

VII. The three ministers, still employed by the King, namely, Arlington, Buckingham, and Lauderdale, all three of the most arbitrary principles, plainly shewed, it was not for the good of the kingdom, that the King used their counsels.

These were too real causes of complaint to be silenced by the King's general protestations, on every occasion, to maintain the laws and religion. Something more substantial than words was necessary to dispel the suspicions and fears of the people and Parliament. Wherefore the Parliament began with applications for a general fast; by which they intimated, that the nation was in a very calamitous condition: they addressed against the King's guards, which they represented as dangerous to liberty, and even as illegal, since they never yet had received the sanction of Parliament: they took some steps towards establishing a new and more rigorous test against Popery; and what chiefly alarmed the court, they made an attack on the members of the Cabal, to whose pernicious counsels they attributed all their present grievances. Clifford was dead, Shaftsbury had made his peace with the country party, and was become their leader; Buckingham was endeavouring to imitate Shaftsbury; but his intentions were as yet known to very few. A motion was therefore made in the House of Commons for his impeachment: he desired to be heard at the bar; but expressed himself in so confused and ambiguous a manner, as gave little satisfaction. He was required to answer, precisely, little queries, which they proposed to him. These regarded all the articles of misconduct above mentioned; and among the rest, the following query seems remarkable: "By whose advice was the army brought up to overawe the debates and resolutions of the House of Commons?" This shews to what length the suspicions of the House were at that time carried. Buckingham, in all his answers, endeavoured to exculpate himself, and to blame Lord Arlington. He succeeded not in the former intention: the Commons voted an address for his removal. But Arlington, who was on many accounts obnoxious to the House, was attacked: articles were drawn up against him, though the impeachment was never prosecuted.

After this, the Commons proceeded to prepare a bill for a general test, by which every person refusing to take it, should be made incapable to enjoy any office civil or military, to sit in either House of Parliament, or to come within five miles of the court. The test was in these words:

"I do solemnly, from my heart, and in the presence of Almighty God profess, testify and declare, that I do not believe in my conscience that the church of Rome is the only Catholic and universal church of Christ, out of which there is no salvation; or that the Pope hath any jurisdiction or supremacy over the Catholic church in general, or over myself in particular; or that it belongs to the said church of Rome, alone to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; or that in the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, there is made a perfect change of the whole substance of the bread into Christ's body, or of the whole substance of the wine into Christ's blood, which change the said church of Rome calleth transubstantiation; or that the

Virgin Mary, or any other saint, ought to be worshipped or prayed unto: and all these aforesaid doctrines and positions, I do renounce and disclaim, as false and erroneous, and contrary to God's word, and the Christian religion."

The King had already given his consent to an act which imposed much the same oath. But that was only for those who were in office or employment, whereas this was universally, and might be required of all suspected persons. But, before the bill was ready, the King prorogued the Parliament, and so defeated both this, and several other bills tending to the same end.

Since the States General had perceived that the Parliament approved not of the war the King was making upon them, they had never ceased to solicit the King to a separate peace, and had offered him whatever he could reasonably expect. But he first pretended to find in the offers of the States, only ambiguous or insolent propositions, and from thence took occasion to reject them. But affairs at length took a turn which obliged him to come into other measures. He did not know which way to turn himself for the continuance of the war, as he saw his Parliament little inclined to furnish the means. He therefore began by degrees, to discover, that he should not be averse to a reasonable peace, provided the States would have such regard to his honour as he had room to expect. When there was no other difficulty, the States wrote him a very submissive letter, and at the same time sent full powers to the Marquis del Fresno, the Spanish ambassador at London, to conclude a peace in their name, on the conditions already offered, but rejected by the King, on pretence they were only designed to amuse him. These proposals were so reasonable, and offered in so solemn a manner, that they could not be rejected without alarming the whole kingdom, and confirming the suspicions, which were but too general, that this war was not designed for the advantage of the people. Besides, the King's affairs required a speedy peace.*

Presently after the receipt of the States' letter, the King came to the Parliament the 24th of January, and communicated to both Houses the offers from the Dutch, desiring their advice on this affair. They answered, that it was their opinion, his Majesty should proceed in a treaty with the States, in order to a speedy peace. From that time, all difficulties relating to the peace were removed, in the conferences between the Marquis del Fresno, and the King's commissioners, and the treaty was concluded in a few days.

The Commons proceeded to take into consideration the grievances of the nation. They insisted chiefly upon keeping an army composed of regular troops, and after a vote that it was a grievance to the kingdom, they resolved to address the King for disbanding all forces raised since the year 1663. The examination of this affair gradually led them to that of the horse and foot guards, established by the King without the concurrence or approbation of the Parliament. It was found, that they were of vast charge to the King and kingdom: that they were a standing army in disguise, which might be easily augmented: that guards were only in use in arbitrary governments: that they were altogether useless, as appeared from the King's daily trusting his person to his people without a guard.

This debate was interrupted by the King's coming to the House of Peers, the 11th of February. The Commons being sent for, the King communicated to both Houses, that he had signed the peace with the Dutch. He told them moreover, in answer to their address concerning the forces, that he had given orders for disbanding even more than were desired, and for sending back the Irish regiments. He added, that he must needs acquaint them, that there was a great want of capital ships, and he should be glad to be equal in number with his neighbours: he hoped therefore to have their assistance on such an occasion, to preserve the honour and safety of the nation. The Houses thanked him for the peace he had made, and for his gracious answer to their address.

This however was not capable to induce the Commons to suspend their debates upon the grievances.

The King, therefore, to defeat their designs, made use of his constant method, and coming to the Parliament the 24th of February, prorogued it to the 10th of November following, before any bill was ready for the royal assent. Thus ended the 13th session of this Parliament, after sitting six weeks and three days. The prorogation was afterwards continued, and lasted about fourteen months.

The peace was proclaimed the 28th of February in London, with much greater demonstrations of joy and satisfaction from the people, than the war had been two years before. The sole difference between this peace and that of Breda was, that the ships and vessels belonging to the States, whether single or in fleets, should strike the flag, and lower their top-sail to those of England,† whether single or in fleets, provided they carried the King's flag. Moreover the States were to pay the King eight hundred thousand patacoons, at four payments, namely, two hundred thousand on the exchange of the ratifications, and the rest at three payments, within the space of three years. Thus the people of England discharged the expence of this war, and the King alone reaped the benefit.

A. D. 1674.] The King finding himself freed from the cares of war, and the uneasiness caused by the Parliament, abandoned himself entirely to a soft, indolent, and effeminate life. The Duchess of Orleans his sister had brought him, at their interview at Dover, the daughter of a gentleman of Bretagne, called de Queroualle, who commanded the King's affection beyond any of his mistresses, and was created Duchess of Portsmouth. But his particular fondness for her did not prevent his having many others, by whom he had several children, educated with no small expence. In a word, not to dwell on what passed at a court so corrupted as that of Charles II. we shall only say, that the King's mistresses had engrossed the whole credit of the court, and that he could refuse them nothing.

It does not appear, that France complained much of Charles for deserting her, in making a separate peace with the Dutch. This caused several politicians to think, that the King of France had given a full consent to this peace in order to make Charles mediator between him and his enemies, whose number was greatly increased, since the last year. When the King was assured that his mediation was accepted by France, he sent Sir William Temple into Holland to offer the same to the States. As their towns and provinces were now recovered, except Maestricht, and Grave, they passionately wished for peace.

At the very time, however, that Charles performed the office of a mediator, he received from France an annual pension of one hundred thousand pounds sterling. Moreover it appears in Coleman's letters, the Duke of York's secretary, that there was a close union between the King of France, and the Duke of York, and that the latter entirely relied on the assistance of France for the execution of the project formed in favour of the English Papists. This manifestly shows, that Charles had not desisted from his first designs, and only waited a favourable opportunity to execute them, when France, discharged from the burden of this present war, should be in a condition to grant him the necessary assistance.

During these transactions, the Papists of England were labouring to prevail with the King to dissolve a Parliament which was so opposite to them: this appears also in Coleman's letters. But the King did not think proper to take such a step so soon.

In September, the Earl of Arlington was made Lord

* Lewis IV. strenuously opposed the conclusion of this peace, and offered King Charles five millions and a half, with forty men of war, if he would break the negotiations. After the signing of the peace, King Charles told the French Ambassador, that he had been doing a thing that went more against his heart, than the losing of his right hand.

† From Cape Finisterre, to Point Van Staten in Norway.

Chamberlain of the King's household, and Sir Joseph Williamson, who had been plenipotentiary at the congress of Cologne, was made secretary in his room. The Duke of Buckingham, who had been the King's principal favourite, so far lost his favour and credit, that the King declared his office of Chancellor of Cambridge vacant, and influenced the election in favour of his natural son the Duke of Monmouth.

A. D. 1675.] The fourteenth session of this Parliament began the 13th of April. The Commons thanked the King for the speech with which he opened it, and immediately proceeded to a new bill against the growth of Popery, and particularly Popish priests, who had received orders from the see of Rome. This done, they presented an address against the Duke of Lauderdale, in which they humbly besought his Majesty to remove the said Duke for ever from his person and council. The King did not think proper to grant this request, and gave some reasons for his refusal, which were not satisfactory to the Commons. And therefore they prepared a second address against the Duke.

The Commons, after attacking the old members of the cabal, proceeded against a new one, namely, the Lord Treasurer Danby, who was believed to be deeply engaged in the design of making the King absolute. They examined his whole conduct since his admission to his high post, and drew up several articles, in which they accused him of great misdemeanors. But as sufficient proofs were not found to support the charge, it was dropped.

The Commons showed their distrust in another point no less grievous to the King. By an address they prayed him to recall his troops out of France, and prevent his subjects from engaging in that service for the future. The King rejected the first part of the address, on pretence that, in the treaty concluded with the States, he had not engaged to recall those troops, and that it could not be done without prejudice to the peace, which he now enjoyed with all his neighbours: but by a proclamation he prohibited his subjects from entering into the service of France.

The House of Lords were at last apprehensive, that the Commons intended to overturn every thing established concerning the royal prerogative and the church's security, and that by degrees the nation would again become Republican and Presbyterian. To prevent an evil which to them appeared very dangerous, the Earl of Lindsey brought into the House of Lords a bill, intituled, "An act to prevent the dangers which may arise from persons disaffected to the government." By this bill all persons who enjoyed any office, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, all privy counsellors and members of Parliament, were obliged, under a penalty, to take the oath which had been introduced, first in the corporation act, then in the militia act, and afterwards more fully in the five-mile-act.*

This bill occasioned debates in the Upper House, which lasted seventeen days, without a possibility of coming to any conclusion. There were two powerful parties in the House, one for, and the other against the bill, and the votes of the Bishops turned the scale on the side of the former.

This affair was interrupted by an accident which raised a violent contest between the two Houses. One Dr. Shirley having brought an appeal in the House of Lords, from a decree in Chancery, against Sir John Fagg, a member of the House of Commons, they ordered Shirley to be taken into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms for a breach of privilege. The warrant for taking Shirley into custody was forcibly taken from the serjeant's deputy, by the Lord Mohun. The Commons demanded justice of the Peers against the Lord Mohun, and were answered by the Lords, that he had only done his duty. The quarrel thus begun, daily increased, so that the Houses, in their answers and replies, came to language so reproachful, that there was no hope of an accommodation. Wherefore the King came to the House of Peers the 9th of June, and prorogued the Parliament to the 13th of October. Thus ended the 14th session of this Parliament, before the money bill, and other public bills were ready for the royal assent.†

During the campaign of 1675, the King of France lost the famous Marshal Turenne, who had done him very great services. He was killed by a cannon ball in an action not important in itself, but rendered so by the death of this general, his army being obliged to repass the Rhine. Their retreat facilitated the recovery of Treves to the allies, which was yet in the hands of the French. In the beginning of the year, the contending powers had agreed, after long negotiations, to treat of a peace in the city of Nimeguen. But nothing considerable was done this year.

The 13th of October the King opened the 15th session of this Parliament with a very short speech, in which, after recommending union to both Houses, and the interests of the church of England, he demanded money, as well for building ships, as for taking off the anticipations upon his revenues, desiring them to remember, it was now above three years since he had asked any thing of them for his own private use.

But the Commons, instead of being moved by such unseasonable rhetoric, and by such ill grounded reasons, resumed the consideration of the bills left unfinished the last session, for the liberty of the subject, and added others for its better security. Afterwards they took into consideration the sums granted to the King for the last war, and the expences of the same, and found, that the charges amounted to a million less than the receipt, and without being able to discover to what uses this million had been applied.

In the report made of this affair, it was said, that the Parliament was not obliged to pay the King's private debts by a tax, for if this pretension was admitted, they would have to pay the like debts about a year and half hence, and so encourage the court to exact yearly a million and a half, as they had hitherto done: that since the end of the war, the whole charge of the government, both by sea and land, amounted not to above seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the clear income of the revenue came at least to sixteen hundred thousand, and consequently there ought to have been a yearly remainder of near a million: and yet the King had anticipated his revenues near a million more, to pay which, would be to entail perpetual anticipation upon the kingdom, to its utter ruin and desolation. The Parliament therefore resolved to grant the King nothing for taking off these anticipations. Nevertheless, a few days after they voted a supply of three hundred thousand pounds sterling for the building of twenty large ships of war, but withal resolved to appropriate tonnage and poundage to the use of the navy, which could not but be very disagreeable to the King.

But all the bills prepared by the Commons, were unhappily stifled in their birth by the revival of the former contest between the two Houses. This dispute about privileges was managed with such heat on both sides, that it was moved in the House of Lords, to present an address to the King to dissolve the Parliament, and the question being put, it was passed in the negative by only two voices. At last, the King seeing, no expedient could be possibly found to reconcile the two Houses, prorogued the Parliament from the 22d of November to the 15th of February 1677.

A. D. 1675-6.] As there was to be no meeting of

* The oath, was thus expressed, "I do declare that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against the King; and that I do abhor the traiterous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commission: and I do swear, that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the government either in church or state. So help me God."

† The Commons had designed to grant the King three hundred thousand pounds sterling, but at the same time resolved to apply the ancient tonnage and poundage, to the maintenance of the navy, according to its original design, which amounted to four hundred thousand pounds a year.

Parliament the next year, the Catholics, and the court, which openly protected them, were less reserved, and appeared more active. This gave great uneasiness to the people, who, besides, saw with concern the growing greatness of Lewis XIV. and the indolence of the King, who, instead of being uneasy or jealous, manifestly seemed to behold it with pleasure. It may be affirmed, that the principal article of Charles II.'s reign consists, in the perpetual opposition between the particular interests of the King, and those of the English nation. All the world saw and were sensible of it. It was the common talk, and the subject of daily libels. The King therefore by proclamation suppressed all coffee houses, on pretence of being places where disaffected persons met, and devised malicious and scandalous reports against the King and his ministers. Immediately after was published another proclamation, for discovering and punishing the writers, who daily published libels in London against the government.

Though all the contending powers had, the last year, consented to send their plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, to treat of a peace, by the mediation of England, there was no great likelihood of a general peace. Sir William Temple and Sir Leoline Jenkins, the English mediators and ambassadors, repaired to Nimeguen in July, and only found there the plenipotentiaries of France, and those of the States General. The Emperor, the King of Spain, the Elector of Brandenburg, retarded the negotiations, as much as possible, in hopes, that the King of England, being concerned in the preservation of the Netherlands, would not suffer them to fall under the dominion of France, and that this would oblige him in the end to declare for the allies. But they were extremely mistaken in imagining that the interest of England was that of the King. It was this that made the proceedings of the English court always unintelligible to them, as well as to the rest of the Princes of Europe, who were ignorant of Charles's secret designs, and his engagements with France.

At the beginning of the campaign of 1676, the King of France took Condé and Bouchain, after which, in June he returned to Paris, leaving his army to the conduct of the Count de Schomberg. On the other side, the Prince of Orange besieged Maestricht towards the end of July, which gave Schomberg time to take Aire, and march to the relief of Maestricht. His approach, and some other accidents, obliged the Prince to raise the siege.

The campaign being ended, all eyes were turned to the negotiations at Nimeguen. It soon appeared, that the design of France was only to divide the allies, and make a separate peace with the States. The King of England had also the same view, and therein assisted France with all his power, having sent orders to Sir William Temple, to endeavour to persuade the States, and the Prince of Orange, to give their consent. The States were inclineable enough, but the Prince of Orange could not be prevailed with, who thought, it would be a betraying of the common cause, and the interests of the Princes, who had engaged in the preservation of Holland, which without their assistance had been irrecoverably lost.

Since the King had made peace with Holland, the French privateers infested the Channel in such a manner, that without any regard to the neutrality of England, they seized her ships, and, as if in open war, made prizes of them.* It was proved, that they had taken fifty three since the peace. The King sent orders to his ambassador at Paris to make complaints on this occasion; but that was all the satisfaction the merchants could obtain.

A. D. 1676-7.] This prorogation, the longest that ever was known, raised a doubt, whether by it the Parliament was not actually dissolved. This doubt was owing to a statute of Edward III. never repealed, whereby it was enacted, that a Parliament should be held once every year, and oftener if occasion required. This dispute made a great noise in the kingdom, and books were published on both sides of the question. In general the court party maintained, that the Parliament was not dissolved, and the contrary party pretended it could not meet, after a fifteen months' interruption.

The Parliament however met the 15th of February, according to the prorogation. The King in his speech to both Houses declared, "That he was prepared to give them all the satisfaction and security in the great concerns of the Protestant religion as established in the church of England, that should be reasonably asked, or could consist with Christian prudence. And he declared himself as freely, that he was ready to gratify them in a further security of their liberty and property, (if they could think it was wanted) by as many good laws as they should propose, and as could consist with the safety of the government, without which there could be neither liberty nor property left to any man." After this, he told them, "That he expected and required from them, that all occasions of differences between the two Houses should be carefully avoided. In the next place, he desired them to consider the necessity of building more ships, and how much all their safeties were concerned in it—And as they knew him to be under a great burden of debts, he hoped, they would not deny him the continuance of the additional revenue of excise, which was near expiring—— And, that they might be satisfied how impossible it was (whatever some men thought) to support the government with less than the present revenue, they might at any time see the yearly established charge, by which it would appear, that the constant and unavoidable charge being paid, there would remain no overplus towards the discharging those contingencies which might happen in all kingdoms, and which had been a considerable charge to him the last year."

As soon as the Commons were withdrawn, the Duke of Buckingham made a long speech, to prove, that the Parliament was dissolved by the last prorogation. He grounded his opinion chiefly upon the statute of Edward III. namely, "That a Parliament should be holden every year once, and more often, if need be." The Duke was seconded by the Earls of Salisbury and Shaftsbury, and the Lord Wharton. At last, after great debates, the House sent all four to the Tower, whence they were shortly after released, except the Earl of Shaftsbury, who was continued there above a year, because he would not own the justice of his imprisonment.

A few days after, the Commons voted the King a tax of five hundred and eighty-four thousand pounds, to build thirty ships, without appropriating tonnage and poundage. Besides, they continued for three years the additional tax upon beer, which was to expire the 24th of June.

It appeared soon after, that their grand affair was to stop the great progress of France in the Netherlands, and engage the King in a war with that kingdom, for which purpose they addressed him, representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the greatness of France, and praying, that his Majesty, by such alliances as he should think fit, would both secure his own dominions and the Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fear of his people. The King, desirous of eluding this application, which he considered as a kind of attack on his measures, replied in general terms, that he would use all means for the preservation of Flanders, consistent with the peace and safety of his kingdoms. This answer was an evasion, or rather a denial. The Commons, therefore, thought proper to be more explicit. They entreated him not to defer the entering into such alliances as might attain that great end: and in case war with the French King should be the result of his measures, they promised to grant him all the aids and supplies, which would enable him to support the honour and interest of the nation. The King was also more explicit in his reply. He told

* Pretending they were only Dutch ships with English passes.

them,

them, that the only way to prevent danger, was to put him in a condition to make preparations for their security. This message was understood to be a demand of money. The Parliament accordingly empowered the King to borrow on the additional excise 200,000 pounds at seven per cent: a very small sum indeed; but which they deemed sufficient, with the ordinary revenue, to equip a good squadron, and thereby put the nation in security, till farther resolutions should be taken. But this concession fell far short of the King's expectations. He therefore informed them, that, unless they granted him the sum of 600,000 pounds upon new funds, it would not be possible for him, without exposing the nation to manifest danger, "To speak or act those things," which would answer the end of their several addresses. The House took this message into consideration: but before they came to any resolution, the King sent for them to Whitehall, where he told them, upon the word of a King, that they should not repent any trust which they would repose in him for the safety of his kingdom; that he would not for any consideration break credit with them, or employ their money to other uses than those for which they intended it: but that he would not hazard, either his own safety or theirs, by taking any vigorous measures, or forming new alliances, till he were in a better condition both to defend his subjects and to offend his enemies.

This Speech occasioned great debates in the Commons. The court-party proposed a speedy grant of the desired supply, to enable the King to make alliances, otherwise, they could not be expected to be made; and alledged, that the King had the same power of making war and leagues, as the House had in giving money; he could not have money without them, nor they alliances without him. The contrary party remarked, that nothing positive was promised by the King, except that he would provide for the safety of the kingdom, which might be explained several ways, without any assurance it should be understood in the sense of the Commons. As for saying that the King would make alliances when he should have the supply, the expression was too general to hazard upon it a sum of six hundred thousand pounds. But if alliances were made forthwith, and declared to day, the six hundred thousand pounds would be granted to morrow.

This last opinion prevailed, such was the distrust conceived of the King. So, the House voted an address, wherein they "brought his Majesty to enter into a league offensive and defensive, with the States-General of the United Provinces, against the growth and power of the French King, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and to make such other alliances with the confederates as should appear fit and useful to that end." They supported their advice with reason, and promised speedy and effectual supplies, for preserving his Majesty's honour, and ensuring the safety of the public.

The King receiving this address the 26th of May, sent two days after for the Commons to Whitehall, and sharply reproved them for invading his prerogative, in requiring him to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the States General. At the conclusion he declared his pleasure to them, that the House be adjourned till the 16th of July, telling them, he would give them notice by his proclamation when he intended they should sit again, which, he said, would not be till winter, unless some extraordinary occasion should happen.

We learn from Sir William Temple himself, that whilst he was at Nimeguen as Plenipotentiary-mediator for a peace, he was sent for to London by the King, on pretence of making him Secretary of State, but in reality to dispatch him to the Hague, to endeavour to persuade the Prince of Orange to consent to a separate peace with France. But Temple declined a commission which he had before tried to execute, without being able to succeed. This shows with what zeal the King endeavoured to serve France, which only wanted to divide the allies by such an expedient. It is certain, the King of France, though till now superior to his enemies, was little able longer to sustain a war with almost all Europe united against him. It was therefore in the King of England's power to procure a just and reasonable peace, by declaring against France, as he was desired by the Parliament. But this could never be obtained of him. On the contrary, fearing to be forced to it at last by the clamours of his people, he secretly laboured to procure France an advantageous peace, by the division of her enemies.

Sir William Temple having refused to be employed upon this errand, Mr. Laurence Hyde was sent to the Hague, to try to gain the States and Prince of Orange.

The King had the more hopes of prevailing with the Prince; as there had been some time since a proposal from him for his marriage with the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, and as he did not doubt, that to succeed in that affair, the Prince would grant every thing desired of him concerning the separate peace with France. It was for this end probably, that the King permitted the Prince his nephew to come to his court, and solicit his affairs in person: but without any positive assurance that his addresses would be well received. The Prince could not leave the army before the campaign was ended, and therefore arrived not in England till the 9th of October, when he landed at Harwich, and from thence went to the court. The court, which was then at New-market, being returned to London, the Prince had a sight of the Princess, and then demanded her in form of the King and Duke of York, by whom his proposal was differently received. The Duke of York seemed very cold, and the King appeared to embrace it with joy: but it was on condition that he and the Prince should previously agree upon the terms of a general peace. The Prince was absolutely against speaking of a peace till after the marriage, and the King as resolute to agree upon the plan of a peace before the marriage should be concluded. They continued five or six days fixed to their resolutions. The Prince acquainted the King, by Sir William Temple, "That his allies, who were likely to have hard terms of the peace, as things then stood, would be apt to believe, that he had made his match at their cost, and for his part he would never sell his honour for a wife." All this was not capable to divert the King from his resolution, and the affair seemed upon the point of breaking off. But all was reconciled. Temple paying a visit to the Prince one night after supper, was told by him, "That he repented coming into England, and resolved to be gone in two days, if the King continued in his mind of treating upon the peace before he was married; but that before he went, the King must chuse how they should live hereafter; for he was sure it must be either like the greatest friends, or the greatest enemies; and desired Sir William to let his Majesty know so next morning, and give him an account of what he should say upon it." Sir William, in discharge of his commission, represented to the King the ill consequences of a breach with the Prince, considering the ill humours of so many of his subjects on account of his engagements with France, and the invitation made the Prince by several of them during the late war. The King having heard him with great attention, answered, "I never yet was deceived in judging a man's honesty by his looks,——and if I am not deceived in the Prince's face he is the honestest man in the world; and I will trust him, and he shall have his wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my brother so, and that it is a thing I am resolved on." The Duke of York appeared at first a little surprized, but however answered, the King would be obeyed, and he should be glad his subjects should learn from him the obedience which they owed to their Sovereign,——adding, "I tell him my opinion very freely upon any thing, but when that is done, and I know his pleasure upon it, I obey him." Immediately after Sir William waited on the Prince with the agreeable news. The same day, the marriage-articles were drawn and agreed, the Princess's portion being forty thousand pounds sterling, and the day after the King declared the marriage in full council. The city of London testified an extraordinary joy at the news,

and Sir Francis Chaplin the Lord Mayor invited the King to a magnificent entertainment the 29th of October. The marriage was consummated on the Prince's birth-day, the 4th of November.

A few days after, the King, the Duke of York, the Prince of Orange, the Lord-Treasurer, and Sir William Temple, entered into conference for settling the scheme of a general peace, and after some debates, agreed upon these terms: "All should be restored by France to the Emperor, that had been taken from him in the war, the Duchy of Lorraine to that Duke, and all on both sides between France and Holland: and to Spain, the towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenard, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guillain, and Binch. That the Prince of Orange should endeavour to procure the consent of Spain; and the King that of France, for which purpose he should send some persons immediately over with the proposition, who was to demand a positive answer in two days." The Lord Duras, afterwards Earl of Faversham, a creature of the Duke of York, was the person fixed upon to execute this commission.

The Prince and Princess of Orange embarked for Holland shortly after. The King positively assured the Prince, he would never depart from the scheme agreed upon for a general peace, and that if France refused her consent, he would declare war against her. Yet, the Prince had the mortification before his departure, to see the adjournment of the Parliament prolonged from the 3d of December to the 4th of April.

The court of France was extremely surprized, as well with the scheme of the peace, as the manner in which it was pretended to impose it on them. But whether the Lord Duras had secret orders to give hopes, that the scheme might be altered, or it was not despaired to gain the King of England, the Envoy, after staying some days beyond his commission, returned without an answer, or at least with an answer of no signification. It contained only, "That the most Christian King hoped, his brother would not break with him upon one or two towns, to which England had no pretension, but however, he would send orders to his Ambassador at London, to treat with his Majesty himself." It is known, the King of France offered Mr. Montague, the English Ambassador, large sums for the King, and the Treasurer, which were not accepted, at least openly; but on the other hand, the King suffered himself to be so mollified by the offers or artifices of France, that the scheme of peace agreed on with the Prince of Orange, was at last reduced to nothing, and no more heard of.

From the Lord Duras's return, to the meeting of the Parliament, the King was actually negotiating with the King of France, the terms on which he was to resist the solicitations of his Parliament, and prevent his declaring for the allies. This appeared openly in the Parliament itself, by the letters of the Lord-Treasurer Danby, produced before the Commons in 1678, by Mr. Montague, Ambassador at the French court; and subsequently a fuller conviction was given of this by Mr. Montague's letters, published by the Earl of Danby, in the reign of William III.

The King, after prolonging the adjournment to April 1678, thought proper to assemble the Parliament, the 15th of January, and as soon as they met, to adjourn the Commons, by a message, to the 28th of the same month.

A. D. 1677-8.] The King had not prolonged the adjournment of the Parliament to the 28th of January, in order to find expedients for a general peace, as the Treasurer told Montague in his letter of the 26th of January, but to have time to receive the news of a league with Holland, which was indeed signed the 16th of January. This league was very far from answering the desires of the Parliament. It was properly but defensive, to prevent the King of France from pursuing his conquests in the Netherlands. Supported by this league, however, which, according to him, was to produce wonderful effects, he made a Speech to both Houses, in which he allowed, that a good peace could no longer be expected from negotiation, and assured them that he was resolved to enter into a war for that purpose.

In the House of Commons were men of sufficient abilities to discover the King's artifices, and instruct their fellow members, wherein they succeeded the more easily, as above two thirds of the House were little inclined to trust to the King's word. It was therefore resolved, after great debates, to present an address to the King, the substance of which was,——"That they besought him not to admit of any treaty of peace, whereby the French King should be left in possession of any greater dominion or power, than was left him by the Pyrenean treaty: that no trade be admitted with France, or any goods suffered to be imported from thence, on pain of forfeiture. And when he should be pleased to communicate his alliances to them in Parliament, they would give such ready assistance, on all occasions, as might bring the war to a happy conclusion."

This address threw the King, in his turn, into a great perplexity. However, upon his reproving the Commons, they seemed penitent, and voted, that they would assist his Majesty in the prosecution of the war. A fleet of ninety sail, an army of thirty thousand men, and a million of money, were also voted. Great difficulties were made by the Commons with regard to the army, which the House, judging by past measures, believed to be intended more against the liberties of England than against the progress of the French Monarch.

While so much time was spent in England in deliberations about war, the King of France taking the field in February, made himself master of Ghent and Ipres in March, and then put his forces into quarters for refreshment. These conquests so alarmed the Dutch, that from this time they resolved upon a separate peace, though they durst not publicly own it. Lewis IV. who knew their intentions, and had nothing to fear from England, began to talk like a conqueror, and to form himself the plan of the peace he was willing to grant the allies, and which was different from that agreed on between Charles and the Prince of Orange.

On the other hand, the Commons of England alarmed at the progress of the French arms, made haste to finish a bill for raising money by a poll-tax. The 14th of March they resolved upon an address to the King, to pray him to declare war against France, to dismiss the ambassador of that crown, and recall his own from Paris, with a promise of necessary and plentiful supplies. This address was sent the next day to the Lords, for their concurrence: but, before an answer was given, the King came to the House of Lords the 20th of March, and after passing the poll-bill, and some others, adjourned the Parliament to the 11th of April.

A. D. 1678.] The Parliament meeting the 11th of April was farther adjourned to the 29th, when the Chancellor acquainted the two Houses, that the King had discovered that the Dutch were thinking of a separate peace without his consent or privity, and desired their advice how to proceed. The Commons gave their advice for an actual war with France, and at the same time voted, "That the late leagues made with the States-General of the United-Provinces, were not pursuant to the addresses of the House, nor consistent with the good and safety of the kingdom." The King returned an answer, which testified his resentment of this vote. But the Commons, not at all dicouraged, presented a second address, in which——"They besought him to communicate to them his resolutions upon their advice."——They added, "That the inconveniencies and dangers which the kingdom lay under, might have been totally, or in a great measure prevented, in case his Majesty had accepted of the advice by them given in their address of the 26th of May last, and the 31st of January: they besought him therefore, that he would be pleased to remove those counsellors that advised him to give those answers which he did to the said addresses —In fine, that he would be pleased to remove the Duke of Lauderdale from his presence and council."—The King immediately answered, "that he was much surprised at the extravagancy of their address, and unwilling at present to give it such a due answer as it deserved."

served." Two days after, namely, the 13th of May, he prorogued the Parliament to the 23d of the same month. Nevertheless, the King would still have it believed, he was disposed to the war. To this end, immediately after the poll-bill had passed, he raised thirty thousand men, who were completed in six weeks.

While these forces were raising, and before the prorogation of the Parliament, the States-General sent Van Lewen to the King, to acquaint him, that they were disposed to a peace, because they saw, there was no reliance on the uncertain measures of England. That however, if the King would immediately declare war against France, they would break off all negotiations, and vigorously prosecute the war pursuant to their alliances, and that his declaration was the only thing that could prevent a peace. This was declared to the King by Sir William Temple, from the States' Ambassador. The King now finding that a positive answer was to be returned, which he had hitherto avoided, told Sir William Temple, "that since the Dutch would have a peace upon the French terms, and France offered money for his consent to what he could not help, he did not know why he should not get the money."

The weakness of this evasion is manifest: for though the Ambassador of the States had declared, there should be no peace, if the King would really engage in a war, the King, suppressing this positive declaration, supposed that the States were for a peace upon any terms. Upon this false supposition, he ordered Sir William Temple to treat with Barillon the French Ambassador; but Sir William wisely declined such a negotiation. What Temple refused was undertaken by others, and the same author says, that amongst the articles proposed by the Ambassador of France, for concluding a private treaty with the King, there was one article which was so offensive, that the King assured him he would never forget it while he lived.*

Affairs were in this situation when the Parliament met the 23d of May, after a prorogation of ten days. When the Commons came to debate on the additional revenue demanded by the King, it was unanimously rejected. Moreover, the House refused to give a compensation for the loss sustained by the King in the prohibition of French commodities. In short, the Lords having passed the bill for disbanding the army, with an enlargement of the time prefixed for one month longer, the Commons absolutely refused their consent to the amendment. The King perceiving by this, what he was to expect from the Commons, came to the Parliament the 15th of July, and passed several bills, of which these were the principal.

I. An act for granting a supply of six hundred and nineteen thousand three hundred and eighty pounds, for disbanding the army, and other uses therein mentioned.

II. An act for granting an additional duty to his Majesty upon wines for three years.

III. An act for burying in woollen.†

These acts being passed, the King prorogued the Parliament to the 1st of August.

While the Parliament was sitting, the States-General seeing that nothing was to be hoped for from England, treated with France, both for themselves and Spain, with regard to the Netherlands. At last, every thing being settled, and the King of France promising to restore to the Spaniards, Ghent, Aeth, Charleroy, Audenard, Courtray, and Limburg, the States ordered their Plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen to sign the peace the last of June. It was universally expected, that the peace would be signed that day. But as the time for this restitution had been neglected to be fixed (the Spaniards and Dutch, not doubting but it was to be immediately after the exchange of the ratifications) the Spanish Ambassador happened the day before, to ask the French plenipotentiaries, when they would restore the towns? To this they positively answered, that it would not be till after the restitution of the towns taken from the King of Sweden, by the allies in the north. This unexpected pretension put a stop to the signing of the peace, and the Dutch plenipotentiaries received express orders from their masters not to sign, unless France would engage to restore the six places, upon the ratification of the treaty. But the French were immoveable, and appeared resolute to continue the war, unless Sweden was satisfied.

Charles being informed of this new difficulty, and told moreover by the French Ambassador, that it was his master's intention, immediately sent Sir William Temple to Holland, with full power to sign a league with the States, by which they should be mutually bound to continue the war, in case France should not agree to evacuate the six towns within such a time. This league was really concluded and signed the 26th of July, to the great satisfaction of the Prince of Orange, and those who thought the peace very disadvantageous.

The readiness with which this resolution was taken by the King, much surprised those who from his former proceedings had no great opinion of his sincerity. But when it was seen that the league was concluded, and France continued obstinate, it was hoped, the war would be renewed with more vigour than ever, and that England would incline the balance to the side of the allies. It is difficult to discover the motive of the King's vigorous resolution. Some have believed, he was really offended at the contempt France seemed to show, of his mediation, in starting such an incident. Others have thought, that foreseeing France would at last comply, notwithstanding her seeming resolution, he had a mind to redeem his credit by his vigour with the English, who till then strongly suspected him of too close a correspondence with that crown. Others have judged, that he took this resolution, in order to obtain a large supply from the Parliament, not doubting but he should be afterwards able to procure a peace.

However this be, it appeared shortly after, that the King repented of what he had done, and feared that his league would rekindle the war. At the time that the Dutch were preparing to improve this happy juncture, to break off this negotiation with France, and to rise in their demands, one Du Cros, an agent of Sweden at London brought an express order from the King for Sir William Temple to repair immediately to Nimeguen, and use his utmost endeavours to persuade the plenipotentiaries of Sweden to consent to the evacuation of the six towns within a limited time. The King ordered him likewise to assure them, that after the peace he would use the most effectual endeavours he could, for the restitution of all the territories the Swedes had lost in the war. It was not difficult for Sir William Temple to infer from hence, that the King had no inclination to quarrel with France. But he was still more fully convinced, when he was informed from Pensionary Fagel, that Du Cros had been with the States' Depu-

* Temple says no more; but Dr. Swift, who published Sir William's Letters, acquaints us with that remarkable passage; namely, "That France, in order to break the force of the confederacy, and elude just conditions of a general peace, resolved by any means to enter into separate measures with Holland, to which end it was absolutely necessary to gain the good offices of the King of England, who was looked upon as the master of the peace when ever he pleased. The bargain was struck for either three or four hundred thousand pounds: but when all was agreed, M. Barillon, the French Ambassador, told the King, he had orders from his master before payment to add a private article, by which his Majesty should be engaged, never to keep above eight thousand men of standing troops in his three kingdoms." This unexpected proposal put the King in a rage, and made him say, "God's fish! Does my brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his promises to make me absolute master of my realms come to this? Or does he think that a thing to be done with eight thousand men?"—Hence it appears, for what the thirty thousand men the King was raising were intended. They could not be levied for a war against France, though the King used that pretence, since he had already made his bargain with that crown for four millions of livres. Nothing else therefore can be thought, but that the King seeing the peace upon the point of conclusion, which he only could, but would not prevent, imagined, that after the peace, the King of France would assist him to become absolute master in his kingdoms, and furnish him with money to maintain the thirty thousand men without his applying to the Parliament.

† This act, which was very serviceable to the flannel manufacture, by causing a great consumption of wool, remained in force till the year 1814, when it was deemed no longer necessary.

ties, and acquainted them with the order he had brought; that he had also said, the terms of the peace were absolutely agreed between the Kings of France and England, and from some expressions he had heard the King use, intimated, it would be in vain to pretend to prevent it. As Sir William and the Pensionary could not doubt that Du Cros was sent by the King, they concluded, either the King had changed his mind, or had never designed to enter into a war with France. Wherefore, the States, instead of forming new schemes, were contented with the plan already agreed on, with a resolution however not to sign the treaty, till the restitution of the six towns was assured within such a time.*

Since the league had been concluded at the Hague, the King of France, to whom it was communicated, had used all possible artifices to elude, and bring it to a negotiation, with an offer to treat upon it, either at St. Quintin or Ghent. But the States, on the contrary, had expressly ordered their Ambassadors to break off the negotiation, if the peace was not signed by such a day, with the article of the evacuation of the towns in a limited time. Sir William Temple came to Nimeguen but three days before the expiration of the time fixed by the States. On his arrival he found very little disposition on either side towards signing the peace; the French and Dutch appeared equally inflexible, and the latter would not hear either of any negotiation or delay. At last came the critical day, the 11th of August, fixed by the treaty at the Hague, in the morning of which the Ambassadors desisted from their pretensions, and the peace was signed before twelve that night. This gave France the desired satisfaction of making a separate peace with Holland, which was immediately followed by a peace between France and Spain, and some months after with all the confederate powers, except the Duke of Lorraine, who could never obtain his re-establishment.

The King of France had, by his General the Duke of Luxemburgh blockaded Mons. All his artifice to draw the affair of the evacuation into a negotiation, were only to gain time of Luxemburgh to become master of Mons before the peace was signed. But the Dutch being bent not to enter into treaty upon that affair, the French General had not time to make any great progress before that place. Meanwhile the Prince of Orange being informed that peace was upon the point of being signed, and desiring to distinguish himself by some great action, marched directly to the Duke of Luxemburgh, surprised him, and gave him a considerable check. This battle, called afterwards the battle of St. Denys, being fought the 14th of August, three days after the peace was signed, gave occasion to various opinions concerning this action of the Prince of Orange. Some said he knew not the peace was signed. Others pretended, the news was brought him by an express, but not from the States, and therefore he might improve the present advantages. However, with this action ended a war which had lasted six years, and was at first so fatal to Holland, that the Republic saw itself on the brink of destruction.

We are now come to the discovery of the famous conspiracy known by the name of the Popish plot, which makes one of the principal periods of this reign.

The 12th of August, (the day after the signing of the treaty of Nimeguen) Dr. Ezreal Tonge, a London Divine, applied himself to one Christopher Kirby, who had some interest at court, to tell the King, there was a plot against his person. Kirby discharging his commission the next day, whilst the King was walking in St. James's Park, the King ordered him to bring Tonge to him at eight that evening. Tonge came to him at Whitehall at the appointed hour; and delivered to the King a writing or narrative, which in forty-three articles, contained the particulars of a plot. The King, after looking over it superficially, told Tonge, he was going to Windsor the next day, but would put the paper into the hands of the Lord-Treasurer Danby, on whom he ordered him to wait the next morning. Tonge declared to Danby, that the papers had been secretly thrust under his door, and that, though he suspected, he certainly did not know, who was the author. After a few days, he told the Treasurer, that the author of the intelligence had acknowledged the whole matter, but desired that his name might be concealed, lest the Papists should murder him. The intelligence, however, was so vague and unsatisfactory, that the King concluded the whole was an imposture.

Three days after, Tonge wrote to the Earl of Danby, that a packet of letters was to go to the post-house in Windsor, directed to one Bedingfield, a priest.† The packet came indeed, and Bedingfield, after reading the letters, carried them to the Duke of York, telling him, "He feared some ill was intended him by the said packet, because the letters therein seemed to be of a dangerous nature, and that he was sure they were not the hand-writing of the persons whose names were subscribed to the letters."‡ The King being more confirmed in the belief that there was nothing real in the pretended plot, seemed resolved not to permit the papers or informations received from Tonge, to be produced. But the Duke of York was so very earnest to have the letters, directed to Bedingfield, examined by the council, that the King at last consented, and gave the Treasurer leave to declare at the same time the intelligence received from Tonge, and so the affair became public.

Kirby and Tonge were now further inquired after, and found to be living in close connection with Titus Oates, the person who was said to have conveyed the first intelligence to Tonge. Oates affirmed, that he had fallen under suspicion with the jesuits; that he had received three blows with a stick, and a box on the ear from a provincial of that order, for revealing their conspiracy: and that, overhearing them speak of their intentions to punish him more severely, he had withdrawn, and concealed himself. But he thought proper, before he was presented to the council, to go with his two companions to Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of peace, and to give evidence before him of all the articles of the conspiracy.—The wonderful intelligence, which Oates conveyed both to Godfrey and the council, and afterwards to the Parliament, was to this purpose. The Pope, he said, considered himself entitled to the possession of England and Ireland on account of the heresy of the Prince and people, and had assured the Sovereignty of these kingdoms. This supreme power he had thought proper to delegate to the jesuits; and de Oliva, General of that Order, in consequence of the papal grant, had supplied all the chief offices, both civil and military. Lord Arundel was created Chancellor; Lord Powis, Treasurer; Sir William Godolphin, Privy-Seal; Coleman, the Duke's Secretary, was made Secretary of State; Langhorne, Attorney-General; Lord Bellasis, General of the Papal army; Lord Petre, Lieutenant-General; Lord Stafford, Pay-Master; and inferior commissions, signed by the Provincial of the jesuits, were distributed all over England. All the dignities too of the church were filled, and many of them with Spaniards and other foreigners. The King, whom the jesuits called the Black Bastard, was tried and condemned as a heretic; and a resolution taken to put him to death. Father le

* This affair of Du Cros was transacted, one morning, in an hour's time, in the Duchess of Portsmouth's apartments, where the orders were dispatched, by the intervention and pursuit of Monsieur Barillon, the French ambassador.

† The Duke of York's confessor.

‡ The Duke carried them to the King. And he fancied they were written either by Tonge or Oates, and sent on design to have them intercepted, to give the more credit to the discovery. The Duke's enemies, on the other hand, gave out, that he had got some hints of the discovery, and brought these as a blind to impose on the King. Titus Oates was an abandoned miscreant, obscure, illiterate, vulgar, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, was afterwards chaplain on board a man of war, and dismissed for unnatural practices. He then professed himself a Roman Catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer's, where he was for some time maintained in the English seminary at that place. The fathers of that College sent him with some dispatches to Spain; but after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not suffer him to remain among them; so that he was obliged to return to London, where he was ready to encounter every danger for his support.

Shee

Shee (for so this great plotter and informer called father La Chaise, the confessor of the French King) had consigned to London ten thousand pounds, to be paid to any man who should merit it by this assassination. A Spanish provincial had expressed like liberality; the Dominicans approved of the action, but pleaded poverty. Ten thousand pounds had been offered to Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's Physician, who demanded fifteen thousand, as a reward for so great a service: his demand was complied with; and five thousand had been paid him in advance. Lest these means should fail, four Irish ruffians had been hired by the jesuits, at the rate of twenty guineas a-piece, to stab the King at Windsor, and Coleman, Secretary to the late Duchess of York, had given the messenger, who carried them orders, a guinea to quicken his diligence. Grove and Pickering were also employed to shoot the King with silver bullets: the former was to receive a reward of fifteen hundred pounds; the latter, being a pious man, was to be rewarded with thirty thousand masses, which, estimating masses at a shilling a-piece, amounted to the like value. Pickering would have executed his purpose, had not the flint at one time dropped out of his pistol, at another time the priming. Coniers, the jesuit, had bought a knife at the price of ten shillings, which he thought was not dear, for the purpose for which he intended it, of stabbing the King. Letters of subscription were circulated amongst the Catholics, all over England, to raise a sum for the same purpose. No less than fifty jesuits had met in May last, at the White Horse Tavern, where it was unanimously agreed to put the King to death; and Oates was employed to carry notes and letters from one to the other, all tending to the same end, of murdering the King. A wager of a hundred pounds was laid, and stakes made, that the King should eat no more Christmas pies. In short, it was determined, to use the expression of a jesuit, that if he would not become R. C. (Roman Catholic) he should no longer be C. R. (Charles Rex.) The great fire of London had been the work of the jesuits, who had employed eighty or eighty-six persons for that purpose, and had expended seven hundred fire balls; but they had a good return for their money, for they had been able to pilfer goods from the fire to the amount of fourteen thousand pounds. A paper model was also framed for firing the city again: the stations were regularly marked out, where the several fires were to commence. Fire-balls were familiarly called among them Tewksbury mustard-pills; and were said to contain a notable biting sauce. Twenty thousand Catholics in London, were to rise in twenty-four hours or less; and Jennison, a jesuit, said that they might easily cut the throats of a hundred thousand protestants. Coleman had remitted two hundred thousand pounds to promote the rebellion in Ireland; and the French King was to land a great army in that island. Poole, who wrote the Synopsis, was particularly marked out for assassination; as was also Dr. Stillingfleet, a controversial writer against the papists. Burnet tells us, that Oates paid him the same compliment.—After all this havoc, the crown was to be offered to the Duke, but on condition of his pardoning the incendiaries, and the murderers of his brother and of the people; and his consent to the extirpation of the Protestant religion. If he refused these conditions, he himself was immediately to be poisoned or assassinated. "To pot James must go;" according to the expressions ascribed by Oates to the jesuits.—This abandoned wretch, Titus Oates, when examined before the council, betrayed his impostures in such a manner, as would have utterly discredited the most consistent story, and the most reputable evidence. While in Spain, he had been carried, he said, to Don John, who promised great assistance, to the execution of the Catholic designs. The King asked him, what sort of a man this Don John was: he answered, a tall lean man; directly contrary to the truth, as the King well knew. He totally mistook the situation of the jesuits' college at Paris. Though he pretended great intimacies with Coleman, he knew him not, when placed very near him; and had no other excuse than that his sight was bad by candle-light. He fell into similar mistakes with regard to Wakeman, the Queen's Physician.—Notwithstanding these objections, great attention was paid to Oates's evidence, and the plot became very soon the subject of conversation, and even the object of terror to the people. The violent animosity, which had been excited against the Catholics in general, made the public listen to the grossest absurdities, when they accompanied an accusation of those religionists: and the more diabolical any contrivance appeared, the better it suited the tremendous idea entertained of a jesuit. Danby likewise, who stood in opposition to the French and Catholic interest at court, was willing to encourage every story, which might serve to discredit that party. By his suggestion, when a warrant was signed for arresting Coleman, there was inserted a clause for seizing his papers; a circumstance attended with the most important consequences Coleman, partly on his own account, partly by orders from the Duke, had been engaged in a correspondence, with father La Chaise, with the Pope's nuntio at Brussels, and with other Catholics abroad; and being himself a fiery zealot, busy and sanguine, the expression in his letters often betrayed great violence and indiscretion. His correspondence, during the years 1674, and 1675, and part of 1676, was seized, and contained many extraordinary passages; but yet there was nothing in them, which could serve as proof in the present information. But when the contents of these letters were publicly known they diffused the panic, with which the nation began already to be seized on account of the popish plot. Indeed men reasoned more from their fears and passions, than from the evidence before them. Thus Oates's plot, and Coleman's supposed one in favour of the introduction of popery, were confounded; and the evidence of the latter being unquestionable, the belief of the *former took* possession of the people's minds.—There was danger, however, lest time might open the eyes of the public, when the murder of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey completed the general delusion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation absolutely incurable. This magistrate had been missing some days; and after much search, and many surmises, his body was found lying in a ditch at Primrose Hill, near the Hampstead Road: the marks of strangling appeared about his neck, which was dislocated, and some contusions on his breast; his own sword was sticking in the body; but as no blood appeared on drawing it, it was concluded, that it had been thrust in some time after his death, and that he had not killed himself: he had rings on his fingers, and money in his pocket; it was therefore inferred, that he had not fallen into the hands of robbers. Without farther reasoning, it was inferred, that he had been assassinated by the papists, on account of his taking Oates's evidence. This clamour was quickly propagated, and met with universal belief. The panic spread itself on every side, with infinite rapidity; and all men, astonished with fear, and animated with rage, saw in Godfrey's fate, all the horrible designs attributed to the Catholics; and no further doubt remained of Oates's veracity. The voice of the nation united against that hated sect, and notwithstanding that the bloody conspiracy was supposed to be now detected, men could scarcely be persuaded that their lives were in safety.—In order still farther to propagate the popular frenzy, several artifices were employed. The dead body of Godfrey was carried into the city, attended by vast multitudes. It was publicly exposed in the streets, and viewed by all ranks of men. The funeral pomp was celebrated with great parade. The corpse was conducted through the chief streets of the city; seventy-two clergymen marched before it; above a thousand persons of distinction followed after; and at the funeral sermon, two able-bodied Divines mounted the pulpit, and stood on each side of the preacher, lest, in paying the last duties to this unhappy magistrate, he should, before the whole people, be murdered by the papists.—While the nation was in this ferment, the Parliament was assembled, on the 21st of October, 1678. In his speech the King told them, that, though they had given

money,

money, for disbanding the army, he had found Flanders so exposed, that he had thought it necessary still to keep them on foot, and doubted not but this measure would meet with their approbation. He informed them that his revenue lay under great anticipations, and, at best, was never equal to the constant and necessary expence of government; as would appear from the state of it, which he intended to lay before them.—He was anxious to keep the question of the popish plot from the Parliament, but Danby, the Prime Minister, opened the matter in the House of Peers, the very first day of their cession. The King was extremely displeased with this temerity, and told his minister, "Though you do not believe it, you will find, that you have given the Parliament a handle to ruin yourself, as well as to disturb all my affairs, and you will surely live to repent it," which actually came to pass.—The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one House to the other. An address was voted for a solemn fast; a form of prayer was contrived for that solemnity; and because the popish plot had been omitted in the first draught, it was carefully ordered to be inserted, lest Omnipotence should want intelligence.—In order to continue and propagate the alarm, addresses were voted, for laying before the House such papers as might discover the horrible conspiracy; for the removal of popish recusants from London; for administering every where the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; for denying access at court to all unknown or suspicious persons; for appointing the train-bands of London and Westminster to be in readiness. The Lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Petre, and Bellasis were committed to the Tower, and were, soon after, impeached for high-treason. And both Houses, after hearing Oates's evidence, voted, "That the Lords and Commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived, and carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating the King, for subverting the government, and for rooting out, and destroying the Protestant religion,"

The Commons not satisfied with these slight precautions, prepared a bill to prevent the danger from so many papists sitting in Parliament, and particularly in the House of Lords.

But this was only a preparative for the more easy prevention of the danger with which religion was threatened, from the hopes conceived by the Papists, of seeing the Duke of York on the throne after his brother, who neither had, nor expected to have any legitimate issue. This danger caused several members of the House of Commons, to form the project of a bill for excluding the Duke of York from the succession to the crown: but this was done by degrees. On the 4th of November, a debate was suffered to arise in the House, for an address to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to remove the Duke of York from his person and counsels. But this debate was adjourned to the 8th, and afterwards to the 12th of the month.

During these transactions, one William Bedloe, who took upon him the title of Captain Bedloe, because he had served in the Low-Countries, going from London to Bristol, wrote to Secretary Coventry from Newbury, that he had many secrets to discover, and therefore desired that he might be arrested on his arrival at Bristol, and sent to London.

He was accordingly apprehended at Bristol, and brought to London the 6th of November, when the Parliament was very busy upon the affair of the plot. A guard was immediately assigned him for his security, and a pension for his subsistence, with a lodging at Whitehall. When he appeared before the council, he gave intelligence of Godfrey's murder only, which, he said, had been perpetuated in Somerset House, where the Queen lived, by papists, some of them servants in her family. He was questioned about the plot; but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and also asserted, that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, when examined before the committee of Lords, he bethought himself better, and was ready to give an ample account of the plot, which he found so anxiously inquired into. This narrative he made to tally, as well as he could, with that of Oates, which had been published: but that he might make himself acceptable by new matter, he added some other circumstances, and these still more tremendous and extraordinary. He said, that ten thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington Bay, and immediately to sieze Hull: that Jersey and Guernsey were to be surprized by forces from Brest; and that a French fleet, was, all last summer, hovering in the Channel for that purpose: that the Lords Powis and Petre were to form an army in Radnorshire, to be joined by another army, consisting of twenty or thirty thousand men and pilgrims, who were to land at Milford Haven from St. Jago in Spain: that there were forty thousand men ready in London; besides those, who would, on the alarm, be posted at every ale-house door, in order to kill the soldiers, as they came out of their quarters: that Lord Stafford, Coleman, and Father Ireland, had money sufficient to defray the expences of all those armaments: that he himself was to receive four thousand pounds, as one that could murder a man; as also a commission from Lord Bellasis, and a benediction from the Pope: that the King was to be assassinated; all the Protestants massacred, who would not seriously be converted; the Government offered to ONE, if he would consent to hold it of the church, but if he should refuse that condition, as was suspected, the supreme authority would be given to certain Lords, under the nomination of the Pope.—In a subsequent examination before the Commons, Bedloe added, that Lord Carrington was also in the conspiracy for raising men and money against the government; as was likewise Lord Brudnel. These noblemen, with all the other persons mentioned by Bedloe, were immediately committed to custody by the Parliament.—In order to support the panic among the people, especially among the citizens of London, a pamphlet was published with this title.—"A Narrative, and Impartial Discovery of the horrid Popish Plot, carried on for burning and destroying the Cities of London and Westminster with their suburbs; setting forth the several consults, orders, and resolutions of the jesuits, concerning the same: by Captain William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid design, and one of the popish committee for carrying on such fires." Every fire, which had happened for several years past, is in this pamphlet ascribed to the machinations of the jesuits, who proposed, as Bedloe said, by such attempts, to find an opportunity for a general massacre of the Protestants; and in the mean time, were well pleased to enrich themselves, by pilfering goods from the fire.—The King, though he scrupled not, wherever he could speak freely, to throw the highest ridicule on the plot, and on all who believed in it, yet found it necessary to adopt the popular opinion, before the Parliament. A bill was introduced for a new test, in which popery was denominated idolatry; and all members, who refused this test, were excluded from both Houses. The bill passed the Commons, without much opposition; but in the Upper House the Duke moved, that an exception might be made in his favour. With great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes, he told them, that he was now to cast himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern which he could have in this world, and he protested, that, whatever his religion might be, it should only be a private thing between God and his own soul, and never should appear in his public conduct. Notwithstanding this strong effort, in so important a point, he prevailed only by two voices; a sufficient indication of the general disposition of the people. "I would not have"—said a noble peer, in the debate on this bill—"so much as a popish man or a popish woman to remain here; not so much as a popish dog or a popish bitch; not so much as a popish cat, to pur and mew about the King."—This was wretched eloquence, but it was admirably suited to the times, and therefore met with praise and approbation.—Encouraged by this general fury, the witnesses went yet a step farther in their accusations; and though both Oates and Bedloe had declared often, that there was no other person of distinction, whom they knew to be concerned in the plot, they had now the audacity

dacity to accuse the Queen herself of entering into the design against the life of her husband. The Commons, in an address to the King, gave countenance to this scandalous accusation; but the Lords could not be prevailed with to join in the address. The King, it was well known, bore no great affection to his consort, but Charles, notwithstanding all allurements of pleasure, or interest, or safety, had the generosity to protect his injured Queen. "They think"—said he—"I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that, I will not suffer an innocent woman to be abused." He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants; but this daring informer's favour with the Parliament soon procured his release.—While these things were in agitation, the Parliament gave new attention to the militia. They passed a bill, by which it was enacted, that a regular militia should be kept in arms, during six weeks of the year, and a third part of them do duty every fortnight of that time. But Charles refused his assent to the bill, and told the Parliament, that he would not, were it for half an hour, part so far with the power of the sword: but if they would contrive any other bill for ordering the militia, and still leave it in his power to assemble or dismiss them when he thought proper, he would willingly give it the royal assent. The Commons, dissatisfied with this negative, immediately voted that all the new-levied forces should be disbanded. They passed a bill, granting money for that purpose; but, besides appropriating the money by the strictest clauses, they ordered it to be paid, not into the Exchequer, but into the Chamber of London. The Lords demurred with regard to so extraordinary a clause, which threw a violent reflection on the King's ministers, and even on himself; and by that means the act remained in suspense. During the sitting of the Parliament, and after its prorogation and dissolution, the trials of the pretended criminals were carried on; and the courts of judicature, places which ought to be kept pure from injustice, were strongly infected with party rage, and bigotted prejudice. Edward Coleman, the most hated of the conspirators, was first brought to trial. His letters were produced against him. They contained much indiscretion; but they proved nothing criminal, much less treasonable against him. Oates and Bedloe deposed, that he had received a commission, signed by the superior of the jesuits, to be Papal Secretary of State, and had consented to the poisoning, shooting, and stabbing the King: he had even, according to Oates's deposition, advanced a guinea to promote these bloody purposes. These wild stories were confounded with the projects contained in his letters; and Coleman received sentence of death. The sentence was executed upon him on the 3d of December. He suffered with calmness and constancy, and, to the last, persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence.—Coleman's trial was succeded by that of Father Ireland, who, it is pretended, had signed, together with fifty jesuits, the great resolution of murdering the King—Grove, and Pickering, who had undertaken to shoot him, were tried at the same time. The only witnesses against the prisoners were still Oates and Bedloe. Ireland affirmed, that he was in Staffordshire all the month of August, a time when Oates asserted he was in London. Ireland proved his assertion by good evidence, and would have proved it by undoubted, had he not, most iniquitously, been denied the liberty of sending for witnesses. All these men, before their arraignment, were condemned in the opinion of the Judges, Jury, and spectators; and to be a Jesuit, or even a Catholic, was of itself a sufficient proof of guilt. The Chief Justice, Sir William Scroggs, gave sanction to all the narrow prejudices of the populace. Instead of being counsel for the prisoners, as his office required, he pleaded the cause against them, brow-beat their witnesses, and represented their guilt as certain and uncontroverted. And, when the jury brought in their verdict against the prisoners, he said,—"You have done, gentlemen, like very good subjects, and very good Christians, that is to say, like very good Protestants, and now much good may their thirty thousand masses do them!"—alluding to the masses by which Pickering was to be rewarded for murdering the King. All these unhappy men went to execution, on the 14th of January, 1679, protesting their innocence; a circumstance which made no impression upon the spectators.

The affair of the conspiracy must now be interrupted, in order to proceed to another which made a great noise at this time.

The Earl of Danby Lord Treasurer, was considered as the King's prime minister. He had a great genius, and a solid judgment, and as he disapproved of the principles of the Cabal, endeavoured to disengage the King from the methods he had been led into by their counsels. This drew upon him the enmity of the Duke of York, and all the French faction, with whom joined the Lord Russel, and other mal-contents in the House of Commons; and among the Peers, the Earls of Essex and Shaftsbury, whilst the Duke of Monmouth, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, did their utmost to lessen his credit with the King. In a word, a strong party was formed against him, who were bent to ruin him at any rate. These enemies were also joined by another, who had been his most intimate friend. This was Mr. Montague, ambassador in France, who, aspiring to the office of secretary of state, took it very ill, that the treasurer had engaged to bring in Sir William Temple. Mr. Montague was the Treasurer's most dangerous enemy, because he had private letters in his hands from that minister, and though he could not divulge them without great injury to the King, this gave him no uneasiness, because, resolving to throw himself into the party against the court, which was most prevalent in the Parliament, he knew he should be protected, even against the King himself. To this end, he got himself elected member for Northampton, and suddenly leaving Paris, without the King's consent or knowledge, came to London, and took his seat in the House. The King, offended at so strange a proceeding, and being also informed by the Swedish ambassador of the design of the Treasurer's enemies, and their intention to make use of his letters, sent the 19th of December the following message to the House of Commons,——"That upon information that Mr. Montague, a member of that House, and late ambassador in France, had held several conferences with the Pope's nuntio there, without any directions or instructions from his Majesty; his Majesty, to the end that he might know the truth of that matter, had given orders for the seizing of Mr. Montague's papers."* The leaders of the opposite party to the King, made great objections to this message, pretending, it ought to be first known, whether the information had been given upon oath, and what was the nature of Mr. Montague's crime, before they could consent to the seizure of his papers. Upon this Mr. Montague acquainted the House, "That he had in his custody some papers, which, as he conceived, might tend very much to the safety of the King's person, and the preservation of the government." A committee was immediately appointed to bring the writings to the House, which being accordingly done, and Mr. Montague ordered to select such of them as he thought for the service of the House, and dispose of the rest as he pleased, he produced two letters out of many others,

* Burnet says, the Earl of Danby having broken with Montague, was apprehensive Montague might accuse him, so resolved to prevent him. Jenkins, then at Nimeguen, wrote over, according to a direction sent him, as was believed, that he understood Montague had been in a secret correspondence with the Pope's Nuntio at Paris. Montague, it seems, had made use of him, and given him money, which he loved, for such secrets as he could draw from him. Upon Jenkins's letter, the King sent the above message to the Commons. This was a device of the Lord Danby's, to find his own letters and destroy them, and then to let the prosecution drop. But Montague had put a box, in which the letters were, in sure hands, out of the way. Whilst the debate about the message was in hand, the box was brought to him, which he opened, and took out two of the Lord Danby's letters, that contained instructions to him to treat with the King of France for three hundred thousand pounds a year, for three years, if a peace succeeded; since it would not be convenient for the King to meet a Parliament in all that time, and he was charged to mention no part of this to the Secretary of State.

both subscribed, Danby, and sent to him at Paris, on the negotiation of the money which his Majesty expected from the King of France, at the bottom of one of which were these words, "This letter is writ by my order, C. R." *. These letters discovering to the House, from whence had proceeded the King's delays with regard to the war against France, they immediately resolved, "That there was sufficient matter of impeachment against Thomas Earl of Danby, Lord Treasurer of England," and within two days, by the help of Mr. Montague, the articles of impeachment were drawn up, and sent to the House of Lords. But this impeachment was rather against the King himself, than the Earl of Danby, who had only acted by his express orders. The King easily perceived the design of the Earl of Danby's impeachment, and therefore, before the Lords could resolve, whether the Earl of Danby should be sent to the Tower, he came to the Parliament the 30th of December, and prorogued it to the 4th of February, after passing a single act against the Papists.

Immediately after the prorogation of the Parliament, Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, resigned the seals into the hands of the King, who appointed the Earl of Sunderland, in his room, though he had given hopes of the place to Sir William Temple, then ambassador in Holland, and had called him over for that purpose. But Temple at his arrival found the post filled, the Earl of Sunderland having paid Williamson six thousand pounds, and five hundred guineas, which Temple was not able or willing to give. Shortly after, the King dismissed the Earl of Danby, and put the treasury into commission.

A. D. 1678-9.] After the prorogation, the King was extremely embarrassed, not only by reason of the Earl of Danby's impeachment, which properly fell upon him, but also by fresh discoveries, both of the plot, and Godfrey's murder. The 21st of December, Miles Prance, a goldsmith of London, a Papist, who had sometimes worked for the Queen in her chapel of Somerset-house, was taken up by a warrant from the council, upon the information of one Wren, a lodger in his house, that he was concerned in the murder of Godfrey. On his denial of this charge, he was thrown into prison, loaded with heavy irons, and confined to the condemned hole, a place, cold, dark, and full of nastiness. Shaftesbury and Buckingham, in examining the prisoners, usually employed threatenings and promises, rigour and indulgence, and every art, under pretence of extorting the truth from them. Prance, being promised a pardon upon making a confession, had not courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. Being asked concerning the plot, he also thought proper to be acquainted with it, and conveyed some intelligence to the council. All the information which he gave with regard to the plot, as well as to the murder of Godfrey, Prance solemnly retracted, both before the King and the secret committee; but, being again thrown into prison, he was induced, by new terrors and new sufferings, to confirm his first information, and was now produced as a sufficient evidence. The murder, he said, was committed in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerard and Kelly, two Irish priests. That Lawrence Hill, footman to the Queen's Treasurer; Robert Green, Cushion Keeper to her Chapel; and Henry Berry, Porter of the Palace; followed Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, at a distance, from ten in the morning till seven in the evening; but that passing by Somerset-house, Green throwing a twisted handkerchief over his head, he was soon strangled, and the body carried to a high chamber in Somerset-house, from whence it was carried to another apartment, where it was seen by Bedloe. Hill, Green, and Berry were tried upon this evidence; and though Bedloe's narrative and Prance's information were totally irreconcileable, the prisoners were condemned and executed, on the 21st and 28th of February, 1679. They all denied their guilt at their execution, and as Berry died a Protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable; but, instead of its giving some check to the general credulity of the people, men were only surprised, that a Protestant could be induced at his death to persist in so manifest a falsehood.

While these things were transacted, the King was by no means at ease. The plot, and the impeachment against the Earl of Danby, which entirely reflected upon him, could not but greatly perplex him.

About this time too, was discovered a college of jesuits at Lower Come in Herefordshire. Moreover, a fresh witness appeared, one Stephen Dugdale, who pretended to make new discoveries in the plot, and accused five jesuits, and one priest.† This obliged the King to publish a proclamation against Evers, Gawen, Vavasor, alias Gifford, and Levison, jesuits, and Broadstreet, a priest, with a promise of a hundred pounds to any that should apprehend Evers, and fifty pounds for each of the rest.‡

Meanwhile, as the time for the meeting of the Parliament approached, the King perceiving, that in the present disposition of the Commons, he should receive no advantage from them, but rather new mortifications, on the 24th of January dissolved this Parliament by proclamation, promising withal, to issue out writs for the calling of a new Parliament the 6th of March following. Thus ended the long Parliament, which had continued almost eighteen years, and had been for twelve years so favourable to the King.

Upon the 25th of January, the King issued out writs for the new elections, which put the whole nation into a ferment. The people being discontented with the court, and full of suspicions and fears, affected to choose representatives the most averse to Popery and arbitrary government. And as the high church men had been for several years a little too strongly attached to the King; and had, in the last Parliament, passed acts to raise the royal power higher than ever, the people in general were not for trusting their interests in such hands. On the other side, the Presbyterians, though long oppressed, were still numerous in the corporations, so that by the superiority of their votes, they commonly carried the elections in favour of their own party, or at least of men, who had only outwardly conformed to the church of England. In a word, when the returns were made, it was found, that most of the representatives were men very opposite to the principles and designs of the court. The King, to prevent these impressions, affected an extraordinary severity against the Papists, and by proclamation, on complaint of the neglects of the prosecution of recusants, ordered the chancellor to put out of commission, all justices of peace, who were remiss in their duty.

The time for the meeting of the Parliament drawing near, the King, after examining the elections, foresaw a storm gathering against the Duke of York. Wherefore, to prevent it, and persuade the new Parliament that his counsels were not influenced by his brother, he resolved to send him away, and for that purpose, the 28th of February, wrote him the following letter:

"I have already given you my resolves at large, why I think it fit that you should absent yourself for some time beyond the seas: as I am truly sorry for the occasion, so may you be sure, I shall never desire it longer than it will be absolutely necessary for your good, and my service. In the mean time, I think it proper to give it you under my hand, that I expect this com-

* The first was dated January 17, 1677-8, and the second, March 25, 1678.

† Burnet gives the following account of this Dugdale and his evidence. He had been the Lord Aston's bailiff, and was a man of sense and temper. He behaved himself decently, and had somewhat in his air and deportment that disposed people to believe him: so that the King himself began to think there was somewhat in the plot, though he had little regard to Oates or Bedloe. He made a discovery of a correspondence that Evers held with the jesuits in London, who had written to Evers of the design of killing the King, and desired him to find out proper men for executing it. Three other jesuits pressed Dugdale to undertake it, promising he should be canonized for it, and the Lord Stafford offered him five hundred pounds, if he would set about it.

‡ Gawen was soon after taken into custody, but the rest absconded.

pliance

pliance from you, and desire it may be as soon as conveniently you can. You may easily believe with what trouble I write; there being nothing I am more sensible of, than the constant kindness you have ever had for me. I hope you are as just to me, to be assured, that no absence, nor any thing else, can ever change me from being truly and kindly yours. C. R."

The Duke immediately obeyed, and the 3d of March departed for Holland, with his Duchess, and the Princess Anne his daughter, from whence he went and resided at Brussels.*

Meantime, the King fearing that the new Parliament would impeach the Earl of Danby, and that the Earl, in prevention of his own danger, would be obliged to reveal secrets, which he wished to be concealed, granted him, under the great seal, as full and complete a pardon as could be drawn.

The new Parliament meeting the 6th of March, the King made a speech, tending to show how well-affected he was to the laws of the land, and the Protestant religion.

The Parliament began with a warm dispute between the King and the Commons, about the choice of a speaker. The Commons having chosen Mr. Edward Seymour, the King, who knew Seymour was a particular enemy of the Earl of Danby, refused his approbation, and ordered the Commons to proceed to a new choice. The House was extremely displeased with this refusal, alledging, "That it was never known that a person should be excepted against, and no reason at all given, and that the thing itself of presenting a speaker to the King, was but a bare compliment." The King, on his side, insisted on the approbation or refusal of a speaker when presented to him, as a branch of his prerogative. At last, as the Commons would not desist from what they thought their right, the King went to the Parliament, and prorogued it from the 13th to the 15th; that is, for one day's interval between the two sessions. The Parliament meeting the 15th, the King ordered the Commons to proceed to the choice of a speaker. Then, to avoid a revival of the dispute, they chose Mr. William Gregory, serjeant at law, who was approved by the King.†

The Commons began with appointing a committee to examine controverted elections, threescore petitions having been already presented.

This affair being put into a way of determination, the Commons appeared resolved to pursue the matters which the late Parliament had left undecided. For this purpose, the 20th of March, they appointed a secret committee, to take informations, prepare evidence, and draw up articles against the Lords that were impeached, and to take such further informations as should be given relating to the plot against his Majesty and the government, and the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. At the same time, they desired the Lords, by an express message, to remember the impeachment of high treason exhibited against Thomas Earl of Danby, in the names of the Commons of England, and to commit him to safe custody. They resolved also, that it should be referred to the committee of secrecy, to draw up further articles against him.

The 11th of April was appointed to be kept as a public fast day. The 22d of March, the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in, to secure the King and kingdom against the danger and growth of Popery.

The same day the King going to the Parliament, spoke to both Houses in favour of the Earl of Danby. He told them, that as Danby had acted in every thing by his orders, he was in no respect criminal: that his pardon, however, he would insist upon, and if it should be found anywise defective in form, he would renew it again and again, till it should be rendered entirely complete: but that he was resolved to deprive him of all employments, and to remove him from court. The Commons were no-wise satisfied with this concession. They pretended that no pardon of the crown could lie in bar of an impeachment by the Commons. The prerogative of mercy had hitherto been understood to be unlimited in the King; and this pretension of the Commons, it must be confessed, was entirely new. It was however not unsuitable to the genius of a monarch strictly limited; where the King's ministers are supposed to be for ever accountable to national assemblies, even for such abuses of power as they may commit by orders from their master. The present emergency, while the nation was so highly inflamed, was the proper time for pushing such popular claims; and the Commons failed not to avail themselves of this rage. They still insisted on the impeachment of Danby. The Peers, in compliance with them, departed from their former scruples, and ordered Danby to be taken into custody. Danby absconded. The Commons passed a bill, appointing him to surrender himself before a certain day, or, in default of it, attainting him. A bill had passed the Upper House, mitigating the penalty to banishment; but, after some conferences, the Peers thought proper to yield to the violence of the Commons, and the bill of attainder was carried. Rather than undergo such severe penalties, Danby appeared and was immediately committed to the Tower.

A. D. 1679.] The 3d of April, articles of impeachment against the five Popish Lords in the Tower were drawn up by the Commons, and carried to the House of Lords.

By the advice of Sir William Temple, the King now resolved to establish a new council, into which were admitted some Lords most opposite to him, as the Earls of Shaftsbury and Essex. This council consisted of thirty members, fifteen of whom were ever to be the present chief officers of his crown and household. Ten were to be taken out of the nobility, and five out of the Commons. But he took care in this model of his council, to have a majority of such as were devoted to him. The Earl of Shaftsbury was made president of this council, though no man was more hated by the King. His aim was to persuade the public and the Parliament, that he was resolved entirely to change his manner of governing, and be guided in all affairs whatsoever, by the advice of the new council. But this was only to amuse the public. The Earl of Shaftsbury would have been extremely pleased with being president of the council, if his authority had been proportionable to his office. But he quickly perceived, he was there only for show, and to be subservient to the King's designs. There were chiefly four who had the direction of affairs committed to them; namely, the Earls of Sunderland and Essex, the Lord Hallifax, and Sir William Temple.

The King had no sooner made this alteration, than he came to the Parliament to acquaint them with it. But though the city of London, and the rest of the kingdom resounded with joyful acclamations, and were persuaded that things were going to change for the better, the House of Commons received the news with great coldness. They had not sufficient confidence in the King, to believe he really intended to govern otherwise than he had hitherto done, but thought this was some new artifice, which would soon produce its effects.

While the alterations the new council was to bring in the affairs of the government, were impatiently expected, the Commons were suddenly alarmed by an information of a fresh design of the Papists to burn London a second time. The house of one Bird in Fetter Lane being set on fire, his servant, Elizabeth Oxley, was suspected of firing it on purpose, and sent to prison. She confessed the fact, and declared, she had been employed to do it by one Stubbs, a Papist, who had promised her five pounds. Stubbs being taken up, confessed, he persuaded her to it, and that father Gifford his confessor put him upon it, telling him, "It

* The Duke first required an order, signed by the King, lest his absenting himself should be interpreted as a proof of fear, or of guilt. He also desired that his brother should satisfy him, as well as the public, by a declaration of the illegitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth. With this the King readily complied.

† Burnet adds, the point was settled, that the right of electing was in the House, and that the confirmation was a thing of course.

was

was no sin to burn all the houses of Heretics." He added, that he had frequent conferences on this affair with Gifford, and two Irishmen. Moreover, Stubbs and the maid servant declared, the Papists were to make an insurrection, and expected an army of sixty thousand men from France. The Commons obtained a pardon for Stubbs and the servant, in consideration of their ready confession. But it was generally inferred from this incident, that it was not Gifford's fault that the city of London was not burnt, as in the year 1666.

The Commons next ordered a bill to be brought in to banish all Papists, or reputed Papists, within London and Westminster, twenty miles from the same, for six months; and then they voted, nemine contradicente, "That the Duke of York being a Papist, the hopes of his coming such to the crown, has given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the present conspiracies and designs of the Papists against the King and the Protestant religion." This vote was sent to the Lords for their concurrence.

The 25th of April the Earl of Danby appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and there produced the King's pardon for all crimes and offences whatsoever committed before the 28th day of February last. After which he was sent back to the Tower. The Lords having given notice of this to the Commons, they appointed a committee of secrecy to examine the nature of the Earl's plea, who made their report, "That there was no precedent, of a pardon granted to any person impeached by the Commons of high treason, or other high crimes depending in the impeachment." After this report, the Commons desired the Lords to demand of the Earl of Danby, "Whether he would rely upon, and abide by the plea of his pardon." This was the next day, and the Earl praying time to answer, the Lords allowed him four days.

The vote of the Commons concerning the Duke of York touched the King very sensibly, for he saw, they did not intend to stop there. He therefore went to the Parliament the 30th of April, and in a short speech recommended to both Houses the dispatch of three affairs:

I. The prosecution of the plot.

II. The disbanding of the army.

III. The providing a fleet for the common security.

Then to give them a proof of his care to preserve their religion for the future, he told them, "That he had commanded his Chancellor to mention several particulars, which he hoped would be an evidence, that in all things that concerned the public security, he should not follow their zeal but lead it."

These proposals were not received by the House of Commons with that applause, the King had expected. The day after, the Commons proceeded on the bill for preventing the dangers arising from Popery, as well in his reign, as his successor's.

They also read the first time a "Bill for better prevention of illegal exaction of money from the subject;" and ordered another to be brought in, "That when any member of the House was preferred to any office or place of profit, a new writ should immediately be issued out for electing a member to serve in his stead."

The 5th of May they resolved, "That the pardon pleaded by the Earl of Danby was illegal and void," and the speaker, with the whole House, went up to the Lords' bar, and demanded judgment against him.

Shortly after they drew up an address against the Duke of Lauderdale, in the strongest terms that could be used, which was carried in a full body to the King. But it seems the King could not then part with this minister, the last of the Cabal, and therefore he coldly answered, "That he would consider of it, and return an answer."

After this, the Commons finished the money-bill for disbanding the army, which the King passed the 9th of May. By this act a supply was granted to the King of two hundred and six thousand, four hundred and sixty-two pounds, seventeen shillings and three-pence, for paying off and disbanding the forces raised since the 29th of September, 1677. The act had a clause in it, that for the future, "Soldiers should not be quartered in any person's house against his consent."

At the same time the Lords informed the Commons, that the Earl of Danby resolved to adhere to the plea of his pardon; and that the Commons having demanded judgment against him, as conceiving his pardon illegal and null, the tenth instant was appointed for hearing the Earl of Danby to make good his plea. The Lords likewise acquainted the Commons, that they had resolved, that the five Lords in the Tower should be brought to their trials the 14th instant.

The part of the message concerning the Earl of Danby so offended the Commons, that they resolved, "That no Commoner whatsoever should presume to maintain the validity of the pardon pleaded by the Earl of Danby, without the consent of the House first had, and that the persons so doing, should be accounted betrayers of the liberties of the Commons of England." The true reason of these proceedings was, that by the examination of the several articles of the Earl's impeachment, the Commons hoped to discover the King's secret practices with the court of France; whereas the King by his pardon had put the affair in such a state, that there would have been no occasion to examine the Earl of Danby's answers to the articles exhibited against him.

The vote of the Commons much inflamed the differences that were already begun between the two Houses, about the manner of proceeding against the five Lords in the Tower. For the Lords had addressed the King to appoint a Lord High Steward to preside in the trials; but the Commons, thinking it unnecessary, proposed, "That a committee of both Houses might be nominated to consider of the most proper ways and methods of proceeding upon impeachments." And this is what the Lords refused, which occasioned a warm dispute; but at last the Lords agreed to the nomination of the committee.

The same day the Lords communicated to the House of Commons, a petition from the Earl of Danby, in which he set forth, "That he met with informations severally from his council, that he durst not appear to argue the validity of his pardon, by reason of the vote of the House of Commons." Their Lordships therefore desired to know, "Whether there was any such vote as was alledged in the petition?"

It appears plainly in the proceedings of the Commons, that they only sought occasion to drive things to extremity. With this view, they presented an address to the King, taking notice, "That multitudes of Jesuits, Popish priests, and Popish recusants, resorted to the cities of London and Westminster, in contempt of his Majesty's laws and royal proclamations. Wherefore they humbly besought his Majesty, that the militia of London, Westminster, Southwark, the Tower-Hamlets, Middlesex, and Surrey, might immediately be raised, and put in a posture of defence." The next day, though Sunday, they ordered a bill to be brought in, (pursuant to their resolve that day fortnight) "To disable the Duke of York to inherit the imperial crown of England." Immediately after they resolved, nemine contradicente, "That in defence of the King's person, and the Protestant religion, they would stand by his Majesty with their lives and fortunes; and that if his Majesty should come by any violent death, they would revenge it to the utmost upon the Papists." This was soon after put into the form of an address, and presented to the King, who thanked them, and said, "That he would do what in him lay to secure the Protestant religion, and was willing to do all such things as might be to the good and benefit of his subjects."

The committee of both Houses meeting to consider of the way and method of trying the impeached Lords, there was a warm dispute between the two Houses, concerning the Bishops; the Commons pretending, that the Bishops could not sit upon the trial of the impeached Lords, because it was a case of blood. The Peers on the other hand maintained, "That the Lords

spiritual have a right to stay and sit in court, till the court proceed to the vote of guilty, or not guilty." This affair made a great noise, and occasioned several books to be written on both sides.*

At last, on the 15th of May, the Commons read the first time their bill, "To disable the Duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of England," now called the Exclusion bill.†

Five days after, this bill was read a second time, upon which the question being put, whether the bill should be committed, it was carried by two hundred and seven votes against one hundred and twenty-eight.

The Commons next proceeded to an inquiry after the pensioners in the last Parliament. By means of Sir Stephen Fox, eighteen were discovered who had received annual pensions from the King, two of one thousand pounds, six of five hundred pounds, two of four hundred pounds, four of three hundred pounds, four of two hundred pounds. Besides these, there were six others who had received certain sums at one time: three more were brought in for sums received upon account; and five for uncertain sums.

In the mean time, the King being highly offended with the Commons, and hearing moreover, that they intended to present to him a remonstrance, much like that presented to the King his father in 1641, and of which the design was to inflame the nation against him, resolved to prorogue the Parliament. For this purpose he went to the House of Lords the 27th of May, and sending for the Commons, passed some bills, and particularly one for securing the liberty of the subject, called the Habeas Corpus Act, and then prorogued the Parliament to the 14th of August. By this the Exclusion bill was defeated for a time.

The news of the proceedings of the English Parliament had so raised the hopes of the Scotch mal-contents, that they thought the time was come to be revenged of their persecutors. Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, was the most hated of their enemies. Sharp is said to have abundantly merited the hatred of the Presbyterians. For pretending, an extraordinary zeal for their party, he had prevailed to be deputed to London after the restoration, to take care of their interests, but had basely betrayed them. This raised him to the Archbishopric of St. Andrew's, and from that time he became their most violent persecutor. Wherefore in this juncture, when they expected great alterations, twelve of them resolved to begin their revenge upon their enemies with the Archbishop. For this purpose they waited for him about two miles from St. Andrew's, where he was going in a coach and six, and most inhumanly and barbarously murdered him, calling him, "Apostate, betrayer of the godly, and persecutor of Christ's church." This murder was committed the 2d of May.‡ In the end of the same month, eighty Presbyterians appeared in arms, and in a few days their number increased to fifteen hundred. They seized Glasgow, and some other towns in the neighbourhood, and committed great outrages.

The King hearing of this rebellion, and that it daily gathered strength, sent the Duke of Monmouth at the head of some English forces, who were joined by some Scotch regiments. The Duke discharged his commission with such bravery and success, that the 22d of June he entirely defeated the rebels, at Bothwell-bridge, killed eight hundred, and took about twelve hundred prisoners. Several were hanged, and the rest were transported.

Shortly after the prorogation of the Parliament, the five jesuits, Whitebread, Harcourt, Fenwick, Gawen, and Turner, were tried. Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, the new witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man had been steward to Lord Aston, and, though poor, possessed a character somewhat more reputable than the other two: but his account of the plot was equally monstrous and incredible. Amongst other things, he asserted, that two hundred thousand Papists in England were ready to take arms. The prisoners proved, by sixteen witnesses from St. Omer's, students, and most of them young men of family, that Oates was in that seminary, at the time when he swore that he was in London: but as they were Catholics, and disciples of the jesuits, their testimony was totally disregarded. Even the reception which they met with in court was full of outrage and mockery. One of them saying that Oates always continued at St. Omer's, if he could believe his senses;—"You Papists," said the chief justice—"are taught not to believe your senses." Oates, however, in opposition to the students of St. Omer's, found means to bring evidence of his having been at that time in London: but this evidence, though it had, at that time, the appearance of some solidity, was afterwards discovered (when Oates himself was tried for perjury) to be altogether deceitful. In order farther to discredit that witness, the jesuits proved that he had perjured himself in Father Ireland's trial, whom they shewed to have been in Staffordshire, at the time when Oates swore he was committing treason in London.

* The Lords Nottingham and Roberts argued for the Bishops voting. But the Lords Essex, Shaftsbury, and Holles were against it. Upon a debate, it was carried by the majority that the Bishops had a right to vote. Whereupon the Commons declared they would not proceed, unless the Bishops were obliged to withdraw during the whole trial. Upon this breach the Parliament was prorogued, and soon after dissolved. And the blame was cast chiefly on the Bishops. It seems they desired to withdraw, but the King would not suffer it. He was so set on maintaining the pardon, that he would not venture such a point on the votes of the temporal Lords. He told the Bishops they must stick to him and his prerogative, as they would expect that he should stick to them if they came to be pushed at. By this means they were exposed to the popular fury, and every where censured as a set of men that, for their own ends, would expose the nation and Protestant religion to ruin. And in revenge many began to declare openly in favour of the non-conformists, who upon this behaved very indecently, and fell very severely on the body of the clergy. On the other hand, the Bishops and clergy set themselves to write against the late times, and to draw a parallel between them and the present times: which was not managed decently enough by those who undertook the argument, and who were believed to be set on and paid by the court. Particularly Sir Roger L'Estrange for four years published three or four sheets a week under the title of the Observator, all tending to defame the contrary party, and make the clergy apprehend their ruin was designed. Upon this the greatest part of the clergy delivered themselves up to much heat and indiscretion, which were vented both in their pulpits and common conversation. They seemed now to lay down all fears of popery: and nothing was so common in their mouths as the year forty-one, which, as they hinted, was near being acted over again. Both city and country were full of many indecencies that broke out on this occasion.

† After the particulars of this conspiracy against the King, the established government, and the Protestant religion, the bill set forth:

"That the emissaries, priests, and agents for the Pope, had traiterously seduced James Duke of York, presumptive heir to these crowns, to the communion of the church of Rome; and had induced him to enter into several negotiations with the Pope, his Cardinals, and Nuncios, for promoting the Romish church and its interests; and by his means and procurements had advanced the power and greatness of the French King, to the manifest hazard of these kingdoms, that by descent of these crowns upon a papist, and by foreign alliance and assistance, they might be able to succeed in their wicked and villanous design."—Then, after another preamble, it was enacted to this effect:

"I. That the said James Duke of York, Albany, and Ulster, should be incapable of inheriting the said crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their dependencies; and of enjoying any of the titles, rights, prerogatives, and revenues, belonging to the said crowns.

"II. That in case his Majesty should happen to die, or resign his dominions, they should devolve to the person next in succession, in the same manner as if the said Duke were dead.

"III. That all the acts of sovereignty and royalty that Prince might then happen to perform, were not only declared void, but to be high-treason, and punishable as such.

"IV. That if any one, at any time whatsoever, should endeavour to bring the said Duke into any of the forementioned dominions, or correspond with him, in order to make him inherit, he should be guilty of high-treason.

"V. That if the Duke himself ever returned into any of these dominions, considering the mischiefs that must ensue, he should be looked upon as guilty of the same offence; and all persons were authorized and required to seize upon and imprison him, and in case of resistance made by him and his adherents, to subdue them by force of arms.

‡ Burnet says, as a party of furious men were riding through a moor near St. Andrew's, without any design then upon Sharp, they saw the Archbishop's coach appear. He was coming from a council-day, and was driving home, having sent some of his servants before to let them know he was coming, and others he had sent off on compliments; so that there were no horsemen about the coach. They seeing this, concluded, according to their frantic enthusiastic notions, that God had now delivered up their greatest enemy into their hands. Seven of them made up to the coach, and one fired a pistol at him, which burnt his coat and gown, but did not touch his body. Upon this they drew him out of his coach, and murdered him barbarously.

don. But these pleas availed them nothing; the jesuits received sentence of death, and were executed; persisting to the last in asserting their innocence. The next trial was that of Langhorne, an eminent lawyer, by whom all the concerns of the Jesuits were managed. Oates and Bedloe swore, that all the papal commissions by which the chief offices in England were filled with Catholics, passed through his hands. He was in course found guilty, and when a verdict was given against the prisoner, the spectators expressed their savage joy by loud acclamations. So high indeed had the popular rage mounted, that the witnesses for this unhappy man, on approaching the court, were almost torn in pieces by the rabble: one in particular was bruised to such a degree as to render his life in danger: and another, a woman, declared, that, unless the court could afford her protection, she durst not give evidence: but as the judges could go no farther than promise to punish such as should do her any injury, the prisoner himself had the humanity to wave her testimony.

The 10th of July, the King, contrary to the advice of his new council, dissolved the Parliament, and summoned another to meet the 17th of October. He hoped to find the next more tractable, but was very much deceived. The people, who no longer regarded what came from the court, affected to send such members as were of the country party, as being the most proper to oppose the designs of the King. The Earl of Shaftsbury was at the head of this party, and without doubt greatly contributed to inflame the passions of the people.

The 18th of June, Sir George Wakeman the Queen's physician was brought to his trial, together with James Corker, William Marshal, two benedictine monks, and William Rumley, a lay brother of that order. Oates and Bedloe were the witnesses against them: but, besides that their depositions were imperfect, and the greatest part upon hearsay, and could pass for proofs only on the supposition of the design to poison the King, which was not well proved, the jury doubtless considered that a person of Sir George Wakeman's sense, would never trust such a secret to Bedloe, whom he scarcely knew. He even swore that he never saw Bedloe before in his life. However this be, the prisoners were acquitted, to the great mortification of the two witnesses, since it was easy to see, that Oates and Bedloe were evidences capable of swearing to things of which they had no perfect knowledge.*

About the end of August, the King being at Windsor, was seized with an intermitting fever, which gave great apprehension. The Earl of Essex and the Lord Hallifax, two of the four counsellors which then managed the King's affairs, fearing, if the King died, to fall into the hands of the Duke of Monmouth, and the Earl of Shaftsbury, advised the King to send for the Duke of York, which was done with all possible speed and secrecy; for the Duke was at Windsor the 2d of September. But the King, being then out of danger, pretended a surprize at his arrival. This dissimulation however was not capable to deceive the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Shaftsbury. On the other hand, the Earl of Essex and the Lord Hallifax, finding that they had made Monmouth and Shaftsbury their irreconcileable enemies, joined with the Duke of York for their destruction. They succeeded so well, that the King removed the Duke of Monmouth from his post of Captain-General, and sent him into Holland, to the great surprize of the whole court, for the Duke of Monmouth was in the height of the King's favour before the Duke of York's arrival. Shortly after, Shaftsbury also was turned out from being president of the council. Thus the court had a new face, and the Duke of York was more powerful than ever. He improved this happy juncture to obtain the King's leave to retire to Scotland, representing to him the danger of his being in the Low Countries, in case of his Majesty's death. Accordingly he returned to Brussels, to bring home his Duchess and the Princess Anne, and arriving shortly after at London, departed for Scotland.

Every one impatiently expected, where would end the late alterations at court, and it was not long before it appeared. The 15th of October the King summoning his council, after a little pause told them, "That upon many considerations which he could not at present acquaint them with, he found it necessary to make a longer prorogation of the Parliament than be intended: that he had considered all the consequences so far as to be absolutely resolved, and, not to hear any thing that should be said against it: that he would have the meeting put off, till that time twelvemonth."

This proceeding caused several counsellors to surrender their commissions to the King, and others to absent themselves from the council,† not thinking proper to encourage by their presence, the King's secret resolutions, and give occasion to believe, they approved them. The Earl of Essex resigned his place of first commissioner of the treasury. The Lord Hallifax, Sir William Temple, and some others, retired into the country. Thus the council which the King had appointed to amuse the people, was almost dissolved, and the direction of the public affairs remained in the hands of the Earl of Sunderland, Mr. Laurence Hyde, and Mr. Sidney Godolphin, or rather the Duke of York, whose interests they had embraced; and who, though absent, directed their resolutions.

In the latter end of October, about a fortnight after the prorogation of the Parliament, a sham plot was discovered, contrived by the Papists to bring an odium upon the Presbyterians, and the heads of the country-party. This project had been formed the beginning of August, by the Countess of Powis, Elizabeth Cellier a midwife, the Earl of Castlemain, and the five Lords in the Tower. The design was to make use of false witnesses to accuse Oates of perjury and sodomy; to assassinate the Earl of Shaftsbury, and to charge the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Essex, the Duke of Monmouth, the Lord Hallifax, and several considerable citizens of London, with being concerned in a plot against the King. One Dangerfield was to be the principal actor in this scene.‡ He received his instructions from the Lady Powis, and the Lords in the Tower, with a list of the persons whom he was to accuse. Moreover, the Lady Powis gave him a plan of this plot, which he was to convey into the house of some pretended conspirator, and there cause it to be found.

Dangerfield, furnished with these instructions and papers, informed the Duke of York of it, after his arrival from Brussels. The Duke of York made him a present of twenty guineas, and introduced him to the King, who, after hearing him, gave him forty more. Then he made some attempts to assassinate the Earl of Shaftsbury, but was prevented by several accidents. At last, on pretence of seeing some rooms, which he said he intended to hire, he went to Colonel Mansel's lodgings, and found means to pin some dangerous papers behind his bed's head. This done, he informed two officers of the custom-house, that there were, in those lodgings, prohibited goods, to the value of two thousand pounds. The officers repairing thither the 22d of October, searched every where in hopes of finding their prey; but as they did not think to search behind the bed, Dangerfield himself found the papers. The officers carrying these papers to their superiors, had orders to return them to Mansel. Four or five days after, the Colonel meeting Dangerfield in the street, carried him directly to Whitehall, and brought

* The Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, who had been very violent against the prisoners hitherto, was observed, far contrary to his former practice, to turn against the witnesses in this trial. The Portugal ambassador went next day with great state to thank Scroggs for his behaviour in Wakeman's trial. By which the chief justice was exposed to much censure. This was looked on, it seems, as the Queen's trial as well as Wakeman's. For Oates and Bedloe had both deposed, that she was to assist him in poisoning the King.

† Namely the Lord Russel, the Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powle.

‡ Burnet gives him this character; "That he was a subtle and dextrous man, who had gone through all the shapes and practices of roguery, and in particular, was a false coiner. He was in goal for debt, and was in an ill intrigue with one Cellier a Popish midwife, who had a great share of wit, and was abandoned to lewdness."

him

him before the King and council. He was strictly examined, and, after a full hearing, his contrivance being detected, he was sent to Newgate the 27th of October.

Two days after, Sir William Waller, a magistrate of London, searching Cellier's house, found the plan of the pretended plot, written very fair, in a paper book tied with ribbands, and hid in a meal-tub, which gave it the name of the Meal-Tub Plot. Dangerfield perceiving himself ruined, if he persisted in a thing which he could not support, applied himself to the Lord-Mayor of London, and gave him a writing in long confession upon oath, with a discovery of the persons by whom he was employed. This confession being transmitted to the council, several persons were apprehended,* and amongst the rest Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemain. The Lady Powis, accused by others, besides Dangerfield, of conspiring the death of the King, was sent to the Tower, and ordered to be prosecuted for high-treason. This affair greatly contributed to the resolution taken by the Earl of Essex and the Lord Hallifax, to retire from court, because they observed, that though they were mentioned in the plot, they were left out of secret examinations about it.

Affairs, in the beginning of the year 1680, were in such a situation, that the King had need of all his patience and address. There were visibly two parties in the kingdom, that of the court, and that of the country. To the endeavours of the court to gain proselytes, the country-party opposed swarms of libels to inflame the people, by representing the mischiefs with which England was threatened, if the designs of the court and the papists were not prevented. When it was known, that the King had resolved to prorogue the Parliament till November, not only anonymous libels were published, but petitions flowed from all parts, for the sitting of the Parliament the 26th of January, according to the last prorogation. The King received these petitions with great trouble, and failed not to return a disobliging answer to those who had the boldness to present them.

However, the King resolved to meet the Parliament the 26th of January, but it was only to tell both Houses, that the unsettled condition of the nation, rendered a long interval of the Parliament absolutely necessary, for composing and quieting of men's minds. That nevertheless he would only prorogue them till April, in order to meet them again in that month, if the condition of his allies abroad demanded their assistance.

Two days after the King declared in council, "That he had sent for his Royal Highness, not having found such an effect from his absence, as should incline him to keep him longer from him, when questions were started of such a nature, as made it reasonable that he should be present at the next session." Upon this invitation the Duke of York appeared at court the 24th of February, where he was received with great pomp and satisfaction by the King his brother.

The Duke's arrival, and the King's late firmness in proroguing the Parliament, notwithstanding the clamours of the mal-contents, greatly encouraged the court-party, so that multitudes of addresses were presented to him, testifying an abhorrence of the liberty taken by some men to require him to hold the Parliament, and in that from Norfolk he was thanked for recalling the Duke of York.

As soon as the Parliament was prorogued, and the Duke of York at court, many addresses were presented in abhorrence of the former, so that two parties were formed, called the Petitioners and the Abhorrers; and as the animosity between the two parties gradually increased, they bestowed upon each other names of reproach, and from hence arose the so much famed distinction of WHIG and TORY. The Petitioners looking upon their adversaries as entirely devoted to the court, and the popish faction, gave them the name of Tories, a title given to the Irish robbers, villians, and cut-throats. The Abhorrers, on their side, considering the Petitioners, as men entirely in the principles of the Parliament of 1640, and as Presbyterians, gave them the name of Whig, or Sour-Milk, formerly appropriated to the Scotch Presbyterians, and rigid covenanters.

The Whigs were directed by the Earl of Shaftsbury, who, looking upon the Duke of York not only as his own, but also as the mortal enemy of his party, believed there was no medium between perishing, or ruining that Prince. To this end, he made it his business to extol the Duke of Monmouth, and render him the darling of the people, imagining, that when he had the people on his side, the supplanting of the Duke of York would not be impracticable. With this view it was, at least it is pretended, that the Earl of Shaftsbury found means to spread a rumour, that the King was lawfully married to Mrs. Walters, the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and that the marriage contract was in a black-box, in the custody of Sir Gilbert Gerard. The King and the Duke of York easily perceived the tendency of this rumour, and therefore omitted nothing to undeceive the people. To this end the King called an extraordinary council the 26th of April, in which he had declared, "That the said report was altogether false, and that he thought himself obliged in honour and conscience to have the matter thoroughly examined and searched into." Gerard appearing before the council, declared upon oath, "that he never had any such writing, as was reported, committed to his charge, nor did he ever see or know of such writing." In short, after many fruitless enquiries after the author of this report, the King was forced to content himself with publishing, the 3d of June, a declaration, to confirm one made January the 6th, and another made March the 3d, which was entered in the council-books, and signed by sixteen Privy-Counsellors, wherein he said, "that to avoid any dispute which might happen in time to come, concerning the succession to the crown, he did declare in the presence of Almighty God, that he never gave, nor made any contract of marriage, nor was married to Mrs. Barlow, alias Walters, the Duke of Monmouth's mother, nor to any other woman whatsoever, but to his present wife Queen Katherine, then living."

This summer were several prosecutions and trials, and the 23d of June, Roger Palmer Earl of Castlemain, a papist, husband to Barbara Villiers Duchess of Cleveland, the King's mistress, was brought to his trial and acquitted. Cellier the midwife, who had assisted the Lady Powis in the sham plot, was likewise acquitted. Shortly after she published a narrative of her trial, with severe reflections upon some persons, then in credit, for which she was tried a second time, and sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, and pay a thousand pounds fine. The grand jury found not the bill against the Countess of Powis. Thus all the persons concerned in the Meal-Tub Plot were acquitted.

Bedloe, the famous witness of the popish plot, died at Bristol the 20th of August. Three or four days before his death, he sent to the Lord Chief-Justice North, then on his circuit; confirmed all his former evidence, except that with regard to the Duke and the Queen; and desired North to apply to the King for some money to relieve him in his necessities. The whole party triumphed extremely in these circumstances of his death; as though the perseverance of one profligate could outweigh the last words of so many men, guilty of no crime but that of popery.

The city of London was then in the country-party, which gave it great reputation. The choice, on Midsummer day, for sheriffs, fell upon two famous Presbyterians, by a majority of voices, both accounted fanatic by the contrary party. These were Slingsby Bethel, and Henry Cornish, who took care to qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament in the church of England, abjuring the covenant, and doing every thing as appointed by act of Parliament. While this election was depending, their favourite bill was thrown out by

* Particularly Mrs. Cellier, and Gadbury the astrologer.

the

the Lords. It was pretended, that Bethel's party had committed some violence against the other, which obliged the King to order a commission of Oyer and Terminer to be issued out for trial of the riot. Meanwhile, the two sheriffs, contrary to the King, being chosen, Thomas Papillon, Esq. presented an address to the Lord Mayor, in the name of the city, wherein, after disowning all tumultuous and disorderly proceedings, and testifying an inviolable fidelity to the King, they desired his Lordship, "That he would, in their names, humbly beseech his Majesty, that the Parliament might speedily assemble." Whether the address produced any effect, or the King had already taken his resolution, a few days after, it was made known by a public proclamation, that the Parliament should sit on the 21st of October.

While the time of the meeting of the Parliament was yet remote and uncertain, the court-party had some advantage, but, as it approached, the country-party gained the superiority. The Duke of Monmouth was returned from Holland without leave, and instead of going to court, made several progresses in the kingdom to encourage his friends, and increase their number. This party were resolved to run all hazards, and ruin themselves or the Duke of York, the next session of Parliament. To this end, the Earl of Shaftsbury, attended by twelve Lords and Gentlemen of note, went publicly to Westminster-Hall, and at the King's Bench Bar, by a bill in form, presented the Duke of York as a popish recusant.* The thing was but too true, and the whole kingdom was sensible of it. But till this time no man had dared to take such a step, which was considered as a formal design to break all measures with the Duke. This action so surprized the three principal ministers, that they concluded the contrary party must necessarily be assured beforehand of the resolutions of the Parliament, and they advised the King to send the Duke of York into Scotland. The King approving their reasons, obliged the Duke to return to Scotland, after repeated assurances, that he would never forsake him.

At last, the Parliament met the 21st of October, as the King had promised in his proclamation. After the Speaker was chosen, and approved by the King, the House of Commons immediately discovered what was to be expected from them, by expelling some of their members, for having been Abhorrers. But not content with punishing their own members, they ordered an address to be presented to the King, to remove from all public offices Sir George Jefferies, Serjeant at Law, Recorder of London, and Chief-Justice of Chester, as guilty of the same crime, and betrayer of the rights of the subject.

As this was a new Parliament, and as the affair of the plot was to be resumed at the King's own desire, the witnesses who had already deposed, laid before the House their informations, and were joined by Dangerfield, Jennison, Dugdale, and one Tuberville, a new evidence. Some likewise came from Ireland. Upon a report made to the House, that Dr. Tonge, who had first discovered the plot to the King, had received no gratuity, he was now recommended to his Majesty for the first good ecclesiastical preferment that fell in his gift. But the Doctor was disappointed of the benefit of this recommendation, by leaving the world not long after. The King on this occasion discovered no less zeal than the Commons, and issued out a proclamation, with a promise of his pardon to any person who should, within two months, give farther information and evidence concerning the horrid and execrable popish plot.

But this dissimulation was not capable of deceiving the Commons. Five days after the opening of the Parliament, Lord Russel moved, "That they might in the first place take into consideration how to suppress popery, and prevent a popish successor." He was seconded by Sir Henry Capel, brother to the Earl of Essex, who, in a long speech, related what had been done to the prejudice of the kingdom during the present reign. He ascribed the whole to the Popish councils. He spoke of the first Dutch war; of the division of the fleet; of the affair of Chatham; of the fire of London; of the discharge of the prisoners concerned in that wicked act, without trial; of the violation of the Triple League; of the seizing the Dutch Smyrna fleet before war was proclaimed; of the second Dutch war; of the permission to the Irish papists to wear arms; of the alteration of the government of Scotland, by lodging it in a commissioner and a council, besides an army of twenty thousand men. He said, the papists were emboldened to act any thing, by the hopes of having the Duke of York for King: that they were moreover encouraged by the French Ambassador, who by his frequency at court, seemed to be rather one of the family, and of the King's household, than a foreign Ambassador; and by his free recourse to his Majesty, rather a prime minister of state of this kingdom, than a counsellor to another prince: that since all these irregularities and enormities proceeded from the popish party, supported by the Duke of York, it was high time to think of some effectual expedient to prevent popery and a popish successor.

Several other members spoke to the same effect, some more, some less; and, in conclusion, it was resolved "That a bill be brought in to disable the Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of this realm."

In the course of the debates on this bill, Sir Francis Winnington alledged, "that an act of the thirteenth of Elizabeth made it treason for any man to say, that the Parliament could not alter the succession." To which Mr. Finch replied, "I will not say that acts of Parliament cannot dispose of the succession, because it was made treason by a statute in the 13th of Elizabeth. But I will deny that the Kings of England rule by virtue of any statute law, as was suggested; for their right is by so ancient a prescription, as that it may justly be said to be from God alone, and that no power on earth ought to dispute it."

At last, after several days' debates, the Exclusion-bill passed the House by a great majority. This bill was much the same with the other brought in during the last Parliament, only it had this additional clause, "That, during the life of James Duke of York, the act should be given in charge at every assizes and general sessions, and read openly in every cathedral, Parish-church and chapel, twice every year immediately after Divine Service, that is to say, on the 25th of December, and upon Easter-day."

While the Commons were proceeding on this bill, the King endeavoured to interrupt their debates by two messages. By the first he desired them to expedite such matters as were depending before them, relating to popery and the plot. Assuring them, that all remedies they could tender to him, conducing to these ends, should be very acceptable to him, provided they were such as might consist with preserving the succession of the crown in the legal course of descent. The other message was concerning Tangier, to recommend to the Commons the preservation of that place. But the House not being disposed to content the King, took occasion from this message to present a long address, or rather remonstrance, setting forth, in eighteen articles, the dangerous state of the kingdom, with regard to popery.

Two days afterwards, on the 15th of November, the Exclusion-bill was sent up to the House of Lords. It passed only by two voices upon the first reading. But on the second reading it was thrown out by a superiority of sixty-three, against thirty. Of fourteen Bishops that day in the House, three only gave their votes for, and eleven against the bill. The King was present at the whole debate, which lasted till near midnight.

It was a great mortification to the Commons, to see

* They that attested the bill were the Earls of Huntington and Shaftsbury; the Lords Grey of Werk, Brandon, Gerard, Russel, and Cavendish; Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir Scroop How, Sir William Cooper, Sir Thomas Wharton, John Trenchard, Thomas Thynne, and William Forrester, Esquires. By the sudden dismission of the grand jury, the matter had no consequence in the forms of the court.

their

grew so sullen and out of humour, that they fell upon several members of their own House; expelling some, and impeaching and imprisoning others; as well as upon persons not of their House, for being Abhorrers, or for having advised and assisted in drawing up the proclamation against petitioning for the sitting of the Parliament. But this served only to discover their rage at their disappointment concerning the Exclusion-bill.

On the 30th of November a new scene was opened, namely, the trial of William Howard, Lord Viscount Stafford, one of the five popish Lords in the Tower, who were accused of being concerned in the plot. He was tried before the Lords in Westminster-Hall, the Chancellor being appointed by the King, to perform the office of High-Steward. The managers for the Commons began with the plot in general, and laid open the malice, wickedness, and horror of so dreadful, bloody, and hellish a design: they strenuously insisted on the express positive oaths of the witnesses, upon whom the credit of the plot depended: they expatiated on Coleman's letters and others, clearly proving the designs and activity of the writers: they pressed home the execrable murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, charged upon the papists, as well by the oaths of self-acknowledged partners in the fact, as by a letter sent from London to Tixall, intimating this very murder, the third day after it was committed: they fully displayed the sham plots, and counter-contrivances, whereby the papists would have suborned the King's evidence, and turned all the guilt upon his Majesty's loyal subjects: they urged the firing the city, the burning the navy, the calling in French armies, wild Irish, Spanish pilgrims, &c. They recapitulated the several trials of Ireland, Whitebread, Langhorn, &c. and alledged the votes of both Houses of Parliament, declaring the plot. To corroborate all which, they repeated the cruelties of Queen Mary, the French and Irish massacres, the powder-plot, &c. And they anatomised the wicked principles and practices of murdering, lying, equivocating, for-swearing, faith-breaking, &c. imputed to the papists, as held by them lawful and meritorious. In fine, they produced witnesses to prove the plot in general, but chiefly three appeared against the accused Lord, namely, Dugdale, Oates, and Turberville.—Dugdale gave testimony, that the prisoner, at Tixal, a seat of Lord Aston's, had endeavoured to assist him in the design of murdering the King; and had promised him, besides the honour of being sainted by the church, a reward of five hundred pounds for that service. Turberville deposed, that the prisoner, in his own house at Paris, had made him a like proposal.

The accused Lord, in his defence, alledged many things to invalidate the credit of the plot; and particularly, the reputation of these three witnesses. It had been sworn by Dugdale, that Stafford had assisted in a great consult of the Catholics held at Tixal; but Stafford proved, by undoubted testimony, that at the time assigned he was in Bath, and in that neighbourhood. Turberville had served a noviciate among the Dominicans; but having deserted the convent, he had enlisted as a trooper in the French army; and being dismissed that service, he now lived in London, abandoned by all his relations, and in great poverty. Stafford proved, by the evidence of his gentlemen and his page, that Turburville had never, either at Paris or at London, been seen in his company; and it might justly appear strange, that a person, who had so important a secret in his keeping, was so long entirely neglected by him. The accusations and depositions were express, and the prisoner's defence consisted,

I. In an absolute denial of the crime for which he was impeached.

II. In several allegations against the witnesses.

III. In an improbability alledged against Oates, that if he had been so well acquainted with the secrets of so many rich men, they would never have suffered him to be reduced to such want.

IV. In a witness who deposed, that Dugdale was a person of an infamous life, and guilty of several cheats.

However, after the Lord Stafford had made a long and pathetic speech, and in the presence of God protested his innocence, he was found guilty by fifty-five votes against thirty-one. The Lord High-Steward asking him, "What he could say for himself, why judgment of death should not pass upon him, according to law?" He replied, "My Lord, I have very little to say; I confess, I am surprized at it, for I did not expect it. But God's will be done; I will not murmur at it. God forgive those that have falsely sworn against me."*

The 29th of December he was beheaded, being sixty-eight years of age.†

The 15th of December, the King came to the House of Lords, and sending for the Commons, made a speech to both Houses, which was a repetition of that made at the opening of this session, relating to his alliances with Spain and Holland, for the repose of Christendom, and concerning Tangier. After which he renewed his promise of concurring with them in any remedies for the security of the Protestant religion, which might consist with preserving the security of the succession of the crown in its due and legal course of descent.

The Commons returning to their House, instead of taking the King's speech into consideration, resolved

* When the high steward told him that the Peers would intercede with the King for remitting the more cruel and ignominious parts of the sentence, hanging and quartering, he burst into tears: but he told the Lords, that he was moved to this weakness, by his sense of their goodness, not by any terror of that fate which he was doomed to suffer. It is remarkable that, after Charles, as is usual in such cases, had remitted to Stafford the hanging and the quartering, the two sheriffs, Bethel and Cornish, indulging their own republican humour, and complying with the prevalent spirit of their party, ever jealous of monarchy, stated a doubt with regard to the King's power of exercising even this small degree of lenity. "Since he cannot pardon the whole," said they, "how can he have power to remit any part of the sentence." They proposed the doubt to both Houses: the Peers pronounced it superfluous; and even the Commons, apprehensive lest a question of this nature might make way for Stafford's escape, gave this singular answer—"This House is content, that the sheriffs do execute William late Viscount Stafford, by severing his head from his body only." Nothing can be a stronger proof of the fury of the times, than that Lord Russel, notwithstanding the virtue and humanity of his character, seconded in the House this barbarous scruple of the sheriffs.

† In the interval between the sentence and the execution, many efforts were made to shake the resolution of the infirm and aged prisoner, and to bring him to some confession of the treason for which he was condemned. It was even rumoured, that he had confessed; and the zealous party men, who, no doubt, had secretly, notwithstanding their credulity, entertained some doubts with regard to the reality of the Popish conspiracy, expressed great triumph on the occasion. But Stafford, when again called before the House of Peers, discovered many schemes, which had been laid by himself and others, for procuring a toleration to the Catholics, at least a mitigation of the penal laws enacted against them: and he protested, that this was the sole treason of which he had been guilty.—Stafford now prepared himself for death, with the intrepidity which became his birth and station, and which was the natural result of the innocence and integrity, which, during the course of a long life, he had ever maintained: his mind seemed even to collect new force from the violence and oppression under which he laboured. When going to execution, he called for a cloak to defend him against the rigour of the season. "Perhaps" said he, "I may shake with cold, but I trust in God not for fear." On the scaffold, he continued, with reiterated and earnest asseverations, to make protestations of his innocence; all his fervour was exercised on that point: when he mentioned the witnesses, whose perjury bereaved him of his life, his expressions were full of mildness and of charity. He solemnly disavowed all those immoral principles, which over zealous Protestants had ascribed without distinction to the church of Rome: and, he hoped, he said, that the time was now approaching, when the present delusion would be dissipated; and when the force of truth, though late, would engage the whole world to make reparation to his injured honour.—The populace, who had exulted at Stafford's trial and condemnation, were now melted into tears at the sight of that tender fortitude, which shone forth in each feature, and motion, and accent of this aged noble. Their profound silence was only interrupted by sighs and groans. With difficulty they found speech to assent to those protestations of innocence, which he frequently repeated: "We believe you, my Lord! God bless you, my Lord!" These expressions, with a faultering accent, flowed from them. The executioner himself was touched with sympathy: twice he lifted up the axe, with an intent to strike the fatal blow, and as often felt his resolution to fail him. A deep sigh was heard to accompany his last effort, which laid Stafford for ever at rest. All the spectators seemed to feel the blow. And when the head was held up to them with the usual cry, "This is the head of a traitor," no clamour of assent was uttered. Pity, remorse, and astonishment had taken possession of every heart, and displayed itself in every countenance.—This is the last blood which was shed on account of the Popish plot.

themselves into a grand committee, how to secure the kingdom against popery and arbitrary government. Besides insisting on the exclusion, they proceeded to bring in bills of an important, and some of them of an alarming nature: one, to renew the triennial act, which had been so inadvertently repealed in the beginning of the reign: a second, to make the office of judge during good behaviour: a third, to declare the levying money without consent of Parliament to be high-treason: a fourth, to order an association for the safety of his Majesty's person, for defence of the Protestant religion, for the preservation of the Protestant subjects against all invasions and opposition whatever, and for preventing the Duke of York or any papist from succeeding to the crown. The memory of the covenant was too recent for men to overlook the consequences of such an association: and the King, who was particularly conversant in Davila, could not fail of recollecting a memorable foreign instance, to fortify his domestic experience. The Commons also passed many votes, which, though they had not the authority of laws, served however to discover the temper and disposition of the House. They voted, that whoever had advised his Majesty to refuse the Exclusion-bill, were promoters of popery, and enemies to the King and kingdom. In another vote, they named the Marquis of Worcester, the Earls of Clarendon, Feversham, and Halifax, Lawrence, Hyde, and Edward Seymour, as those dangerous enemies; and they requested his Majesty to remove them from his person and councils for ever: they voted that, till the Exclusion bill were passed, they could not, consistent with the trust reposed in them, grant the King any manner of supply. And lest he should be enabled, by any other expedient, to support the government, and preserve himself independent, they passed another vote, in which they declared that whoever should hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon those branches of the King's revenues, arising from customs, excise, or hearth-money, should be judged a hinderer of the sitting of Parliament, and be responsible for the same in Parliament. The King might presume that the Peers, who had rejected the Exclusion-bill, would still continue to defend the throne, and that none of the dangerous bills, introduced into the other House, would ever be presented for the royal assent and approbation. But as there remained no hopes of bringing the Commons to any better temper, and as their farther sitting served only to keep faction alive, and to perpetuate the general ferment of the nation, he came secretly to a resolution of proroguing them. They got intelligence about a quarter of an hour before the black rod came to their door. Not to lose such precious time, they passed in a tumultuous manner some extraordinary resolutions. They voted, that whosoever advised his Majesty to prorogue the Parliament to any other purpose than in order to pass the bill of Exclusion, was a betrayer of the King, of the Protestant religion, and of the kingdom of England; a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France: that thanks be given to the city of London for their manifest loyalty, and for their care and vigilance in the preservation of the King, and of the Protestant religion: that it is the opinion of this House, that that city was burned in the year 1666 by the papists, designing thereby to introduce arbitrary power and popery into the kingdom: that humble application be made to his Majesty for restoring the Duke of Monmouth to all his offices and commands, from which, it appears to the House, he had been removed by the influence of the Duke of York: and that it is the opinion of the House, that the prosecution of the Protestant dissenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement of popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

These voteswere scarcely passed, when the King came to the House of Peers, and sending for the Commons, gave the royal assent to two or three acts of little importance, and then, the Chancellor, by his order, prorogued the Parliament to the 20th of January.*

Three days after, the Lord-Mayor and Common Council of London presented the King an address, for the sitting of the Parliament on the day appointed, that they might effect the great affairs before them. This address served only to exasperate the King further. Wherefore, by a proclamation, the 18th of January, he dissolved the Parliament. At the same time he summoned another to meet at Oxford the 21st of March.

Immediately after the dissolution of the Parliament, the King removed the Earl of Sunderland from being Secretary, and gave the place to the Earl of Conway. He likewise struck out of the council-book, the names of the Earls of Essex, Salisbury, Sunderland, and Sir William Temple, and in their room put men whose principles were more agreeable to his own. In a word, by the men whom he advanced, he sufficiently discovered his intention to support the Duke of York his brother, let what would be the consequence.

On the other hand, the contrary party to the court were not idle. The magistracy and common-council of London, being of that party, hastened the elections of members to serve in the ensuing Parliament, and on the 4th of February re-chose their old members. The election was no sooner over, than the new representatives were presented with a paper, in the name of the citizens of London then assembled in Common-Hall, containing "a return of their most hearty thanks for their faithful and unwearied endeavours in the two last Parliaments, to search into and discover the depth of the popish plot; to preserve his Majesty's royal person, the Protestant religion, and the well established government of this realm; to secure the meeting and sitting of frequent Parliaments; to assert their undoubted rights of petitioning, and to punish such as have betrayed those rights; to promote the long-wished for union of his Majesty's Protestant subjects; to repeal the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, and the corporation act; and more especially for their assiduous endeavours in promoting the Bill of Exclusion of James Duke of York." In fine, they concluded, "that being confidently assured, that they, the said members for the city, will never consent to the granting any money-supply, till they have effectually secured them against popery and arbitrary power, they resolved, by God's assistance, to stand by their said members with their lives and fortunes." The example of London was followed by most places in the kingdom, and not only the old members were re-elected,† but papers of addresses, like that of London, were presented to them. So, when the elections were over, the King with grief saw, he was going to meet the same Parliament he had dissolved.

Meanwhile, the King's precaution to call his new Parliament at Oxford, gave great uneasiness to the country-party. They were desirous that the Parliament should sit at Westminster, where they were sure of the assistance of the Londoners in case of need. And who knows, whether some did not propose to use, for passing the Exclusion-bill in the House of Lords, the same means formerly used to extort from the Peers their consent to the bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford? Be this as it will, they resolved to use their utmost endeavours to have the place altered, and the Parliament removed to Westminster. For this purpose, the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, and fourteen other Peers, presented a petition against assembling the Parliament at Oxford, "where the two Houses," they said, "could not be in safety; but would be easily exposed to the swords of the papists and their adherents, of whom too many had creeped into his Majesty's guards." These insinuations, which pointed so evidently at the King himself, were not calculated to persuade him, but to inflame the people.

To this address the King returned no answer.

All this while the two parties were skirmishing in so hot, or rather so violent a manner, with their pens, that

* The bill for repealing the 35th Eliz. he privately ordered the clerk of the crown not to present to him. By this artifice, which was equally disobliging to the country party as if the bill had been rejected, and at the same time applied some timidity in the King, that salutary act was, for the present, eluded.

† There were a hundred and ten new members chosen.

no

no measures were kept. Libels swarmed with impunity. Some pretend this was a court-artifice, to prevent the union of the Protestants, and that ill-language, thrown out against the King and the Duke of York, was patiently suffered, in order to cast the blame on the Presbyterians, and give the episcopal party occasion to return the imputation of being too much attached to the court. Thus much is certain, this division, which was carefully fomented, turned to the King's advantage, as will hereafter appear.

One Fitz-Harris, an Irish papist, who had free access to the Duchess of Portsmouth, and kept a correspondence with her favourite-woman, Mrs. Wall, and with the confessor of the French ambassador, having received several presents, and particularly one of two hundred and fifty guineas, undertook to prevail with one Edmund Everard, to write a libel against the King. Everard feigned to consent, and appointed a meeting to receive informations, by which his pamphlet was to be framed. But at the same time he communicated the affair to Sir William Waller, and Mr. Smith, and caused them to be concealed in a place where they might hear what passed between Fitz-Harris and him. The next day, being both together in a room, Fitz-Harris told Everard, that he should write a libel against the King upon the following heads:

"That the King and royal family were papists, and arbitrarily affected from the beginning. That Charles I. had a hand in the Irish rebellion, and that Charles II. did countenance the same, by preferring Fitz-Gerald, Fitz-Patrick, and Mount Garret, who were engaged in the rebellion. That the act, forbidding to call the King a papist, was to stop men's mouths when he should incline to further popery; which appeared by his adhering so closely to the Duke of York's interest, and hindering him from being proceeded against by the Parliament, and hindering the officers put in by the Duke, to be turned out; and for that the Privy-Counsellors and Justices of the peace, who were for the Protestant interest, were turned out of all the places of trust. That it was as much in the power of the people to depose a popish possessor, as a popish successor; and seeing there were no hopes that the Parliament, when they met at Oxford, could do any good, the people were bound to provide for themselves."

Everard afterwards received these instructions in writing, and drew up his libel, which was to be dispersed by the penny-post, to the Protestant Lords, and particularly to the leading Presbyterians, whose houses were to be searched in order to find this libel, which was to serve as a proof of a conspiracy formed by the Presbyterians against the government. This is what Everard affirmed, and that the whole came from the court. At last, Waller having informed the King of the affair, the King ordered Secretary Jenkins to issue out a warrant for apprehending Fitz-Harris, and that Waller should execute it. Yet he was no sooner gone, but Sir William declared, he was informed by two worthy gentlemen, "That the King was highly offended with him, saying, he had broken all his measures." However, Waller arrested Fitz-Harris, and sent him to Newgate.

Here, as in the former affair concerning the plot, it is pretended, that Fitz-Harris was gained by promises or threats, to depose what has been seen. But before this affair could be fully discovered, Fitz-Harris was taken out of Newgate, and sent to the Tower by the King's express order. We shall enter no farther into the particulars of this affair, but content ourselves with saying, that shortly after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, when the court began to sail with a prosperous gale, without being controlled by the Parliament, Fitz-Harris was brought to his trial; that the Duchess of Portsmouth owned she had given him money, but merely out of charity; that Fitz-Harris continually insinuated, that what he did was by the order of his superiors, and that, after his death, his wife constantly affirmed that the libel was a court trick. In short, he was condemned and executed, whilst the public could not conceive for what reason an Irish papist had published a libel against the King, if it was not an artifice of the court. This affair began in February, and the last Parliament had taken cognizance of it, so that the Commons had ordered an impeachment against him, and when he was sent to the Tower, declared, that for any inferior court to proceed against him, or any other person lying under an impeachment of Parliament, is a high breach of the privilege of Parliament. He was nevertheless tried, condemned, and executed, to the great disappointment of the Whigs, who hoped by his means, to discover the artifices of the court. But the King and his party thought it for their advantage to be rid of a man, who might throw them into difficulties. He was not executed till June, after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament.

The meeting of this Parliament was universally expected with the utmost impatience, and by the King, with great uneasiness. He repaired to Oxford seven or eight days before the opening, and as the suspicions and fears of the Whig party were then at the utmost height, it was thought, the King went so soon to Oxford, on purpose to take measures beforehand, for rendering himself master of the Parliament. Accordingly, the members manifestly showed their fears of some violence, by going thither attended with armed retinues. Those for the city of London in particular came with a numerous body of well-armed horse, having ribbands in their hats, with these words woven in them, No Popery! No Slavery! The Parliament meeting the 21st of March, the King, who had employed the most gracious expressions to all his Parliaments, particularly the two last, thought proper to address himself to the present in a more authoritative manner. He complained of the unwarrantable proceedings of the former House of Commons; and said that, as he would never use arbitrary government himself, neither would he ever suffer it in others. By calling, however, this Parliament so soon, he had sufficiently shewn that no past irregularities could inspire him with a prejudice against those assemblies. He now afforded them, he added, yet another opportunity of providing for the public safety; and to all the world he had given one evidence more, that on his part he had not neglected the duty incumbent on him.

After the Commons had spent three days in chusing their Speaker, and taking the usual oaths, they promptly fell into the old measures—the impeachment of Danby, the repeal of the persecuting statute of Elizabeth, the inquiry into the popish plot, and the bill of Exclusion. So violent were they on this last article, that no other expedient, however plausible, could so much as be hearkened to. Ernley, one of the King's ministers, proposed that the Duke should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England, and that on the King's demise the next heir should be constituted Regent with regal power: yet even this expedient, which left the Duke only the bare title of King, could not, though seconded by Sir Thomas Littleton and Sir Thomas Mompesson, obtain the attention of the House. The past disappointments of the country party, and the opposition made by the court, had only rendered them more united, more haughty, and more determined. No method but their own, of excluding the Duke, could give them any satisfaction. The popular leaders had, all along, been very desirous of having an accusation against the Duke; and though Oates and Bedloe, in their first evidence, had not dared to go so far, both Dugdale and Dangerfield had afterwards been encouraged to supply so material a defect, by comprehending him in the conspiracy. The Commons therefore finding that Fitz-Harris was also willing to serve this purpose, were not ashamed to adopt his evidence, and resolved for that end to save him from the destruction with which he was at present threatened. The King had removed him from the city-prison, where he was exposed to be tampered with by the exclusionists; had sent him to the Tower, and had ordered him to be prosecuted by an indictment at common-law. In order to prevent his trial and exclusion, an impeachment was voted by the Commons against him, and sent up to the Lords. That they might show the greater contempt of the court,

court, they voted, that the impeachment should be carried up by Secretary Jenkins; who was so provoked by the intended affront, that he at first refused obedience; though afterwards, being threatened with commitment, he was induced to comply. The Lords voted to remit the affair to the ordinary courts of justice, before whom, as the Attorney-General informed them, it was already determined to try Fitz-Harris. The Commons maintained, that the Peers were obliged to receive every impeachment from the Commons; and this indeed seems to have been the first instance of their refusal: they therefore voted that the Lords, in refusing their impeachment, had denied justice, and had violated the constitution of Parliament. They also declared, that whatever inferior court should proceed against Fitz-Harris, or any one that lay under impeachment, would be guilty of a high breach of privilege. Great heats were likely to ensue; and as the King saw no appearance of any better temper in the Commons, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, afforded by a quarrel between the two Houses; and he proceeded to a dissolution of the Parliament. The secret was so well kept, that the Commons had no intimation of it, till the black rod came to their doors, and summoned them to attend the King at the House of Peers.

The King immediately took coach, and drove with all speed to Windsor, and the next morning to Whitehall, seeming extremely pleased that he had thus made his escape from the designs of the Commons. This Parliament, which sat but seven days, was the fifth and last of this reign.

From this time, the King, during the rest of his life, governed not only without a Parliament, but with an absolute power. When he saw himself out of the reach of the Parliament, he entirely threw away the mask of dissimulation, and shewed, that the Popish plot, the prosecution whereof he had lately recommended so earnestly to the Parliament, appeared to him but a mere chimera, or at least, he did not think it near so dangerous as he would have had it believed. The four Lords, prisoners in the Tower, whom he would have sacrificed to the Parliament, appeared innocent to him. But what was still more remarkable, even to the end of this reign, was, that the King grew as sanguinary, as he had hitherto appeared merciful, and that as soon as he had the power in his hands, he made his enemies feel the most terrible effects of his vengeance. In a word, he clearly discovered by his conduct, that he was entirely in the principles of despotic power, and had only dissembled his sentiments in his speeches to his Parliament, because he judged such dissimulation proper to conduct him to the end proposed to himself, from the first years of his reign.

Meanwhile, not to alarm the nation by a too hasty discovery of his intentions as to his future government, he contented himself at present with publishing a declaration, containing his reason for dissolving the two last Parliaments. He positively declared, that no irregularities in Parliaments should ever make him out of love with them: and therefore he was resolved to have frequent Parliaments, and both in and out of Parliament, to use his utmost endeavours to extirpate Popery.

Several pamphlets appeared, as well against the dissolution of the Parliament, as against the declaration. It was said, that though the King pretended, that he dissolved the Parliament on account of the votes passed the same day about Fitz-Harris, yet the Duchess of Mazarine published the news at St. James's many hours before it was done.

The declaration having been published and read in the churches by the King's order, addresses flowed from all parts, approving the dissolution of the Parliament, and in general, the King's whole conduct. Not content with thanking the King, these addresses were even filled with invectives against the late House of Commons. One of these addresses being presented at the King's Bench as a public libel, by the grand jury of Middlesex, the court took no notice of it.

The King was not satisfied with discouraging those who would have presented disagreeable addresses to him, but also silenced and imprisoned the news writers which were not of his party, while others had liberty to publish daily invectives against the Whigs, and the late Parliaments.

Shortly after the dissolution of the Parliament, the King made Charles Lenox Duke of Richmond, his son by the Duchess of Portsmouth, Knight of the Garter, at nine years of age. Laurence Hyde Esq. was created Viscount Hyde of Kennelworth; and Lord Chancellor Finch Earl of Nottingham.

Notwithstanding the vote of the Commons on the account of Fitz-Harris, he was indicted of high treason at the King's Bench bar, tried, condemned, and executed. It is pretended, that he confessed to the chaplain of the Tower, that there was a design laid by the Protestant party to seize the person of the King, and imprison him, till he had consented to what should be desired of him, and that he mentioned many particulars.

The same day that Fitz-Harris was executed, Oliver Plunket, the Popish titular primate of Ireland, suffered the same punishment for contriving, with the court of France, to raise an insurrection in Ireland.

The Earl of Shaftsbury was sent to the Tower the beginning of July. He was now called the Protestant Earl, in derision of his having appeared more zealous than any other Lord in support of the Protestant party. The same day, the King also sent to the Tower some persons of a much inferior rank, as Rouse, Hayns, White, and one Colledge, a joiner, of London, who had been very strenuous for the Whigs, while that party was supported by the Parliament. He was also called the Protestant joiner, for the name of Protestant was become the nick-name of those who had most opposed the King and the Papists. The adherents of the court, on the other hand, pretend, that the Whig party in London, perceiving the court began to be revenged upon their enemies, had found means, with the assistance of Cornish and Bethel, sheriffs of London, and zealous Whigs, to secure grand juries entirely at their devotion; so that, to defeat the efforts of the court, these juries were to return Ignoramus upon all bills brought against any of the party, and therefore obtained the name of Ignoramus.

However, the court began their revenge with Colledge the joiner, and for that purpose a bill of indictment of high treason against him was delivered to the grand jury of London, who, not finding it well grounded, threw it out with an Ignoramus. This caused an universal joy in London, and was looked upon as a sort of triumph. But the court was resolved to proceed against Colledge with the utmost severity. For this purpose, on pretence of certain words said to be spoken by Colledge at Oxford, he was ordered to be removed to that city. Colledge was accordingly carried to Oxford, and tried at the assizes, upon the evidence of Dugdale and Turberville, who had been the witnesses in the trial of the Lord Stafford. It is not possible to read the particulars of this trial, the partiality of the judges, and the depositions of the witnesses, without discovering a settled design for the destruction of this man, who was condemned and executed as a traitor. He died, protesting his innocence, and ignorance of any plot but the Popish.

The same day that Colledge was executed, Dr. Oates was by order of council turned out of Whitehall, with a command not to come within the verge of the council chamber.

The time for electing the sheriffs of London being come, Thomas Pilkington and Samuel Shute, both Whigs, were chosen in the room of Bethel and Cornish, which was very disagreeable to the court. But on Michaelmas day they had the satisfaction to see Sir John Moor, an addresser, chosen Lord Mayor.

At the sessions for London, Rouse, one of those sent to the Tower by the King, was indicted of high treason, and the grand jury found the bill Ignoramus.

It was the same with the Earl of Shaftsbury; the King passionately wished to be revenged of this Lord, who, for some time, had shewn him little regard. To

this end, he granted a special commission of Oyer and Terminer to all the judges of the kingdom to sit, the 24th of November, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at the Old Bailey, on the Earl's trial. Eight witnesses were heard against him, who deposed upon oath many things from his own mouth, which discovered pernicious designs against the King's person. But the greatest crime objected against him was, the copy of an association (found in his study) against the enemies of the King, of the Protestant religion, and of their country. But notwithstanding the hopes conceived by the court, of being freed from this enemy, the grand jury, consisting of one-and-twenty of the principal citizens of London, considering that the paper, containing the association was only a copy, and not written in the Earl of Shaftsbury's hand, and observing very great improbabilities in the depositions of the witnesses, found no sufficient ground for the bill, and returned it Ignoramus. Immediately the whole city testified their joy for the Earl's deliverance, by bonfires in all the streets, and other marks of satisfaction, and the witnesses against him were in great danger of being torn in pieces by the mob.*

Before we finish this year, it will be necessary to mention the transactions in Scotland, where the Duke of York, as the King's high commissioner, had opened the Parliament the 28th of July. This Parliament, very different from the two last held in England, took a quite contrary course, and passed several acts such as the King desired.

By the first, they acknowledged, that the crown of Scotland is by inherent right, by the nature of monarchy, by the fundamental and unalterable laws of the kingdom, transmitted and devolved by lineal succession, according to proximity of blood, and that no difference in religion, no law, no act of Parliament, can alter or divert the right of succession, and lineal descent of the crown to the nearest and lawful heirs. This act made it high treason, either by word or writing, to endeavour to suspend, or alter, the right of succession.

By the second act, "All former laws for the security of the Protestant religion presently professed in that realm, were ratified;" by which all the laws made by James I. Charles I. and Charles II. against Popery, were confirmed. To this act was annexed a test and oath to be taken by all officers in church and state. Archibald Campbel, Earl of Argyle, son of him beheaded at Edinburgh, was one of the refusers of this oath, unless he might take it with a reserve of his own explanation. But this the Duke of York would never allow him. At last, he was arrested, imprisoned, and brought to a solemn trial, not only for refusing the oath, but for having dissuaded others from taking it; and for this new kind of treason, was condemned to lose his head. It is pretended, the King would have pardoned him; but this can only be said by conjecture. However, he found means to escape out of the castle of Edinburgh, and withdrew into Holland.†

A. D. 1681-2.] The King finding his authority sufficiently established since the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, resolved entirely to ruin his enemies the Whigs, and consequently the Presbyterians. To this end, he ordered, that the non-conformists should be rigorously prosecuted, which discovered his motive for conveying away in the House of Lords the bill to repeal the act of the 35th of Elizabeth, at the very time it was going to pass into a law. This order of the King occasioned a violent persecution against the dissenters. Since the dissolution of the last Parliament, all the magistrates, judges, justices of the peace, governors, and lord-lieutenants, had been changed, and the most violent tories put in their places. It may easily be imagined, with what joy and zeal these men executed the laws against the Presbyterians, which had been suspended for some years. The clergy particularly distinguished themselves by showing their attachment to the principles and maxims of the court. The pulpits resounded with the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, which had been espoused by a few in the reign of Charles I. but was now universally preached. The clergy seemed to make it their business to surrender to the King, all the liberties and privileges of the subjects, and to leave them only an unlimited obedience.

The Duke of York returned from Scotland, the beginning of March, and was received by the King with all possible signs of affection. At the same time came a letter to the King from Scotland, subscribed by seven Bishops, full of the Duke of York's praises, and of the happiness enjoyed by the church of Scotland, under his administration.

A. D. 1682.] After two months' stay in England, the Duke returned to Scotland to bring his family from thence. He went by sea, but by an unexpected accident, the ship, though the weather was fair, struck upon the sand called the Lemon and Oar, and in a little time had above seven feet water in the hold. This obliged him to put off in his pinnace, with as many persons as it would hold, and to save himself on board the Mary yacht. It is pretended, he himself named the persons whom he would have in the boat with him, and that some priests and jesuits were preferred to several persons of quality, who were unfortunately drowned, with a hundred and thirty seamen, the ship sinking soon after the Duke put off.‡ The Duke made but a short stay in Scotland. He departed within a few days for England, where he continued, the rest of this reign, with great influence over the actions and counsels of the King his brother. To him is generally ascribed the rigour with which the King treated his enemies the remaining part of his reign. It is said, the King being one day importuned by the Duke to undertake things which he thought very dangerous, told him, "Brother, I am resolved never to travel again; you may do so, if you please."

Though, supported by the court and the magistrates, the tory party had the advantage, the Whigs were not discouraged, in the expectation of causing some turn, by informing the people in pamphlets of their danger from the court. These pamphlets were numberless, and new ones daily appeared, to attack or defend. That which made the greatest noise was, "The Life of Julian the Apostate," in which a parallel was drawn between that Prince and the Duke of York. The necessity of the exclusion was shown, and passive obedience exploded as a Mahometan doctrine. This book did but exasperate the patrons of passive obedience. They took occasion from thence to carry the doctrine so high, that when, in the reign of James II. restrictions became necessary, they knew not how to make them, and many persisted in supporting this doctrine, rather than own they had been in the wrong to carry it to such a height.

Though the Whigs had a great disadvantage in the kingdom, they still preserved their superiority in London, where almost all the magistrates were of their party; but they were not suffered long to enjoy them. Moor, the Lord Mayor, who had been an Abhorrer,

* A medal was also struck upon this occasion, having on one side the Earl's effigies; and on the reverse, the sun behind a cloud, darting his beams on the city of London. It was upon this occasion that Dryden wrote his poem called The Medal.

† When the test was in debate, Argyle spoke zealously against the clause, whereby all the royal family were excepted out of it. He said, the only danger we could apprehend as to Popery was, if the royal family should happen to be perverted: therefore he thought it was better to have no act at all than such a clause in it. For this reason, when he came to explain himself concerning the taking the test in his own sense, his words were construed as a defaming and a spreading of lies of the proceedings of Parliament, which was capital. Accordingly he was tried and condemned. No sentence, says Burnet, in our age, was more universally cried out upon than this. All spoke of it, and the Duke who drove it on, with horror. All that was said to lessen the horror was, that Lauderdale had restored the family with such an extended jurisdiction, that he was really the master of all the Highlands, and it was necessary to lessen his influence. This, as the Duke wrote to the King, was all he intended by it.

‡ Burnet says, the Duke got into a boat, and took care of his dogs, and some unknown persons, who were taken, from that earnest care of his, to be his priests. The long boat went off with very few in her, though she might have carried off above eighty more than she did. The following persons perished with the rest, the Earl of Roxborough, the Lord O'bryan, the Laird of Hopton, Sir Joseph Douglass, and Lieutenant Hyde, the Duke's brother-in-law.

and was in the interests of the court, objected against the election of the sheriffs, and afterwards of the Lord Mayor, who was to succeed him; and being supported by the privy council, prevailed partly by force, and partly by consent, to have new sheriffs, and a new mayor elected of the King's party. This was a triumph for the court, and the Earl of Shaftsbury was so sensible of it, that seeing himself likely to be deprived of the protection of the city of London, he avoided the impending storm, by a retreat into Holland. It was remarked, that he was forced to shelter himself under the protection of a republic, to which, when he was chancellor, and one of the Cabal, he had applied that saying of Cato, Delenda est Carthago.——He died six weeks after his arrival in Holland.

The court having got a Lord Mayor and Sheriffs at their devotion, improved the advantage, and relying on the compliance of the magistrates, resolved to annul the charter of London, and afterwards those of all the other corporations in the kingdom.

In the meantime, the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs of London, were very active against the Presbyterians, and executed the laws with great severity. Moreover, to recommend themselves the more to the court, they prevented the burning of the Pope, as had been customary on the 17th of November.

The Duke of York, embracing so favourable a juncture, brought his action against the late sheriff Pilkington, for these words, spoken by the defendant, "The Duke of York has fired the city, and is now come to cut our throats." The jury found for the Duke, and gave him one hundred thousand pounds damages.*

A. D. 1683.] The King, intending to be revenged on the old magistracy of London, which had opposed him for some years, issued out a commission for trial of the authors of the disorder at the election of sheriffs the last year. This disorder, in the commission, was called a "Riotous and unlawful assembly," and aggravated as much as a thing of such little moment could admit of. Fourteen aldermen and substantial citizens, the leaders of the Whigs, were all tried and condemned in great fines.

But the King stopped not here, though the new magistrates and common council took care to give him marks of their respect and zeal, by repealing several acts of the court of common council, made during the late troubles. They likewise replaced, in its niche, in the Royal Exchange, the statue of Charles I. which had been taken down after his death. Nevertheless, this did not prevent a Quo Warranto from being brought by the King against the city, that is, an order to show by what warrant they pretended to be a corporation, and enjoy the privileges mentioned in the writ.

The King alledged two violations of the charter by the corporation of London. The first was the illegal exaction of tolls in the market, and particularly the raising money to rebuild Cheapside conduit. The second was the framing and printing a scandalous petition, wherein they charged the King with obstructing the justice of the nation, by proroguing the last Westminster Parliament. This affair was argued solemnly on both sides, and at last the judges of the King's Bench declared, that the liberties and privileges of the city of London were forfeited, and might be seized into the King's hands.

After sentence was pronounced, the city applied in an humble manner to the King; and he agreed to restore their charter, but in return they were obliged to submit to the following regulations—That no mayor, sheriff, recorder, common-serjeant, town clerk, or coroner, should be admitted to the exercise of his office without his Majesty's approbation: that if the King disapprove twice of the mayor or sheriffs elected, he may by commission appoint these magistrates: that the mayor and court of aldermen may, with his Majesty's leave, displace any magistrate: and that no alderman, in case of a vacancy, shall be elected without consent of the court of aldermen, who if they disapprove twice of the choice may fill the vacancy. All the corporations in England, having the example of London before their eyes, saw how vain it would prove to contend with the court, and were, most of them, successively induced to surrender their charters into the King's hands. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring the charters, and all offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the crown.

We are at last come to the pretended Protestant plot, that is to say, formed by the Protestants against the King and the Duke. This is generally known by the name of the Rye House Plot, from a house so called, in the road to Newmarket,† where, it is pretended, the conspirators had projected to kill the King and Duke. As the former conspiracy, called the Popish plot, passed for an invention, with the adherents of the court, so this had the same fate among those who were of the contrary party.

This year, on the 12th of June, Josiah Keeling discovered the conspiracy, real or pretended, to the Lord Dartmouth, and Secretary Jenkins, before whom he made open confession of the whole matter, and subscribed his depositions. But afterwards, considering that his single intelligence was not sufficient, he prevailed upon Goodenough, that his brother John Keeling might be admitted into the next meeting of the conspirators. This was done, and thereupon both the brothers gave in their joint testimony upon oath on the 14th of June.

According to the two Keelings' deposition, the plot consisted of three articles.

I. The conspirators designed to secure the King's guards (but how this was to be executed does not appear;) then to block up or besiege Whitehall, and seize the persons of the King and Duke of York.

II. To assassinate the King and the Duke in a hollow way near the Rye House, in their return from Newmarket.

III. To cause insurrections in London, and other parts of the kingdom. But Keeling deposed only against persons of no note.

Upon this deposition, the King published a proclamation for apprehending Colonel John Rumsey, Richard Rumbold, maltster,‡ Richard Nelthorpe, Esq. Edward Wade, Gent. Richard Goodenough, Gent. Captain Walcot, William Thompson, James Burton, and William Hone; for any of which a hundred pounds was offered to the discoverer. Upon this proclamation, Colonel Rumsey surrendered himself the next day; and being examined by Secretary Jenkins, he confessed all he knew; which confession was next day confirmed by two others, Mr. West, and Mr. Sheppard: so that on the 28th of June, there came out a second proclamation, for apprehending James Duke of Monmouth, Ford, Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Armstrong, knight, and Robert Ferguson. It is pretended, that when the warrants were delivered to Legat the messenger, to seize Ferguson with the rest of the offenders, Secretary Jenkins gave Legat a strict command, not to take him, but to shun him wherever he met him. Shortly after, the Lord Howard of Escrick also surrendered himself, and upon his information, warrants for high treason were issued out against the Earl of Essex, the Lord Russel, and others, who were taken up accordingly.

This discovery brought addresses from all parts to congratulate the King. The ambassadors of foreign Princes paid the same compliment; and the King of France offered five hundred pistoles for the apprehension of Monmouth, Grey, Armstrong, or Ferguson.

The prisoners were not suffered long to languish.

* This year died, Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, so often mentioned in the foregoing reign, sixty-three years of age; John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale; Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham and Lord High Chancellor; and Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftsbury.

† Rye House lies within two miles of Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, and was then inhabited by Richard Rumbold.

‡ Rumsey and Rumbold had served in Cromwell's army. Rumsey going afterwards into Portugal, with the forces that served there under the brave Schomberg, behaved courageously; and, by Schomberg's recommendation, got a place here in England.

Walcot was first brought to his trial the 12th of July. This man, who was once noted for bravery, had been so far overcome by the love of life, that he had written to Secretary Jenkins, and had offered, upon promise of pardon, to turn evidence: but, no sooner had he taken this mean step, than he felt more generous sentiments arise in him; and he endeavoured though in vain, to conceal himself. The witnesses against him were Rumsey, West, Sheppard, together with Bourne, a brewer. His own letter to the secretary was produced, and rendered the testimony of the witnesses unquestionable. Home and Rouse were also condemned. These two men, as well as Walcot, acknowledged, at their execution, the justness of the sentence; and from their trial and confession it is sufficiently apparent, that the plan of an insurrection had been regularly formed; and that even the assassination had been often talked of, and not without the approbation of many of the conspirators.

We shall not relate the trials of the other prisoners of little note, but confine ourselves to the Lord Russel's, son to the Earl of Bedford. This Lord, being one of those against whom the court was most incensed, because he had proposed the Exclusion bill in the House of Commons, and carried it up to the Lords, was tried at the Old Bailey, before eight judges. He was very urgent for one day longer for his trial, because, as he said, he had witnesses that might come before night, but he was over-ruled. He then urged to have his trial deferred to the afternoon, but with no better success. The witnesses produced against the noble prisoner, were Rumsey, Sheppard, and Lord Howard. Rumsey swore, that he had himself been introduced to the Cabal at Sheppard's, where Russel was present; and had delivered them a message from Shaftsbury, urging them to hasten the intended insurrection: but had received for answer, that it was found necessary to delay the design, and that Shaftsbury must therefore for some time rest contented. This answer, he said, was delivered by Ferguson; but was assented to by the prisoner. He added, that some discourse had been entered into about taking a survey of the guards; and he thought that Monmouth, Grey, and Armstrong, undertook to view them. Sheppard deposed, that his house had before been bespoken by Ferguson for the secret meeting of the conspirators, and that he had been careful to keep all his servants from approaching them, and had served them himself. Their discourse, he said, ran chiefly upon the means of surprising the guards, and it was agreed, that Monmouth and his two friends should take a survey of them. The report, which they brought next meeting, was, that the guards were remiss, and that the design was practicable: but he did not affirm that any resolution was taken of executing it. The prisoner, he thought, was present at both those meetings; but he was sure that at least he was present at one of them. A declaration, he added, had been read by Ferguson in Russel's presence: the reasons of the intended insurrection were there fully set forth, and all the public grievances loudly displayed. Lord Howard had been one of the Cabal of six, established after Shaftsbury's flight; and two meetings had been held by the conspirators, one at Hampden's, another at Russel's. Howard deposed, that at the first meeting it was agreed to begin the insurrection in the country before the city: the places were fixed, the proper quantity and kind of arms agreed on, and the whole plan of operations concerted: that at the second meeting, the question chiefly turned upon their correspondence with Argyle and the discontented Scots, and that the principal management of that affair was entrusted to Sidney, who had sent one Aaron Smith into Scotland with proper instructions: he added, that in these deliberations no question was put, or votes collected; but there was no contradiction; and, as he took it, all of them, and the prisoner among the rest, gave their consent.

Lord Russel made answer, "That he could not but think himself extremely unfortunate, to stand charged with so high a crime, and that intermixed with the treasons, horrid practices, and speeches of other people, while the King's council took all advantages, and heightened things against him. That he was no lawyer, a very unready speaker, and altogether a stranger to things of this nature; that he was sensible he was not so provided to make his defence, as otherwise he should do; but he thought the gentlemen of the jury were men of conscience, that valued innocent blood, and hoped they would consider the witnesses, that they swore to save their own lives. That the two times they met, was upon no formed design, only to talk of news and things in general: that the Lord Howard having a voluble tongue, they delighted to hear him discourse: that as to Colonel Rumsey, he was notoriously known to have been highly obliged to the King and the Duke; and it was strange he should be capable of such a design as to murder the King. That the time was elapsed by the 13th of the King, which limits prosecution to six months. Neither was the design of levying war, treason, unless it appeared by some overt act." And asking upon what statute he was indicted, he was told, "The statute of the 25th of Edward III." Upon which he insisted upon a matter of law, and particularly, "That the business at Mr. Sheppard's house was sworn to only by one witness." To which he was answered, "That if there were one witness of one act of treason, another of a second, and another of a third, that manifested the same treason, it was sufficient."

For a further defence of his Lordship, there appeared for him the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Anglesey, Mr. Edward Howard, the Lord Cavendish, the Lord Clifford, Doctor Tillotson, Doctor Burnet, Doctor Cox, Doctor Fitz-Williams, Mr. Luton Gore, and Mr. Spencer. Some of these testified, that the Lord Howard, before he was taken, declared, "He believed the Lord Russel innocent, and knew nothing against him." Others spoke to his Lordship's private character, and declared his great worth and probity, his virtuous and sober life, and consequently the improbability of his being thus engaged. But this was turned against him by the King's counsel, who said, there could not be any more dangerous enemies to a state, than such as come sober to endeavour its destruction.

In conclusion, the jury brought him in guilty of high treason. This sentence was considered by all, who had any sense of shame left, as the most crying injustice, ever known in England. The Lord Howard so lost his reputation, for being accessary to this injustice, that he was looked on with horror by honest men, who avoided his company, as ashamed or afraid to be seen with him. Some say, he had made his peace with the King a little before, by the mediation of the Duchess of Portsmouth, and by an engagement to serve as a witness against the pretended conspirators.

But that which was believed to have very much influenced the jury against the Lord Russel, was, that in the very time of his trial, the Earl of Essex, prisoner in the Tower, was found dead in his chamber, with his throat cut from ear to ear with a razor. The news was immediately brought to the Old Bailey, and communicated to the judges and the King's counsel, who from thence took occasion to insinuate to the jury the reality of the plot, since the Earl of Essex rather chose to lay violent hands on himself, than stand a trial.*

Besides the Lord Russel condemned for this plot, two others

* Though the coroner's inquest, (says Rapin) after an examination of the dead body, found the Earl Felo de se, this was not capable to remove the suspicion entertained by most people, that this fact was committed by the order of the King and Duke, who were in the Tower that very morning, where they had not been for twelve years before. It was besides urged, that it was not possible for a man to cut his own throat from ear to ear. Several other circumstances were added, of which it is not easy to discover the truth. It is pretended, that in the blood sprinkled on the floor of the room, were discovered the marks of a strange foot; and that after the deed was done, the razor was thrown out of the window, and picked up by a little girl. That, before the coroner came to inspect the body, care was taken to strip and leave it naked, and to wash the room. That the coroner demanding to see the clothes, was answered, it was his business to examine the body, and not the clothes. What has been most plausibly urged, in vindication of the King and Duke from this horrid

others also met with the same fate, namely, Hone a joiner, and John Rouse. This last had been indicted for treasonable words, and escaped by an Ignoramus jury: but he was re-taken, and tried for the same crime, which did not properly belong to this plot, but to his having talked of the King in treasonable terms. Hone and Ronse were both condemned as traitors, and executed with Walcot, the 20th of July. They confessed, they had heard of a plot in general, but descended not to particulars. At least, it did not appear, that the Lord Russel had any correspondence with them.

The next day, the Lord Russel was also executed.* He was so universally esteemed, that it could not be thought, the King would refuse his pardon, which was begged by so many powerful relations. It is even said, the Earl of Bedford, his father, offered a hundred thousand pounds for his life, but his offer was rejected. The King would not so much as grant a reprieve of six weeks to his lady, though daughter of the Earl of Southampton, but made her this answer, "Shall I grant that man six weeks, who, if it had been in his power, would not have granted me six hours?" Every one however was persuaded, that if there was a design to kill the King, the Lord Russel was not concerned in it. Besides that he denied it with his last breath, he was not condemned for that crime, and the witnesses which deposed against him said nothing like it. And yet, the King, to have an excuse for refusing a short delay, supposed that this crime was fully proved. The Lord Russel had been one of the warmest opposers of the Duke of York, had joined the Earls of Shaftsbury and Essex, and carried up the Exclusion bill to the House of Lords. These were crimes not to be forgiven by the King and his brother. He died with great resolution, protesting his innocence, and ignorance of any design against the King's person, or of any contrivance to alter the government. As it was expected that he would be interrupted, he spoke but little on the scaffold, leaving in the hands of the sheriff a paper, in which he protested his innocence, and said, "That he died a true and sincere Protestant, and in the communion of the church of England, though he could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the heights of some people.†"

For a conclusion to this tragedy, it remains only to speak of the condemnation and execution of Colonel Algernon Sidney, who was accused of the plot, and of the design to kill the King. He was brother to the Earl of Leicester, and, in the late troubles, had been deeply engaged in the republican party. At the restoration he thought not fit to accept personally of the indemnity, whether in distrust of the King, or for some other reason. At last, in 1677, he obtained a particular pardon of the King, and returned to England, where he joined the country party, at which the King was extremely offended.

Four witnesses were produced against him, Rumsey, West, Keeling, and the Lord Howard of Escrick. The three first contented themselves with giving a particular account of the plot, but said nothing directly against the prisoner. He complained of it as a great hardship, as prepossessing the jury. The Lord Howard deposed, as before at the trial of the Lord Russel, that Colonel Sidney was of the council of six, and had sent Aaron Smith into Scotland, to engage the Scots in a rebellion.

His defence was, first, the great improbability of erecting a council of six; and that persons so little knowing one another, should presently fall into so great and intimate a friendship. As to the Duke of Monmouth, he said, he never spoke with him above three times in his life; and one time was, when Lord Howard brought him to his house and cozened them both; for he told the Duke, that Colonel Sidney had invited him, and he told the Colonel, that the Duke invited himself, and neither of them was true. He enlarged upon the ill reputation of the Lord Howard, and his varying his evidence with respect to the Lord Russel's, and the present trial. He alledged the Lord Howard's indigence, and his owing him money, which debt might probably be cancelled by his conviction. He proved, by the testimonies of the Earls of Clare and Anglesey, of Mr. Philip, and Mr. Edward Howard, Dr. Burnet, Mr. Ducas, and Mr. Blake, that the Lord Howard had confessed, "That he could not get his pardon until he had done some other jobs, till he was past the drudgery of swearing."

During this whole trial, the judges themselves undertook to answer the reasons of the accused, without leaving any thing for the King's counsel to do. But they answered not the objection drawn from the confession of Lord Howard, nor did he himself make any reply. So that the design of the court to furnish the jury with reasons to condemn the prisoner, manifestly appeared.

But what was most urged against him, was a manuscript found amongst his papers. It was an answer to a book, composed by Sir Robert Filmer, to prove, that, by the laws of God and nature, Kings, and particularly those of England, were invested with absolute and unlimited power. Sidney, in his answer to this book, had asserted a quite contrary doctrine, and carried his republican principles to a very great height.

He said, first, that the manuscript was not written by him, and he saw no reason for ascribing it to him. That, though he was the author, it might be wrote many years ago, in answer to Filmer's book, with no intention of publishing it, but disputandi gratia, only for private diversion, and the exercise of his pen. In fine, he insisted very much upon the necessity of two witnesses to the same fact. To the manuscript it was answered, that scribere est agere, and that there was sufficient in it to prove the malice of his heart, and his treasonable designs. However, he was brought in guilty by the jury. It is pretended, this was the first time a man was accused of treason, and condemned to die, for writing any thing without publishing it.

He was beheaded the 7th of December, without discovering

horrid action, is, that persons of credit have testified their frequent hearing the Earl of Essex declare, that self murder was no sin. It is further added, that his Countess, and Sir Henry Capel his brother, owned the justice of the coroner's verdict. But had they believed the contrary, this was no proper time to discover their suspicions. I am very certain, the last Earl of Essex, his son, was of another opinion, and have heard him say, he believed his father was murdered, and that a French footman, who then served his father, was strongly suspected, and disappeared immediately after the fact. Be this as it will, the general opinion then was, that this unfortunate nobleman fell a sacrifice to the revenge of the King and the Duke. This seems the less strange, as among those who declared most openly for their country, against the King and Duke, the Earl of Essex was not the only person who felt the effects of their resentment. The King however publicly declared in print, that he was deeply afflicted for the Earl of Essex's death, because he was thereby deprived of an opportunity to exercise his clemency, and testify, how highly he valued the memory of the Lord Capel. But, instead of convincing the public by this external demonstration, it was by many imagined, that the King mentioned the Lord Capel, only to insinuate, how much the Earl his son had deviated from his steps.

* He was beheaded on a scaffold erected in Lincolns-Inn-Fields. There were ten companies of the King's guards, and a troop of horse, drawn up, to prevent any disturbances that might arise at the sight of so moving and melancholy a spectacle.—In the Duke of Monmouth's [illegible]

journal, it is said, that the King told him, "He inclined to have saved the Lord Russel, but was forced to consent to his death, otherwise he must have broke with his brother, the Duke of York."

† Russel's consort, finding all her applications for mercy fruitless, collected courage, and not only fortified herself against the fatal blow, but endeavoured by her example to strengthen the resolution of her unfortunate Lord. With a tender and decent composure they took leave of each other on the day of execution. "The bitterness of death is now past," said he, when he turned from her. Lord Cavendish had lived in the closest intimacy with Russel, and deserted not his friend in the present calamity. He offered to manage his escape, by changing clothes with him, and remaining at all hazards in his place. Russel refused to save his own life, by an expedient which might expose his life to so many hardships. When the Duke of Monmouth by message offered to surrender himself, if Russel thought that this measure would anywise contribute to his safety—"It will be no advantage to me," he said, "to have my friends die with me." Some of his expressions discover, not only composure, but good humour in this melancholy extremity. The day before his execution he was seized with a bleeding at the nose. "I shall not now let blood to divert this distemper," said he to Doctor Burnet who attended him, "that will be done to-morrow." A little before the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch,—"Now I have done," said he, "with time, and henceforth must think solely of eternity."

covering

covering the least weakness. Instead of a speech on the scaffold, he delivered a writing to the sheriff, in which he complained bitterly of the injustice done him.

While these conspirators were vigorously prosecuted, the university of Oxford distinguished themselves in a particular manner, amongst the advocates for the court, by a condemnation in form of twenty-seven propositions, collected out of several modern authors, concerning the regal power. This decree was presented to the King with great solemnity, and very graciously received.

The marriage of the Princess Anne, second daughter of the Duke of York, with Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark, celebrated the 28th of July, gave some, but no long interruption to the prosecutions of the conspirators.

The King had published a proclamation for apprehending all the conspirators against his life, among whom was his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth. The Duke had hitherto kept himself concealed. But at last, weary of his uneasy situation, he wrote a submissive letter to the King his father, wherein, after positively denying his ever having any design against his life, he owned, that many people had made him believe his own was in danger, and thereby caused him to commit things contrary to his duty to the King and the Duke of York, and asked both their pardons with great earnestness and submission. He added, that if his Majesty would give him his pardon, he would deliver himself into the hands of the Duke, that he might bring him to him.

The King could not dissemble his satisfaction at the receipt of this letter, for he tenderly loved the Duke of Monmouth. Nevertheless, with his own hand he wrote the following answer: "If the Duke of Monmouth desires to make himself capable of my mercy, he must render himself to the secretary, and resolve to tell me all he knows, resigning himself entirely to my pleasure."

This drew a second letter from the Duke, more submissive than the former, in which he confessed his offence against the King and the Duke, but in general terms, and without mention of particulars. But in assuring the King of an unreserved submission to his pleasure, he entreated him, that he would not expose him to the ignominy of a trial, nor send him to the Tower, nor force him to be a witness against any person.

The King, satisfied with this letter, readily admitted his beloved son to ask forgiveness. He even endeavoured to mediate between his son and brother; and having promised Monmouth, that his testimony should never be employed against any of his friends, he engaged him to give a full account of the plot. But, in order to put the country party to silence, he called next day an extraordinary council, and informed them, that Monmouth had shewn great penitence for the share which he had had in the late conspiracy, and had expressed his resolutions never more to engage in such criminal enterprises. He went so far as to give orders, that a paragraph to the like purpose should be inserted in the Gazette. Monmouth kept silence till he had obtained his pardon in form: but finding that, by taking this step, he was entirely disgraced with his party, and that even, though he should not be produced in court as an evidence, his testimony, being so publicly known, might have weight with juries on any future trial, he resolved at all hazards to retrieve his honour. His emissaries, therefore, received orders to deny that he had ever made any such confession as that which was imputed to him; and the party exclaimed, that the whole was an imposture of the court. The King, provoked at this conduct, banished Monmouth his presence, and afterwards ordered him to depart the kingdom.

The winter this year was very remarkable for a violent frost, which began about the beginning of December, and lasted till the 5th of February. The Thames was so frozen, that there was another city, as it were, on the ice, by the great number of booths erected between the Temple and Southwark, in which place was held a fair, for above a fortnight, of all sorts of trades. An ox was likewise roasted whole, bulls baited, &c.

In September or October this year, the King commissioned the Lord Dartmouth to go, with about twenty sail of ships, and utterly demolish the town, castle, and mole of Tangier. The mole had cost the King vast sums, but for want of money or for some other cause was left unfinished. Lord Dartmouth had also orders to choak up the haven. Six months were spent in executing this commission.* The King was thereby freed from a considerable annual expence for the preservation of this place, and moreover, the garrison, mostly consisting of Popish soldiers and officers, served to augment the King's forces at home.

The year 1684 was almost wholly spent in establishing the King's acquired absolute power. This was done chiefly by three expedients: the augmentation of the forces by the garrison of Tangier; the rigorous punishment of those who were not only accused of the Protestant plot, but had during the quarrels between the King and the late Parliaments, taken the liberty to speak of the King and Duke of York, with too much passion and heat; and the persuading indirectly all the corporations in the kingdom to surrender their charters to the King.

To facilitate the condemnation of those whose prosecutions were resolved, the King, in December last, had made Sir George Jefferies Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He was a man fit for the purposes of the court, without honour or conscience, impudent to the last degree, and ever ready to betray his duty and the interests of justice and the kingdom, to recommend himself to those who were in power. These qualities advanced him at last to the Chancellorship of England. The King had also made other alterations among the judges, so that he was in a manner assured of the compliance of all the courts of justice.

The Earl of Danby had been sent to the Tower by the House of Lords, upon an impeachment from the Commons. He had often demanded to be discharged

* The constant state of the warfare which existed between the garrison and the Moors, and the great force of the latter, rendered this service highly disagreeable and difficult. The known prudence as well as bravery of this noble Lord, pointed him out as the properest person to be employed in so dangerous and, indeed, delicate a command. He was accordingly, on the 2d of August, 1683, appointed admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet sent on this expedition; and, having hoisted his flag on board the Grafton, sailed soon afterwards. It required every varied talent a commander could possibly possess to enable him to execute, with credit and propriety, this arduous task; a task rendered highly irksome, because the complete execution of it would confer only a negative kind of honour, which the failure of it in the most trivial point was sure to rouse reproach and entail disgrace. The warlike temper of the Moors; the natural hatred they bore the English, as strangers, whom they considered as detaining from them a part of their possessions; the ease with which an immense army could be brought under the very walls of the city; and, above all, the cruel and vindictive spirit which the Moorish nation invariably shows towards those whom it esteems and treats as enemies, all contributed to render Lord Dartmouth's situation truly irksome. His care, his prudence, his rigid attention to the duties of his high and complicated office, were such as overcame every obstacle. When we reflect, even at this distant period, on the difficulty that must attend in executing, with security and success, the destruction of those military defences which enabled a handful of troops to resist the reiterated attacks of such an host of Moors, which the removal, not only of the inhabitants but all their effects, was to be attended to and conducted at the same instant; when we recollect that the commander of those brave and chosen few, after they had demolished their principal protection, was to provide for their security and retreat in the face of a numerous, exasperated, and merciless army; we may fairly class this transaction, which has hitherto passed almost unnoticed, as a common occurrence of civil command, as equal, in point of intrinsic merit, with the most brilliant of those warlike atchievments which all ages and ranks of people have been accustomed to gaze on with wonder and delight. King Charles, whose gratitude, more particularly when pecuniary rewards were in question, was not of the most munificent nature, relaxed on this occasion from his parsimony, and was, for once, content his pleasures should yield to the merit of this noble Lord. He bestowed on him a grant of 10,000*l.* in money, and several privileges and charters as honourable, perhaps, if not as valuable. The death of Charles took place soon afterwards: and James, who is admitted, even by his bitterst enemies, to have been the constant friend and patron of merit, granted him, soon after his accession, the additional office of Constable of the Tower, besides continuing him in those employments he had held under his predecessor.

upon bail; but the judges had always refused his request, declaring that it was not in their power to admit to bail a Peer of the realm imprisoned by Parliament. But the judges now believed it lawful to release the Earl upon bail, which was accordingly taken, the Earl being bound in a recognizance of ten thousand pounds.

The release of the Earl of Danby was a precedent for the liberty of the other Popish Lords, prisoners in the Tower.

But the persons accused of the last conspiracy, and those who had spoken disrespectfully of the King and the Duke, met not with so much humanity. Among the great number prosecuted for these two offences, we shall only relate the trials of three or four.

Mr. Hampden was indicted as a conspirator, the 6th of February; but, as Howard was the sole evidence against him, and as his evidence against him was not supported by any material circumstance, he was only convicted of a misdemeanor, and the court was satisfied with fining him forty thousand pounds, and obliging him to find sureties for his good behaviour during life. This was thought to be a very strange and severe sentence. But the King assured the public, in a declaration, "That if he had not granted the Duke of Monmouth's request, 'That he would not make him a witness,' neither Mr. Hampden, nor scarce any one man of those that were freed upon bail, had escaped death."

A. D. 1684.] John Dutton Colt Esq. a member of the three last Parliaments, being accused of speaking these words, "The Duke of York is a Papist, and before any such Papist dog shall be successor to the crown of England, I will be hanged at my own door." These and other injurious words being proved against him, the jury brought in their verdict for the Duke of York, and gave him for damages a hundred thousand pounds.

The Duke of York also brought his action of Scandalum Magnatum against Titus Oates, for directly calling him traitor. For this offence the court gave the Duke of York a hundred thousand pounds damages. Shortly after, he was indicted for perjury, in relation to Father Ireland's being in London at the time Oates swore to, at his trial. Not long after another indictment of perjury was preferred against him, in relation to his being present at the supposed consult of the jesuits at the White Horse tavern in 1678. But these indictments not being tried this reign, Oates continued in prison.

These three and some others,* escaped with life, but they were condemned to perpetual imprisonment as unable to pay their exorbitant fines. Two others, who were out of the kingdom, did not come off so easy. James Holloway having seen his name in the Gazette amongst the conspirators, who were to be apprehended by the King's proclamation, fled to the West Indies. Upon his flight, he had suffered an outlawry for high-treason, and this year the court hearing he was in the West Indies, caused him to be apprehended and brought to London, where he was executed upon the attainder of outlawry for treason.

The same thing happened to Sir Thomas Armstrong, who had been considered as one of the principal authors of the last plot, and named in the King's proclamation with a reward of five hundred pounds. He had made his escape into Holland, and was outlawed as well as Holloway. The court hearing he was at Leyden, obtained an order from the States to apprehend him, and accordingly before he had notice, he was apprehended and brought to Rotterdam, and from thence to London. When he appeared at the King's Bench bar, he alledged that he was beyond sea at the time of the outlawry, and begged that he might be tried. But his request was absolutely rejected, and the rather, as the attorney-general told the court, from the King, that Armstrong was one of the persons who were to assassinate his Majesty on his return from Newmarket, which the prisoner positively denied. He was executed the 20th of June, and his head and quarters set up in several parts of the city. Only one was reserved to be sent down to Stafford, for which town he had been a burgess in Parliament.

The King this year dissolved the commission, granted in 1681, for the disposal of all ecclesiastical preferments. As the establishing this commission was in order to persuade his subjects, that he had the interest of the Protestant religion at heart, he could not avoid appointing such commissioners as were thought to have the same sentiments. But finding himself at length in the situation he had wished for, this commission was too great a restraint, and therefore he revoked it to fill the vacant benefices agreeably to his own inclinations.

Most historians ascribe all the rigours exercised this year, and all the measures taken by the King for the advancement of his absolute power, to the counsels of the Duke his brother. That Prince had gained so great an ascendant over the King, that he held him in a kind of subjection, and led him into measures productive of others, and so carried him farther than the King desired. Besides that the King was naturally indolent, and loved his ease too much to engage in any affairs capable of disturbing his repose, he knew the genius and temper of the English, much better than the Duke of York, and was sensible of the great difficulty to preserve long a power acquired in so extraordinary a manner. On the other hand, after so many proceedings to secure this power, he knew not how to retreat, and could not alter his conduct, without breaking entirely with the Duke, which must have extremely embarrassed him.

Almost the whole month of January, of the new year, 1685, was spent either in prosecuting delinquents against the King and the Duke, or in receiving the charters of the corporations, not yet surrendered, or in granting new ones on such conditions as the court thought proper. It may well be imagined, that these conditions were not prejudicial to the power acquired by the King. All complaints were suppressed, and the whole kingdom entirely subdued, the city of London not excepted, which had always opposed absolute power.

The King, it is pretended, had formed a project for an extraordinary change in the government: that he designed to recal the Duke of Monmouth, to send the Duke of York beyond sea, and call a free Parliament. This seems to have been founded on some passages in the Duke of Monmouth's pocket book, seized with his person in the following reign. We are further told, that the King had intimated, that if he lived but a month longer, he would find a way to make himself easy for the rest of his life.† But he lived not to execute this design. He died the 6th of February, at fifty-four years of age, and twenty-five since his restoration.‡

By an indenture in the 12th of Charles II. gold and silver

---

* Laurence Braddon and Huge Speke were tried for a misdemeanour in suborning witnesses to prove the Earl of Essex was murdered by his keepers, for which the first was fined two thousand pounds and the latter one thousand pounds. Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined ten thousand pounds for writing some letters about the plot. And Samuel Johnson five hundred marks, for writing Julian the Apostate.

† Of this new scheme Burnet gives this account. There was at this time a new scheme formed, that would probably have for ever broken the King and the Duke.——It was laid at the Lady Portsmouth's. Barillon, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Godolphin were in it. The Duke of Monmouth came over secretly. And though he did not see the King, he went back very well pleased with his journey. ——The design was to begin with the sending the Duke of York to Scotland.——The King spoke to the Duke concerning his going to Scotland: and he answered there was no occasion for it. Upon which the King replied, that either the Duke must go, or that he himself would go thither.——The King was observed to be colder and more reserved to the Duke than ordinary. But what was under all this, was still a deep secret. Lord Hallifax was let into no part of it. He complained in council against Lord Rochester, that there were many razures in the books of the Treasury, and moved the King to go to the Treasury Chamber. So the King named the next Monday. And Mr. May was sent for from Windsor, to come to court that day, which it was expected would prove a critical day. And it proved so indeed, though in a different way; the King being taken ill in the meanwhile.

‡ He was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy; and though he was recovered from it by bleeding, he only languished

silver moneys were coined into the same pieces, and at the same rates, as in the second of Charles I. By another indenture in the twenty-second of King Charles II. crown gold, twenty-two carats fine, and two carats allay, was coined into 44l. 10s. by tale; namely, into pieces to go for ten shillings, twenty shillings, forty shillings, or five pounds a-piece; and a pound of silver of the old standard into three pounds two shillings by tale; namely into Crowns, Half-Crowns, Shillings, Half-Shillings, Groats, Half-Groats, Half-Sixpences, Half-Groats, and Pence.

The money of King Charles II. was of three sorts: the hammered, which was the only current coin, till 1663; the milled upon the side: and that with the graining or letters upon the edge——The first money that bore the name of this King, was coined at Pontefract Castle; round which is inscribed CAROLVS. SECVNDVS. 1648. on each side of the middle Tower is P. C. Reverse, a crown, with C. R. DUM. SPIRO. SPERO. A crown hath CAROLVS II. D. G. MAG. B. F. ET. H. REX. In the field, HANC. DEVS. DEDIT. 1648. Reverse, P. C. Above the castle, POST. MORTEM. PATRIS. PRO. FILIO. Upon the hammered money in general, he is represented with the half-face, crown and band, &c. CAROLVS II. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FR. ET. HIB. REX. Reverse, the arms in one shield, not crowned, with his father's motto, CHRISTO. AUSPICE. REGNO——The gold coins have, on one side, the King's head laureat, with a youthful countenance. Reverse, the arms in a single shield, crowned between C. R. FLORENT. CONCORDIA. REGNA. Another has XX. behind the head. On the money called Cutters, the legend goes quite round the head; which, it does not in a very neat cutter, called by some the unmilled guinea, the King's head extending to the rim, without the initial figures behind the head, and the titles abbreviated to CAR. D. G. M. BR. FR. ET. HI. REX. Reverse, as the former 1662. The five pounds, three pounds, and forty shilling pieces, have the King's head, laureat, CAROLVS II. DEI. GRATIA. Reverse, the arms of the four kingdoms, single in four separate shields crowned, a sceptre in each of the vacancies, with a rose, fleur-de-lis, thistle, and harp at the points, and the Cs. interlinked in the centre. MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. 1673. Upon the rim, DECUS.

---

ed a few days, and then expired. He was so happy in a good constitution of body, and had ever been so remarkably careful of his health, that his death struck as great a surprise into his subjects, as if he had been in the flower of his youth. And their great concern for him, owing to their affection for his person, as well as dread of his successor, very naturally when joined to the critical time of his death, begat the suspicion of poison. All circumstances however considered, this suspicion may be allowed to vanish; like many others, of which all histories are full.—During the few days of the King's illness, clergymen of the church of England attended him; but he discovered a total indifference towards their devotion and exhortations. Catholic priests were brought, and he received the sacrament from them, accompanied with the other rites of the Romish church. Two papers were found in his cabinet, written with his own hand, and containing arguments in favour of that communion. The Duke had the imprudence immediately to publish these papers, and thereby both confirmed the reproaches of those who had been the greatest enemies to his brother's measures, and afforded to the world a specimen of his own bigotry.—If we survey the character of Charles II. in the different lights which it will admit of, it will appear various, and give rise to different and even opposite sentiments. When considered as a companion, he appears the most amiable and engaging of men; and indeed, in this view, his deportment must be allowed altogether unexceptionable. His love of raillery was so tempered with good breeding, that it was never offensive: his propensity to satire was so checked with discretion, that his friends never dreaded their becoming the object of it: his wit, to use the expression of one who knew him well, and who was himself a good judge, could not be said so much to be very refined and elevated; qualities apt to beget jealousy and apprehension in company, as to be a plain, gaining, well bred, recommending kind of wit. And though perhaps he talked more than strict rules of behaviour might permit, men were so pleased with the affable, communicative deportment of the monarch, that they always went away contented both with him and themselves. This indeed is the most shining part of the King's character; and he seems to have been sensible of it: for he was fond of dropping the formality of state, and of relapsing every moment into the companion.—In the duties of private life, his conduct, though not free from exceptions, was, in the main, laudable. He was an easy, generous lover; a civil, obliging husband; a friendly brother, and a good-natured master. The voluntary friendships, however, which this prince contracted, nay, even his sense of gratitude, were feeble; and he never attached himself to any of his ministers with a sincere affection. He believed them to have no motive in serving him, but self-interest; and he was still ready, in his turn, to sacrifice them to present ease or convenience.—With a detail of his private character we must set bounds to our panegyric on Charles. The other parts of his conduct may admit of some apology, but can deserve no applause. He was indeed so much fitted for private life, preferably to public, that he even possessed order, frugality, and economy in the former: was profuse, thoughtless, and negligent in the latter. When we consider him as a sovereign, his character, though not altogether destitute of virtue, was in the main dangerous to his people, and dishonourable to himself. Negligent of the interests of the nation, careless of its glory, averse to its religion, jealous of its liberty, lavish of its treasure, sparing only of its blood, he exposed it by his measures, though he ever appeared but in sport, to the danger of a civil war, and even to the ruin and ignominy of a foreign conquest. Yet may all these enormities, if fairly and candidly examined, be imputed, in a great measure, to the indolence of his temper: a fault, which, however unfortunate in a monarch, it is impossible for us to regard with severity.—It has been remarked of Charles, that he never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise one; a censure, which, though too far carried, seems to have some foundation in his character and deportment. When the King was informed of this saying, he observed, that the matter was easily accounted for: for that the discourse was his own, his actions were the ministry's.—If we reflect upon the appetite for power inherent in human nature, and add to it the King's education in foreign countries, and among the cavaliers, a party which would naturally exaggerate the late usurpations of popular assemblies upon the rights of monarchy; it is not surprising, that civil liberty should not find in him a very zealous patron. Harassed with domestic faction, weary of calumnies and complaints, oppressed with debts, straitened in his revenue, he sought, though with feeble efforts, for a form of government, more simple in its structure, and more easy in its management. The hopes of rendering himself absolute by Louis's assistance seem so chimerical, that they could scarcely be retained with such obstinacy by a prince of Charles's penetration: and as to pecuniary subsidies, he surely spent much greater sums in one season, during the second Dutch war, than were remitted him from France during the whole course of his reign. We are apt therefore to imagine, that Charles was in this particular guided chiefly by inclination, and by a prepossession in favour of the French nation. He considered that people as gay, sprightly, polite, elegant, courteous, devoted to their prince, and attached to the Catholic Faith; and for these reasons he cordially loved them. The opposite character of the Dutch had rendered them the objects of his aversion; and even the uncourtly humours of the English made him very indifferent towards them. Our notions of interest are much warped by our affections; and it is not altogether without example, that a man may be guided by national prejudices, who has ever been little biassed by private and personal friendship. The character of this prince has been elaborately drawn by two great masters, the Duke of Buckingham and the Marquis of Halifax; not to mention several elegant strokes given by Sir William Temple. Dr. Welwood likewise and Bishop Burnet have employed their pencil on the same subject: but the former is somewhat partial in his favour; as the latter is by far too harsh and malignant. Instead of finding an exact parallel between Charles II. and the emperor Tiberius, as asserted by that prelate, it would be more just to remark a full contrast and opposition. The emperor seems as much to have surpassed the King in abilities, as he falls short of him in virtue. Provident, wise, active, jealous, malignant, dark, sullen, unsociable, reserved, cruel, unrelenting, unforgiving; these are the lights under which the Roman tyrant has been transmitted to us; and the only circumstance, in which it can justly be pretended he was similar to Charles, is his love of women, a passion which is too general to form any striking resemblance, and which that detested and detestable monster shared also with unnatural appetites.

"With respect to the character of this Prince," observes the celebrated Mr. Fox, in his History of the Early Part of the Reign of James the Second, "upon the delineation of which so much pains have been employed by the various writers who treat of the history of his time, it must be confessed that the facts which have been noticed in the foregoing pages, furnish but too many illustrations of the more unfavourable parts of it. From these we may collect, that his ambition was directed solely against his subjects, while he was completely indifferent concerning the figure which he or they might make in the general affairs of Europe; and that his desire of power was more unmixed with the love of glory than that of any other man whom history has recorded; that he was unprincipled, ungrateful, mean, and treacherous, to which may be added vindictive, and remorseless. For Burnet, in refusing to him the praise of clemency and forgiveness, seems to be perfectly justifiable, nor is it conceivable upon what pretence his partizans have taken this ground of panegyric. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced, of his having spared the life of any one whose motives, either of policy, or of revenge, prompted him to destroy. To alledge that of Monmouth, as it would be an affront to human nature, so would it likewise imply the most severe of all satire, against the monarch himself, and we may add too an undeserved one. For in order to consider it as an act of meritorious forbearance on his part that he did not follow the example of Constantine, and Philip the Second, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his son, we must first suppose him to have been wholly void of every natural affection, which does not appear to have been the case. His declaration, that he would have pardoned Essex, being made when that nobleman was dead, and not followed by an act evincing its sincerity, can surely obtain no credit from men of sense. If he had really had the intention, he ought not to have made the declaration, unless he accompanied it with some marks of kindness to the relations, or with some act of mercy to the friends, of the deceased. Considering it as a mere piece of hypocrisy, we cannot help looking upon it as one of the most odious passages of his life. This ill-

DECUS. ET. TVTAMEN. ANNO. REGNI. VICESIMO. QUINTO. This King was the first that coined guineas and half guineas, which he did in his 22d year. The guineas were ordered to go at twenty shillings, the half guineas at ten shillings. Of the hammered silver-money, the shilling is very fair, and has a crown for the Mint mark. Of these there are two sorts, one with XII. behind the head, which the other wants; as also the inner circle. (Fig. 1.) The Sixpences are like the shillings, but have VI. instead of XII. The lesser pieces from the groat to the penny, are marked with initial figures, IIII. III. II. I. behind the head; except upon some of the two-pences, which want the figures. This hammered money continued current till 1663. when the milled money came to be in use. Of this there is a very fair crown, having a rose under the King's head laureat, from thence called the rose crown, CAROLVS II. DEI GRA. Reverse, MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. 1662. The arms of the four kingdoms in four shields, France and England quartered together in the first and fourth; each shield is crowned; between them are CS interlinked, and St. George's Cross radiant in the centre; upon the rim, ANNO REGNI XVIII. The milled Shilling is neatly struck, having the CS. between the four shields crowned, with the arms single, and inscribed as the crown. Upon some is an elephant; upon others the Prince's feathers; and a third has the sceptres. The Six-pence is like the Shilling. The Groat has four CS. interlinked, with a rose, thistle, fleur-de-lis, and harp in the vacancies. The Three-pence, Two-pence, and Penny, have as many CS. thereon crowned.——In 1672. the King coined copper Half-pence and Farthings. They have, on one side, the King's head, laureat, CAROLVS. A. CAROLA. Reverse, Britannia, and round her BRITANNIA, with the year in the Exergue. There was another Farthing coined, of rare copper, having on the reverse, QVATVOR. MARIA. VINDICO. Exergue BRITANNIA. But these were called in to please the French King.

---

fined boast of his intended mercy, and the brutal taunt with which he accompanied his mitigation, (if so it may be called,) of Russel's sentence, show his insensibility and hardness to have been such, that in questions where right and feelings were concerned, his good sense, and even his good taste, for which he has been so much extolled, seemed wholly to desert him.

"On the other hand, it would be want of candour to maintain, that Charles was entirely destitute of good qualities: nor was the propriety of Burnet's comparison between him and Tiberius ever felt, I imagine, by any one but its author. He was gay and affable, and, if incapable of the sentiments belonging to pride of a laudable sort, he was at least free from haughtiness and insolence. The praise of politeness which the stoicks are not perhaps wrong in classing among the several virtues, provided they admit it to be one of the lowest order, has never been denied him, and he had in an eminent degree that felicity of temper, which though considered by some moralists as nearly allied to vice, yet, inasmuch as it contributed greatly to the happiness of those around us, is, in itself, not only an engaging, but an estimable quality. His support of the Queen during the heats raised by the Popish plot, ought to be taken rather as a proof that he was not a monster, than to be ascribed to him as a merit; but his steadiness to his brother, though it may and ought, in a great measure, to be accounted for upon selfish principles, had at least a strong resemblance to virtue.

"The best part of this Prince's character seems to have been his kindness, towards his mistresses, and his affection for his children, and others nearly connected to him by the ties of blood. His recommendation of the Duchess of Portsmouth and Mrs. Gwynn, upon his death-bed, to his successor, is much to his honour; and they who censure it, seem, in their zeal to show themselves strict moralists, to have suffered their notions of vice and virtue to have fallen into strange confusion. Charles's connection with those ladies might be vicious, but at a moment when that connection was upon the point of being finally and irrevocably dissolved, to concern himself about their future welfare, and to recommend them to his brother with earnest tenderness, was virtue. It is not for the interest of morality that the good and evil actions, even of bad men, should be confounded. His affection for the Duke of Gloucester, and for the Duchess of Orleans, seems to have been sincere and cordial. To attribute, as some have done, his grief for the loss of the first to political considerations, founded upon an equal balance of power between his two brothers, would be an absurd refinement, whatever were his general disposition; but when we reflect upon that carelessness which, especially in his youth, was a conspicuous feature of his character, the absurdity becomes still more striking. And though Burnet more covertly, and Ludlow more openly, assert that his fondness for his sister was of a criminal nature, I never could find that there was any ground whatever for such a suspicion; nor does the little that remains of their epistolary correspondence give it the smallest countenance. Upon the whole, Charles the Second was a bad man, and a bad King; let us not palliate his crimes; but neither let us adopt false or doubtful imputations, for the purpose of making him a monster."

King Charles II. left no issue by his Queen, Donna Catharina, daughter of John IV. King of Portugal. But by his several mistresses, he had the following children.

I. By Mrs. Lucy Walters, daughter of Richard Walters, Esq. James, Duke of Monmouth, born at Rotterdam, April 9, 1649. beheaded on Tower-hill, July 15, 1685. He married in 1665, Anne Scot, daughter of Francis, Earl of Buccleugh in Scotland.

II. By Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew, Viscountess Shannon, daughter of Sir William Killigrew, Charlot-Jamia-Henrietta-Maria-Fitz-roy, who died in 1684. Her husbands were, James Howard, and Sir William Paston, Earl of Yarmouth.

III. By Mrs. Catharine Peg, daughter of Thomas Peg, Esq. Charles Fitz-Charles, Earl of Plymouth, commonly called Don Carlos, born 1658, killed October, 17, 1680, at Tangier. He married Bridget, daughter of Sir Thomas Osborne, Duke of Leeds, who married afterwards Dr. Biss, the late Bishop of Hereford.

IV. By Mrs. Barbara Villiers, heiress of William Viscount Grandson in Ireland, and wife of Roger Palmer Earl of Castlemain, created Lady Nonsuch, Countess of Southampton, and Duchess of Cleveland, who died in 1709, he had three sons and three daughters.

1. Charles Fitz-roy, born 1662, created 1675, Duke of Southampton, and after his mother's death, Duke of Cleveland. His wives were Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Wood, and Alice, daughter of Sir William Poultney.

2. Henry Fitz-roy, Duke of Grafton; born September 20, 1663; and killed October 9, 1690, at the siege of Cork in Ireland. His wife was Isabella, daughter of Henry Burnet, Earl of Arlington, married after his death to Sir Thomas Harmer, Bart.

3. George Fitz-roy, Duke of Northumberland; born December 28, 1665, who died July 8, 1617, without children.

4. Ann Fitz-roy, born Feb. 29, 1661, married in 1674, to Thomas Lennard, Earl of Sussex.

5. Charlotte Fitz-roy, born September 5, 1664, married February 20, 1676-7, to Sir Edward Henry Lee, Earl of Litchfield.

6. Barbara, born July 16, 1672, who became a Nun at Pontoise in France.

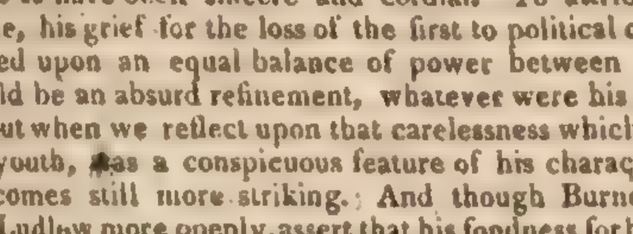
V. By Mrs. Eleanor Gwynn,

1. Charles Beauclerk, Duke of St. Albans, born May 8, 1670, who married Diana Vere, eldest daughter and coheiress of Ambrey de Vere, the 20th and last Earl of Oxford.

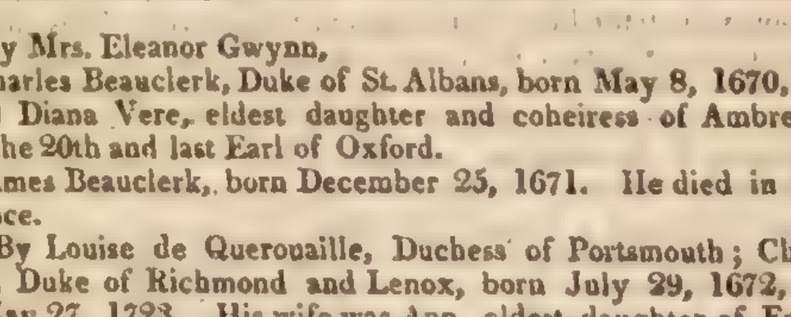
2. James Beauclerk, born December 25, 1671. He died in 1680 in France.

VI. By Louise de Queroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth; Charles Lenox, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, born July 29, 1672, who died May 27, 1723. His wife was Ann, eldest daughter of Francis Lord Brudenel.

VII. By Mrs. Mary Davis, Mary Tuder, born October 16, 1673, married in August 1687, to Francis Lord Ratcliff, Earl of Derwentwater.



1



2

BOOK XXIV.

THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II. FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE THRONE, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY; COMPRISING A PERIOD OF FOUR YEARS AND SEVEN DAYS.

27. JAMES II.

A. D. 1684-5.] WITHIN a few hours after Charles II. had resigned his last breath, his brother, the Duke of York, was proclaimed King in London, by the name of James II. Having seen how the government was settled for some years past, we must not think it strange, there were no endeavours, either in London or any other part of the kingdom, to oppose the new King. Of the two parties in England, that against the Bill of Exclusion was triumphant, and the other entirely broken and oppressed. The accession of James II. to the crown, was a fresh occasion of triumph to the former, and notwithstanding the fears expressed by the other party, about a Catholic successor, they who had supported his interest, endeavoured to represent the late change, as the greatest of blessings to the English nation. The King, on his part, omitted nothing that lay in his power to confirm the good opinion his friends had of his virtue and sincerity. As soon as the Lords were returned to Whitehall, from proclaiming the King, he assembled the Privy-Council, and made the following speech:

"*My Lords,*

"Before I enter upon any other business, I think fit to say something to you. Since it hath pleased Almighty God to place me in this station, and I am now to succeed so good and gracious a King, as well as so very kind a brother, I think it fit to declare to you, that I will endeavour to follow his example, and most especially in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people. I have been reported to be a man for arbitrary power; but that is not the only story has been made of me; and I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this government both in church and state, as it is now by law established. I know the principles of the church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have shewed themselves good and loyal subjects, therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know too, that the laws of England are sufficient to make the King as great a monarch as I can wish; and as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogative of the crown, so I shall never invade any man's property. I have often heretofore ventured my life in defence of this nation, and I shall still go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties."

This speech being addressed to a council wholly composed of persons devoted to the King, was received with great applause. His Majesty was desired that it might be printed, and dispersed among the people, which was immediately done. Moreover, great care was taken to extol the King's extreme affection for his subjects; and, above all, his strict observance of his word and faith was so industriously propagated, that some counting it impossible for the King to promise what he did not intend to perform, began to give him the name of James the Just, as if to say and to do, were in him one and the same thing.

The next day, the King published a proclamation, declaring, that all persons who at the late King's decease were possessed of any office, should be continued in the same, till the King's pleasure was further known. He declared, moreover, that all orders and directions given by the late King's Privy-Council, should be obeyed and performed, as if he were still alive.

Most historians represent as surprizing, the King's going publicly to mass two days after his accession to the crown. But we cannot see any reason for this surprize. Since the year 1670, no man had been ignorant, that the Duke of York was a Catholic. On this account he resigned the office of Lord High-Admiral, and in the following year, the Bill of Exclusion, which caused three Parliaments to be dissolved, had sufficiently taught the English this truth.

But what gave more just cause of surprize, was, his requiring by proclamation the same week, that the customs, and other duties which had been granted to the King his brother, only for life, should be continued to be collected.* This was a manifest invasion of the nation's rights and liberties.

Another step the King made at the same time, and, as it seems, without any necessity, was to cause it to be published, and attested by father Huddleston, a priest, that Charles II. died a Catholic, and that the same priest gave him the eucharist and extreme unction. Huddleston published withal a little treatise, called, "A short and plain way to the Faith and Church;" which treatise, the author affirms, made great impressions upon the mind of King Charles, in the year 1651, immediately after the battle of Worcester, so that he declared, "he had not seen any thing more plain and clear upon the subject; and the arguments drawn from succession were so conclusive, he did not conceive how they could be denied." Moreover, at the same time, James ordered two papers to be published, found in the King his brother's strong box, written with his own hand, both tending to prove the necessity of a visible church and guide, in matters of faith. To confirm that Charles II. was really a Catholic, Mr. William Chaffinch, keeper of the King's closet, made no scruple to show a little chapel annexed to the closet, where the King went secretly to mass.

The funeral of Charles II. was solemnised on the 14th of February at night. It may easily be judged, it was not very expensive, since eight days were sufficient for the preparations. James caused his brother

* Another proclamation was put out for levying the additional excise, which had been given to the late King only for life. There was a clause in this act, which empowered the treasury to make a farm of it for three years, without adding a limited clause, in case it should be so long due. And it was thought a great stretch of the clause, to make a fraudulent farm, by which it should continue to be levied three years after it was determined, according to the letter and intent of the act. A farm was now brought out, as made during the King's life, though it was well known, that no such farm had been made, for it was made after his death, but a false date put to it.

to be buried with little pomp, though Charles left him ninety thousand guineas in a box.

Two days after, the King ordered the Privy-Counsellors and great officers of the crown and household to be sworn, and at the same time filled the vacant places. The office of Lord Treasurer, vacant since the year 1679, by the resignation of the Earl of Danby, was conferred on Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, the King's brother-in-law; Henry, Earl of Clarendon, elder brother to the Earl of Rochester, was made Lord Privy-Seal; and George Savil, Marquis of Hallifax, President of the council.

In the mean time, the counties, cities, boroughs, and universities were employed in preparing congratulatory addresses to the King, upon his accession to the crown. These addresses, for the most part, took notice of the King's positive declaration to the Privy-Council, to maintain the church of England and the liberties of the nation.*

A. D. 1685.] The King and Queen's coronation was celebrated the 23d of April, St. George's day. Though such a ceremony cannot be solemnized without pomp, it was observed, the King retrenched several things which caused a needless expence, as for instance the cavalcade from the Tower to Westminster, which was wont to be performed the day before the coronation, saving thereby a charge of sixty thousand pounds. But if some authors are to be credited, the most considerable retrenching was in the words of the coronation oath, out of which, they pretend, several material things were struck, without specifying the particulars. Others maintain, it is an aspersion on Archbishop Sancroft, who is supposed, without foundation, to have consented to the abridging of the oath. Thus much is certain, the crown not being fit for the King's head, was often in a tottering condition and likely to fall off. Mr. Henry Sidney supporting it once with his hand, pleasantly told the King, "This is not the first time our family hath supported the crown.†" The people reckoned this an ill omen to the King, as was another thing which happened the same day. In one of the churches in London, the King's arms, painted in a glass-window, suddenly fell down and broke in pieces, while the rest of the window was standing, without a possibility of discovering why that part should fall sooner than the rest.

The same day that the King was crowned at London, the Parliament of Scotland met at Edinburgh, William Douglas, Duke of Queensbury, being Lord High-Commissioner. This Lord was entirely in the King's party, but not in such a manner as to pretend to sacrifice to him the Protestant religion and his country's liberties. Before he left London in order for Scotland, he told the King plainly, he could not engage to serve him in any thing but what should be agreeable to the laws; whereupon the King protested to him, he had no intention to make any breach either in the established religion or the laws.

Before the meeting of the Parliament of England, which was called for the 19th of May, three persons, odious to the King, the papists, and the prevailing party, were brought to their trials. The first was Titus Oates. He was accused of perjury on two points of his evidence; namely, for deposing that he was present at a consult of jesuits in London the 24th of April, 1679: another for deposing that Father Ireland was in London, between the 8th and 12th of August, and in the beginning of September in the same year. Never criminal was convicted on fuller and more undoubted evidence. Two and twenty persons, who had been students at St. Omer's, most of them men of credit and family, gave evidence, that Oates had entered into that seminary about Christmas in the year 1678, and had never been absent one night, till the month of July following. Forty-seven witnesses, persons also of untainted character, deposed that Father Ireland, on the third of of August 1679, had gone to Staffordshire, where he resided till the middle of September; and, what some years before would have been regarded as a very material circumstance, nine of these witnesses were Protestants, of the church of England. Oates's sentence was, to be fined a thousand marks on each indictment, to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year.

Some charitable persons used their endeavours to beg off part of this wretched man's punishment, and made application to the Queen, intreating her to intercede for him, at least with regard to the second scourging. But all intercession was in vain. The sentence was executed with all imaginable rigour. The first day he was tied to a cart, and the hangman executed the order, with great cruelty. Oates swooned several times the first day with the extremity of the anguish. We may judge what he indured the second day, when his wounds were yet fresh. His sustaining such great torments, and escaping with life, was looked upon as something miraculous.

The next victim to the Catholics, not long after Oates, was Thomas Dangerfield, who discovered the pretended Meal-Tub Plot, which he had laid to the charge of the Protestants. But afterwards, not being able to maintain before the council what he had deposed, he confessed, he was persuaded to invent it by the Countess of Powis, and the Popish Lords in the Tower. Moreover, he had published a narrative of all the secret practices used as well to corrupt him, as to render the plot probable. As he owned, he had received money from the late King and the Duke of York, the last would never suffer such an offence to go unpunished, when he came to be King. Dangerfield therefore was committed to prison, and indicted for publishing a scandalous libel. He was tried and brought in guilty by the Jury, after which he received judgment at the King's-Bench bar, "That he should stand twice in the pillory; that he should be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate on one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn on another, and should pay a fine of five hundred pounds." The scourging was executed with rigour, though with less cruelty than on Oates. The second day, Dangerfield, after the whipping was over, being in a coach against Hatton-Garden, Robert Frances, a barrister of Gray's-Inn, came to the coach side, and using some insulting expressions, Dangerfield returned a reproaching answer. Frances having a small cane in his hand, thrust it into his eye with all his force, which in two hours put an end to his life. Frances was condemned to be hanged, and was executed accordingly, the King, though strongly solicited for a pardon, not thinking proper to leave such a crime unpunished.

Richard Baxter, a Presbyterian minister, famous for his voluminous writings during the troubles, in favour of his religion against the church of England, was the third instance of the mildness of the new government. As he could not be proceeded against for his books published during the troubles, by reason of the Act of Indemnity, occasion was taken to prosecute him for a late book, intituled, A Paraphrase on the New Testament, wherein it was pretended, there were several seditious passages, and highly reflecting on the Bishops. Baxter being brought before Jefferies at the King's Bench bar, and moving, that farther time might be allowed him for his trial, Jefferies cried out, "I will not give him a minute's time more to save his life: we have had to do with other sort of persons, but now we have a saint to deal with; and I know how to deal with saints as well as sinners. Yonder," says he, "stands Oates in the pillory, and says, he suffers for the truth, and so

* This is the address from the Quakers: "We are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England no more than we; therefore we hope that thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself."

† Mr. Sidney, who was afterwards, Earl of Rumney, in King William's reign, was one of the principal instruments in the downfal of King James, and one of the first that went and joined the Prince of Orange.

says

says Baxter; but if Baxter did but stand on the other side of the pillory with him, I would say, there stood two of the greatest rogues and rascals in the kingdom." The point was only to know, whether certain passages of Baxter's book could be applied to the prelates of the church of England, or solely to those of the church of Rome. Baxter alledged in his defence, "that he had been so moderate with respect to the church of England, and had spoken so honourably of the Bishops, that he had incurred the censure of many of the dissenters upon that account." Jefferies, laying aside on this occasion the office of a Judge to turn evidence, affirmed, "That Baxter was an enemy to the name and thing, the office and persons of Bishops;" and severely reprimanded the counsel, probably for defending their cause too well. Then, speaking to Baxter, he said, "Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave, thou hast written books enough to load a cart, every one as full of sedition, I might say treason, as an egg is full of meat. Hadst thou been whipped out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a preacher of the Gospel of peace, and thou hast one foot in the grave; it is time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give. But leave thee to thyself, and I see thou wilt go on as thou hast begun; but by the grace of God I will look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to see what will become of their mighty Don; and a Doctor of the party [Dr. Bates] at your elbow; but by the grace of Almighty God I will crush you all."

The Chief Justice in summoning up the evidence said; "It is notoriously known, that there has been a design to ruin the King and the nation; and this has been the main incendiary: He is as modest now as can be; but time was, when no man was so ready at 'bind your Kings in chains, and your nobles in fetters of iron;' and 'to your tents, O Israel!' Gentlemen, for God's sake do not let us be gulled twice in an age."

Baxter being found guilty, judgment was given against him, to be fined five hundred marks; to lie in prison till he paid it; and to be bound to his good behaviour for seven years.

The Parliament met the 19th of May; and the Commons having chosen their Speaker, (Sir John Trevor,) the King came to the Parliament the 22d of May. His speech was more fitted to work on their fears than their affections. He repeated indeed, and with great solemnity, the promise which he had made before the privy-council, of governing according to the laws, and of preserving the established religion. But at the same time he told them, that he positively expected that they would settle his revenue, and during life too, as in the time of his brother. "I might use many arguments," said he, "to inforce this demand; the benefit of trade, the support of the navy, the necessities of the crown, and the well-being of the government itself, which I must not suffer to be precarious: but I am confident, that your own consideration, and your sense of what is just and reasonable, will suggest to you whatever on this occasion might be enlarged upon. There is indeed one popular argument," added he, "which may be urged against compliance with my demand: men may think, that by feeding me from time to time with such supplies as they think convenient, they will better secure frequent meetings of Parliament: but as this is the first time I speak to you from the throne, I must plainly tell you, that such an expedient would be very improper to employ with me, and that the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well."

This Parliament consisted of persons prepossessed in favour of the King, who imagining that, according to his promises, he would never meddle with the laws or religion, believed it a signal service to the kingdom, to enable the King to oppose effectually the attempts of the Whigs. They were mistaken in their supposition.

However, both Houses, pleased with the King's speech, waited on him the same day with an address of thanks. When the Commons returned to their House, they voted immediately, nemine contradicente, "that all the revenue enjoyed by the King at his death, should be granted to his present Majesty, and settled upon him during life." Thus the constant and ordinary revenue of the late King, which, according to the intent of the first Parliament, held in his reign, was to be twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, but which amounted to above double that sum; this revenue, which two Parliaments had spent about two years in settling, was granted to James II. in the space of two hours. They who speak most moderately of this revenue, compute it at more than two millions. But Coke pretends, that including the one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, enjoyed by the King while Duke of York, and annexed to the crown, the whole amounted to above two millions five hundred and fifty thousand pounds.*

The Commons having given the King so real a demonstration of their zeal and affection, the Lords were willing likewise to show him how much they were devoted to him in whatever lay in their power. To that end, the King having sent a warrant to the Attorney-General to enter a Noli Prosequi upon the indictments against the popish Lords, who had been prisoners in the Tower for the plot, and against the Earl of Danby, the House of Peers annulled their order of the 19th of March 1678-9, and entirely discharged those Lords who had been released only upon bail.

These proceedings in favour of the popish Lords, made way for a bill to reverse the attainder of the Lord Viscount Stafford in 1680. The sole reason alledged in the bill for this reversal was in these words: "Whereas it is now manifest, that the said William, late Viscount Stafford, was innocent of the treason laid to his charge, and the testimony whereupon he was found guilty was false. Be it enacted, &c."

The Lords, in passing this bill, designed rather to oblige the King than do justice to the memory of the Lord Stafford. But the Commons had not the same complaisance, since it was dropt after the second reading, and never heard of more, they having no intention to strengthen or encourage the popish party.

The Parliament of Scotland was still extremely zealous for the King's interest. Besides the acts before mentioned, they passed one for granting the King during life the yearly sum of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds; and another declaring, that the giving or taking the national covenant, or the solemn league and covenant, or owning them as lawful or obligatory, should incur the crime of high-treason.

Since the Earl of Argyle's escape after his condemnation in 1681, he had kept himself concealed at Amsterdam, very few persons in Scotland knowing where he was. He waited there for a favourable opportunity either to make his peace with the King, or to raise in Scotland, where he thought he had many friends, an insurrection, which should put him again in possession of his estate. He believed a fair occasion offered for an insurrection after the death of Charles II. knowing that the Duke of York, who was to succeed, was beloved neither in Scotland nor England. For though, in both kingdoms, the government, and all the public offices were in the hands of the Tories, the Earl of Argyle imagined, that if by his credit he could raise an army in Scotland, all the Presbyterians would list under his banner, and then his party would be much superior to the King's.

Whilst he was full of these thoughts, the Prince of

* The Commons also voted unanimously, that they relied on his Majesty's royal word and declarations to support the religion of the church of England; but they added that their religion was dearer to them than their lives. The Speaker, in presenting the revenue bill, took care to inform the King of their vote with regard to religion; but could not by so signal a proof of confidence, extort from him one word in favour of that religion on which he told his Majesty, they set so high a value. Notwithstanding the grounds of suspicion which this silence afforded, the house continued in the same liberal disposition. The King having demanded a further supply for the navy and other purposes, they revived those duties on wines and vinegar, which had once been enjoyed by the late King; and they added some impositions on tobacco and sugar. This grant amounted on the whole to about six hundred thousand pounds a year.

Orange, foreseeing the King his father-in-law would soon desire the States to deliver up the Duke of Monmouth, advised him to retire elsewhere. The Duke followed his advice, and withdrew to Brussels. But fearing he was not safe there, and that the court of Spain would think proper to sacrifice him to King James I. he repaired privately to Amsterdam, where he had frequent conferences with Argyle. They had nothing ready to make an attempt, which might have the least appearance of success. They were both without money, and not sure of friends in England or Scotland to second their projects. Meanwhile, the Earl of Argyle meeting at Amsterdam with a rich widow, who lent him ten thousand pounds, this unexpected supply so encouraged him, that he resolved to make a descent in Scotland, where he hoped, that his name, his credit, and the cause he intended to support, would procure him friends enough. But the Duke of Monmouth was not in so favourable a situation. He flattered himself, that the enmity of the Whigs against the Duke of York would revive, when they should see one at the head of their party: but he had yet no private correspondence with such of the nobility and gentry, whose credit would be able to support him, and moreover he wanted money. However, the Earl of Argyle perceiving how advantageous it would be to him, that the Duke of Monmouth should make an invasion in England, whilst he should himself do the like in Scotland, so managed that at length he persuaded him to try the same fortune, though not till after the Duke had long resisted his solicitations. Indeed, as the Duke's affairs then stood, it was a rash undertaking, especially as it was to be executed as the Parliament was sitting. But some of his friends, very unfit to manage such a design, and who were tired with living in exile, did all they could to encourage him. He therefore promised Argyle, that as soon as he should hear of his landing in Scotland, he would not fail to make a descent in England.

Upon this positive promise, the Earl of Argyle sailed with three small ships laden with arms for five thousand men, having with him some German officers and some soldiers listed in Holland. He arrived the 5th of May, before Orkney, in the north of Scotland, and sent his Secretary on shore for intelligence how the country stood affected. But the Secretary being seized and brought to Edinburgh, the Earl found nothing was to be done in those parts. Wherefore he put to sea again, and landed in the West-Highlands, at a place called Dunstafnage, a ruinous castle formerly his own. Here he left his arms and ammunition, and then published two declarations. Whereupon the Parliament of Scotland now sitting, passed an act, that all the subjects of Scotland should take the oath of allegiance anew, and assert the royal prerogatives whenever they should be required, upon pain of banishment or imprisonment.

The King, communicated to the Parliament of England Argyle's declarations: whereupon both Houses came to this resolution, that they would assist his Majesty with their lives and fortunes, against the Earl of Argyle and his adherents, and all other traitors whatsoever. The King very graciously thanked them, and in his answer to the Lords, renewed his former promises.

The Earl of Argyle, though in his own county, the inhabitants of which had been formerly his vassals, could only assemble two or three thousand men. With this little army he crossed over, and landed in the Isle of Bute. But within a few days, having notice that a great number of forces, under the command of the Earl of Dumbarton, the Duke of Gordon, the Marquis of Athol, the Earl of Arran, and others, were advancing towards him from several parts, in order to surround him, he was forced to shift from island to island, to avoid them. When he heard that three men of war, and some frigates, would soon come and attack him, he marched into Argyleshire, towards Inverary, ordering his vessels and boats to come and join him. But they were hindered by contrary winds from doing it soon enough. So, finding himself surrounded on all sides, and considering that few came to join him, and that his troops began to desert, he gave out, that he intended to attack the Marquis of Athol, who was at Inverary. But at the same time, he ordered the old castle of Ellengreg to be fortified in the best manner possible, and leaving his cannon there, with a garrison of one hundred and eighty men, marched into Dumbartonshire. The same day, the King's ships came up to the castle, with intent to batter it, but the castle surrendered upon the firing of the first gun. By this the Earl lost five thousand arms, five hundred barrels of powder, and all his cannon, besides his three ships, which were taken at the same time. This loss so discouraged Argyle, as well as his officers, that from that moment they thought only of means to escape. But as, after the loss of their ships, there was no way to fly out of Scotland, they retired from place to place with all possible speed, even to the swimming of rivers. But they were so hotly pursued, that they were forced at length to disperse into small parties, in order to save some, in case the rest should be overtaken. At last, the Earl, having received a wound in the head, was obliged to quit his horse, and run into the water up to his neck to save himself. In this posture he was taken by a countryman. This happened on the 17th of June, twenty-eight days after his first landing in Scotland. He was not suffered to languish long. For, being brought to Edinburgh with great ignominy, his head was cut off in a few days, and placed on the Toll-Booth of the city.* Rumbold, one of his friends and confidants, was likewise taken and executed, with several others. Thus the King speedily saw himself delivered from the danger which threatened him from Scotland.

The Duke of Monmouth, pursuant to his promise to Argyle, sailed out of the Texel the 24th of May, with a small man of war of thirty-two guns, and two other vessels. He met with such contrary winds, that he was nineteen days at sea, though without being discovered by the King's ships which waited in the Channel to intercept him; the King having had so early notice of his design, that Skelton, his Majesty's Envoy at the Hague, had obtained an order from the States to arrest him. For which reason, the Duke departed sooner than he intended. At last, he landed the 11th of June, with about eighty followers, in the west of England, near Lyme, and the same day repaired to the town, where he was received without opposition. Here he published a declaration against the King; in which he did not fail to affirm, "that his mother was lawful wife of Charles II."†

The King having communicated to both Houses the Duke of Monmouth's landing at Lyme, they presented an address to him, assuring him of their zeal and assistance, and immediately after the Commons proceeded to a bill of attainder against the Duke of Monmouth. At the same time they desired his Majesty to issue a proclamation, promising a reward of five thousand pounds to any that should bring in the Duke dead or alive. The bill of attainder was dispatched by the Commons in two days, and in one by the Lords.

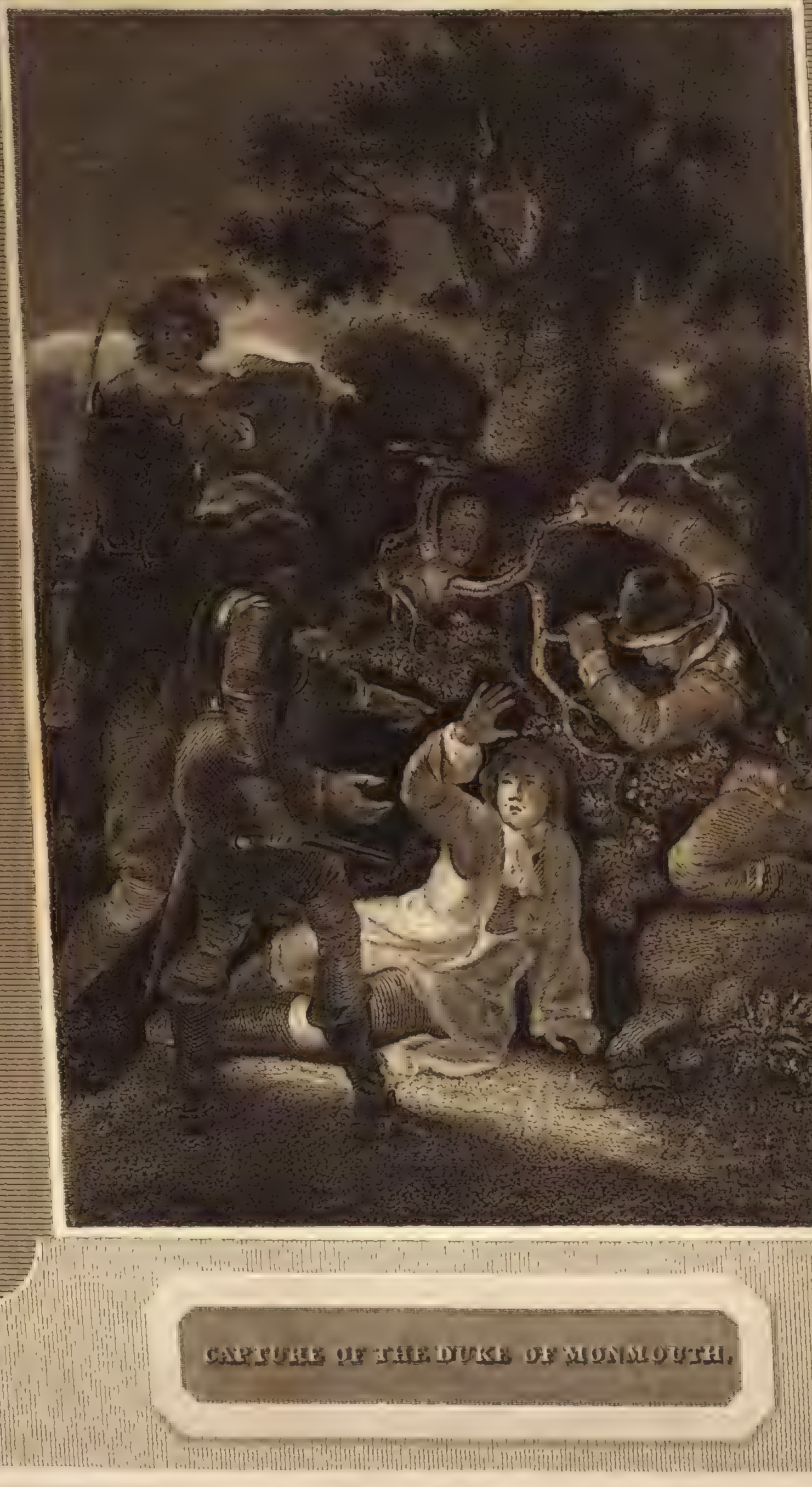
On the 2d of July, the Parliament was adjourned to the 4th of August.

The Duke of Monmouth's followers, who were not above eighty-two men when he landed at Lyme, increased to two thousand in three or four days. This made him hope they would continually increase as he

* Pursuant to the sentence passed three years before, which made his death to be looked on as no better than murder. He justified all he had done; for he said, he was unjustly attainted; and that had dissolved his allegiance. He complained of the Duke of Monmouth much, for delaying his coming so long after him, and for assuming the name of King, both which he said was contrary to their agreement at parting.

† This declaration was calculated chiefly to suit the prejudices of the vulgar, or the most bigoted of the Whig party. He called the King Duke of York; and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, an assassin, and a Popish usurper. He imputed to him the fire of London, the murder of Godfrey and of Essex, nay the poisoning of the late King. And he invited all the people to join in opposition to his tyranny.

RAPIN'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.



CAPTURE OF THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

advanced into the country. Wherefore he departed from Lyme the 15th of June, and came the same day to Axminster. He thereby prevented Christopher Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who, with four thousand of the militia, intended to go thither in order to besiege him in Lyme. The Duke of Monmouth being come to Axminster, disposed his troops in such a manner, that Albemarle, instead of attacking him, thought proper to retreat, perceiving his militia-men had no inclination to do their duty. Albemarle's retreat enabled the Duke of Monmouth to march to Taunton, where he arrived the 18th, and was received with loud acclamations. His army being considerably increased during a five or six days' stay at Taunton, he imagined his affairs were in a prosperous way, and that all the country would join him. In this expectation he called a council, where it was resolved he should assume the title of King; and, pursuant to the advice of those he consulted, he was proclaimed King, at Taunton, the 20th of June, by the name of James II.

He began his pretended reign with three proclamations. By the first, he promised the sum of five thousand pounds to any that should bring the Duke of York dead or alive. By the second, he declared the Parliament now sitting a seditious assembly, and gave power to any that would lay hold of the members as rebels and traitors, if they did not separate before the end of June. The third was to declare the Duke of Albemarle a traitor, who lay within six miles of Taunton with his militia-men to attack him, if he found opportunity.

The 21st of June the Duke marched to Bridgewater. He was received there as at Taunton, especially as his army was increased to five thousand men, and might have been more numerous, had he been able to arm those that offered to serve him. Besides arms, he wanted good officers. After causing himself to be proclaimed in Bridgewater, he marched for Bristol, where the inhabitants were inclined to receive him, had they not been awed by the Duke of Beaufort their Governor. He advanced however within three miles of the city, at the instance of some Bristol men, who assured him, he would be received in spite of the Governor and the garrison. But in the mean time, he had notice that the King's forces were advancing, which made him alter his resolution, of attempting Bristol, to that of retreating to Bridgewater. He marched therefore towards Bath, and after vainly summoning that city to surrender, he beat up one of the King's quarters, at Philip's-Norton, where lay a troop of horse, which was entirely defeated. From thence he advanced to Frome, where he met with a cheerful reception. But unhappily for him, the King's party had found means a few days before to disarm all the inhabitants, so that he was disappointed, his chief aim being to seize those arms for such of his men as wanted them. At Frome he heard of the Earl of Argyle's defeat, which threw him into great consternation. However, he resolved to pursue his march, and return to Bridgewater.

Whilst these things passed in the west, the King was preparing at London, with all possible diligence, for his defence against an enemy who could not but make him extremely uneasy. But he had not many regular troops, and those dispersed in several parts of the kingdom. This obliged him to raise the militia, particularly in the western counties, till the arrival of the English and Scotch regiments which were to come from Holland. On this occasion, the Prince of Orange, his son-in-law, sent Monsieur Bentinck, with an offer of his person to head his army: but the King did not think proper to accept it. Meanwhile, as he had no great confidence in the militia, he sent down his guards, and all the regular troops he could assemble, and formed a little army of two thousand foot, and seven hundred horse and dragoons. He gave the command to Lewis Duras, Earl of Feversham, brother of the Marshals Duras and de Lorge, and nephew to the late Mr. de Turenne. With these few troops, the Earl of Feversham encamped at a place called Sedgemore near Bridgewater, whilst several parties of the militia of the neighbouring counties lay about him, under the command of the Dukes of Beaufort, Somerset, Albemarle, and the Earl of Pembroke.

The Duke of Monmouth, who was come to Bridgewater, looking upon himself as besieged, and considering that the King's forces daily increased, whilst his own began to desert, held a council of war, wherein it was resolved to march in the night, and surprize the Earl of Feversham, who was encamped that day at Sedgemore, and according to the report of the spies, little expected to be attacked. Pursuant to this resolution, the Duke began his march about eleven at night, with profound silence, and within two hours fell in with Dunbarton's regiment, which, being an advanced post, gave the alarm to the royal army, and by that they had time to draw up and receive their enemies. The particulars of the battle, which was fought about an hour after, are not well known. Thus much is certain, the Duke of Monmouth's horse, commanded by the Lord Grey, behaved very ill, though superior to the King's in number, and were routed at the first charge. The Duke of Monmouth, at the head of the foot, long fought with great bravery. But being deserted by his own, and attacked by the King's horse, his army was at last forced to take to flight. The loss of this battle was ascribed to the little experience or cowardice of the Lord Grey, who commanded the horse, and was even suspected of treachery. What confirmed this suspicion was, that being made prisoner he readily obtained the King's pardon. It is said moreover, that when he had so ill performed his duty, instead of endeavouring to rally the horse, he rode up to the Duke of Monmouth and told him, "all was lost, and it was more than time to shift for himself."

This battle was fought the 6th of July, at break of day. There were slain on the Duke of Monmouth's side three hundred men on the spot, a thousand in the pursuit, and as many taken prisoners. The Duke retiring out of the fight, could hardly rally fifty horse to secure his retreat. But these being quickly dispersed, he was obliged to fly on foot, accompanied only with a German Count, whom he had brought with him from Holland. The Lord Grey was taken on the morrow, and, the day after, the Duke of Monmouth was found in a ditch covered with fern, with some green peas in his pocket. Probably he had eaten nothing else for two days. He was brought to the Lord Lumley, who immediately conveyed him to London.

No sooner was the Duke taken, but he believed himself lost, and yet he retained some hopes that the King would be moved by his submission and repentance, and that the Queen Dowager would intercede for him. In this belief, he wrote to the King for pardon in the most submissive term he could devise, and which he thought most apt to move his compassion. He wrote also to the Queen Dowager, who really interceded for him, and prevailed with the King to see the unfortunate Duke. She made no doubt, that since the King had consented to see him, he intended to pardon him; but she was mistaken. The Duke being brought to the King's presence, threw himself at his feet, and begged his life in a very submissive or rather abject manner. The King, after asking him some questions, made him sign a declaration, whereby he owned, that the King his father assured him, he was never married to his mother. This done, the King told him, his crime was of too great a consequence to be forgiven, and therefore he must prepare to die. The Queen, who was present, is said to have insulted his misfortune in an unmerciful manner. The Duke seeing no hopes left, rose from the King's feet, with an air of bravery, which would have better become him when he first came into his presence, and was carried to the Tower to prepare for death.

Till his execution the King ordered Turner Bishop of Ely to attend him, and prepare him to die. The Duke wrote once more to the King for pardon, or at least for a longer time, and desired him to send him Dr. Tennison or any other Divine. The King denied the two first articles of his request, and appointed Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to go and acquaint him, that he must die the next morning.

In the morning, July the 15th, Dr. Tennison and Dr. Hooper were brought to him, and attended him to the last hour of his life. By their exhortations they persuaded him to give it in writing, that the King his father told him, he was never married to his mother. He confessed also, that his invasion was a sin, but would never own it a rebellion. There was another point about which the two Divines could never receive from him any satisfaction, namely, his living with the Lady Harriet Wentworth, though he had a Duchess of his own, and his pretending to be lawfully married to her before God, alledging, that his first marriage was null, as being too young when he gave his consent. All the pains taken by the two Doctors to convince him of the falsehood of this opinion were fruitless; he chose rather to deprive himself of the communion, than own his engagements with that lady to be unlawful.

When he was on the scaffold, he declared, he died a Protestant of the church of England. But Turner and Ken stopped him, and said, that to be a member of the church of England he must believe the doctrine of non-resistance. He answered, he could not help it, but he did not believe it, yet he approved the doctrine of the church in all other things. At last, he laid his head on the block, which was not severed from his body until the fifth stroke.* Thus died the Duke of Monmouth, who had long been the people's idol, and whom James always considered as a very formidable rival. Charles II. died very seasonably to free the Duke his brother from the uneasiness created him by this competitor. But though James had mounted the throne, the Duke of Monmouth endangered his crown. Neither the victory at Sedgemore, nor Argyle's defeat in Scotland, could be ascribed to the valour or conduct of the King, but to mere chance, or rather to the direction of Providence, which, for the welfare of England, was pleased to use properer means to be more plainly distinguished.

The King being thus freed from his greatest fears, gave himself over entirely to the passion of revenge on those who directly or indirectly had assisted the Duke of Monmouth. To that end, the Lord Chief Justice Jefferies was sent with four Judges assistants, into the west, with a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, to try the late rebels; and Major-General Kirk was ordered to attend him with a body of troops to keep the people in awe. It was not possible for the King to find in the whole kingdom, two men more destitute of religion, honour, and humanity. They were two cruel and merciless tygers, that delighted in blood.

At Winchester, the widow of the Lord Lisle, one of King Charles I.'s Judges, was brought before him to be tried. Her crime was the harbouring and concealing Mr. Hicks, a Presbyterian minister of the Duke of Monmouth's party, though his name was in no proclamation, and one Nelthorp, who was a stranger to her. The jury, not satisfied with the evidence, brought her in not guilty. But Jefferies, in great fury, sent them out again. They found her not guilty three times: but Jefferies threatening them with an attaint of jury, she was brought in guilty, and executed accordingly, being above seventy years old.

At Dorchester, Jefferies, to shorten his work, told thirty prisoners, that if they expected any favour, they should plead guilty. But as they did not care to take that course, he condemned twenty-nine, who were immediately executed.

In another place, two hundred persons being indicted, Jefferies positively promised a pardon to such as should plead guilty, and of the two hundred, he ordered four-score to be hanged.

Not to enlarge on such a scene of horror, it suffices to say, that Jefferies condemned five hundred persons, whereof two hundred and thirty were executed, according to the lowest computation, and their quarters set up in the highways. Jefferies himself gloried in this barbarity, and boasted, that he had hanged more men than all the Judges of England since William the Conqueror. And yet he would have carried his cruelty farther, had not many purchased his favour with their estates. One Mr. Prideaux alone, gave him fourteen thousand pounds to save his life. As for those that had not money enough to buy pardons at his price, they were either hanged, or cruelly whipped, or sold for slaves into the American Plantations.

Kirk was not behind Jefferies either in cruelty or insolence. Immediately after the Duke of Monmouth's defeat, being sent to Taunton, he caused nineteen persons, by his own authority, without any trial or process, and without suffering their wives or children to speak with them, to be hanged, with pipes playing, drums beating, and trumpets sounding.

In the same town of Taunton, Kirk, having invited his officers to dinner, ordered thirty condemned persons to be hanged whilst they were at table, namely, ten in a health to the King, ten in a health to the Queen, and ten in a health to Jefferies. But one action he committed in another town is beyond all imagination. A young girl throwing herself at his feet to beg her brother's life, he drew her in to prostitute herself to him, with the promise of granting her request. But having satisfied his brutal lust, he was so inhuman, as out of the window, to present the credulous girl with the sight of her brother hanging on the sign-post. This sad spectacle so affected the poor girl, that she fell distracted.†

The King was so little displeased with Jefferies's conduct, that at his desire he made him Lord Chancellor, the Lord Keeper North dying while the Chief Justice was exercising his cruelties in the west. As for the general pardon, it was not published till several months after all these executions, when there were no more guilty to be found. The court must have believed, that very few could have the benefit of the pardon, since a company of young girls, from ten to twelve years old, were inserted by name, who, with chaplets of flowers on their heads, had presented a bible to the Duke of Monmouth, at his entry into Taunton.

It was not only in the western counties that the King gave sensible proofs of his revengeful temper. The city of London was witness also of several executions, in October, and among others, of Elizabeth Gaunt, who was publicly burnt for harbouring one of the Duke of Monmouth's adherents.‡ Six men were hanged at Tyburn as traitors, for crimes of the like nature, and what is more strange, without any previous trial.

But the execution that made most noise, was that of Alderman Cornish. This man, who was sheriff of London, at the time of the discovery of the Popish plot, had been very active on that occasion, which was grown an unpardonable crime in the present reign. Cornish, whose name had hardly been mentioned in the Rye-plot, not suspecting any thing, and following his profession, was seized on Tuesday the 13th of October, and hurried to Newgate without being allowed the use of pen, ink, and paper. The next Saturday evening, he had notice, that he was indicted of high-treason, and that his trial was to be on Monday morning. On the morrow, he sent a petition to the King for a longer time,

* The Duke had warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Russel, where it had been necessary to repeat the blow. This precaution served only to dismay the executioner. He struck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who raised his head from the block, and looked him in the face, as if reproaching him for his failure. He gently laid down his head a second time; and the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose. He then threw aside the axe, and cried out that he was incapable of finishing the bloody office. The sheriff obliged him to renew the attempt; and at two blows more the head was severed from the body.

† Burnet assures us, that the King had a particular account of all Jefferies's proceedings written to him every day. And he took pleasure to relate them in the drawing room to foreigners, and at his table, calling it Jefferies's Campaign. Dykvelt, the States' ambassador, told Burnet, that the King talked so often of these things in his hearing, that he wondered to see him break out into those indecencies.

‡ The villain, upon hearing that the King would sooner pardon the rebels than those that harboured them, by an unheard of baseness, went and delivered himself and accused her that harboured him, while she was looking for an opportunity of sending him out of the kingdom. Upon the evidence of this infamous witness, the judge charged the jury to find her guilty.

alledging, that he did not even know wherein consisted the treason he was accused of. The King referred his petition to the Judges, who absolutely denied his request. He was charged with conspiring against King Charles II. with the Lord Russel, and the rest who had been executed for that affair, and condemned upon the evidence of the same witnesses, though he showed, in their depositions, manifest contradictions, and palpable improbabilities. But it was resolved to revenge the death of those who suffered for the popish plot, upon such as had been most active against the papists. Cornish was executed as a traitor, the 23d of October. But the Parliament, in the year 1688, reversed the sentence, as well as those of some others, who had unjustly suffered in the beginning of this reign.

The last that died for the Protestant plot, was Charles Bateman, a noted Surgeon, who was accused of holding several seditious discourses at that time against the government. But many people believed, his chief crime consisted in his compassion to Titus Oates, having constantly attended him after his cruel scourgings, and used all his skill to cure his wounds. This man, who did not expect to be accused, grew distracted during his imprisonment, and the court was so well satisfied of it, that his son was permitted to make his defence for him. But his condition did not prevent his being condemned and executed.

The King was then in a flourishing state. His two greatest enemies were destroyed, and by his revenge upon those that had offended him, as well in his own, as in his brother's reign, he had struck such a terror into the whole kingdom, that no man dared so much as to think of resisting him. The Whigs were entirely humbled, the Tories were triumphant, and the doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance was openly preached, as an essential article of the faith of the church of England. The King had a Parliament, which sought only to give him marks of their zeal, and ever ready to supply him with money for all extraordinary occasions, without his being obliged to meddle with his revenue. His army greatly contributed to make him feared, and keep the people in awe. Scotland was entirely subdued, and the managers of the affairs of that kingdom seemed only to mind the enlarging of the royal prerogative. As for Ireland, he had not staid till now to put that kingdom in the state he desired. In fine, the Princes of Europe considering him as a monarch able to incline the balance to which side he pleased, made, as we may say, their court to him, either to gain him, or at least to hinder him from turning against them.

About two months after the King's accession to the crown, he recalled the Duke of Ormond from Ireland, and appointed two Lords Justices to govern that kingdom. At the same time, the Privy-Council of Ireland was dissolved, and a new one appointed, into which were admitted several known Papists. Soon after, their number was so increased, that they made the major part of the council, so that the Protestants no longer assisted, that they might not authorize by their presence, such resolutions as it was in vain to oppose. When the council was thus modelled, nothing was heard in Ireland, but impeachments against the Protestants, for being concerned in the Rye-house plot, and afterwards for holding correspondence with the Duke of Monmouth, or his adherents. The moment any person was accused, he was sent to prison by the council, without being admitted to bail, or brought to a trial. The Earl of Granard, weary of being an instrument to those acts of injustice, desired to be dismissed. But the King denied him, and sent him a letter under his own hand, assuring him, "that nothing should be acted prejudicial to the Protestant interest." But it soon appeared, that the King never meant to perform this promise. For, very shortly after, he resolved to have a standing army of Papists in Ireland, and to disarm the Protestants. This last article was first put in practice. The King wrote to the Lords Justices, "That there was reason to believe that the rebellion of Monmouth had been of that spreading contagion, as to reach Ireland, and therefore it was not safe to have the arms of the militia dispersed abroad; but they would be in greater readiness for the use of the militia, and the defence of the country, to have them deposited in the several stores of each county." Upon this order, the Lords Justices published a proclamation, agreeably to the King's desire, and the city of Dublin having brought in their arms, their example was followed by all the country.

The Protestants being thus disarmed, means were devised to turn the Protestant, into a Catholic army. For that purpose, Colonel Richard Talbot, a violent Papist, was impowered to cashier such officers and soldiers as he thought fit. He was the man of all others most odious to the English Protestants in Ireland.

Talbot having received this commission, broke many officers, on pretence that they had borne arms against the King during the troubles, or were sons and relations of those who had served the Parliament of Cromwell. All this passed in Ireland, before or immediately after the Duke of Monmouth's defeat, at a time when the King had not yet manifested his designs in England. About the end of the year, Talbot came into England, and was made Earl of Tyrconnel, and Lieutenant-General of the Irish army, and shortly after, Henry Earl of Clarendon was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Parliament of England, after several adjournments, met at last on the 9th of November. The King, elated with prosperity, now seems to have thought himself exempted from all rules of prudence, or necessity of dissimulation. He plainly told the two Houses, that the militia, which had formerly been so much magnified, was now found, by experience in the last rebellion, to be altogether useless; and he required a new supply, in order to maintain those additional forces which he had levied. He also took notice, that he had employed a great many Catholic officers, and that he had, in their favour, dispensed with the law requiring the test to be taken by every one that possessed any public office. And to cut short all opposition, he declared, that, having reaped the benefit of their service during such times of danger, he was determined, neither to expose them afterwards to disgrace, nor himself, in case of another rebellion, to the want of their assistance.

This speech equally surprized both Houses of Parliament, and the whole kingdom, when it came to be published. The English had often ventured their lives in the defence of their laws and liberties, of which they then believed themselves secure, as well by the constitution of the government, as by the King's solemn promise, but they beheld their laws openly attacked in the most sensible part. Many of those who had most warmly opposed the Exclusion-bill, began to open their eyes, and perceive, that the jealousies and fears of the Whig Parliaments were too well-grounded, and that it was difficult to reconcile the interests of a Roman Catholic King, with those of a Protestant kingdom. This was what the Whigs had in vain declared in the late reign. Instead of duly weighing their reasons, the Tories had run into the other extreme; had even expected to be gainers by setting the Duke of York on the throne. But this first public step of the King, made them proceed for the future with more caution, though by their principles they were not yet obliged to take such measures as would have been necessary.

It was warmly debated in the House of Lords, whether they should give the King thanks for the speech. Some were utterly against it; whereupon the Marquis of Halifax said, "They had now more reason than ever to give thanks to his Majesty, since he had dealt so plainly with them, and discovered what he would be at." Nevertheless, it was resolved by the majority, that the King should be thanked. But, however, the Bishop of London moved, that his Majesty's speech might be debated, and though it was unusual in the House, the 23d of the month was appointed to take the speech into consideration, with which the King was highly displeased.

When the King's speech was taken into consideration

tion by the Commons, many severe reflections were thrown out against the present measures; and the House was with seeming difficulty engaged to promise, in a general vote, that they would grant some supply. But instead of finishing that business, which could alone render them acceptable to the King, they proceeded to examine the dispensing power; and they voted an address to the King against it. Before this address was presented, they resumed the consideration of the supply; and as one million two hundred thousand pounds were demanded by the court, and two hundred thousand proposed by the country party, a middle course was chosen; and seven hundred thousand, after some dispute, were at last voted. The address against the dispensing power was expressed in most respectful and submissive terms; yet it was very ill received by the King, and his answer contained a flat denial, uttered with great warmth and vehemence. The Commons were so daunted with this reply, that they kept a profound silence for a considerable time. At last it was moved by one of the members, that a particular day might be appointed to consider of the King's answer. This motion was seconded by Mr. Coke, member for Derby, who added, "He hoped they were all true Englishmen, and not to be frighted out of their duty by a few hard words." Though this speech was very consistent with the freedom of a House of Commons, the majority however were pleased to look upon Mr. Coke as an incendiary, who intended to sow discord between the King and the Commons, and voted him to be sent to the Tower. Moreover, the House, to make amends in some measure for the offence they had given the King, proceeded to ways and means towards raising the seven hundred thousand pounds before voted. But they stopped not there. To show the King that they sought all possible ways to content him, besides a bill to indemnify the Popish officers from the penalties they had already incurred, they resolved to offer another to the King, to qualify such a number of those officers to serve in the army as he should think fit. All this demonstrates, it was with regret that the House swerved from the principal of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance.

On the 20th of November, the King finding it would be very difficult to obtain his desires of the Commons concerning the Popish officers, prorogued the Parliament on the 10th of February, after a session of but eleven days. The King lost, by the prorogation, the seven hundred thousand pounds voted by the Commons. This prorogation, which was followed by several others, and at length by the dissolution of the Parliament, the last in this reign, is a clear demonstration of two things: First, that the King considered the affair of the popish officers in the army, as of great moment, since he chose rather to lose seven hundred thousand pounds, than see his pretended right to employ them contested by the Parliament: The second is, the excessive compliance shown to the King by the Commons, in enabling him to maintain an army, employ popish officers, and, in a word, to have no occasion for a Parliament.*

The year 1686, was wholly spent, as well as the next, in the execution of the King's two grand projects, namely of making himself absolute, and establishing Popery.

Before things were carried any farther in England, he believed it proper to be assured first of Scotland and Ireland. As for Scotland, the managers there were entirely disposed to comply with the King's will. The late Parliament, besides the acts before-mentioned, passed one, wherein it was declared, "That they owe all their blessings to the sacred race of their glorious Kings, and to the solid, absolute authority wherewith they were invested by the first and fundamental laws of their monarchy:——And therefore they again declare to the world, that they abhor and detest not only the authors and actors of all preceding rebellions against their sovereign, but also all principles and positions which are contrary or derogatory to the King's sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute power and authority, which none, whether particular persons or collective bodies, can participate of any manner of way, or upon any pretext, but in dependence on him, and by commission from him, &c." They passed another act, "to confirm and approve whatever had been done by his Majesty's Privy-Council, Justice-courts, and those commissioned by them, in banishing, imprisoning, or fining such as refused to take and swear the oath of allegiance; and to assert the royal prerogative in the utmost extent of them."

Encouraged by these great advantages, the King summoned the Parliament of Scotland, to assemble the 29th of April this year, and wrote a letter to them, wherein, "He recommends to their special care, his innocent Roman Catholic subjects, who had always been assistant to the crown in the worst of rebellions and usurpations, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named: these he most heartily recommended to them; to the end, that as they had given good experience of their true loyalty and peaceable behaviour, so, by their assistance, they might have the protection of his laws, not suffering them to lie under obligations, which their religion could not admit of; by doing of which, they would give a demonstration of their duty and affection towards him, and do him most acceptable service. And this love he expected they would show to their brethren, as they saw him an indulgent Father to his people."

The Earl of Murray, Lord High-Commissioner, seconded this letter, with a particular account of the many advantages the King intended to procure his realm of Scotland, chiefly with respect to trade. He also endeavoured to persuade them, that what the King desired, tended as much to the honor and welfare of his subjects of Scotland, as to his own satisfaction. He concluded with saying, "By this you will show yourselves the best and most affectionate subjects, to the best, the most incomparable, and most heroic Prince in the world."

When the King's letter, and the Lord Commissioner's speech came to be considered in the Parliament, some members, without looking farther, were for complying with the King's desires. But others, in greater numbers, moved and prevailed to have a committee appointed, to examine the Statutes against the Papists. The committee finding the Statutes prohibited only the public exercise of the popish religion, drew up a bill to allow them the exercise of their religion in private. But when this bill was presented to the Parliament, it met with so much opposition, that the Lord-Commissioner thought fit to adjourn the debate, till he had received instructions from the court. The King sent him orders to dissolve, or at least prorogue the Parliament, and some months after, by his sole authority, he established liberty of conscience in Scotland.

Affairs in Ireland were upon another footing. The King's will met with no opposition there, and though the Lord Lieutenant was a Protestant, his credit and authority were insufficient to put a stop to the acts of injustice committed against those of his religion. The new Earl of Tyrconnel was no sooner returned to Dublin with the title of Lieutenant-General of the army, but he began again to break the Protestant officers and soldiers, and put Roman Catholics in their places; without vouchsafing to ask for the Lord-Lieutenant's order. When he had modelled the army according to the King's mind, he went over into England, where, by means of the Queen and Father Petre the Jesuit, he supplanted the Earl of Clarendon, and was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Upon his arrival at Dublin, he endeavoured by a proclamation to dispel the fears of the Protestants, who saw themselves, to their great trou-

* James, in this first year of his reign, bestowed honours and dignities upon several of his favourites and adherents, and advanced others to high offices. Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, dying July 28, his place of Lord Chamberlain was given to John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, who became one of the chief favourites in this reign. Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, was made Lord Treasurer, and Henry Earl of Clarendon his elder brother, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, principal Secretary of State, was declared Lord President of the council, and from that time became Prime Minister of State.

ble,

ble, in subjection to a Catholic. But his actions corresponded not with his promises. Wherefore, a great number of Protestants, chose rather to quit their estates in Ireland, and withdraw into England, than remain under the government of one so justly odious to them. On the other hand, the English merchants who traded in Ireland, withdrew their effects, and by that the kingdom was reduced to great extremities.

But it was chiefly in England that the King desired to establish popery and arbitrary power. If he had only aimed at absolute power, without meddling with religion, in all appearance, he would have easily succeeded, since passive obedience was in a manner established, and now reckoned an essential doctrine of the church of England, the members whereof made the body of the nation, and were possessed of all the offices and places of trust. But as they had already discovered, that if he wished to be freed from the yoke of the laws, it was chiefly to establish his religion, the Parliament, however devoted to him in all other respects, had not been so compliant as to abandon the interest of religion. Notwithstanding this refusal, he hoped to attain his ends, first, by causing the Judges to give it as their opinion, that he had a power to dispense with the laws. Secondly, by gaining the members of Parliament by degrees, being resolved to have no session till he had accomplished that design. There are men always ready to sacrifice the public, to their private interest, and there were but too many, on the present occasion, even among the clergy themselves. Dr. Cartwright, Dean of Rippon, speaking, in a sermon of the King's promises made to the Parliament, which were then the common topic of discourse and complaint, said, "That the King's promises were free donatives, and ought not to be strictly examined or urged; and that they must leave his Majesty to explain his own meaning in them." The King was so delighted with this gloss, that he rewarded the author with the Bishopric of Chester, as an encouragement to other clergymen to follow so good an example.

As for the Judges, the King took care to send for them one by one, and talk with them privately in his closet, in order to persuade them to declare for his dispensing power, telling them, he would have twelve Judges of his opinion. Four absolutely refused to comply, and were immediately displaced. The King appointed four others of more pliable and submissive understandings, among whom there was one papist. At the same time, the King made a call of serjeants at law, among whom were several Catholics, one of whom was knighted, and a little after, another lawyer of the same religion was made a Judge. The Privy-Council also underwent a similar alteration. All these changes clearly discovered the King's intentions.

But it was not long before he gave more signal marks of them. He had assumed a power to dispense with the observation of the test-act in his Catholic officers. The Parliament's refusal of their consent to this innovation, only exasperated the King, and made him resolve to exempt from the penal laws all his subjects in general, and consequently the Papists. But as this was directly against law, he undertook to show, by the means of his corrupt Judges, "That a power in the King to dispense with law, was law." For this purpose, he took care first to have papers dispersed through the kingdom, to prove this pretended right, and to prepare the people for his designs. At last, in a particular case, all the Judges, except one, gave the opinions for the King, and made it a general rule in law:

I. That the laws of England are the King's laws.

II. That therefore it is an incident, inseparable prerogative of the Kings of England, as of all other sovereign Princes, to dispense with all penal laws, in particular cases, and upon particular necessary reasons.

III. That of these reasons and necessities the King is the sole judge; consequently,

IV. That this is not a trust invested in and granted to the King, but the ancient remains of the sovereign power of the Kings of England, which never was yet taken from them, nor can be.

In consequence of this decision, the papists, with the King's permission, set up every where in the kingdom, the free and open exercise of their religion. The jesuits erected colleges and seminaries in all the considerable towns; and at the same time, four popish Bishops were publicly consecrated in the King's chapel, and sent down to exercise their functions in their respective dioceses, under the title of Vicars Apostolical. Their pastoral letters addressed to the Lay-Catholics, were printed at the King's printing-house, and dispersed through the kingdom. Monks appeared in the habits of their order at Whitehall and St. James's, and scrupled not to tell the Protestants, "That they hoped in a little time, to walk in procession through Cheapside." And as many converts were expected, that so plentiful a harvest might not want labourers, a great number of Priests and Monks were sent from foreign parts. From this time, the only way to preferment was to be a Papist, or a promoter of popery. All affairs of the council were managed by Catholics, or some others who had but little regard to religion. Thus, by the decision of ten or twelve Judges, nominated and corrupted by the King before their admission, the laws of England were given up, and the constitution entirely altered.

The King used another expedient for the advancement of his religion. He sent a circular letter to the Bishops, with an order, prohibiting all the inferior clergy from preaching upon controverted points of Divinity, for fear, as was pretended, of raising animosities among the people. It was thus that the persecution began in Queen Mary's reign. But on this occasion, the clergy of the church of England clearly discovered their aversion to popery, of which they had hitherto stood accused by their enemies, on pretence of a scrupulous attachment to some modes and ceremonies, which the first Reformers had not thought fit to retrench. For many of the dignified clergy, and the most distinguished for their piety and learning, far from prevaricating in the discharge of their office, preached openly on controverted points, or rather made them the chief subject of their discourses. They saw the tendency of this extraordinary inhibition, at a time when the Protestant religion was openly attacked, as well in sermons, as writings printed with licence, and industriously dispersed through the nation. It is justice to do honour to these faithful ministers of the Gospel, by transmitting to posterity the names of the most distinguished amongst them. These were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tennison, Wake, Patrick, Sharp, Sherlock; all famous for their writings, and all afterwards promoted to the first dignities of the church.

The King and his popish council were extremely offended with this boldness, and therefore, to force the Protestant clergy to submission, the King erected a new court for ecclesiastical affairs, composed of various members, among whom were several Catholics. A nomination of Papists to be Judges of a Protestant clergy in matters of doctrine and discipline, showed that the King would no longer keep any measures. Among these commissioners were three Bishops, namely, William Sancroft, of Canterbury; Crew, of Durham; and Sprat of Rochester. The first were all laymen, of which the principal were Jefferies, Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Rochester, Lord-Treasurer; the Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State, and President of the Council; and the Lord Chief-Justice Herbert. The commission was directed to any three of them, whereof the Lord Chancellor was always to be one.*

Shortly

* By this commission they had a power to exercise and execute all manner of jurisdictions and pre-eminences, concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdictions; to visit, reform, redress, and amend all abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by the spiritual or ecclesiastical laws of the realm might be lawfully corrected. They were also to inquire into all offences, contempts, and misdemeanors committed, or hereafter to be committed; that they might be corrected and punished by the censure of the church; they were to search for, and call before them all ecclesiastical persons of what degree or dignity soever, and to punish the offenders, by excommunications,

Shortly after, Dr. Sharp, in a sermon, vindicated the church of England in opposition to the errors of popery. The King being informed of it, pretended that the preacher's intention was to beget an evil opinion of himself and his government in the minds of the hearers, and to lead them into disobedience and rebellion. On this supposition he sent a letter to the Bishop of London, commanding him forthwith to suspend Dr. Sharp from farther preaching in any parish-church or chapel in his diocese, till he had given him satisfaction, and his farther pleasure was known therein. On the receipt of this order, the Bishop wrote to the Earl of Sunderland, and prayed him to communicate his letter to the King. He represented, that he was to proceed according to law, and as a Judge; and by the law no Judge condemns a man before he has knowledge of the cause, and has cited the party. Dr. Sharp himself carried the letter, but could obtain no answer. Two days after, he waited on the King at Windsor, with a very humble petition, but without any effect. The King and his council had already resolved to embrace this occasion to punish the Bishop of London, who was odious to the court, because he had moved in the House of Lords to examine the King's speech. Besides, by so great an example, they were resolved to establish the authority of their new ecclesiastical court. The Bishop was therefore cited to appear before the commissioners the 4th of August, where he was treated in a manner unbecoming his birth and dignity, by Jefferies the Chancellor, who used him with his wonted insolence. The Bishop demanded a copy of the commission, or at least to hear it read. But this was refused, and he was answered by Jefferies, that the commission might be had in every coffee-house for a penny. At last, with great difficulty, he obtained a delay of five days. The 9th of August, he appeared a second time before the court, and again on the 23d, when he disowned its jurisdiction, alledging, that as a Bishop he had no other judge but his metropolitan: but his plea was rejected. At last, after two or three adjournments of the court, he was suspended from the function and execution of his episcopal office, for his disobedience and contempt: and the Bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, were appointed commissioners within the diocese of London, during the Bishop's suspension. Dr. Sharp was also suspended, but it was only for a few days.

This affair convinced all the world, that the court was resolved to silence all the Protestant ministers, to prevent their maintaining the Protestant religion in their sermons. It was also perceived, that the King was resolved to keep no more measures, since in a time of profound peace, he had formed a camp of fifteen thousand men upon Hounslow-Heath, under the command of the Earl of Feversham. In this camp was a public chapel, where mass was said every day.

Though the army had but very few popish officers and soldiers, it was feared, that the whole would be subservent to the King in the execution of his designs, in consequence of that blind obedience usually professed by an army. To obviate this danger, Samuel Johnson, a clergyman,* addressed a writing to the Protestant officers and soldiers of the army, wherein he laid before them the reasons which ought to prevent their being the instruments of the court, for the destruction of their religion, and the subversion of their government. This writing was too opposite to the King's design to escape unpunished. Wherefore the author being tried at the King's-Bench, was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and to pay a fine of five hundred marks. The sentence, after Johnson's solemn degradation, was executed with great rigour. But this writing made a strong impression upon the minds of both officers and soldiers, and very much promoted the great defection which happened two years after in the army.†

The King was not contented with acting openly in favour of his religion, but even privately used all possible endeavours to make proselytes. He succeeded with the Earl of Sunderland, who was willing to give him this proof of his devotion for him, though for some private reasons he refused to make a public abjuration. But he was not successful in his attempt upon his brother-in-law the Earl of Rochester. For though the Earl consented to be present at a conference held by the Divines of both religions, the dispute, it seems, only attached him more firmly to the Protestant religion. The King, mortified by his firmness, removed him from the Treasury, which was put in commission, but withal assigned him a yearly pension of five thousand pounds upon the Post-Office. The Earl of Clarendon his elder brother felt likewise the effects of the King's displeasure upon the same account. Being recalled from his government of Ireland before the time, he was deprived, about the end of the year, of the Privy-Seal, which was given to the Lord Arundel, a Papist.‡

At last, the King, in his zeal for the Popish religion, sent the Earl of Castlemain in embassy to the Pope, "To reconcile the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the Holy See, from which for more than an age they had fallen off by heresy." The ambassador was received at Rome with a coldness which gave the King a sensible mortification. Innocent XI. considered that embassy as too much precipitated, since the conversion of the three kingdoms was yet far from being finished, and therefore he resolved to be no actor in a farce which would only render him ridiculous. Besides, being then engaged in a quarrel with France, and not ignorant of the close union between Lewis IV. and James II. he was pleased with giving some mortification to Lewis, in the person of his friend and brother of England. Whenever he granted him an audience, his Holiness had a fit of coughing at command, which spoiled the ambassador's harangue, and obliged him to withdraw. This happened so often, that at last the Earl of Castlemain threatened to be gone. The Pope with his usual coldness sent him word, "That since he would be gone, he advised him to rise early in the morning, that he might rest himself at noon; for in those countries it was dangerous to travel in the heat of the day." At last, the King recalled him.

However, the ill success of this embassy discouraged not the King from pursuing his design. Not only all places vacant from preferments were conferred upon Papists, but, without any reason given, Protestants were deprived of their places to make room for Papists.

The Parliament, which, according to the last prorogation, was to meet the 15th of February, was farther prorogued to the 28th of April. Probably, the King found not things ripe enough, as he desired, to be assured of the concurrence of the Parliament in the execution of his designs. He chose rather to take another course, which to him seemed more short and easy, in

communications, suspensions, deprivations, or other ecclesiastical censures; they were impowered to send for all statutes, rules, letters patent of universities, colleges, grammar schools, and all other ecclesiastical corporations, and the said statutes to correct, amend, and alter as they saw convenient, &c.

Many of the best lawyers thought this commission illegal, and contrary to the act passed in the 17th year of Charles I. for abolishing the high commission court. Others pretended, there was nothing in it contrary to that act. It seems, however, that the court was conscious of its illegality, since, though it was granted in April, it was not opened till August. Besides, the Archbishop would never act in it.

* The same who wrote the book called Julian the Apostate, which had given such offence to the Duke of York in the last reign, and drawn upon the author a severe prosecution.

† About the same time, the goldsmith, Miles Prance, who had been a witness against the persons tried for the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and had taken away three lives by his evidence, was tried upon an information exhibited against him for perjury, and sentenced to pay a fine of a hundred pounds, to stand three times in the pillory, and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. But because he at first pleaded guilty, the whipping part of the sentence was remitted.

‡ John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, and Lord Chamberlain, being solicited by the priests to change his religion, he heard them gravely arguing for transubstantiation; and then told them, "He had taken much pains to bring himself to believe in God, who made the world and all men in it: but it must not be an ordinary force of argument, that could make him believe, that man was quits with God, and made God again."——Colonel Kirk was also spoken to, to change his religion, but he briskly replied, "He was pre-engaged, for he had promised the King of Morocco, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan."

establishing liberty of conscience by his own authority. He was, doubtless, persuaded, that it would be more easy to obtain the consent of the Parliament to a thing already done, than the power to do it. But he thought proper to begin with Scotland, that the example of that kingdom might influence the English. For this purpose, he sent a proclamation into Scotland for an entire liberty of conscience, with orders to the privy-council to publish it. He excluded, however, out of his favour, the field conventiclers, whom he recommended to his council to prosecute with all the severity of the laws.

A. D. 1687.] The council of Scotland blindly obeyed the King, not only by publishing his proclamation, but even by thanking him for it, as for a signal favour.

The King, charmed with the ready compliance of the Scots, and considering it as a favourable precedent for England, summoned his council, and told them, "It was his intention to publish the like declaration in England. He grounded his resolution on his observing, that the endeavours to establish an uniformity in the four preceding reigns, had proved ineffectual, and been very prejudicial to the nation. That besides, it was his opinion, as most suitable to the principles of Christianity, 'That no man should be persecuted for conscience sake;' for he thought conscience could not be forced." The council, composed like that of Scotland, approved of this resolution, and magnified extremely the King's indulgence to his subjects. The declaration for liberty of conscience was therefore published the 4th of April.

Every one clearly saw, that his aim in this declaration was to establish the Popish religion, upon the ruins of the Protestant. However, addresses of thanks from the several sects, were presented to the King for his declaration. Some of these addresses, speaking of the royal power, carried it to the highest degree, because it was then advantageous to the non-conformists to maintain the authority by which they were freed from their constraint.

If there were non-conformists who thought themselves obliged to express their gratitude for the King's declaration, by flattering addresses, there were likewise Bishops who, with much less foundation, prevailed with their clergy to send addresses of thanks to the King, as for a signal favour to the church of England. Of this number were Crew, Bishop of Durham; Barlow, of Lincoln; Cartwright, of Chester; Wood, of Lichfield; and Watson, of St. David's. As for Parker, Bishop of Oxford, he was not so successful, since he could find but one clergyman in his whole diocese, who would sign such an address.*

The Parliament should have met the 28th of April; but the King, not finding things so ripe as he desired, had prorogued it to the 22d of November. In the mean time, he continued to take infinite pains to gain the members of Parliament. He closetted, one by one, all that were in London, and represented to them what he thought capable to convince them of the necessity to abolish the penal laws, for the good of the kingdom, and inforced his arguments with menaces and promises. It is not improbable, that some might be gained, but he could never be assured of a majority of voices. This determined him at last to dissolve the Parliament, by proclamation, the 2d of July.†

After the Parliament was dissolved, the King's grand affair was to have a new one entirely at his devotion. But he would not call one, till he was assured of having such members returned, as he should think proper. For this purpose, Quo Warrantos were issued against several corporations, to the end, that when they were deprived of their charters, the King might grant such new ones, as should render him master of the elections. It would be too tedious and difficult to relate all the King's secret methods, the emissaries he sent into the counties and corporations, the instructions he gave them to gain the people, the arguments, promises, and menaces they used. Nothing was forgotten which he thought would contribute to the procuring a favourable Parliament. Magistrates and Lord Lieutenants were displaced, but chiefly, particular men were closetted to engage them in the King's measures. It was also with this view that he made a progress through several counties, and stopped at the cities and great towns, to caress or intimidate the people. But he every where met with such coldness, or rather aversion to his designs, that he durst not venture to call a Parliament.

After sending, as we have seen, a solemn embassy to Rome, the King would have a nuntio in ordinary residing at his own court. The Pope had, the last year, nominated for this employment, Ferdinando Dadda, domestic prelate to his holiness, who had been about the King ever since his accession to the crown, and was the Queen's great favourite. He had been received as nuntio, but privately, and without the people's knowledge. But now the King having entirely pulled off the mask, was for honouring him with a public reception, though to assume the character of the Pope's nuntio was high treason. To give more lustre to the nuntio, he was first consecrated Archbishop of Amasia, in the royal chapel, after which, on the 3d of July, he made his public entry at Windsor, with great pomp and magnificence. It was a very surprising

* Scarcely any thing now remained, but to open the door in the church and universities to the intrusion of the Catholics; and it was not long before the King made this rash effort. Father Francis, a Benedictine, was recommended by the King's mandate to the university of Cambridge for the degree of master of arts; and as it was usual for the university to confer that degree on persons eminent for learning, without regard to their religion; and as they had even admitted lately the secretary to the ambassador of Morocco; the King on that account thought himself the better entitled to compliance. But the university considered, that there was a great difference between a compliment bestowed on foreigners, and degrees which give a title to vote in all the elections and statutes of the university, and which, if conferred on the Catholics, would infallibly in time render that sect entirely superior. They therefore refused to obey the King's mandate, and were cited to appear before the court of ecclesiastical commission. The vice-chancellor was suspended by that court; but as the university chose a man of spirit to succeed him, the King thought proper for the present to withdraw his pretensions. The attempt upon the university of Oxford was prosecuted with more inflexible obstinacy, and was attended with more important consequences. This university had lately, in their famous decree, made a solemn profession of passive obedience; and the court probably expected, that they would show their sincerity, when their turn came to practise that doctrine; which, though, if carried to the utmost extent, it be contrary both to reason and to nature, is apt to meet with more effectual opposition from the latter principle. The president of Magdalen college, one of the richest foundations in Europe, dying about this time, a mandate was sent in favour of Farmer, a new convert, but one who, besides his being a Catholic, had not, in other respects, the qualifications required by the statutes for enjoying that office. The fellows of the college made submissive applications to the King for recalling his mandate; but before they received an answer, the day came, on which, by their statutes, they were obliged to proceed to an election. They chose Dr. Hough, a man of virtue, as well as of the firmness and vigour requisite for maintaining his own rights and those of the university. In order to punish the college for this contumacy, as it was called, an inferior ecclesiastical commission was sent down, and the new president and the fellows were cited before it. So little regard had been paid to any consideration besides religion, that Farmer, on enquiry, was found guilty of the lowest and most scandalous vices; insomuch that even the ecclesiastical commissioners were ashamed to insist on his election. A new mandate, therefore, was issued in favour of Parker, lately created Bishop of Oxford, a man of a prostitute character, but who, like Farmer, atoned for all his vices by his avowed willingness to embrace the Catholic religion. The college represented, that all presidents had ever been appointed by election, and there were few instances of the King's interposing by his recommendation in favour of any candidate; that having already made a regular election of a president, they could not deprive him of his office, and, during his lifetime, substitute any other in his place; that, even if there were a vacancy, Parker, by the statutes of their founder, could not be chosen; that they had all of them bound themselves by oath to observe these statutes, and never on any account to accept of a dispensation; and that the college had at all times so much distinguished itself by its loyalty, that nothing but the most invincible necessity could now oblige them to oppose his Majesty's inclinations. All these reasons availed them nothing. The president and all the fellows, except two who complied, were expelled the college; and Parker was put in possession of the office.

† When the firmness of the members of this Parliament, as soon as they believed the interests of religion were at stake, is compared with their extreme zeal for the King in the beginning of their session, it must be inferred, that their compliance was owing purely to their mistake in their good opinion of the King, and that their firmness proceeded from their being at last undeceived. They are therefore unjustly accused, of intending to sacrifice to the King, the interest of religion and their country. They demonstrated the contrary, in resisting the temptations, the King laid before them, even in his presence, and face to face.

spectacle

spectacle to Protestants, to see a nuntio from the Pope in his Pontificalibus, preceded by a cross bearer, and a train of priests and monks, in the habits of their respective orders. Meanwhile, on this very occasion the King received an unexpected mortification; for having ordered the Duke of Somerset to attend the nuntio to his audience, he desired his Majesty to excuse him from an office which the laws of the land made criminal. This so incensed the King, that he removed him from his places of gentleman of the bed chamber, and colonel of the dragoons. The Duke of Grafton, less scrupulous, accepted the office refused by the Duke of Somerset.

Though the King had given convincing proofs of his aversion to the Protestant religion, he favourably received the French Protestants, who took sanctuary in England on account of the rigours exercised against them in France. He not only granted them his protection, but also large sums, besides his licence to encourage a public collection.

We are now come to the year 1688, a critical year to England, the first half of which portended to the English the loss of their religion and liberties. James II. had promoted his great work in the three years he had been on the throne, with surprising rapidity and success. He had invested himself with an absolute power, that hardly suffered any contradiction. The laws of the land were openly violated. The privy council was almost wholly popish, and under the direction of a jesuit. The most considerable places in the court and kingdom were possessed by men of the same religion. The test and penal laws were insufficient fences to secure religion, for which they were intended. In a word, the King was resolved to complete his work at all events, and an army of fifteen thousand men, encamped within a few miles of London, besides the assistance of France, seemed to promise him success. But what was more extraordinary, was, that Protestant corporations, when their religion was so violently attacked, sent their addresses of thanks to the King, as for a great favour, publicly promising to chuse such members for the ensuing Parliament, as should concur with his measures. All this gave just occasion to fear, that no remedy could possibly be found for the miseries of the nation, which daily increased. The only refuge which seemed to be left, was the Princess of Orange, presumptive heir of the crown, who, like another Elizabeth, would restore things to their former state, when she should ascend the throne. But, besides that the King, who was but in his fifty-fifth year, might yet live a great while, an astonishing proclamation, published the 2d of January, to notify the Queen's being pregnant, and to order public thanksgiving to God, entirely destroyed the hopes which had been entertained.

The Papists were transported with this agreeable news. Some even began to debate the question, whether a daughter born since the King's advancement to the throne, ought not to take place of the Princess of Orange, born while he was Duke of York? But this question was very needless. Every one was persuaded, the Papists through hope, and the Protestants through fear, that the Queen would be delivered of a Prince. It is very certain, the Protestants from this time began to form suspicions about the Queen's pregnancy. This appeared in several pamphlets, dispersed through London, some of which were even dropped in Whitehall. Hitherto, the sole foundation of the suspicion, that the Queen's pregnancy was a cheat, consisted in her having been so many years childless. But this foundation was too weak to prove the certainty of an imposture. It was not impossible for the Queen to be pregnant; but on the other hand, neither was it impossible that the Queen should be willing to suppose an heir. The extreme zeal of the King and Queen, and of most of their counsellors and confidents, for their religion, rendered such a suspicion plausible to the Protestants. Histories have recorded instances of the like impostures, as in Spain, and in England itself, where it is pretended, that Queen Mary, to deprive her sister Elizabeth of the succession, would have supposed an heir, had not her husband King Philip prevented it. For this reason, the story of Queen Mary's sham conception, as delivered by Fox, was reprinted and dispersed through the kingdom, with this title, Idem Iterum, or Queen Mary's Big Belly. Another cause which contributed greatly to corroborate this suspicion, was the indiscretion of some jesuits, who published, that she would certainly be delivered of a Prince. They pretended, that this conception was miraculous, and the effect of a solemn petition, which the lately deceased Duchess of Modena had put up to heaven to the blessed Virgin Mary, or of a vow the Queen had made to our Lady of Loretto, with the present of a golden image, inriched with precious stones.

The Queen's pregnancy produced many congratulatory addresses. Some of these carried their compliments and flattery to the last excess.

Some time since, the Romish priests and jesuits had printed and dispersed a great number of controversial writings, which had been answered by Tillotson, Tennison, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, and others, in a manner which, in all appearance, was not agreeable to the Papists. The King fearing, without doubt, that his doctors would not be a match for the champions of the church of England, published a proclamation, grounded upon a statute made the 14th of Charles II. "Prohibiting the printing and selling all unlicensed and treasonable books and pamphlets, under the pains and penalties provided by the said act." Under this name were comprehended the controversial books published by the Protestants, on a pretence, that they encouraged and fomented animosities amongst his subjects.*

The King's grand design, was to repeal the test and penal laws, and for that purpose he wished to have a Parliament at his devotion. He had already abrogated these laws by his own authority, but he daily found, that this did not suffice to lead his subjects to the degree of compliance he desired. He thought therefore, if the consent of the Prince and Princess of Orange could be obtained, it would be a great step towards obtaining the same thing of the Parliament. To that end, he resolved to sound the inclinations of the Prince of Orange, without his appearing in it. He employed Mr. James Stewart,† Pensionary Fagel's acquaintance, who wrote to that minister, endeavouring to persuade him, that it was the interest of England, and of the Prince and Princess of Orange, that the test should be abrogated, and the laws against the Catholics repealed. This letter coming only from a private man, the Prince would not allow Mr. Fagel to return an answer. Mr. Stewart in vain renewed his instances for an answer, till at last, he was obliged to acquaint Mr. Fagel, that his first letter was written by the King's direction, who desired to have the opinion of the Prince and Princess upon the affair. This, joined to the false report propagated in London, that the Prince and Princess of Orange had given their consent to the abrogation of the test and penal laws, forced Mr. Fagel at last to answer Mr. Stewart, and let him know the sentiments of the Prince and Princess of Orange.

Mr. Fagel told Mr. Stewart, "That it was the opinion of the Prince and Princess, that no Christian ought to be punished for his conscience, or ill used because he differed from the established religion, and therefore could consent, that the Roman Catholics should enjoy a full liberty of conscience. That as to the non-conformists, their highnesses did not only consent, but heartily approved of their having an entire liberty of conscience, for the exercise of their religion, without any trouble, hindrance, or molestation on that score. ——But their high mightinesses could not by any means

* About this time it was, that in order to retain the poorer sort of people from letting their children be enticed into the Popish schools and seminaries erected in and about London, Charity Schools began to be set up in that great and noble city. The first schools of this kind were opened at Norton Falgate, and St. Margaret's, Westminster, on Lady Day, 1688.

† A Scottish lawyer, whom King James had pardoned, and received into favour, after a long exile.

means agree to the repeal of the test, and those other penal laws, that tended to the security of the Protestant religion, since the Roman Catholics received no other prejudice from these, than their being excluded from Parliament and public employments; and that by them the Protestant religion is sheltered from all the designs of the Roman Catholics against it, or against the public safety."

This answer was supported with reasons so clear and solid, that Mr. Stewart, finding himself too weak for such an adversary, thought it more adviseable to deny all correspondence with Mr. Fagel on this subject, in order to destroy all the authority of Mr. Fagel's answer, which had been printed and dispersed through England and all Europe. The pensionary, provoked at this proceeding, sent a letter to the Marquis of Albyville, the English ambassador at the Hague, wherein he called him to witness, that the Prince and Princess of Orange had declared their thoughts to him concerning the penal laws, in the same manner as he had represented them; and that Albyville had acquainted the King with it long before he wrote his letter. He complained of the Earl of Sunderland, for having signed an allowance to print a pamphlet, which asserted, that the answer of Mr. Fagel to Mr. Stewart was suppositious, though he himself had seen the original, and knew that the King had also seen it. This last letter was also printed in French and English, and dispersed.

The refusal of the Prince and Princess of Orange to consent to the abrogation of the test and penal laws, served only to inflame the King's zeal, and oblige him to use fresh endeavours to have a Parliament at his devotion. He sent therefore, emissaries into the several counties, to try to secure the elections, before he ventured to call a Parliament. But the more solicitous he was to gain this point, the less inclination he found in the people, who, on so important an occasion, were unwilling to trust their interests with men devoted to the court, as the King desired. Wherefore the King, foreseeing all his artifices would prove unsuccessful, and that he should at last be obliged to use force, gave out commissions for raising new troops, for the increasing of his standing army; and likewise caused a larger fleet to be equipped. The new commissions were almost all given to Irish and Popish officers. Moreover, he wrote, the 17th of January, to the States General, to demand the six English and Scotch regiments that were in their service. The 2d of March he issued out a proclamaton, "Forbidding his natural born subjects to enter or list themselves in the service of any foreign Prince or state, either by sea or land."

The States did not think proper to send these regiments to the King in the present juncture. They returned a civil answer, and declared, that having examined their engagements, they could find no agreement or capitulation that could oblige them to grant his Majesty's demands, except when he was in war with some of his neighbours, or there was an insurrection at home. That they had accordingly sent the six regiments into England in the year 1685, at the time of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion. But that now the King being in peace with his neighbours, and free from disturbances at home, they saw no reason that could oblige them to send back those troops. The King not satisfied with this answer, renewed his instances. But the States, in showing how these regiments were formed, and the treaties which had been made about them, insisted, that they were obliged to send them back only in the two cases above mentioned, and that the King was not at present in either. At last, after a third fruitless attempt, the King, by a proclamation, called home all his subjects which were in the service of the States General. Whereupon, the Prince of Orange offered passes to all the officers of the six regiments that were willing to return home, which about forty of them accepted.

Though the King had published last year a declaration, for an entire liberty of conscience to all his subjects, and, by virtue thereof, had filled almost all the offices with Catholics, he thought fit to publish a second upon the same subject, the 27th of April this year. Not satisfied with publishing it in the usual method, but thinking, without doubt, that, in so important an affair, extraordinary formalities were to be observed, he issued out an order of council, enjoining the Bishops to cause it to be sent and distributed throughout their several dioceses, to be read at the usual time of divine service, in all churches and chapels, on certain days named in the order.

Upon the receipt of this order, several Bishops, who were in London, assembled at the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth, to consult how they were to behave upon so nice an occasion. For they were necessarily, either in obeying the King, to approve, by their conduct, this violation of the laws, and betray the interests of the Protestant religion, or in refusing to obey, to draw upon themselves the penalties which, in all appearance, would be inflicted for their disobedience. The result of their conference was, that it was better to obey God than man, and their case being such, that they could not obey the King without betraying their own consciences, they ought without farther consideration to expose themselves to the approaching storm, rather than sacrifice the interests of God and the church. This resolution was grounded upon four considerations.

I. That many would justly judge the clergy either cowards or hypocritical time servers, in publishing what they thought illegal, and illegally sent to them.

II. That many who had votes for Parliament men would take this for the consent of the publishers, and be strengthened in the chusing such men as should be friends, not only to the indulgence, but to the foundation of it, the dispensing power.

III. That the world would have reason to take their publication for an approbation, because there could be no other intention in ordering it to be published, but to make the clergy parties to it.

IV. That after this they must expect farther things to be published by them, at which they must make a stand; and their making a stand when they had lost their reputation would be of no force.

Pursuant to this resolution, the consulting Bishops being seven, before they parted drew up a petition, and subscribing it, the same day, the 18th of May, six of them crossed the water to Whitehall to present it to the King, without acquainting any person with their design.*

The King, surprised and incensed at this petition, answered in a very angry tone: "I have heard of this

* Their names were, Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; Trelawny, of Bristol. Their petition ran thus:

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble petition of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and divers of the suffragan Bishops of that province, now present with him, in behalf of themselves and other of their absent brethren, and of the inferior clergy of their respective dioceses.

Humbly sheweth,

"That the great averseness they find in themselves, to the distributing and publishing in all their churches, your Majesty's late declaration for liberty of conscience, proceeds neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty, (our holy mother the church of England being, both in her principles and in her constant practice, unquestionably loyal, and having, to her great honour, been more than once, publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty;) nor yet from any want of tenderness to dissenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to such a temper, as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and convocation: but among many other considerations, from this especially, because that declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power, as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662, and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, that your petitioners cannot in prudence honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God's house, and in the time of his divine service, must amount to, in common and reasonable construction. Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased not to insist upon their distributing and reading your Majesty's said declaration; 'and your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.'"

before, but did not believe it: I did not expect this from the church of England, especially from some of you. If I change my mind, you shall hear from me; if not, I expect my command shall be obeyed." The Bishops replied, "We resign ourselves to the will of God;" and then immediately retired.

The Bishops of Durham and Rochester, both ecclesiastical commissioners, and two others, caused the declaration to be read in their dioceses. But it generally happened, wherever it was read, that the congregation immediately left the church. One minister, before he began to read it, told his flock, "That he could not refuse the order sent him to read the declaration, but that he knew no order which obliged them to hear it." In London it was read but in four or five churches.

The court was unresolved what course to take with the Bishops. Though the King's council persuaded him to do all things with a high hand, they trembled when they met with any opposition, seeing the great disproportion between the number of Protestants and Papists. They considered, that prudence required the King carefully to avoid what might produce a sudden revolution, and not to enter upon violent measures, till he had taken greater precautions. He was however, resolved to proceed with the utmost rigour against the Bishops, and for that purpose they were summoned to appear before the council the 8th of June.

On their appearance, they were asked, Whether they owned the Petition? The Bishops, surprized at this question, feared some snare was laid for them, and therefore at first forbore to give a direct answer. At last, the Archbishop confessed, that it was written with his own hand, and that the rest had signed it; adding withal, they had done nothing but what they were ready to justify. The chancellor endeavoured to make them sensible of the ill consequences of their disobedience, which tended to diminish the King's authority, and to disturb the peace of the kingdom. At last, he asked them, whether they would give their recognizances to appear before the court of King's Bench to answer this high misdemeanour? This they all refused, insisting on the privilege of their Peerage, which they were resolved to maintain, as well as the rights of the church, being equally bound by their callings to oppose all innovations both in government and religion. The Chancellor, surprised at their constancy, threatened to send them to the Tower, and to prosecute them to the utmost rigour of the law, unless they immediately recanted, and withdrew their petition. They unanimously answered, that they were ready to go wherever his Majesty was pleased to send them; that they hoped the King of Kings would be their protector and their judge; that they feared nothing from men; and that having acted according to law and their own consciences, no punishments should ever be able to shake their resolutions.

Upon this answer, eighteen privy-counsellors, several of them Papists, were for sending the Bishops to the Tower. A warrant was immediately drawn and signed for their commitment, the reason being given, "For contriving, making, and publishing a seditious libel against his Majesty and his government." It was not thought proper to send them to the Tower through London, for fear it might occasion a tumult. They were therefore in the most private manner conveyed by water. But people hearing of it, flocked in multitudes to the river side, and upon their knees desired their blessing, with loud acclamations extolling their constancy. The same spectacle was seen at the Tower, where the soldiers of the garrison fell on their knees to beg their blessing. This was a great mortification to the King, and might have convinced him, that he was yet very far from his aim.

Two days after the Bishops had been sent to the Tower, the 10th of June, the Queen was delivered of a Prince, who, during the life of his father was known by the name of the Prince of Wales, and afterwards, by some was called the Pretender. His birth was an occasion of triumph to the Papists, but of astonishment and terror to the Protestants, who saw their hopes defeated, that their misfortunes would end with the death of the King. The birth of this Prince was very much suspected, and many did then, and still do, believe it supposititious. Multitudes of papers were published for and against, some containing the grounds of the suspicions, and others, arguments to remove them. It is very certain, the Queen, during the whole time of her pregnancy, was suspected of a design to impose an heir upon the kingdom, and this suspicion was very public. It is also certain, that though the King and Queen knew of this suspicion, they took no care to remove it. On the contrary, their whole conduct, as well during the Queen's pregnancy, as her labour, gave still greater strength to the suspicion. For, a negligence which signifies nothing when there is no suspicion, must be remarked when an imposture is suspected.*

Thus much is certain, that most Protestants believed the Prince of Wales supposititious, chiefly because it would have been very disadvantageous to them, that James II. should have had a Popish successor. The Papists, on the contrary, questioned not this Prince's birth, because nothing could be more serviceable to their religion. There were few, probably, either Papists or Protestants, but what were determined on this point, by their prejudices. But things taking an unexpected turn, the truth or falsity of this Prince's birth produced none of the effects which were hoped or feared.

The assurance of a Popish successor, made the King hope, he should more easily accomplish his designs. But he wished, above all things, for the concurrence of a Parliament. It was with this view, that closetings were once more put in practice. He closetted such as he intended to gain. Promises and menaces were employed, and those who refused to serve the King in his own way, as the word was, might assure themselves of his heaviest displeasure.

However, he neglected not more effectual means to force his subjects to compliance. He ordered some entire regiments out of Ireland, and filled many vacancies in his English regiments, with Irish and Popish officers. This gave so great a disgust to the whole army, that lampoons and ballads were vented upon the Irish, who were mortally hated by the English, especially since the massacre in 1641.

During the public rejoicings for the birth of the Prince of Wales, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other six Bishops, prisoners in the Tower, were brought to their trials at the King's Bench bar the 15th of June. But upon their motion for a delay, the trial was put off to the 29th of the same month, and in the

* There were three opinions concerning the real or pretended birth of the Prince of Wales: first, that the Queen was not pregnant when she pretended to be so, and that at the time of her pretended delivery, a son was supposed as being born of her. Second, that she was really pregnant, but that having the misfortune of a miscarriage, she continued still to feign herself big, and at last supposed, or caused to be supposed, a child as born of her body, and that this child dying shortly after, another was substituted in his room, and to this, dying seven weeks after, succeeded another child. Third, that the Queen was really pregnant and delivered the 10th of June of a son, the same who was afterward called the Pretender. In confirmation of the first of these opinions it was alledged: that the King, for certain reasons, was become incapable of children; that the Queen had been seven years without being pregnant; that her delivery was sudden, and immediately after the removing of her lodgings; that it was on a Sunday morning, when all the Protestant court-ladies were at church; that neither the Princess Anne of Denmark, the Archbishop of Canterbury, nor the Dutch Ambassador, were present at her labour, though they were the three persons who ought principally to have been there; that during the labour, her bed was not left so open as it should have been; that while she was pregnant she never satisfied the Princess Anne, and many Protestant Ladies about her, of the fact; that during her labour, a warming-pan was brought into the room, though the weather was extremely hot, and the room heated by a vast crowd of people; lastly, it was alledged, that though the King, Queen and courtiers, sufficiently knew before the delivery, that the nation suspected an imposture, they did not use those precautions as they might and ought to have done in such case; and, instead of putting it beyond all possibility of doubt, they left so many marks of suspicion, as caused infinite doubts and suspicions: insomuch that some Roman Catholics themselves owned, "That so important an affair had been managed with great supineness and imprudence." Notwithstanding all this, time appears to have admitted, by common consent, as it were, the legitimacy of the birth.

meantime

mean time they were set at liberty upon their own recognizance. The 29th of June, Westminster Hall was crowded with great numbers of Lords, Gentlemen, and others, to be spectators of this famous trial. The King's counsel pleaded, that the petition presented by the Bishops was a real and seditious libel, tending to diminish the King's prerogative, and excite sedition amongst the people. The counsel for the Bishops, on the other side, retorted the arguments of their adversaries with great force and freedom, proving, that the King having no power to dispense with penal laws, a petition humbly presented to remonstrate to him that he had no such power, ought not to be esteemed a libel: that it was injurious to the Bishops, to accuse them of having published a petition, which they had respectfully presented to the King in private, and alone: that the occasion of presenting it was not sought by them, but pressed upon them: nor could it be called a libel, because the intent was innocent, and they kept within the bounds set by act of Parliament. After long pleadings on both sides, the judges, in giving directions to the jury, were not unanimous.

The jury withdrawing sat up all night. The next morning the court being assembled, and the Hall filled with infinite crowds of people, the jury pronounced the Bishops not guilty. Immediately shouts of joy were heard through the crowd, and the loudest acclamations resounded through the cities of Westminster and London. For several hours, nothing was heard but repeated shouts of both cities, transported with the news of the Bishops' acquittal. Nor was this all. For the King having gone that morning to the army on Hounslow-Heath, and dining in the Earl of Feversham's tent, the news flew to the camp, where the whole army shouted so loud, that it startled the King, and his whole company. The Earl of Feversham being sent out to know what was the matter, immediately returned, and told the King, "It was nothing but the shouts of the soldiers upon the news of the Bishops being acquitted." Do you call that nothing? said the King; "But so much the worse for them." Notwithstanding the resentment expresed by the King, and his severe prohibitions against all riotous assemblies, the whole city was that night illuminated, and numberless bonfires proclaimed the general joy. This was followed by almost all the great towns in the kingdom, and at Norwich particularly the joy was excessive. This was a sensible mortification to the King. He at first threatened to deliver the Bishops to the ecclesiastical commissioners, and to shew his indignation, he dismissed Sir Richard Holloway and Sir John Powell, two of the judges and filled their places with others.

The King, perceiving the people's disposition was not favourable to him, resolved at last to come to open force. But as he could only make use of his army, he was willing first to try how far he might depend on their obedience. For this purpose, he thought fit to communicate his design to every regiment singly, not doubting, that if two or three submitted, the rest would follow their example. Accordingly, the major of the Lord Litchfield's regiment was ordered to tell the officers and soldiers, that those who were unwilling to contribute to the repeal of the test and penal laws, should lay down their arms. But it was with the utmost astonishment that he saw the whole regiment, two captains and a few Popish soldiers excepted, instantly lay down their arms. He remained for sometime, speechless, but at last recovering his surprise, he commanded the soldiers "To take up their arms again," and sullenly told them, "That for the future he would not do them the honour to ask their advice."

It was now easy to foresee, that with a Protestant army he should never be able to introduce Popery. Wherefore he resolved to cashier many Protestant officers and soldiers, and to put Papists in their room. Accordingly he began with some regiments; but it gave a disgust to the whole army. Shortly after, resolving to put thirty Irish soldiers into the Duke of Berwick's regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Beaumont, and other officers, remonstrated to the Duke, "That neither those gentlemen nor himself thought it consistent with their honours, to have foreigners imposed upon them, ——and therefore humbly petitioned, that they might have leave to fill up their companies with such men of their own nation, as they should judge most suitable to the King's service; or otherwise, that they might be permitted, with all imaginable duty and respect, to lay down their commissions." An account of this being transmitted to the King, he immediately ordered the Lieutenant Colonel, and five Captains, to be taken into custody, and tried by a court-martial as mutineers. It was at first believed, that his intention was to cause them to be condemned to die, but some news from abroad altered the sentence, and they were only cashiered. The fleet was no better disposed than the army to assist the King in his designs. This appeared, in that Vice-Admiral Strickland ordering mass to be said on board his ship, there arose such a mutiny and disorder amongst the sailors, that the officers could hardly save the priest from being thrown over board.

The King's situation was such, that it seemed he could neither advance, nor recede. The resolution, however, taken by him and his council was not to be shaken by any obstacles. Though the seven Bishops had been acquitted of the pretended crime laid to their charge, the new ecclesiastical court did not think itself bound by that precedent. Wherefore, the commissioners, by an order made the 12th of July, "Commanded all chancellors, archdeacons, commissaries, and officials, to enquire in what churches and chapels his Majesty's declaration was read, and to transmit an account thereof upon the 16th day of August next." But the greatest part of those to whom the order was directed never took any notice of it. The commissioners being met on that day, were not a little puzzled how to proceed. At last, after a long consultation, they were contented to renew their first order, "Requiring all persons having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to transmit to them upon the 6th day of December next, an account of the enquiry they are hereby commanded to make in their visitations, together with the names of the parsons, rectors, vicars, and curates, that had either obeyed, or disobeyed his Majesty's command."*

Such being the situation of affairs, several church of England men, both of the clergy and laity, thought it time to take measures for stopping the King's progress, and bounding his power. Though they had themselves carried it very high, they chose rather to retract, than, by their obstinacy, to throw the church and state into imminent danger, in continuing to maintain a doctrine which could justly be considered as the principal fountain of the kingdom's calamities.

The first and most necessary precaution taken by them, was to form a strict union between the church of England and the non-conformists, for their common security. This union was become more easy than ever. The two parties agreed, that their division had been the sole cause of their ruin. The churchmen acknowledged, they had carried passive obedience too far, and that it had produced ill effects. They showed a readiness to comply with the scruples of the Presbyterians, in relinquishing the ceremonies which might be considered as indifferent, or at least to leave every man at liberty to practise, or not practise them. This was all the Presbyterians could reasonably expect. In short, as the churchmen appeared touched with the calamities occasioned by their excessive rigour, so they seemed disposed to more condescension, if things were restored

* Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, one of the Bishops of the new ecclesiastical court, now thought it time to withdraw. Wherefore he wrote to his colleagues a letter, wherein he told them: "That since their Lordships were resolved to proceed against those, who had not complied with the King's command in reading his declaration, it was absolutely impossible for him to serve his Majesty any longer in that commission." He proceeds farther and says, "that though I myself did submit in that particular, yet I will never be any ways instrumental in punishing those my brethren who did not: for, as I call God to witness, that what I did was merely upon a principle of conscience, so I am fully satisfied, that their forbearance was upon the same principle."

to

to their former state. The Presbyterians, who had hitherto groundlessly accused the church of England of leaning to Popery, could not forbear acknowledging their error, after the firmness of the seven Bishops had discovered the injustice of that accusation, These dispositions being well managed by prudent and well-meaning men of both parties, produced at last an uniformity of sentiments, with regard to the principal point in question, namely, that it was absolutely necessary to think of means for the preservation of religion and the state, from the impending danger. In a word, without the King's knowledge, the Whigs and Tories were reconciled, and resolved to labour jointly for the preservation of their country.

They saw no expedient more proper, than to put the Prince of Orange at the head of the party against the King. That Prince was so interested in the affair, that it was not doubted, he would contribute whatever lay in his power, both to save England, and secure the succession to the Princess his wife, lately defeated of her right by a Prince, who generally passed for supposititious. These were very powerful motives to actuate the Prince of Orange. But there was still another, which was naturally to have a great effect upon him; namely, the extreme danger to which Holland would be exposed, in case the King accomplished his design, by reason of the close union between the Kings of England and France. It was with this view that several great men timely repaired to the Hague, on divers pretences, to confer with the Prince of Orange. The first were, Mr. Sidney, brother to Algernon Sidney, (beheaded in the last reign) afterwards Earl of Rumney, Sir Robert Peyton, Sir Rowland Gwin, Dr. Burnet, and others. It is to be presumed, that assurances were transmitted from them to their friends in England, of the good inclination of the Prince to the common cause. In July, one Joseph Flight brought over into England about fourscore letters from persons of quality and credit, and carried back answers to the Hague. The affair being thus begun, the old Lord Wharton pretending a journey into Germany, passed through the Hague. Colonel Sidney, uncle to the Earl of Sunderland, went to the Spaw, on pretence of only drinking the waters. The Lord Dunblain, son to the Earl of Danby, and commander of an independent frigate, crossed and re-crossed the seas, to carry several dispatches and resolutions. The Earl of Shrewsbury mortgaged his estate for forty thousand pounds, and went over to the Prince to offer him both his purse and his sword. He was quickly followed by Admiral Herbert, his cousin Mr. Herbert, Mr. Russel, the Lord Mordaunt, and the Earl of Wiltshire. The principal persons with whom they held correspondence in England, were, the Earls of Danby, Devonshire, and Dorset, the Lords Lovelace and Delamere, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Hallifax, his son the Lord Eland, the Marquis of Winchester, his son the Lord Pawlet, the Lord Willoughby son to the Earl of Lindsey, Mr. Lester, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Powle, and many others, besides several eminent citizens of London.*

The Prince of Orange being fully determined to head the party, it was, after several consultations, resolved, that the English Lords at the Hague should demand assistance of the States, in the name of all England. There was no need of many arguments to prevail with the States. The difference at that time, about the election of an Archbishop of Cologne, between Prince Clement of Bavaria, and the Cardinal of Furstemburg, furnished the States with a pretence to assemble an army near Nimeguen. On the other hand, the Prince of Orange, by his intrigues, prevailed to have the direction of affairs then on the carpet, committed to the management of three or four members of the States, on pretence of the correspondents the Count d'Avaux, the French ambassador, had in Holland, who might inform him of their resolutions. These commissioners, all in the Prince of Orange's confidence, under colour of the Cologne affair, gave orders for encamping an army, and preparing a fleet. At last, the Prince of Orange, on pretence of providing for a war against France, which seemed to be near, had an interview at Minden in Westphalia, with the electors of Saxony, and Brandenburgh, the Princes of the house of Lunenburg, and the Land-Grave of Hesse Cassel, and secured their assistance, in case France should attack Holland or the Low-Countries, while he was engaged in the English expedition. All this was transacted with such secrecy, that the ambassadors of France and England, at the Hague, could get no certain intelligence. They were forced to recur to conjectures, though the first had usually been informed of the resolutions of the States, as soon as they were taken.

When the Prince of Orange had secured to the States, in case of need, the assistance of these Princes, he concerted his expedition with such prudence and secrecy, that his scheme was not known till after the execution; namely, that the States, under colour of being ready to support the election of the Prince of Bavaria, should form a camp on the heath near Nimeguen, a place too remote from the sea, to give any suspicion that these troops were designed for an imbarkment: that a fleet of fifty men of war should be prepared, with a sufficient number of transports, for the embarkation of twelve or thirteen thousand men: that, to prevent the alarm which these transports might give, the merchants of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other maritime places, should freight as many as they could on divers pretences: that these ships should repair to several ports, at a time assigned, to take the forces aboard, and afterwards to Goree, where the men of war should expect them: that the Prince of Orange should put himself on board this fleet, and at his landing in England, the English persons of quality, by whom he was invited, should disperse themselves into divers parts of the kingdom, to excite insurrections, and levy troops, while the Prince, with his little army, should make head against the King. It was not doubted, but the Prince's army would considerably increase when he should be in England, and the people in general be ready to second the efforts of those, who were labouring for their deliverance. This whole scheme was executed in the manner it had been resolved, without the ambassadors of England and France being able to learn any thing certain. They conjectured, however, by the naval preparations, that something was secretly contriving against England. Indeed it was difficult to prepare four or five hundred transports, and fifty men of war so privately, that they should have no intelligence from their spies. The Count D'Avaux failed not to send his conjectures to the court of France, which were immediately transmitted to England. Moreover, Mr. Skelton, King James's envoy at the Hague, had before informed him of an intercepted letter, which intimated, that a great project was secretly carrying on against him. But the King was then so secure of success, that he neglected this intelligence, believing it only an artifice to divert him from his designs.

Meanwhile, as the armament in Holland could hardly be concealed any longer, and the King receiving repeated advices of it, he judged it convenient, to flatter the people with the expectation of a Parliament. So, on the 24th of August, he declared in council his intention to call a Parliament for the 27th of November, and the chancellor had orders to issue out the writs the 5th of September.

The next day, M. de Bonrepos arrived at London from Paris, and had several conferences with the King. It is pretended, that he offered him from the King of France a fleet, and an army of thirty thousand men, but that the Earl of Sunderland prevented the offer from being accepted. He is said to have represented to the King, "That it would be very dangerous to introduce a foreign army into England, at the very time he was preparing to hold a Parliament: that he would entirely lose the

* As also the Lord Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, Colonel Trelawny, and Colonel Kirk.

hearts

hearts of his subjects, and even of those who were most devoted to him: that if the French should have a mind to render themselves masters of the kingdom, he would find but very few who would join to deliver him from such troublesome guests, and that in accepting so powerful an aid, he would quickly become only a viceroy to Lewis XIV." However, the King refused the aid, because he thought it unnecessary, and yet, it is pretended, that he made at this very time a new alliance with Lewis, but which was never published.*

In the meantime, the King hearing from several parts, that an armament was making in Holland, ordered the Marquis of Albyville, his ambassador, to present a memorial to the States, to demand what they meant by their warlike preparations, especially by sea, at that time of the year. The States answered, that they armed in imitation of his Britannic Majesty, and might with more reason demand an explanation about the alliance into which he was lately entered. This answer increasing the King's suspicions, he now began to take the necessary measures for putting himself in a posture of defence. With this view, he gave the governments of Portsmouth and Hull, the two keys of the kingdom, to Papists, and took care to have the majority of the officers and soldiers of these garrisons of that religion.

After all, he could not yet believe, the Prince of Orange would venture to attack him. The court of France could not conceive the cause of so strange an indolence; nor was Skelton less puzzled to answer the question so often asked, why the King his master refused the assistance of France. At last, in a conference with Monsieur de Croissy upon this subject, he told him, it was his private opinion, that if France would threaten to attack the States General, in case any thing was attempted by them against the King of England, such a declaration would break all the Prince of Orange's measures. The court of France approving of this proposal, the Count D'Avaux presented a memorial to the States the 30th of August, declaring: "That all circumstances inclined the King, his master, to believe with reason, that the arming in Holland threatened England, therefore his Majesty had commanded him to declare to them, on his part,——'That the ties of friendship and alliance between him and the King of Great Britain, would oblige him not only to assist him, but also to look on the first act of hostility that should be committed by their troops or their fleet, against his Majesty of Great Britain, to be a manifest rupture of the peace, and a breach with his crown."——The States, after an ambiguous answer to this memorial, demanded of the Marquis of Albyville, the meaning of the new alliance between the two Kings. The same demand was made to the court of England by the States ambassador, Van Citters, to whom they sent a copy of the memorial. Whereupon the King summoned a council, and by the Earl of Sunderland's means it was resolved, to disown the proceedings of the Count D'Avaux. Moreover, Skelton was recalled, and immediately sent to the Tower.

Though the King had ordered writs to be issued out for a new Parliament, the order had not been executed. In the meantime, having received so many concurring advices of the Prince of Orange's designs, he gave out commissions for augmenting his forces, and sent for some regiments out of Ireland. He also ordered the fleet to be equipped with all expedition. Monsieur Barillon, the French ambassador, proposed, that the King his master should be desired to abandon the siege of Philipsburg, undertaken by the Dauphin, and carry the war into Holland. This proposal was approved by several of the council, but opposed by others, on pretence that such a proceeding would alienate the minds of all the English Protestants from the King. This reason prevailed the more easily, as the Prince of Orange's friends had spread a report, that the armament of Holland was only designed to prevent the French from landing in England.

At last, the King appointed the Earl of Feversham to command his army, after that post had been declined by the Count de Roye. The command of the fleet was given to the Lord Dartmouth. As the King was not ignorant how prejudicial to him was the report of his strict alliance with Lewis XIV. he used his utmost endeavours to stifle it. For this purpose, he ordered the Marquis of Albyville to present a memorial to the States, to assure them from him, that there was no other treaty between him and France than those that were public. He moreover ordered the States to take such measures with them, as might best serve to maintain the peace of Nimeguen, and the twenty years' truce concluded in 1684. But the States took no notice of this memorial. On the contrary, the pensionary of Holland frankly owned to the Marquis of Albyville, that the Prince of Orange being invited by the English nobility, was preparing to carry them assistance for restoring the government to its ancient state, the King having entirely changed it since his accession to the crown.

The King now began to see the great disproportion between the number of the Protestants, and that of the Papists, and consequently the small hopes of being supported by the latter. In these melancholy thoughts, he believed his best refuge was to recover the church of England to his interest. He still reckoned, she was unshaken in her principle of passive obedience, and that by giving her some satisfaction, he should secure her allegiance, after which he should have no farther cause to fear the efforts of the Prince of Orange. To this end he sent for the Bishops that were then in London, namely, Winchester, Chichester, Peterborough, Rochester, Ely, and Bath and Wells, and told them, that he desired their advice in the present conjuncture. He assured them of his readiness to do whatever should be thought necessary for the security of the Protestant religion and the liberties of his subjects, without derogating from his own prerogative. He concluded with saying, this affair required a mature examination, and therefore prayed them to consult together, in order to give him their advice. The Bishops withdrew, and immediately repaired to Lambeth, to form with the Archbishop (then indisposed) a plan of what they were to counsel the King.

The 28th of September, the King published a proclamation to inform his subjects, "That his Majesty had received undoubted advice, that a great and sudden invasion from Holland with an armed force of foreigners, would speedily be made in a hostile manner upon this kingdom: and although some false pretences, relating to liberty, property, and religion, contrived and worded with art and subtlety, might be given out, it was manifest, however, that no less matter by this invasion was proposed, 'than an absolute conquest of these his Majesty's kingdoms, and the utter subduing and subjecting them, and all his people, to a foreign power,' which was promoted by some of his subjects, being persons of wicked and restless spirits, implacable malice, and desperate designs; who, having no sense of the misery of former intestine divisions, nor being moved by his Majesty's reiterated acts of grace and mercy, did again endeavour to embroil this kingdom in blood and ruin, to gratify their own ambition and malice, proposing to themselves a prey and booty in such a public confusion. That though his Majesty had notice, that a foreign force was preparing against him, yet he had always declined any foreign succours, but rather had chosen to rely upon the true and ancient courage, faith and allegiance of his own people, with whom he had often ventured his life for the honour of this nation, and in whose defence against all enemies, he was firmly resolved to live and die; and therefore his Majesty solemnly conjured his subjects to lay aside all animosities, jealousies, and prejudices, and heartily and cheerfully to unite together, in the defence of him and their native country.——That albeit the design had been carried on with all imaginable secrecy, and endeavours to surprise and deceive his Majesty, yet he had not been wanting on his part, to make such pro-

* That there really was no new alliance formed between France and England appears both from Sunderland's apology, and D'Avaux's Negotiation subsequently published.

visions as did become him, and made no doubt of being found in so good a posture, that his enemies might have cause to repent their rash and unjust attempts." In the conclusion, his Majesty declared, "That he did intend to have met his Parliament in November next, and that the writs were issued forth accordingly, proposing to himself, amongst other things, that he might be able to quiet the minds of all his people in matters of religion, but that in regard of this strange attempt, designed to divert his said gracious purposes, he found it necessary to recall his foresaid writs, &c."

Though the King pretended an entire reliance on the allegiance of his subjects, he knew he had given them too much cause of discontent, to be assured of their affection. Wherefore, he thought it necessary to give them other proofs of his sincerity, than bare words. To this end, he took off the Bishop of London's suspension, and appointed Sir John Chapman, a churchman, to succeed Sir John Eyles, the present Lord Mayor of London, who was an anabaptist. Moreover, being informed that the Bishops would advise him to restore the city charter, he sent for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and told them, "That he resolved to restore to them their ancient charter and privileges, and put them into the same condition they were in at the time of the judgment pronounced against them, upon the Quo Warranto." The same day, the 2d of October, he published a general pardon by proclamation, out of which were excepted, Robert Parsons, Edward Matthews, Samuel Venner, Andrew Fletcher, Colonel John Rumsey, Major John Manley, Isaac Manley, Francis Charleton, John Wildman, Titus Oates, Robert Ferguson, Gilbert Burnet, Sir Robert Peyton, Laurence Braddon, Samuel Johnson, Thomas Tipping, and Sir Rowland Gwyn. But all this was not capable to satisfy the people, who aspired to a more ample, and more certain deliverance.

The day after, the 3d of October, the Archbishop of Canterbury, attended by eight Bishops, repaired to Whitehall, and was admitted to immediate audience. After a short speech, he presented to the King the result of their conferences drawn up in ten articles, which were so many advices, and withal, reproaches upon his past government.

The King perceiving that a refusal to comply with the advice of the Bishops, would only increase the people's jealousy, resolved, though probably with regret, to redress most of the grievances complained of. For this purpose, two days after, the commission for ecclesiastical causes was dissolved. The next day, the Lord Chancellor had orders to carry back in person the charter of London. The Lord Lieutenants of the several counties were required to inform themselves of the abuses and irregularities committed in the late regulations of corporations, in order to redress the same. The Bishop of Winchester, visitor of Magdalen college in Oxford, was ordered to settle that society regularly, and according to their statutes. A proclamation was issued, for restoring corporations to their ancient charters, liberties, rights, and franchises. The Lord Lieutenants were displaced in several counties. Popish justices of the peace, mayors, recorders, and other magistrates, were removed, and Protestants put in their places. Thus in the space of about twelve days, that formidable fabric was in effect, or in a great measure demolished, which the Romish Cabal had spent near four years in erecting.

But all these proceedings were not capable to restore the King to the confidence of his subjects, because they came too late, and seemed rather the effect of necessity than inclination.

As all his hope was placed in his army, he applied himself, as far as lay in his power, to augment and strengthen it with troops, which should wholly depend on him. In obedience to orders already given, two thousand five hundred men landed at Chester from Ireland, and three thousand Scots were advanced to Carlisle. Besides this, new commissions were granted for levying ten regiments of horse and foot, not to mention several independent companies. All the militia had orders to be in readiness to march. Lastly, a proclamation was published, commanding all horses, oxen, and cattle, to be driven and removed to the space at least of twenty miles, from the places where the enemy should attempt to land.

In the meantime, the populace of London growing insolent, by the hopes of the Prince's coming, began to insult the Popish chapels; wherefore the King ordered them to be shut up, for fear of an insurrection in so dangerous a juncture. On the other hand, many Romish priests and jesuits, perceiving the gathering storm, and presaging nothing good from the disposition of the people, and the court's consternation, began gradually to disappear, and to consult their own safety by a timely retreat into foreign parts.

In the midst of all these distractions, the King caused the Prince of Wales to be solemnly baptized; the Pope, represented by his nuntio, being godfather, and the Queen-Dowager godmother. Father Saben officiated, and named him James Francis Edward.

At the same time the court received a pamphlet, published in Holland, and intituled, "A memorial of the English Protestants, presented to their Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Orange." It was ascribed to Dr. Burnet or Major Wildman, wherein, after a long narrative of the grievances of the nation, the author complained of King James's obliging his subjects to own a suppositious child for the Prince of Wales, adding, "That his Majesty would never suffer the witnesses that were present at the Queen's delivery to be heard and examined." The King was no stranger to the suspicions entertained by the people on this account, but hitherto had pretended to be ignorant of, or at least to despise them. He perceived, however, that on this occasion, he could not, without great prejudice to himself, help answering so public a challenge. He therefore held an extraordinary council the 22d of October, to which were called the Queen-Dowager, all the Lords spiritual and temporal then in town; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, the judges, and several of his Majesty's learned council. All these being assembled, the King told them, "He had called them together upon a very extraordinary occasion; but that extraordinary diseases must have extraordinary remedies: that the malicious endeavours of his enemies had so poisoned the minds of some of his subjects, that by the reports he had from all hands, he had reason to believe, that very many did not think this son, with which God had blessed him, to be his, but a supposed child. But, he might say, that by a particular providence, scarcely any Prince was ever born, where there were so many persons present. That he had taken this time to have the matter heard and examined there, expecting that the Prince of Orange, with the first easterly wind, would invade this kingdom: and as he had often ventured his life for the nation before he came to the crown, so he thought himself more obliged so to do now he was King, and did intend to go in person against him, whereby he might be exposed to accidents; and therefore he thought it necessary to have this now done, in order to satisfy the minds of his subjects, and to prevent the kingdom's being engaged in blood and confusion after his death: that he had desired the Queen-Dowager to give herself the trouble to come hither, to declare what she knew of the birth of his son; and that most of the Ladies, Lords, and other persons who were present, were ready to depose upon oath their knowledge of the matter."

After this speech, depositions were taken, first of the Queen-Dowager, who only said, "That she was in the room when the Queen was delivered," without any thing more positive or particular. After her followed forty witnesses, of which seventeen were Papists, and it was begun with proving, that the Queen was brought to bed while many persons were in the room. To this tended the testimonies of the eighteen Lords who accompanied the King thither. This proof signified nothing, or was very ambiguous. It was well known, there were a great many persons in the room at the time the Queen was said to be delivered; which doubtless,

was all that was meant by this proof. But it was not sufficient to prove the reality of the delivery; and, as no man in the council durst put any questions to the witnesses, concerning several circumstances, these general depositions were incapable to remove all suspicions. Upon the whole, the suspicion of an imposture was so deeply rooted in the minds of most of the English, that it was rather confirmed than removed by this examination.

The 28th of October, the Earl of Sunderland was suddenly removed from his places of president of the council, and principal secretary of state. It is believed, that his neglect of Skelton's letters to him, was the principal cause of his disgrace.

As the Prince of Orange was expected with the first easterly wind, some of the most devoted to the King during his prosperity, thought proper to secure themselves by letters of pardon for their illegal actions. Amongst these were Chancellor Jefferies, Sir Nicholas Butler, the Bishop of Chester, the Bishop of Durham, and about twenty more, to whom the King readily granted the favour they desired.

While these things were transacting in England, the necessary dispositions were making in Holland for the assistance of the English. For it was upon this footing that the States lent their troops to the Prince of Orange; and what the King called in England an invasion, in Holland was termed, "A brotherly assistance lent by the States and the Prince to the distressed English." It can hardly be thought, that the Prince of Orange, with an army of thirteen or fourteen thousand men, would have undertaken a descent into England, had he not been assured of a favourable reception from the generality of the people. But as it was necessary to remove the suspicion fomented by the King, that the Prince was coming to conquer and subdue England, he thought proper, in a declaration, to show the true motives of his undertaking.*

Every thing being ready for the projected expedition, the Prince of Orange went into the assembly of the States-General the 16th of October, to take a solemn leave of them. This was done in so tender and moving a manner, that both himself and the States melted into tears. He embarked the 19th of October, in a frigate of about thirty guns. The fleet consisted of fifty men of war, twenty-five frigates, as many fire ships, with near four hundred victuallers, and other vessels, for the transportation of above four thousand horse, and ten thousand foot. The most considerable of the English, who accompanied the Prince, were, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, the Lords Mordaunt, Wiltshire, Pawlet, Elan, Dunblain, Admiral Herbert, Mr. Herbert, Colonel Sidney, Mr. Russel, Sir Rowland Gwin, Major Wildman, Dr. Burnet, Mr. Harbord, Mr. Ferguson, and many others less known. The Prince had with him, besides the general officers of the Dutch forces, Count Schomberg, Marshal of France, who had last served the elector of Brandenburg, Count Charles his son, Monsieur Caillemote, younger son to the Marquis of Rouvigny, and about three hundred French officers, who had left their country for their religion. Admiral Herbert led the van of the fleet, Vice Admiral Evertzen brought up the rear, and the Prince placed himself in the main body, carrying a flag with English colours, and their highnesses arms surrounded with this motto, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND; and underneath the motto of the house of Nassau, JE MAINTIENDRAI, i. e. I will maintain.

This numerous fleet had been but few hours under sail, when suddenly the wind coming more westerly, there arose such a storm, that in less than two hours the whole fleet was so dispersed, that the next day scarcely two ships could be seen together. The storm continued two days, during which time, the ships endeavoured to gain, some one port, some another. Many were driven northward, and could not reach the appointed rendezvous till eight days after. Nevertheless, the damage was so inconsiderable, that there was properly only loss of time. But on this occasion, the States made use of an artifice, which did the King great prejudice; they ordered the Harlem and Amsterdam Gazettes to aggravate the damage sustained by the fleet, and to insinuate, that the Prince could not possibly be in a condition to pursue his design till the next spring. The King, hearing the news with great pleasure, flattered himself, that he had now nothing more to fear, and that before the spring, he should infallibly be able to break all the Prince of Orange's measures. In this belief, he revoked some of his acts of grace granted to his subjects, and thereby clearly showed that these acts were extorted by necessity, and that consequently, no change was to be expected in his conduct for the future.†

While

* In this declaration, dated October 10, were enumerated all the grievances of the nation: the dispensing and suspending power; the court of ecclesiastical commissioners; the filling of all offices with Catholics, and the raising of a Jesuit to be Privy Counsellor; the open encouragement given to popery, by building every where churches, colleges, and seminaries, for that sect; the displacing of judges, if they refused to give sentence according to orders received from court; the annulling of the charters of all the corporations, and the subjecting of elections to arbitrary will and pleasure; the treating of petitions, even the most modest, and from persons of the highest rank, as criminal and seditious; the committing of the whole authority of Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of Papists; the assuming of an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland, and openly exacting in that kingdom an obedience without reserve; and the violent presumptions against the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. In order to redress all these grievances, the Prince said that he intended to come over to England with an armed force, which might protect him from the King's evil counsellors: and that his sole aim was to have a legal and free Parliament assembled, who might provide for the safety and liberty of the nation, as well as examine the proofs of the Prince of Wales's legitimacy. No one, he added, could entertain such hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that he had formed any other design than to procure the full and lasting settlement of religion, liberty, and property. The force which he meant to bring with him was totally disproportioned to any views of conquest; and it were absurd to suspect, that so many persons of high rank, both in church and state, would have given him so many solemn invitations for such a pernicious purpose. Though the English ministers, terrified with his enterprise, had pretended to redress some of the grievances complained of; there still remained the foundation of all grievances, that upon which they could in an instant be again erected, an arbitrary and despotic power in the crown. And for this usurpation there was no possible remedy, but by a full declaration of all the rights of the subjects in a free Parliament.

† It was in his critical juncture that Captain Langham, an Englishman in the service of the States was seized on his arrival in England. In this portmanteau were found many copies of the Prince's declaration, which were sent to court. The King having read the declaration, was surprised at that expression, "That the Prince was most earnestly invited over by divers of the Lords, both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and others." Immediately he sent for the Archbishop, and four or five Bishops then in London, and demanded of them, "Whether the contents of the Prince's declaration, relating to their inviting him over, were true?" The Bishops contented themselves with promising in general, their faithful allegiance to his Majesty. But the King, little satisfied with this answer, required them to justify themselves to the world, as to their part in that invitation. At the same time he fixed a day, whereon he obliged them to present a paper under their own hand, signifying their abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's intended invasion. He farther let them know, "That a declaration was then in the press against the Prince of Orange, and was only deferred, to have their paper of abhorrence put into it."

On the day appointed, the Bishops repaired to Whitehall, and as soon as they were in the King's presence he called for their paper. But with all submission, "They begged to be excused from writing any thing of that nature, and from making a particular defence to a general accusation, lest they should give the first precedent of that kind against the privilege of Peers: besides, that their profession being to promote peace, they thought it belonged not to them to declare war, especially against a Prince so nearly allied to the crown." This answer threw the King into a violent rage. However they persisted in their refusal, in as dutiful terms as possible. The King not being able to prevail with them, ordered them to withdraw, with great indignation. They were afterwards informed, that one of the principal members of the council and jesuitic party, advised the King, "To imprison them all, and extort the truth from them by violence."

Meantime, the King being desirous to conceal the Prince of Orange's declaration from the people, forbade the publishing and dispersing it, by proclamation. But being afterwards informed, that great numbers of copies were handed about the kingdom, and sensible that his prohibition would be to no purpose, he chose to print the declaration, with remarks, tending to justify his own, and render odious the Prince of Orange's conduct.

About the same time was printed a letter from the Prince of Orange, to the officers of the English army, and another from Admiral Herbert to the English fleet. The design of these two letters was the same, namely to inform the army and the fleet of the true intentions of

While the English fleet lay at anchor at the Gunfleet, the Lord Dartmouth, the Admiral, called a council of war, wherein it was debated, whether it was proper to put to sea and engage the enemy? Burchett, the naval historian, says on this occasion, "That this proposal carried the greatest weight with it, had there been a real design of obstructing the Prince of Orange in his passage to England. But instead of that, (continues he) matters were so concerted and agreed among the flag officers and commanders, that had the Admiral come fairly up with the Dutch, it would not have been in his power to have done them much damage." Wherefore, by a great majority it was resolved to continue there, in order to intercept the Dutch fleet.

The damage sustained by the Prince's fleet in the late storm was so inconsiderable, and so easily repaired, that in eleven days it was in condition to put to sea again. The 1st of November, in the afternoon, the Prince embarked in a new vessel called the Brill, and the fleet at first steering northward, it was thought the design was to land somewhere in the north of England; and Burnet says, the first scheme was to anchor in the mouth of the Humber. But during the night, whether the Prince had changed his mind, or was hindered from pursuing this course by a violent east wind, all the fleet steered towards the eastern coasts of England; after which they shortened sail for fear of accidents in the night. The next morning the fleet sailed towards the Channel, without meeting any English ship, and in their passage discovered the coasts of Essex and Kent. The 3d of November the fleet entered the Channel, and lay by between Calais and Dover, to stay for the ships that were behind. Here the Prince called a council of war.

The King, upon advice of the Prince's design to land in the north, had sent part of his army that way. But it was with the utmost surprise that he received several expresses, with the news that the enemy's fleet was sailing westward. He however flattered himself that the Lord Dartmouth would pursue and give a good account of them. But the English fleet remained in their station, till the enemy's ships had passed by.*

The 4th of November being Sunday, and the Prince's birth day, now thirty-eight years of age, was by him dedicated to devotion, the fleet still continuing their course in order to land at Dartmouth or Torbay. But in the night, whether by the violence of the wind, or the negligence of the pilot, the fleet was carried beyond the desired ports, without a possibility of putting back. This accident gave them the melancholy prospect of being forced to sail on to Falmouth, or some other inconvenient place. But soon after, the wind turned to the south, which happily carried the fleet into Torbay, the most convenient place for landing the horse of any in England. The forces were landed with such diligence and tranquillity, that the whole army was on shore before night. The next morning, the wind turning west, blew so tempestuously, that had the landing been deferred a few hours, probably, it would not have been possible to disembark the troops. This wind prevented the Lord Dartmouth, who was come in sight of the Dutch fleet, from attacking it, and obliged him to go into Portsmouth.†

It was thus, the Prince of Orange landed in England without any opposition, the 5th of November, whilst the English were celebrating the memory of their deliverance from the Powder Plot, about fourscore years before.

The Prince's army marched from Torbay about noon the next day, in very rainy weather and bad roads. The soldiers, before they landed, were ordered to bring three days bread with them, and they carried their tents themselves. But the officers, even the most considerable, were in a very uneasy situation, at their first encampment, being wet to the skin, and having neither clothes for change, nor bread, nor horses, nor servants, nor other bed than the earth all drenched with rain, their baggage being yet in the ships. Had this situation lasted two days more, the officers, as well principal as subaltern, would have been reduced to great extremities. But the Prince did all that was in his power to procure them refreshment. He ordered horses, carriages, and provisions from the neighbouring country, and in this state pursued his march to Exeter, about twenty miles from Torbay.

As soon as the King heard the Prince was landed, his first care was to order his army to rendezvous in some convenient place. He chose Salisbury plain, whither his army repaired from several parts, with all possible diligence; and, having sent a reinforcement to Portsmouth under the Duke of Berwick, he vainly amused himself with endeavouring to persuade the people, that the Prince's forces were too contemptible to inspire him with fear. He printed a list of all the regiments of the Prince's army, with the companies, troops, officers and soldiers belonging to each. Hearing that the counties of Kent and York, and the city of London, were preparing to address him for an accommodation with the Prince of Orange, he publicly declared, "That he would look upon all those as his enemies, who should pretend to advise him to treat with the invader of his kingdoms." At the same time, he published a declaration, endeavouring to demonstrate, that the Prince's secret design was to usurp the crown.

Meanwhile, the Prince, now at Exeter, found not at first the encouragement that he expected. The Bishop, Dr. Lamplugh, on the first news of his landing, posted to court, where he was rewarded with the Archbishopric of York, which had been kept long vacant, with intention, as it was thought, to confer it on Father Petre, the King's confessor. The Sunday after the Prince's arrival at Exeter, Dr. Burnet mounting the pulpit to read his declaration, all the canons and part of the congregation left the church, not to be present at the reading. On the other hand, few came to offer their service to the Prince, and the levy of three regiments of foot, for which he had granted commissions, proceeded but slowly. Not but that in general the people of the country were inclined to the Prince, and wished well to his undertaking. But the memory of the severities against the Duke of Monmouth's adherents, was yet so recent, that every one feared to engage in a like enterprise, the success whereof was uncertain. In short, the Prince remained nine days at Exeter, without being joined by any person of distinction. It is even pretended that in a council of war held at Exeter, he suffered it to be proposed to him to re-embark for Holland. But on the tenth day some of the principal gentlemen of the country joined him. Among these was Sir Edward Seymour, by whose advice an association was drawn, and signed by all persons then with the Prince, or who afterwards repaired to him.

From this time the face of the Prince of Orange's affairs, who left Exeter to march to Salisbury, was entirely changed. Every day brought him persons distinguished by their birth, estates, or employments. The Lord Colchester, son to Earl Rivers, a Lieutenant in the life-guards, waited upon the Prince, accompanied by Mr. Wharton, Colonel Godfrey, John Howe, Esq. four life-guard men, and about threescore men more on horseback. These were followed by the Earl of Abington, Captain Clarges, Mr. Russel, and others. But what was more material, the Lord Cornbury, son to the Earl of Clarendon, Colonel of dragoons, leaving Salis-

of the Prince, and to represent to them, that in being the King's instruments to accomplish his designs, they were labouring their own ruin. Wherefore the officers, soldiers, and sailors, were conjured not to suffer themselves to be abused by a false notion of honour, to serve the King, contrary to the manifest interest of their religion and country. These two letters had a wonderful effect upon officers, soldiers and seamen; so that from this time many of them resolved not to draw their swords in this quarrel, till they had a free Parliament to secure their religion and liberties.

* Lord Dartmouth was kept in by easterly winds.

† Upon this occasion these two famous verses of Claudian were applied to the Prince of Orange.

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat Æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad Classica Venti.

Heaven's favourite! to whom the skies assistance lend,
Whilst on thy sails conspiring winds attend.

bury, under pretence of an order from the King, to beat up one of the enemies' advanced posts at Honiton, carried with him his own regiment, and those of horse of Berwick, St. Albans, and Fenwick, and with the major part of them went over to the Prince at Exeter.

About the same time the Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire, and declared openly for the Prince, inviting all his tenants to follow his example. The Lord Lovelace was also marching to Exeter, with sixty or seventy horsemen, but passing through Cirencester, was made prisoner, by the militia of the county, after a warm skirmish, in which ten or twelve men were killed on both sides.

On the other hand, the two Archbishops, five Bishops, the Dukes of Grafton and Ormond, the Earls of Dorset, Clare, Clarendon, Burlington, Anglesey, Rochester, the Lords Newport, Paget, Chandos, and Ossulston, meeting together in London, drew up a petition, which was signed at the Bishop of Rochester's house at Westminster. The intent of it was, to pray the King to call a free Parliament, and find some expedient to satisfy the Prince of Orange. The petition being delivered, and afterwards printed by the Lords for their own vindication, this answer was returned from the King, which was also published: "My Lords, what you ask of me, I most passionately desire; and I promise upon the faith of a King, that I will have a Parliament, and such an one as you ask for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this realm: for how is it possible a Parliament should be free in all its circumstances, as you petition for, while an enemy is in the kingdom, and can make a return of near a hundred voices?" This answer was not satisfactory to the Lords, who easily saw, that the King was far from desiring a free Parliament, nor would have any but of which he could be master.

Though the King still put on a face of assurance, the desertions in his army made him very uneasy. He knew not what to resolve, in the fear of some conspiracy among the officers to deliver him to the Prince of Orange, if he should put himself at the head of the army. This was the reason of his stopping the march of his forces, artillery, and his own equipage. But in a council held on this occasion, it was judged necessary for him to be as soon as possible with his army, in order to keep those firm to their duty who were yet unresolved. He therefore departed the 17th of November, after having recommended the care of the city to the Lord Mayor, and in a speech to the officers about him, renewed his promise of calling a Parliament as soon as the Prince of Orange had quitted the kingdom. "He told them, if they desired any thing more, he was ready to grant it, but that if, after all, any of them was desirous to go over to the Prince of Orange, he was willing to grant them passes, and spare them the shame of deserting their lawful sovereign. But at the very time he seemed disposed to give a general satisfaction, he left at Whitehall, a council composed of five Lords, all odious to the people, except the Lord Godolphin. The other four were, the Chancellor Jefferies, the Lords Arundel and Bellasis, both known Papists, and the Lord Preston, suspected of favouring Popery. It is said, the King designed to leave there also his confessor Father Petre, but the jesuit chose rather to retire to France.

The King arrived the 19th of November at Salisbury, where the officers of his army, who were most devoted to him, paid him their compliments, and expressed an abhorrence of Lord Cornbury's defection. At his arrival he was seized with a bleeding at the nose, which increased the next day, as he was going to view part of his army, quartered eight miles from Salisbury. On the same, or the following day, most of the chief officers applied themselves to the Earl of Feversham, their general, desiring him to assure the King, "That upon any occasion they should be ready to spill the last drop of their blood in his service; but yet they could not in conscience fight against a Prince, who was come over with no other design, than to procure the calling of a free Parliament, for the securing of their religion and liberties." This declaration, at which the King was extremely surprised, showed him, that his army, which had been always his principal refuge, could not be relied on. The Earl of Feversham, strongly suspecting the Lord Churchill (afterwards Earl of Marlborough) one of the King's favourites, Lieutenant General, Captain of a troop of his life-guards, and gentleman of his bed-chamber, was very earnest with the King to have him secured. But the King, whether he had no such suspicion, or feared it would occasion a mutiny, would not follow his advice. However, the very next day the Lord Churchill went over to the Prince of Orange, accompanied by the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkley, four or five Captains of his own regiment, and some other officers. Father Orleans insinuates, that he had formed a design to deliver the King to the Prince of Orange, which was prevented by his Majesty's bleeding at the nose, at the time he intended to go and view his troops at Warminster, the most advanced post of his army. But this accusation is groundless, and entirely destroyed by the respectful letter written by that Lord to the King on the occasion.

The Lord Churchill's defection quite sunk the King's spirits, who from this time saw not on whom he could rely. So, no longer daring to venture his person with his army, he left Salisbury, and returned to London with a precipitation like a flight. Before his departure he published a proclamation, "Promising a free and absolute pardon to all his subjects, who had taken up arms, and joined with the Prince of Orange, provided they quitted and deserted him within the space of twenty days." But this proclamation had no effect. In his return, he met with a greater mortification, in the defection of the Prince of Denmark his son-in-law, who leaving him at Andover, went off to the Prince of Orange, with the Duke of Ormond, Sir George Hewet, and others. That Prince wrote a very respectful letter to the King, in vindication of his conduct, wherein he grounds his defection chiefly on his concern for the Protestant religion, which the King had openly attempted to destroy, not only in England, but all Europe, by his strict union with France.

Meantime, the Prince of Orange having left Exeter, was advanced to Sherburn, from whence it was in his power to march to Salisbury or Bristol, according to the resolutions taken by the King. The King had an army so superior to that of the Prince in number, that had he marched directly to the Prince, and attacked him, he would, doubtless, have very much distressed him. It is not likely, the Prince would have ventured a battle, but on the King's advancing, would probably have retired to Bristol, in expectation of a more general defection in the King's army. But upon hearing that the King was returned to London, and his army retired to Reading, the Prince marched to Salisbury, and made a public entry into that city, amidst the acclamations of the people. During his march, there was a slight skirmish between two parties of the armies, in which that of the Prince, though very inferior in number, defended themselves with so much bravery, that the enemy had no reason to boast of the advantage, the loss being almost equal on both sides.

The desertion of his principal officers was not the only cause of the King's mortal fears. Scarcely a day passed, but what brought him some disagreeable news from different parts of the kingdom. The Earl of Bath had made himself master of Plymouth, where the Dutch fleet lay secure. The Earl of Shrewsbury, and Sir John Guise had, with the assistance of the inhabitants, forced the Duke of Beaufort to surrender the important city of Bristol. The Earl of Devonshire, at the head of a great number of Derbyshire gentlemen, had declared for a free Parliament, agreeably to the Prince's declaration. The Earl of Danby had secured York, and having disarmed and turned out all the Papists, (who, under the protection of the Duke of Newcastle, stood up for the King) declared for a free Parliament. The town of Berwick soon followed the example of York, and the gentlemen of Nottinghamshire had done the same. Colonel Copley, Deputy-Governor of Hull,

surprised that town, and made the Lord Langdale, the Popish governor prisoner. The Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Oxford, came to offer their service to the Prince of Orange. The Duke of Ormond entered Oxford without resistance, and caused the Prince's declaration to be read there. In fine, the King heard, that five commissioners from Scotland, among whom were the Duke of Queensbury, and the Lord of Belcarris, were coming to London, to demand a free Parliament in that kingdom. But the King's greatest affliction was, to see himself forsaken by his own daughter, the Princess of Denmark, who had privately withdrawn from Whitehall, being attended by the Bishop of London, mounted and armed, and retired to Nottingham, whence she was conducted to the Prince her husband at Oxford. Some days before, it was reported, that the Queen had treated her very rudely, and proceeded so far as to strike her. This so incensed the people, that as soon as they found she appeared not at Whitehall, they offered to tear all the Romish party in pieces, upon a surmise of her being murdered, or confined, but on the news of her being in safety they were appeased.

The King now found himself plunged in a gulph of difficulties, without perceiving any way to escape. The Queen was dismayed, and her consternation inexpressible. Father Petre had retired into France, under the protection of the Lord Waldgrave, sent thither in the room of Skelton. The Popish counsellors seeing all their measures broken, took care to shelter themselves from the impending storm, to which they left the King exposed. M. Barillon the French ambassador, and Monsieur de Lausun, then in London, vented themselves in fruitless reproaches on the King, for refusing the assistance offered by France, without directing him how to repair that error. In this extreme distress (more easy to be imagined than described) his sole refuge was to turn to the Protestant Peers, whose counsels he had before rejected, whom he had deprived of their employments, and in a word, treated as enemies. He therefore assembled all the Peers, spiritual and temporal, that were in London. The number indeed was but small, there being many with the Prince of Orange, or in several parts of the kingdom, for his service. When they were met, he prayed for their advice concerning the present emergencies. On this occasion, he had the mortification to hear a long enumeration of all his unwarrantable proceedings, since his accession to the throne, and particularly his violent measures to destroy the Protestant religion, and subvert the liberties of England. These, it was said, had occasioned the dangerous symptoms that now appeared in the body politic, and for which there was no other remedy than a free Parliament. The necessity therefore was represented to his Majesty,

I. Of granting a general pardon to all those who either came over with the Prince of Orange, or had joined him since his landing.

II. Of deputing some Lords to his Highness, to treat with him about a supension of arms, and to endeavour to bring matters to an accommodation.

III. And lastly, of turning all Papists immediately out of their employments, to convince the world, that his Majesty acted with sincerity.

The King took that night to consider of the advice, and the next day declared in council, that he was resolved to call a free Parliament, that should meet the 15th of January next ensuing. Accordingly the Chancellor was ordered to issue the writs. Then he published a proclamation, in which he declared, that all his subjects should have free liberty to elect, and all the Peers, and such as should be elected members of the House of Commons, should have full liberty and freedom to serve and sit in Parliament, notwithstanding they had taken up arms, or committed any act of hostility, or been any way aiding or assisting therein. He also declared in council his intention of sending commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange: but as to that part of the advice relating to the Roman Catholics, his Majesty only said, "He would leave that matter to be debated in Parliament." However, Sir Edward Hales, a Papist and Lieutenant of the Tower, having been obnoxious to the city of London, by threatening to bombard it, was displaced, and Colonel Skelton put in his room.

The commissioners nominated by the King to treat with the Prince of Orange, were the Marquis of Hallifax, the Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Godolphin. They left London the 2d of December, and on their way met with passes from the Prince.*

The 6th of December the three commissioners by an express acquainted the King, "That they were to meet the Prince of Orange that night at Amesbury." But the next day they informed his Majesty, "That his highness had made a new appointment to meet them at Hungerford, and had sent to them the Earls of Clarendon and Oxford, to desire them to make their proposals in writing." This message surprised the King chiefly because the Prince had deputed the Earl of Oxford, who had never been concerned in any public affair, and the Earl of Clarendon was mortal enemy of the Marquis of Hallifax. He inferred from thence, the Prince's unwillingness to come to any accommodation. For this cause, Barillon and Lausun earnestly pressed the King, to secure himself, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales, by a timely recess from the nation. But he was willing still to wait for the success of the negotiation with the Prince of Orange.

The substance of the proposals delivered by the King's commissioners to the Prince was, "That the King observing that all the causes of complaint, alledged by his Highness, seemed to be referred to a free Parliament, he had issued his writs for calling one. That he had sent commissioners to his Highness for adjusting all matters relating to the freedom of elections, and security of the Parliament; and, in order to that, proposed, that the respective armies might be kept at such a distance from London."

The Prince, who was then marching towards London, returned no answer to these proposals, but the next day, with the advice of the Lords and gentlemen assembled with him, he put the following propositions into the hands of the King's commissioners.

"I. That all Papists and all such persons as are not qualified by law, be disarmed, disbanded, and removed from all employments, civil and military.

"II. That all proclamations that reflect upon us be recalled; and that if any persons, for having assisted us, have been committed, that they be forthwith set at liberty.

* About the same time appeared a printed paper at London, and other places, called, "The third Declaration of the Prince of Orange." It was penned by a private hand, who had the boldness to put the Prince's name to it, and disperse it through the kingdom. Amongst other things he made the Prince say, that as he would offer no violence to any but in his own necessary defence, so he would not suffer any injury to be done to the person, even of any Papist, provided he was found in such place, and condition, and circumstance, as the law required. But he declared, that all Papists, who should be found in open arms, or in any office, civil or military, contrary to the known laws of the land, should be treated by him and his forces, not as gentlemen and soldiers, but as robbers, freebooters, and banditti; so should all persons found any ways aiding or assisting them: that whereas he was certainly informed, that great numbers of armed Papists had of late resorted to London and Westminster, and parts adjacent, not so much, he had reason to suspect, for their own security, as out of a wicked design to make some desperate attempt upon the said cities and their inhabitants, he therefore required all magistrates and officers, civil and military, to disarm and secure them, that all power of doing mischief might be taken from them: that those magistrates or others, who should refuse to assist him, to execute vigorously what he required of them, should be esteemed the most criminal and infamous of all men; betrayers of the religion, laws, and country, of whom he would require the life of every single Protestant that should perish, and every house that should be burnt or destroyed, by their treachery and cowardice." This declaration, published in the Prince's name, though it was disowned by him, finished the confusion of the Papists; and the more, as several justices of peace caused it to be published, not imagining that any private man would have had the boldness to undertake such a thing. From this time the Popish party were reduced so low, that they durst not hold up their heads. A hue and cry after Father Petre, was publicly cried and sold in the streets, notwithstanding he was a privy counsellor. A legal accusation against the Earl of Salisbury, "For infringing the most sacred laws of the kingdom by turning Papist," was preferred to the grand jury of Middlesex, who found the bill.

"III. That

"III. That for the security and safety of the city of London, the custody and government of the Tower, be immediately put into the hands of the city.

"IV. That if his Majesty shall think fit to be in London, during the sitting of the Parliament, that we may be there also, with equal number of guards: and if his Majesty shall please to be in any place from London, whatever distance he thinks fit, that we may be at a place of the same distance; and that the respective armies be from London thirty miles; and that no further forces be brought into the kingdom.

"V. That for the security of the city of London, and their trade, Tilbury fort be put into the hands of the said city.

"VI. That a sufficient part of the public revenue be assigned to us, for the support and maintenance of our troops, until the sitting of a free Parliament.

"VII. That to prevent the landing of the French, or other foreign troops, Portsmouth may be put into such hands, as by his Majesty and us shall be agreed on."

These proposals were so reasonable, that the King himself could not help owning, "They were better than he expected." He even seemed at first disposed to accept them, and refer to the next Parliament the decision of all differences, since that very day he called an extraordinary council of all the Lords that were in town. Before the council broke up, the King, addressing himself to the Duke of Bedford, said, "My Lord, you are a good man, and have a great influence: you can do much for me at this time." To which the Duke replied, "I am an old man, and can do but little;" then added with a deep sigh, "I had once a son, that could now have been very serviceable to your Majesty." This was meant of the Lord Russel, beheaded in the late reign, who was sacrificed to the vengeance of the King, then Duke of York. The King was struck dumb with this answer.

Every thing seemed to promise an accommodation, and it was not doubted, but the next day some resolution would be taken for the peace and security of the kingdom. But that same night the King, as it is supposed, consulted with some of his Popish counsellors, whose interested advice overthrew all these flattering expectations. They thought it more advantageous to their religion, that the King should preserve all his pretensions, though unable to support them, than sacrifice them to the Parliament. To that end, they advised him to withdraw into France. They represented, how dishonourable it would be to retract what he had done, how prejudicial to the Catholic religion, to be forced to give his assent to such acts of Parliament as would tend only to render its establishment impracticable. That the Catholics would be entirely destitute of any resource, whereas by preserving his rights, he might hope to be restored by the arms of France, and finish the work so gloriously begun. To give more weight to their reasons, they instilled into the Queen such apprehensions, as made her use all her influence with the King, to engage him to do as he was advised. They told her, the Parliament would be far from being favourable to the King and herself: that being both suspected and even openly accused in the Prince of Orange's Declaration, of imposing an heir upon the crown, it was apparent, the Parliament, to favour the Princess of Orange, would declare the Prince of Wales supposititious: that perhaps she herself would be accused for the fact, since it was not scrupled to impeach the Queen, her mother-in-law, for matters much less important: that a short exile with a powerful and generous Prince, who was able to restore them, was preferable to living in their own kingdom, with only the shadow of sovereignty, in dishonour, indigence, and in dependence upon those whom they ought to command. These considerations, supported, as it is pretended, by Barillon and Lausun, made such an impression upon the Queen, that she resolved to retire into France with the Prince of Wales, after a positive promise from the King, that he would follow her with all convenient speed.

Pursuant to this resolution, in the night between the 9th and 10th of December, the Queen in disguise crossed the Thames to Lambeth in an open boat, exposed to wind and rain. At Lambeth, under the walls of the church, she waited till a coach could be got ready in the next inn. She went from thence to Gravesend, where she embarked with the Prince of Wales, in a small vessel, which conveyed them safely to Calais. From thence she went to Versailles, where she was received by the King of France with great marks of affection, which was some alleviation to her melancholy situation.

The King being fully determined to follow the Queen, waited but one day to execute his design. The night between the 10th and 11th of December, in a plain suit, and a bob wig, he took water at Whitehall, accompanied only by Sir Edward Hales, Mr. Sheldon, and Abbadie a Frenchman, page of the back stairs, without acquainting any other with his intention. Before he went off, he wrote to the Earl of Feversham to disband the army, without any care of their pay, probably, to cause disturbances in the kingdom, by the discontents of the officers and soldiers. He ordered all the writs to be burnt, that were not sent out, for electing the Parliament, imagining, doubtless, that after his departure, it would not be possible to assemble a Parliament, which by the laws could only be called by the King. When he took water, he threw the great seal into the Thames, that nothing might be legally done in his absence.

As soon as the King's flight was known, a general consternation ensued, most people being ignorant how they were to behave on so extraordinary an occasion. However, about thirty spiritual and temporal Lords met at Guildhall, and sent for the Lord Mayor and aldermen. After a short consultation, it was resolved, to adhere to the Prince of Orange, and send deputies to him, with this resolution signed by the whole assembly. Then they sent for Colonel Skelton, Lieutenant of the Tower, of whom they demanded the keys, which he willingly resigning, they were given to the Lord Lucas. Presently after, the common council of the city sent deputies to the Prince, with an address, imploring his protection, and praying him to honour the city with his presence.

Though, upon the King's flight, the militia of London and Westminster were immediately up in arms, they could not prevent the mob from assembling and committing some disorders. They confined their rage chiefly to the mass houses erected by the King in the city and suburbs, which they demolished entirely, and made bonfires with the materials. And as there were also chapels in the houses of ambassadors, those of the Spanish and Florentine ambassadors were rifled, before a stop could be put to the disorder. Into the first of these chapels the principal court Papists had conveyed all their valuable effects, and this probably was the chief cause of the pillage. The houses of the other ambassadors were preserved, by the great care of some Lords. The two ministers of Spain and Florence were afterwards largely recompensed for their losses.

During these irruptions of the mob, Chancellor Jefferies, disguised in a seaman's habit, in order to escape in a vessel freighted for Hamburgh, was discovered, as he was looking out of the window of the house where he had concealed himself. He was immediately seized by the mob, and, after many indignities put upon him, carried before the Lord Mayor, who declined meddling with him. But the Chancellor seeing himself in the hands of an enraged mob, which threatened to tear him in pieces, desired that he might be sent to the Tower, which at last was granted him, not as a favour, but in hopes of seeing him shortly conducted from thence to the gallows. It is pretended, he offered to discover many secrets, and for that reason, was kept some time in prison, till the affairs of the government should be settled. But he died in that interval, by the blows he had received, according to some; by drinking spirituous liquors, according to others; and as some pretend, of the stone. Never man had better deserved a public punishment, as an atonement for all the mischiefs done

done to his country, and for all the blood spilt by his means.

Some Irish soldiers of the disbanded troops, finding themselves moneyless, and incapable of subsisting in a country where they were so generally hated, resolved to keep themselves from starving, by forcibly entering a country house. Whereupon, a man of the neighbourhood ran directly to London, crying, as he passed, "That the Irish were up, and marching to London, firing of houses, and putting man, woman, and child, to the sword." The news immediately flew through the city, and caused a strange panic. The city was in alarm all night, expecting every moment the arrival of the Irish. Some prepared for flight, others ran to arms, not a window in London and Westminster but what was illuminated. From London the consternation spread through the whole kingdom, so that in the remote parts, where people had more time to consider what was to be done, a resolution was taken, in case the news should be true, of destroying all the Irish, and Papists in England. Happily, this terror vanished in London as soon as the real cause of it was known.

Meantime, the Prince of Orange being advanced as far as Henley, and fearing the disorders which might be committed by a disbanded army, published a short declaration, requiring all Colonels to call together the several officers and soldiers of their respective regiments, in such places as they should think convenient, and there to keep them in good order and discipline, till farther orders. This declaration was followed by another, of the Lords assembled at London, to the same effect, with an additional promise of subsistence, till they should be otherwise provided for, to all officers and soldiers who should obey, and deliver up their arms to persons appointed to receive them. Besides this, all magistrates were required to apprehend, and seize, all such soldiers as should not repair to their respective bodies, and to deal with them as vagabonds.

All these things were transacted, in the belief, that the King had left the nation; and indeed he had gone from Whitehall with that intention. He had got as far as a little place near Feversham, and had even embarked in a small vessel that was to carry him to a frigate, ready to transport him to France. This vessel not being able to sail immediately, by reason of a tempestuous wind, Sir Edward Hales, one of the King's attendants, sent his footman to the post office at Feversham. His livery was known by a man, who told some others, that Sir Edward was not far off. The footman was followed to the river side, and seen to make signs to some people on board a bark, whereupon the fishermen, and other persons of Feversham, immediately boarded the vessel where the King was. Sir Edward was soon known, and the King being taken for his chaplain, had many indignities put upon him. Then searching him, they found four hundred guineas, and several valuable seals and jewels, which they took from him. Amongst the people who crowded into the ship, there happened to be a constable who knew the King, and throwing himself at his feet, begged him to forgive the rudeness of the mob, and ordered restitution to be made of what had been taken from him. The King received the jewels and the seals, but gave the four hundred guineas among them. After this, he desired to be gone, but the people, by a sort of violence, conducted him to a public inn in the town. Here he sent for the Earl of Winchelsea, Lord Lieutenant of the county, who prevailed with him not to leave the kingdom, but to return towards London.

This news being brought to London produced various effects. Some wished the King had never been stopped, others were glad of an opportunity to convince him, there was never any ill design against his person. The Lords and Magistrates of London, who had made such advances towards the Prince of Orange, were confounded at their haste, and were under some fear, in case the state of affairs should be altered. At last, the Lords assembling, thought proper to appoint four of their body to wait on the King, with an invitation to return to Whitehall, and with assurances of being received with all due respect; the coaches were immediately sent to bring him. At the same time, an express was dispatched to the Prince of Orange, to acquaint him that the King was still in the nation. The Prince, who had come as far as Windsor, was not a little surprised at the news. He was marching to London to settle with the Lords, by whom he was expected, the affairs of the nation, in the supposition, that the King had left it. But his Majesty's return threw the Prince into great perplexity, and of course would oblige him to take other measures. Nevertheless, as the King had no army, and by his hasty flight, had entirely forfeited the confidence of all his friends, and the esteem of his enemies, as he was not in a condition to command, but in some measure depended upon others, the Prince dispatched Monsieur Zuylestein to him, to desire him to remain at Rochester, till it could be agreed what was to be done. But Zuylestein missing his way, the King came to London the 16th of December, about four in the afternoon, where he was received with acclamations, as if he had been returning from victory.

The King being restored to his palace, and in some manner to his deserted royalty, discovered an inclination to resume his old measures, and still brave the Protestants. In all appearance, the acclamations, as he passed through London, had revived his courage, and put him in hopes of a general declaration in his favour. The first thing he did was to publish an order of council, wherein he said, that being given to understand, that divers outrages had been committed in several parts of the kingdom, by burning, pulling down, and defacing of houses, he commanded all Lord-Lieutenants, to prevent such outrages for the future, and suppress all riotous assemblies. This was his last public act, which crowned so many others done in his reign, in favour of the Papists. Moreover, he discharged Leiburn, a popish Bishop, who had been sent to Newgate, and during his short stay at Whitehall, was surrounded, as formerly, with priests, jesuits, and Irishmen.

The King, in his journey to London, dispatched the Earl of Feversham with a letter to the Prince, "Kindly to invite him to the palace at St. James's, with what number of guards and troops he should think convenient to bring along with him, that they might amicably and personally confer together about the means of redressing the public grievances." The Prince returned no answer. But the moment the Earl of Feversham was out of his presence, M. Bentinck demanded his sword, and told him, he had orders to secure him. This, doubtless, was owing to his precipitate disbanding of the army.

In a council held by the Prince, and the English Lords who were with him, it was resolved, "That the royal palace at Whitehall, being still crowded with Irish Papists, Priests and Jesuits, his Highness could not with ease and safety remain at St. James's, where he must necessarily go the next day, without his Majesty and his popish guards were removed within a reasonable distance from London." Moreover, an accident which happened two days before, provoked those who were concerned for the Prince's life. The Duke of Grafton marching through the Strand at the head of a regiment, to take Tilbury fort out of the hand of the Irish, an Irish officer riding up to him, fired a pistol at him; for which he was shot dead upon the place. Much more might such an attempt be apprehended against the Prince, from some of the King's guards. In the debate, it was proposed to send the King prisoner to Breda. But the Prince of Orange rejected the proposal with indignation, protesting, that he could not consent to put him under any restraint. At last, since the Prince's presence at London was absolutely necessary, it was agreed, that the King should be desired to remove to Ham, a house belonging to the Duchess of Lauderdale. Pursuant to this resolution, the Prince of Orange signed an order, directed to the Marquis of Hallifax, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Delamere, to acquaint the King with it, and to tell him, he should be attended with his guards, to preserve him from any disturbances.

Immediately after, the Prince ordered the regiment of his guards, consisting of three battalions, to march and take possession of all the posts about Whitehall and St. James's, either by persuasion or force. The King being informed of it, sent for Count Solms, who commanded these guards, and desired him, "If it could be, to let him have his own guard at Whitehall, only for that night;" but the Count alledged his order, "to relieve all the posts;" the King answered, "do your office." At ten o'clock at night, the Dutch blue guards entered St. James's house, and towards eleven, those who were ordered to Whitehall, moved through the Park, and with lighted match, and in order of battle, marched up to the King's guards. The captain of the guards scrupling to dislodge, at last received the King's orders to retire. After this, the Dutch took possession of the guard-house, and at the same time relieved all the posts about Whitehall and the Park, placing every where double centries. So that, during the rest of the night, the King was really in the power of the Prince of Orange. An hour after midnight, the three Lords appointed by the Prince came to Whitehall, and sent to awake the King for an audience. The King ordering them to come to his bed-side, they delivered the Prince's message, which was to desire his Majesty's departure to Ham; to which the King consented; but after they were withdrawn, he ordered them to be recalled, and bade them tell the Prince, that he desired rather to get to Rochester, according to the Prince's message by Zuylestein, to which the Prince consented that very night. His answer coming to the King at eight in the morning, the King about noon took a barge, attended by the Earls of Aylesbury, Litchfield, Arran, and Dumbarton, six of the yeomen of his guard, and about a hundred of the Dutch guards, commanded by the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment. About nine at night he arrived at Gravesend, where he found his own coaches, and some troops of the militia, by whom he was the next day conducted to Rochester.

The Prince arrived at London the same day the King left Whitehall, and lodged at St. James's, where he received the compliments of the nobility, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council of the city of London. From this time it may be said, the King was a mere cypher. He was not a prisoner, but had no power left of doing good or hurt, so that most of the Lords who had any employments at court, laid down the badges of their offices, as the staff, the key, &c. believing they had no longer any right to exercise them.

During the rejoicings at London, for the Prince's arrival, the mob insulted the Papists again, not excepting ambassadors. As there was properly no government, such disorders were almost unavoidable, no person daring to undertake to restrain them. At last, the Privy-Council ordered, that all foreigners should be permitted quietly to leave the kingdom. The Prince of Orange sent particular passes to the Pope's nuntio, the Envoys of Poland, Savoy, and Modena. The popish Lords, Langdale and Montgomery, were released. But the Earls of Peterborough and Salisbury were kept in custody, on account of impeachments against them. Romish priests and jesuits, apprehended since the King's flight, were likewise detained.

Meanwhile, as it was absolutely necessary to put an end to the present anarchy, the Prince of Orange assembled the Lords spiritual and temporal in London, to the number of above threescore, and made this short speech to them. "My Lords, I have desired you to meet here, to advise the best manner how to pursue the ends of my declaration, in calling a free Parliament, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, the restoring the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and settling the same, that they may not be in danger of being again subverted." Upon speaking these words, he withdrew and left them to consult together. His declaration was read, and the Lords voted him their particular thanks. Then they resolved to assemble every day in their old House at Westminster, and named five of the most eminent lawyers to assist them in the room of the Judges, who were most of them absent. It was farther proposed, that the whole assembly should sign the association subscribed by the nobility and gentry at Exeter. To this all agreed, except the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Pembroke and Nottingham, the Lord Wharton, and all the Bishops but that of London. The objection of the Bishops was chiefly founded upon the unchristian word Revenge, which, to satisfy them, was afterwards changed for that of Punishment.

In the mean time, the King was at Rochester in a melancholy situation. He perceived, his flight had done him an irreparable injury. The proceedings at London showed, that he was no longer regarded as a King to be intrusted with the government, and it was not in his power to restore himself by force. Nevertheless, some of his friends pressed him to call a Parliament, assuring him that since his misfortune there was a great turn in the minds of the city and army, and that compassion for him generally prevailed. But the very name of a free Parliament made him tremble. For, besides that his conscience might reproach him and inspire this fear, he plainly saw, the least which could befal him, would be, that the Parliament would take effectual measures for the security of the Protestant religion, and that, as long as he lived, he should be ever distrusted. Probably it was the fear of passing the rest of his days in so uncomfortable a state, which determined him to withdraw into France. Indeed in taking that course, he might hope one day to be restored by the assistance of that crown. Whereas by staying in England, he saw no other advantage, than the enjoyment of a royalty, surrounded with troubles and mortifications, and in which he could not without danger attempt to recover his former authority. Whatever were his motives, on the 23d of December, about three in the morning, he privately withdrew, taking with him only the Duke of Berwick his natural son, Mr. Skelton, and Abadie, and went on horseback to a place near the river, where he embarked in a small frigate, which landed him safely at Ambleteuse in France, whence he repaired to St. Germans. It was easy to execute this design, no person about him having orders to stop or hinder him from disposing of himself as he pleased. Probably, the Prince of Orange received not less satisfaction from this second than he had from the first flight. The King's presence in the nation could not but greatly embarrass him. Besides his natural generosity, he had promised the Princess that nothing should be attempted against the life or liberty of her father. So, the King could not do a greater service to the Prince, than voluntarily to retire out of the kingdom. And the more, as this afterwards furnished a pretence to say, he had abdicated the crown, which abdication paved the Prince's way to the throne.

THE INTERREGNUM.

As soon as the Lords heard of the King's departure, they believed themselves invested with a power to act in their own names. The first thing done, after consulting together, was the addressing the Prince of Orange, "To take upon him the administration of public affairs, both civil and military; the disposal of the public revenue; and the care of Ireland, till the meeting of the intended convention." The address was dated the 25th of December. By a second address they desired him, "To issue out missive letters, subscribed by himself, to the Lords spiritual and temporal being Protestants, and to the several counties, cities, and boroughs, containing directions for the chusing, within ten days, such a number of persons to represent them, as are of right to be sent to Parliament." The Prince thought, that besides the suffrages of the Peers, it was proper to be authorized by others, which might pass for those of the people." He therefore published an order, "Desiring all such persons as had served in any of the Parliaments during the reign of the late King Charles II. to meet him at St. James's, upon the 26th of December, by ten of the clock in the morning. He desired likewise, that the Lord Mayor and court of Aldermen

Aldermen of the city of London; and fifty of the Common-council, would be there at the same time."

In pursuance of this order, about a hundred and sixty members, the Aldermen of London (the Mayor being indisposed) and the deputies of the Common-council, met at St. James's on the day appointed; where the Prince briefly told them, "That he had desired them to meet him there, to advise the best manner how to pursue the ends of his declaration, in calling a free Parliament, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the restoring the rights and liberties of the kingdom." They all repaired immediately to the Commons House in Westminster, where the first question they debated, was, "What authority they had to assemble?" Upon which it was soon agreed, that the request of the Prince was a sufficient warrant. The next question was, "How the Prince could take upon him the administration of affairs, without a distinguishing name or title." But as this question tended to prolong the deliberations, and defeat the ends proposed by the meeting, it was thought proper to wave such questions in their future debates. An association was likewise proposed to be signed, but every person was left at liberty to subscribe it or not. After these previous debates, they resolved to address the Prince, to take upon him the administration of public affairs, until the meeting of the convention, the 22d day of January next. The answer returned by the Prince to this address, and to that of the Lords, was the same, that he would endeavour, as far as he was able, to secure the peace of the nation, according to their desire.*

On Sunday the 30th of December, the Prince of Orange went to the royal chapel at St. James's, where he was present at Divine Service, and a sermon preached by Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; after which he received the Sacrament from the hands of the Bishop of London. This public profession of the established religion, greatly contributed to dispel the fears of those, who dreaded his too zealous adherence to the Presbyterian religion, in which he had been educated. When the Prince of Orange's declaration for Scotland (the same in substance with that for England) appeared there, the Presbyterians began to take courage, those at the helm not daring to use any violence for fear of a general insurrection, which would have been extremely prejudicial to the King's affairs at that juncture. Things remained in this situation, till the King's party began o retire into England. For though the Scotch Bishops had published an abhorrence of the Prince's expedition, it was by no means the sentiments of the nation in general. Every one felt the weight of the yoke imposed on them, and the Episcopalians themselves had reason to fear, that under the pretence of humbling the Presbyterians, the King intended to destroy the Protestant religion. So far their case was the same with that of the English. And therefore the Duke of Queensbury, and some other Scotch gentlemen were come to London, to desire a free Parliament. The Lord Chancellor, upon the news of King James's withdrawing, immediately resigned the Great Seal, and retired from Edinburgh. Upon which, the populace of that city, insulted and rifled, not only the Roman Catholics, but also those who had appeared most devoted to the Episcopal party. So, the Bishops were forced to retire, to avoid the insults of the Presbyterians, who were now much superior to their late persecutors. On the other hand, several Scotch Lords and Gentlemen repaired to London, to observe the motions there, and to determine their conduct by that of the English.

The Prince of Orange, who could not visit Scotland, assembled all the Scotch Nobility and Gentry then in London, who meeting at St. James's, to the number of thirty Lords and fourscore Gentlemen, he asked their advice, what was to be done for the securing the Protestant religion, and restoring their laws, and liberties, according to his declaration? After this short speech, the Lords and Gentlemen repaired to the council-chamber at Whitehall, and chusing Duke Hamilton then President, consulted together, what advice was most proper to be given to the Prince. This affair was in effect settled the first day. But on the morrow, they were interrupted by a proposal from the Earl of Arran, that the King should be desired to return, and call a free Parliament. The tendency of this proposal was easily seen, and therefore it was unanimously rejected. At last, it was agreed to present an address to the Prince of Orange to desire him to take upon him the administration of all affairs both civil and military, and to call a general meeting of the States to be holden the 14th of the following March. This address being presented to the Prince, he desired time to consider of it, and two days after returned much the same answer as he had to the English.

The prospect from Ireland was not so pleasing. The Earl of Tyrconnel, a zealous papist and entirely devoted to the King, was Lord-Lieutenant, and supported by an army, which he had taken care to compose of Popish officers and soldiers. There was room therefore to fear, that the Earl would not submit to the resolutions taken in England, and he was not then to be forced to obedience. Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange having received addresses not only from the English Lords and Commons concerning Ireland, but likewise from the Protestants of that kingdom, could not but endeavour to procure the happiness of a nation which depended upon England. It was therefore thought proper to summon the Earl of Tyrconnel, by letter, to submit to the present administration in England. The delivery of this letter was committed to Colonel Hamilton, who promised to second it with his persuasions. But it was afterwards known, that he acted in concert with Tyrconnel directly to oppose it.

The Prince, and the Lords, as we have said, had ordered the forces disbanded by the Earl of Feversham to re-assemble. When this was done, the Prince discharged the arrears of the English army, with two hundred thousand pounds advanced in four days by the city of London, sixty thousand of which were lent by Sir Samuel Dashwood. After this, he ordered a reform of eight new raised regiments, besides the troop of Life-guards, commanded by the Lord Dover, who were all Papists. Then, several Colonels and other officers having resigned their commissions on account of the oath exacted of them, he filled their places with Protestants, and in a word, took all possible care to put the army under such a regulation, as might render it serviceable to the state.

The Prince considering, that the convention was to settle the government, thought it proper to send for his Princess; since if, as it was probable, the convention should declare the throne vacant, no person had a juster pretension to it than she. Very likely also, he thought he had himself room to aspire to it, by his late great service to the English. But a severe frost retarded her departure from Holland longer than he expected.

The Commons met the 22d of January in two Houses, as a Parliament. The Peers chose the Marquis of Hallifax for their Speaker, and the Commons, Mr. Henry Powle. In each House was read the following letter from the Prince of Orange, on the occasion of their meeting:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have endeavoured to the utmost of my power, to perform what was desired from me, in order to the public peace and safety; and I do not know that any thing

* During the King's stay at Rochester, Barillon, the French ambassador, had been very active to promote divisions amongst the Peers, with a view to serve the King. Of this the Prince was not ignorant; but as he was not yet invested with any authority, he was obliged to suffer it, though he knew he had not a greater enemy in England than that ambassador. But the moment he was entrusted with the government, he sent an express order to him to leave the kingdom within four-and-twenty hours. At the same time, he sent St. Leger, a French refugee, to attend him to the ship. That gentleman could not forbear saying to the ambassador, as they were on the road, "Sir, had any one told you a year ago, that a refugee should be commissioned to see you out of England, would you have believed it?" The ambassador answered, "Sir, cross over with me to Calais, and I will give you an answer."

Lath

hath been omitted which might tend to the preservation of them, since the administration of affairs was put into my hands. It now lieth upon you to lay the foundations of a firm security for your religion, your laws, and your liberties. I do not doubt; but that by such a full and free representative of the nation, as is now met, the ends of my Declaration will be attained: and since it hath pleased God hitherto to bless my good intentions with so great success, I trust in him, that he will complete his own work, by sending a spirit of peace and union to influence your counsels, that no interruption may be given to a happy and lasting settlement.

"The dangerous condition of the Protestants in Ireland, requiring a large and speedy succour, and the present state of things abroad, oblige me to tell you, that next to the danger of unseasonable divisions amongst ourselves, nothing can be so fatal as too great delay in your consultations. The States, by whom I have been enabled to rescue this nation, may suddenly feel the ill effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the service of their troops, which are now here, and of your early assistance against a powerful enemy, who hath declared a war against them. And as England is by treaty already engaged to help them upon such exigencies, so I am confident, that their cheerful concurrence to preserve this kingdom with so much hazard to themselves, will meet with all the returns of friendship and assistance, which may be expected from you, as Protestants and Englishmen, whenever their condition will require it.

"*Given at St. James's, the 22d day of January,*
"1688-9.

After the reading of this letter, the two Houses presented an address to the Prince, in which they acknowledged him, under God, the deliverer of the nation: they approved likewise of all that he had done since he had been intrusted with the administration, which they prayed him to continue till farther application should be made to him by them, which should be done with all convenient speed. They promised also to dispatch the matters recommended to them by his letter. The Prince in his answer accepted the offers made him by the two Houses, and strongly pressed them to a consideration of the affairs of Europe.

The first thing done by the two Houses after their address of thanks to the Prince, was to appoint a day of public thanksgiving to God, for the happy deliverance of the nation.

In the mean time, King James, perceiving the prejudice his flight would do him, endeavoured to prevent it, by a letter directed to the Lords, and others of his Privy-Council; in which he declared his intention to return to England for the holding a free Parliament. He reproached the Prince of Orange with artifices to hinder his holding such a Parliament, and required their advice, "what was fit to be done by him towards his returning." Though this letter was immediately printed and dispersed, it was little regarded. Even the persons to whom it was addressed, judged it not proper to return an answer, at a time the convention was sitting. James therefore sent a letter of the same tenor to both Houses of the convention, adding a promise, on the word of a King, of a pardon even to those that betrayed him, (some few excepted) and a resolution by an act of oblivion, to cover all faults. But both Houses returning the letters unopened, the King's friends complained of it, as of a great hardship.

The House of Commons deferred their sitting till the 28th of January, to give time to the rest of their members to come up to town. That day, Mr. Dolben, son to the late Archbishop of York, made a long speech to prove the vacancy of the throne, by the King's deserting the kingdom. Upon this arose a debate, which held four or five hours, and ended with this memorable vote:

"That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between King and people; and by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, hath abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant."

The next day, the Commons farther voted, "That it hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with this Protestant kingdom, to be governed by a popish Prince."

They presented likewise an address to the Prince of Orange, for the stopping all ships that were going to France. Two days after, they voted, that the thanks of the House should be given to the clergy of the church of England, who had refused to read in the churches the King's declaration for toleration; and also to the officers and soldiers, for having testified their adherence to the Protestant religion; and to all such as had appeared in arms for the defence of the same. All these votes were sent up to the Lords for their concurrence.

But in the House of Lords things passed not with that unanimity. There were several parties, who caused every question to be nicely examined. It was on the 29th of January, that the Lords began to consider the vote of the Commons, concerning the vacancy of the throne The first motion was, "Not to agree with the Commons that the throne was vacant, but only to suppose it for the present, leaving it to be further examined afterwards, in order to cut short several other questions, by determining this first, "Whether the throne being vacant, it ought to be filled up by a Regent or a King?" The Earl of Nottingham, who was at the head of the party for a Regent, made a long speech, alledging several arguments for a Regency, taken from the English and other histories. He insisted particularly upon what had very lately passed in Portugal, where, Alphonso VI. being deposed, his brother Don Pedro had only the title of Regent of the kingdom conferred on him. But the Marquis of Hallifax and the Earl of Danby demonstrated on the other side, the insuperable difficulties attending the administration of the government under a Regent. At last, after a very long debate, the question being put to the vote, fifty-one were for a King, and forty-nine only for a Regency. Thirteen Bishops were among the last, and but two among the first, namely, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, and Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol. The Archbishop of Canterbury was absent.

On the morrow, January 30, this question was put in the House of Lords, "Whether or no there was an original contract between the King and people?" This question was warmly debated, several maintaining, that such a contract was only a chimera. Others rejecting the general assertions urged by the first, and the instances brought from the practice of other countries, confined themselves to the particular constitution of the English government. They endeavoured to show, that it must have been by virtue of such a contract, that the Parliament were possessed, jointly with the King, of the legislative power; otherwise, the right of the Parliament, in their opinion, could be founded only upon custom, which was not sufficient to balance the King's pretended divine right; whence it would follow, that the King, in virtue of his divine right, might abolish this custom, and render him absolute. But that the prevention of such a misfortune was the occasion of their present meeting. The question being put to the vote, fifty-three were for the original contract, and forty-six only against it.

The next day, they took into consideration the word Abdicated, and entered into a grammatical dispute, to know whether the word could be understood only of a voluntary abdication, without any mixture of compulsion, and it was concluded, that the word Deserted was more proper. They next examined the word Vacant, and put this question, "Whether King James, having broke that original contract between him and his people, and deserted the government, the throne was thereby vacant?" The debates upon this question were longer, and more warm than any of the former. In short, the party that maintained it was a law-maxim, That the King never dies, and consequently that the throne can never

never be vacant, carried the negative of the question by eleven voices. But on the morrow, forty Lords entered their protestations against the vote. As the Lords' vote was founded upon the crown's devolving, on the King's demise, immediately to the next heir, without any vacancy, some of the other party moved, that, supposing King James to be dead in law, the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen. But this was also determined in the negative by five voices.

If these several resolutions be considered, and compared together, the Lords will doubtless seem to have rendered it impossible to settle the government any way. This no doubt, was the aim of some among them, that the difficulties might not possibly be surmounted, but by recalling King James. Many were satisfied of this, and therefore a petition was drawn up to be presented to the Lords, desiring, in plain terms, that the Prince and Princess of Orange might be settled on the throne. Care was taken to get this petition signed by all sorts of people, that by the great number of subscribers it might pass for the sense of the nation. But the Prince of Orange not liking this way of proceeding, sent the Lord Mayor orders, to put a stop to this tumultuous project, which was accordingly done.

The 2d of February, the Lords sent a message, to acquaint the Commons with two amendments they had made to their vote of the 28th of January. The first was, instead of the word Abdicated, they would have Deserted be put in. The second, that the words, "and that the throne is thereby become vacant," should be left out. The Commons, not pleased with these two amendments, appointed a committee to draw up reasons why they must insist upon their vote, and desired a conference with the Lords upon that subject. This conference produced no effect, each House persisting in their opinion. Only the Earl of Nottingham intimated from the Lords, that they insisted upon the amendments, not to favour King James, but solely to maintain Hereditary right, in the fear that the election of a King might destroy that right. But the Commons persisting still in their opinion, by a superiority of two hundred and eighty-two, against one hundred and fifty-one, appointed twenty-four of their most able members to manage on this extraordinary occasion at a free conference, for which the Lords named on their part, the Earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, Rochester, Pembroke, with the Bishop of Ely, and some others. This conference, however, in which all that logic or eloquence could devise was advanced, produced no decision.

During all these debates, the Prince of Orange staid at St. James's, without taking the least pains to gain any one person to his party. The two Houses were surprized that no body spoke to them in the Prince's behalf. At last, finding that his silence might be ill-construed, as if he was unwilling to take upon him the burden of royalty, he sent for the Marquis of Hallifax, the Earls of Danby, Shrewsbury, and some others, and told them:

"He had been till then silent, because he would not say or do any thing that might seem in any sort to take from any person the full freedom of deliberating and voting in matters of such importance: he was resolved neither to court nor threaten any one. Some were for putting the government in the hands of a Regent: he would say nothing against it, if it was thought the best means for settling their affairs: only he thought it necessary to tell them he would not be the Regent: so, if they continued in that design, they must look out for some other person to be put in that post: he himself saw what the consequences of it were likely to prove: so he would not accept it. Others were for putting the Princess singly on the throne, and that he should reign by her courtesy: he said, no man could esteem a woman more than he did the Princess; but he was so made, that he could not think of holding any thing by apron-strings: nor could he think it reasonable to have any share in the government, unless it was put in his person, and that for term of life: if they did not think it fit to settle it otherwise, he would not oppose them in it: but he would go back to Holland, and meddle no more in their affairs: he assured them, that whatsoever others might think of a crown, it was no such thing in his eyes, but that he could live very well, and be well pleased without it: in the end, he said, he could not resolve to accept of a dignity, so as to hold it only the life of another: yet he thought that the issue of the Princess Anne should be preferred in the succession, to any issue he might have by any otherwise than the Princess."

This declaration being immediately divulged, did not a little contribute to bring the debates in the House of Lords, to a speedy determination. As for the Commons, about two thirds were for the Prince.

When the report of the conference between the two Houses was made to the Lords, there was a very warm debate, whether they should insist upon the amendments. During the debate, it was moved, that the birth of the Prince of Wales might be examined into. But this motion was at length rejected for several reasons:

I. The Prince of Wales was now sent out of England to be bred up in France, an enemy both to the nation and the established religion. What therefore would such an examination signify?

II. It was impossible for the people of England to know, whether he was the same person that had been carried over or not.

III. In case he should die, another might be put in his room, in such a manner, that the nation could not be sure concerning him.

IV. The English nation ought not to send into another country for witnesses to prove that he was their Prince, much less receive one upon the testimony of such as were not only aliens, but ought to be presumed enemies.

V. It was known that all the persons who had been the confidents in that matter, were conveyed away; so it was impossible to come at them, by whose means only the truth of that birth could be found out.

It is pretended, there were some who thought it a deep piece of policy, to let the Prince of Wales's title remain undecided, in order to deter the succeeding Kings from imitating King James.

At length, after a long debate, the majority of the Lords departed from their two amendments, and agreed with the vote of the Commons, "That King James had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby become vacant." Very likely, they who deserted the party of the Earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, and Rochester, considered, that the suggested danger of the crown's becoming elective, was not only to be compared to that which must necessarily happen, if the kingdom was left in the present confusion, or King James recalled, or the Prince of Wales acknowledged for King.

This great step being made, the next thing to be debated was, who should fill the vacant throne. The Marquis of Hallifax moved, that the crown should be given to the Prince of Orange alone, and to the two Princesses after his death. But he was not seconded. If Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, is to be credited, Bentinck, the Prince's favourite and confident, strenuously supported this proposal. The debate upon this affair was very long. It was readily agreed, that the Princess of Orange should be placed on the throne; but the question was, whether the Prince should be King of himself, or a husband of the Princess? Upon this, parties began to be formed in both Houses. Meanwhile, as the Princess was detained in Holland by the frost, and by contrary winds after the thaw, the Earl of Danby sent one over to the Princess, with an account of the present state of the debate, and to tell her, that if she desired it, he did not doubt but he should be able to carry it, for setting her alone on the throne. The Princess answered, she was the Prince's wife, and would never be other than what she should be in conjunction with him, and under him. Adding, she would take it very ill, if any, under a pretence of their care for her, would set up a divided interest between her and the Prince. Not content with this, she sent the Lord Danby's letter and her answer to the Prince, and there-

by broke all the measures of those, who wished to create a misunderstanding or jealousy between them. The Earl of Danby received not the least mark of displeasure from the Prince of Orange, who continued still to employ and trust him.

At last, both Houses agreed, and voted severally, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be King and Queen of England, but that the sole and full regal power should be in the Prince only, in the name of both. However, this was carried in the House of Lords by two or three voices only, and not without a protestation entered against it by the contrary party.

The last debate in convention, was, concerning the oaths that should be taken to the King and Queen. To avoid all cavils upon the terms, "rightful and lawful King" in the usual oath, it was thought proper to reduce the oath to the ancient simplicity of swearing, "to bear faith and true allegiance to the King and Queen." Hence arose the famous distinction of a King de facto, and a King de jure; some pretending, that they took the oath to the King and Queen, only as King and Queen de facto, whom they were bound to obey no longer than they continued in quiet possession; but that it was lawful for them to assist King James, if he should come to recover his crown, as being still their King de jure. This distinction proceeded chiefly from the clergy, who had so far entangled themselves with those strange conceits of the divine right of monarchy, and had so engaged themselves by publicly preaching Passive-obedience and Non-resistance, as an essential doctrine of the church of England, that they did not know how to disengage themselves from the snare they themselves had laid, at a time when they little thought of being ever taken in it.

At length, on the 12th of February, the Princess of Orange arrived at London, and seemed well pleased with what had been resolved, that the administration of the government should be in the Prince only, in the name of both. Thus the strict union between the Prince and Princess broke the measures of such as hoped to create a misunderstanding between them, in order to serve their old master.

The next day, the Prince and Princess of Orange being seated on two large chairs, under a canopy of state in the Banquetting-House, both Houses of the Convention waited upon them in a full body, to offer them the crown. But before they proceeded to this solemn offer, they caused the clerk of the crown to read the memorable Declaration of Rights, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at Westminster;* in which all the points which had, of late years, been disputed between the King and people, were finally determined; and the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumscribed, and more exactly defined, than in any former period of the English government.

* "Whereas the late King James II. by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom; by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with, and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament: by committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power: by issuing and causing to be executed, a commission under the great seal, for erecting a court, called, "The court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes:" by levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by Parliament: by raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament; and quartering soldiers contrary to law: by causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed at the same time, when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law: by violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament: by prosecutions in the court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons, have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders; and excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for liberty of the subjects; and excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted; and several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied. All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.

"And whereas the said late King James II. having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased the Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power) did, (by the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque-ports, for the chusing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster, upon the 22d day of January, in this year 1688, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties, might not again be in danger of being subverted. Upon which letters, elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place (as their ancestors in like cases have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties; declare,

"I. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

"II. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

"III. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

"IV. That the levying of money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal.

"V. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal.

"VI. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law.

"VII. That the subjects, which are Protestants, may have arms for their defence, suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.

"VIII. That election of members of Parliament ought to be free.

"IX. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned, in any court or place out of Parliament.

"X. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

"XI. That Jurors ought to be duly empannelled and returned; and Jurors, which pass upon mens' trials for high-treason, ought to be free-holders.

"XII. That all grants and promises, of fines and forfeitures of persons, before conviction, are illegal and void.

"XIII. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights, and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. To which demand of their rights, they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

"Having therefore an entire confidence, that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve him from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties; the said Lords spiritual and temporal, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared KING and QUEEN of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions, to them the said Prince and Princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of their regal power be only in, and executed by, the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said Prince and Princess, during their joint lives; and after their decease, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess; and for the default of such issue, to the Princess Ann of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange.

"And the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess of Orange, to accept the same accordingly. And that the oaths hereafter-mentioned, be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated.

"I, A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King WILLIAM and Queen MARY. So help me God. I, A. B. do swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. "And I do declare, that no foreign Prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm." So help me God.

After the reading of this declaration, the Marquis of Hallifax, Speaker of the House of Lords, made a solemn tender of the crown to their Highnesses, in the name of both Houses, whereupon the Prince of Orange returned the following answer:

"My Lords and gentlemen, this is certainly the greatest proof of the trust you have in us, that can be given, which is the thing that makes us value it the more; and we thankfully accept what you have offered. And as I had no other intention in coming hither, than to preserve your religion, laws, and liberties, so you may be sure, that I shall endeavour to support them, and shall be willing to concur in any thing that shall be for the good of the kingdom, and to do all that is in my power to advance the welfare and glory of the nation."

All this was followed with the acclamations of the people, which quickly flew over the whole city. The same day the Prince and Princess were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, by the names of WILLIAM and MARY, to the inexpressible joy of the people.*

By an indenture in the first of James II. a pound weight of gold, twenty-two carats fine, and two carats allay, was coined into 44*l.* 10*s.* by tale, namely, into pieces of ten shillings, twenty shillings, forty shillings, and five pounds, and a pound weight of silver of the old standard into sixty-two shillings by tale, namely, into crowns, half-crowns, shillings, six-pences, groats, two-pences, and pence.

The gold coins have on one side the King's head laureat, IACOBVS II. DEI. GRATIA. Reverse MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. the arms single in separate shields crowned, with the sceptres, but nothing in the centre. Some have an elephant under the King's head, being of African gold. (fig.) The five pound piece is like the guinea, but has DECVS, &c. upon the rim.—— Of the silver money, the crown has the King's head laureat; the arms on the reverse in four separate shields crowned; the inscription as on the gold coins; and upon the rim DECVS. ET. TVTA. MEN, &c. the half crown is the same, and the shilling and six-pence the like, except the inscription upon the rim. The lesser pieces, from the groat to the penny, have as many initial letters of his name crowned, as they contain pence, but the same inscription as the crown-piece. The tin farthing and half-penny have the King's head, IACOBUS. SECVNDVS. Reverse Britannia, BRITANNIA. upon the rim 1685. NVMMORVM. FAMVLVS.†

* King James the Second's natural issue was as follows.

I. By Mrs. Arabella Churchill, sister of John, Earl of Marlborough, afterwards married to Colonel Godfrey, he had

1. James Fitz-James, Grandee of Spain, Mareschal of France, Knight of the Golden Fleece, commonly called Duke of Berwick. Outlawed in 1695.

2. Henry Fitz-James, commonly called the Grand Prior, born 1673. Outlawed in 1695. Lieutenant-General and Admiral of the French gallies. He died in France, December 7, 1702.

3. Henrietta, born 1670, who married Henry Lord Waldegrave, 1683.

II. By Mrs. Catherine Sedley, daughter of Charles Sedley, Baronet; created Baroness of Darlington, and Countess of Dorchester, afterwards married to Sir David Collier, who was made Earl of Portmore, he had Catherine Darnley, Duchess of Buckingham, born 1681. She married,

1. James Annesly, Earl of Anglesey, in October 1699. By whom she had Catherine Annesly, January 7, 1701, who married William Phips, Esq. son of Sir Constantine Phips.

2. John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire and Normandy; 1 March, 1705. By whom she had Edmund, Duke of Buckinghamshire, born 11 January, 1716.

† It is deserving of remark, that the commerce and riches of England never increased so much, within a similar period, as during the two last reigns. The two Dutch wars promoted the navigation of this island; and after Charles had made a separate peace with the States, his subjects enjoyed, unmolested, the trade of Europe. The recovery, or conquest, of New York and the Jerseys was a considerable accession to the strength and security of the English colonies; and, together with the settlement of Pensylvania and Carolina, which was effected during that reign, extended the English empire in America. In this period, several new manufactures were also established; in iron, brass, silk, hats, glass, paper, &c. One Brewer, from the Low-Countries, brought the art of dying woollen cloth into this country, and by that means saved the nation great sums of money. Sir Josiah Child states, that, in 1688, there were on the 'Change more men worth ten thousand pounds than there were in 1650 worth a thousand; that five hundred pounds with a daughter was, in the latter period, deemed a larger portion than two thousand in the former; that gentlewomen, in those earlier times, thought themselves well clothed in a serge gown, which a chamber-maid would, in 1688, be ashamed to be seen in; and that, besides the great increase of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and houshold furniture, coaches were in that time augmented a hundred fold.——The Duke of Buckingham introduced, from Venice, the manufacture of glass and crystal. Prince Rupert, a great encourager of arts and manufactures, was the inventor of etching

During the two last reigns, the people were, in a great measure, cured of that wild fanaticism by which they had formerly been so much agitated. Licentiousness and debauchery succeeded; the pleasures of the table were much pursued; love was treated rather as an appetite than as a passion; and both sexes degenerated in chastity and delicacy of sentiment.—Many of the ingenious men of this period lie under the imputation of deism: besides wits and scholars, by profession, Shaftsbury, Halifax, Buckingham, Mulgrave, Sunderland, Essex, Rochester, Sidney, Temple, &c. are supposed to have adopted these principles.

Previously to the Revolution, the liberty of the press was very imperfectly enjoyed. The Star Chamber, while that court existed, put effectual restraints upon printing. The liberty of the press did not even commence with the Revolution; as it was not till the year 1694, that the restraints were taken off.

During the Commonwealth and Protectorship, a few sedate philosophers, at Oxford, cultivated their reason, and established conferences, for the mutual communication of their discoveries in physics and geometry. Immediately after the restoration, these men procured a patent, and, having enlarged their number, were denominated the Royal Society; but the patent was all which they obtained from the King. Besides Wilkins, Wren, Wallis, eminent mathematicians; Hooke, an accurate observer by microscopes; and Sydenham, the restorer of true physic, there flourished during this period a Boyle and a Newton; men who trod with cautious and therefore secure steps the only road which leads to true philosophy.—This age was less favourable, to polite literature than to the sciences. The productions represented at this on the stage, were, most of them, such monsters of extravagance and folly, so utterly destitute of reason and common sense, that they would be the disgrace of English literature had they not been deservedly consigned to oblivion. Most of the celebrated writers of this age remain monuments of genius, perverted by indecency and bad taste. Dryden himself, admirable as were his talents, justly falls under this censure; and the very name of Rochester is offensive to modest ears. Sir William Temple is almost the only considerable writer of his day, who kept himself altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiousness which overwhelmed the nation.

BAPIN'S

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

WILLIAM THE THIRD.

BORN 1650.— DIED 1701,2.

Published by J. Robins & C. Albion Press London 1815

BOOK XXV.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III. AND MARY, COMPRISING A PERIOD OF TWELVE YEARS, TEN MONTHS, AND TWENTY-FIVE DAYS.

28. WILLIAM III. *and* MARY.

A. D. 1689.] THEIR Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Orange, having been crowned King and Queen of England, by the names of William and Mary, on the 11th of April, a proclamation was issued, confirming all Protestants in the offices held by them on the 1st of December 1688; and a new privy council was in a few days after nominated, consisting chiefly of the Whig party. The animosity between the two state factions immediately re-appeared. The Earl of Danby, who had devised and effected the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Orange, and who was one of the seven * who risqued their lives and fortunes by signing the original invitation to the Prince, transmitted to him through the hands of M. Zuylestein, aspired to the office of Lord High Treasurer, which he had filled during the reign of Charles II. The King however determined to put the treasury into commission; and Lord Mordaunt, created Earl of Monmouth, was declared first commissioner. Danby, thus excluded from the treasury, accepted the post of president of the council, with the title of Marquis of Carmarthen. The Earl of Shrewsbury, whose character stood high with both parties, was appointed secretary of state, jointly with the Earl of Nottingham, a determined Tory, who had refused to sign the invitation to the Prince, but declared himself willing to share the responsibility as far as secrecy would go. In the conventional debates he had vehemently opposed the vote of abdication; but he subsequently declared, "That though he would not make a King, yet upon his principles he could obey him better than those who did." The Marquis of Halifax had conducted himself with such inconsistency, as to lose the confidence of both parties. He had originally acted with the Whigs, whom he offended by the decided part which he took in opposing the Exclusion Bill, and by supporting the measures of the last years of Charles II. and the first of his successor, as president of the council. To recover his credit with the Whigs, he opposed in the convention the project of a regency, and went so far as to move that the Prince should be declared King, and the Princesses next in succession. This proposition, though negatived, raised him high in the King's favour; but it made him odious to the whole body of the Tories. He now received the privy seal. The great seal was put into commission; Maynard, Keck, and Rawlinson being nominated commissioners. Sir John Holt, a man of talent and integrity, was made chief justice of England; Admiral Herbert, a popular and skilful seaman, was placed at the head of the Admiralty; the white staves were bestowed on the Dukes of Devonshire and Dorset, (the former being appointed Lord Steward, and the latter Lord Chamberlain;) and M. Bentinck, a native of Holland, who had long been in the King's confidence, was raised to an honourable station in the King's household, and soon afterwards created Earl of Portland. Mr. Sydney, brother to Algernon Sydney, was distinguished in the new promotions, and subsequently advanced to very high offices in the state, and created Earl of Romney. The diocese of Salisbury being at this time vacant by the death of Dr. Seth Ward, the King nominated as his successor Dr. Burnet, who had been an active and zealous instrument in accomplishing the revolution.† The primate, Sancroft, positively refused to consecrate the new Bishop; but, at length, dreading the penalties of a premunire, he granted a commission to the Bishop of London and three other suffragans to exercise his metropolitical authority.

On proposing the question in council, whether it were necessary to dissolve the convention and to call a new Parliament, the voices were divided; but the Whigs, aware of the inconveniences which would result from a dissolution, and satisfied with the apparent disposition of the Commons, were unanimous in the negative. The King, therefore, went in state to the House of Lords, and, from the throne, recommended to both Houses to "Consider of the most effectual means to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from delays in accomplishing whatever measures they might have in contemplation for the good of the nation." A bill was immediately brought in, and carried expeditiously through the House of Lords, to remove and prevent all questions and disputes concerning the assem-

* Danby, Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Lumley, the Bishop of London, Admiral Russel, and H. Sydney.

† Gilbert Burnet, whom we have so often had occasion to mention, was born at Edinburgh, in 1643, and educated at Aberdeen. In 1664 he went to Holland, where he studied the Hebrew language, and on his return was ordained and presented to the living of Saltoun. In 1669 he was appointed divinity professor at Glasgow, and soon after was employed in writing the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. About the same time he married the daughter of the Earl of Cassilis. In 1672 he published a Vindication of the Church and State of Scotland, and received the offer of a bishopric, which he declined. In 1674 he resigned his professorship and settled in London, where he became preacher at the Rolls and lecturer at St. Clement's. In 1679 appeared the first volume of his History of the Reformation, for which he received the thanks of Parliament. This work he afterwards completed in 3 vols. He also published a judicious abridgment of it. His conduct at the trial and execution of Lord Russel was so displeasing to the court, that he was dismissed from his lectureship and from his situation at the Rolls by royal mandate. At the accession of King James he went abroad, and after travelling through France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, settled in Holland, where he was in great favour with the Prince of Orange. King James sent to the States to deliver him up; but Dr. Burnet having married a Dutch lady, was considered as a citizen of Holland, and the demand was refused. He accompanied the Prince of Orange to England, and in 1689, as mentioned above, was made Bishop of Salisbury. His first pastoral letter gave offence to both Houses, on account of the Bishop's asserting the title of the King and Queen to the crown as the right of conquest, and it was ordered to be burnt by the hangman. In 1698 he lost his lady, and soon after married Mrs. Berkeley. In 1699 appeared his Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, a work of considerable value. He died in 1715, and was interred in the church of St. James's, Clerkenwell. Besides the above, he published an excellent Treatise on Pastoral Care, and several Sermons. The History of his own Times appeared in 1724, and is very entertaining, though far from being impartial. The Bishop possessed many virtues, but he was vain, officious, and credulous. He had three sons. William, the eldest, died Governor of New England, in 1729; Gilbert was chaplain to the King, and defended Hoadley in the Bangorian controversy; Thomas became a Judge of the common pleas, and died in 1753.

bling

bling and sitting of this present Parliament. In the Commons, however, the Tories maintained, that if the convention were in itself an illegal assembly, its acts could not be legalized by giving it the name of a Parliament—that the King's writ was as necessary as his presence to constitute a legal Parliament—that the convention of 1660 was called by the consent, if not by the authority, of the lawful King, and when there was no great seal in being to affix to the writs; notwithstanding which it had never been considered as a legal Parliament, its acts were ratified in a subsequent Parliament, and thence they derived their validity. No constitutional power existing, therefore, by which the convention could be converted into a Parliament, they inferred that it must of necessity be dissolved, and a new Parliament summoned. The Whigs replied, that the whole of the proceedings relative to the revolution now accomplished were in a legal sense irregular and anomalous to established principles of the constitution; but that essentials must not be sacrificed to forms. From a view of English history it was apparent, that it was never considered by our ancestors as so material how the King, Lords, and Commons came together, as that they were together. Various precedents were adduced, in support of this point; the arguments of the Whigs prevailed; and the Commons agreeing to the bill, the convention was from that time called the Parliament.

The 1st of March was appointed for taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; but several dissatisfied members, chiefly of the Upper House, retired into the country. When summoned to give their attendance, the Earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, and eight of the Bishops, including the Primate Sancroft, continued contumacious. The example of the Bishops was followed by many of the inferior clergy, who were consequently deprived of their benefices. The recusant prelates * were at first suspended from their episcopal functions, and it was not till after an interval of more than a year that the vacant sees were filled with men of less scrupulous principles.†

Soon afterwards the faction of the non-jurors, and many who had taken the oaths to the government, were discovered by intercepted letters to be engaged in secret practices against it; in consequence of which, the Earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and some others were committed to the Tower, and a bill was passed for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act—for the first time since that far-famed law had been enacted. At this period, a spirit of mutiny broke out in the army; and the royal Scotch regiment of horse and that of Dumbarton, having declared for King James, began their march from England to the North, but were pursued by General Ginckel, and compelled to surrender at discretion. This incident gave rise to the bill, now annually renewed, for punishing mutiny and desertion.

The revenue of the crown, which had been settled upon the late King for life, was declared by the House of Commons to be expired, though the courtiers pretended that the revenue had devolved to the present sovereign with the crown. They now established a distinction between the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure of the nation; settling by a provisional act the sum of 600,000*l.* upon the crown, to defray the necessary demands of the civil governments, under the appellation of the civil list; and leaving all the remaining supplies to be voted upon estimate, and appropriated to specific services, stated by ministers, and approved by the Parliament. At this political novelty, the King was not perfectly pleased; particularly as the civil list itself was granted for so short a term as one year only.‡ To extend his popularity, the King expressed, in a message to the Commons, his readiness to acquiesce in any regulations they should think proper to adopt for the suppression of hearth money, which he understood to be a grievous imposition on the subject. This tax was ultimately abolished; but in a few years afterwards, a heavy duty on windows was laid on. By the King's recommendation, also, the House of Commons voted 600,000*l.* as a compensation to the States General for the expence incurred by them in fitting out the fleet which brought the Prince of Orange to England. Another important measure brought forward during the present session, though not carried into full effect till the succeeding one, was the conversion of the Declaration of Rights, already mentioned, into the Bill of Rights. An important clause was inserted in this bill, disabling Papists from the succession to the crown—to which the Lords added, or such as should marry Papists—and absolving the subjects in this case from their allegiance.

His Majesty was now extremely solicitous that an act of Indemnity, with certain exceptions, should immediately pass. The infamous Jefferies, was under close confinement in the Tower; and Wright, formerly Lord Chief Justice of England, with several of the late judges, &c. were prisoners in Newgate. However, under the specious pretext of the difficulty of making the proper exceptions, and of the encouragement which a general indemnity would afford to the partisans of James, the bill was lost for the present session.§

King William had given a proof of his freedom from religious bigotry, when, in his speech to the two Houses on passing the Habeas Corpus Act, he expressed his hope, that in providing against Papists they would leave room for the admission of all Protestants who were willing and able to serve; affirming, that such a conjunction would unite them more firmly amongst themselves, and strengthen them against their common adversaries. When the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths was brought forward, a clause was inserted to remove the necessity, with respect to Protestants, of taking the sacramental test as a qualification for office. This, though strongly supported by the Whigs, particularly by the Marquis of Halifax, was ultimately negatived. A spirited protest was signed by the Lords Delamere, Wharton, Mordaunt, &c. against the rejection of this clause. To conciliate the Tories, the King was desirous to mitigate the severity of the bill, by vesting a discretionary power in the crown to dispense with the oaths in respect to the established clergy, the greater part of whom were notoriously inimical to the government. However, as the zeal of the Tories had defeated the former clause, the violence of the Whigs prevented the adoption of the latter.

To accomplish the project of a comprehension, a bill was introduced into the House of Lords, under the title of a bill for uniting their Majesties' Protestant subjects; by which many points in dispute between the church and dissenters respecting the use of the cross and surplice, &c. were conceded to the latter, and some verbal alterations admitted in the liturgy. This giving little satisfaction to many of the Lords, a proviso was offered, extending the prospect of reformation;—"That, in imitation of the acts passed in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. a number of persons both of the clergy and laity might be empowered to prepare such a reformation of things relating to the church, as might be offered to King and Parliament in order to the healing

* Sancroft, of Canterbury; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Lloyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worcester; and Frampton, of Gloucester; were the non-juring Bishops. The five first, were of the number of the seven Bishops sent to the Tower by King James for refusing to promulgate the declaration of indulgence.

† The new metropolitan, Dr. Tillotson, sustained a high character for moderation, wisdom, and probity. Sancroft retired to a small paternal estate in Norfolk, cultivating his garden with his own hands, and enjoying in quiet the sacrifices he had made for conscience' sake.

‡ King William declared, "that without a settled revenue a King was but a pageant;" "he understood," he said, "the good of a Common-wealth as well as of a kingly government, and it was not easy to determine which was best: but he was sure the worst of all governments was that of a King without treasure and without power."

§ Amongst those excepted by name were the Chief Justices Herbert and Wright, the Lords Jefferies and Sunderland, the Bishops of Durham, Chester, &c. Lord Warrington informs us, "that the party most affected by the bill retarded their proceedings by throwing stumbling-blocks from time to time in their way"—thinking, probably, that their peril would be greatly increased, by such an act of grace and favour as this.

of our divisions, and the correcting what might be amiss or defective in our constitution." This was strenuously opposed by Bishop Burnet; and, in consequence of his intervention, it was thrown out by a small majority. Against this decision a strong protest was entered upon the journals of the House. The bill was at length sent down to the Commons, where it was opposed by the whole strength of the high church party; and being very feebly supported by the dissenters, the leaders of whom were secretly averse from the scheme, it was finally lost. An address to the throne was moved and carried by the opponents of the bill, in which the Lords concurred, thanking his Majesty for his gracious declarations and repeated assurances that he would maintain the church of England established by law—and humbly praying that, according to the ancient usage and practice of the kingdom, in time of Parliament, his Majesty would be pleased to issue his writs for calling a convocation of the clergy to be advised in ecclesiastical matters; and assuring his Majesty that it was their intention forthwith to proceed to the consideration of giving ease to Protestant dissenters. The way being thus paved for the act of toleration, it passed rapidly through both Houses, and received the royal assent. From this toleration the Papists were expressly excluded.

As the only remaining chance of effecting any plan of ecclesiastical comprehension, the King summoned a convocation, which met in the autumn of the present year; previously to which a special commission was issued to ten Bishops and twenty dignitaries of the church to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons as might be proper to lay before the convocation. A great majority of these were of the moderate party; but, in the number were included several of a different complexion, such as Lamplugh, Archbishop of York; Mew and Sprat, Bishops of Winchester and Rochester; Jane, Divinity Professor at Oxford; Aldrich, Dean of Christchurch, &c. Scarcely had the commission been opened, in the Jerusalem chamber, than its legality and authority were called in question by Dr. Sprat. He was informed that the commissioners pretended to no authority, but were met merely to consult upon such matters as it might be necessary to arrange and prepare for the consideration of the convocation; notwithstanding which, he retired in high disgust, with Mew, Jane, and Aldrich. The commissioners, however, proceeded to digest a plan of reform, resembling that of the bill of comprehension. On the ensuing meeting of the convocation, it appeared that the court or moderate party would be left in a minority, by the choice of Dr. Jane as prolocutor, in opposition to Dr. Tillotson. When presented for approbation to the Bishop of London, who officiated as præses of the convocation during the suspension of Sancroft, the prolocutor delivered it as the sense of the Lower House, that such was the transcendent excellence of the liturgy, that it needed no amendment. A prorogation took place, in the hope of a more conciliatory decision; and at their second meeting (December 4, 1689,) the Earl of Nottingham delivered a message from the King expressed in the mildest terms, and exhorting them calmly and impartially to attend to the propositions which were to be laid before them, which would assuredly tend to the honour, peace, and advantage of the Protestant religion in general, and particularly of the church of England. After much contention, the Lower House of convocation acceded to an address proposed by the Bishops, "Thanking his Majesty for his gracious message, and expressing their fidelity and allegiance to his person:" at the same time they resolved not to enter into any debates respecting alterations. Perceiving its hopes entirely frustrated, the court now determined to put a period to the sitting of the convocation. The session of Parliament, protracted to the period of seven months, had been previously terminated on the 20th of August 1689. In the course of it, the attainder of Lord Russel, whose execution is stiled in the act a murder, and that of Algernon Sydney, were reversed.

The convention of estates in Scotland met at Edinburgh on the 14th of March 1689; and the Duke of Hamilton was chosen president by a great majority, in opposition to the Marquis of Athol, who was supported by the partisans of the late King James. Expresses arriving nearly at the same time, with letters from William and James to the convention, it was decided, after a vehement debate, that King William's letter should be the first read. It recommended to the convention, "To enter upon such consultations as were best calculated to settle the public welfare upon sure and lasting foundations; exhorted them to lay aside all animosities and factions which might impede so good a work; and expressed an earnest wish for the accomplishment of a union of the two kingdoms, as the most effectual means of securing the happiness and prosperity of both nations. A committee was immediately appointed to draw up a respectful answer to this letter; and as it was thought, that the letter of King James, then about to be read, might contain some clause to dissolve the assembly or annul their proceedings, a unanimous resolution was passed, "That the convention was a free and lawful meeting of the estates; and that they would continue undissolved until they had settled and secured the Protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom."—James's letter was found to contain a violent declamation against the authors and abettors of what he stiled "The blackest of usurpations, and the most unjust as well as unnatural of all attempts; and warning the convention to avoid, by a loyalty suitable to the many professions they had made, the infamy and disgrace they must bring upon themselves in this world, and the condemnation due to the rebellious in the next." Irritated by these reproaches, they ordered the messenger to be taken into custody, and after some time dismissed him with a pass instead of an answer.

A committee of twenty-four persons, consisting of eight members selected out of each of the three estates of Lords, Knights, and Burgesses, was now appointed to prepare and digest the plan of a new settlement; and, in a few days, they came to the following resolution: "The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare that King James VII. being a professed Papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as a King without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary despotic power; and had governed the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forfeited the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." This resolution was adopted and confirmed by the convention, with the exception of five dissentient voices only—the adherents of the late King James having previously seceded from the assembly. The new sovereigns were on the same day proclaimed at the market cross of Edinburgh. The Earl of Argyle (who had been permitted to take his seat, notwithstanding the attainder of his father,) Sir James Montgomery and Sir John Dalrymple were then nominated commissioners to invest their Majesties with the royal dignity; and on the 11th of May 1689, they were introduced to the King and Queen at Whitehall, and delivered to them, together with a letter from the estates,

I. The instrument of government.

II. A paper containing a catalogue of the national grievances.

III. An address to the King for turning the convention into a Parliament—to all which the King replied very graciously.

The coronation oath was then tendered; but, as it contained a clause, "That they would be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, &c." the King protested that he did not mean to bind himself by these words to become a persecutor. The commissioners replying, that neither the meaning of the oath nor the law of Scotland did import it; his Majesty rejoined, that he took the oath in that sense,

and called upon the commissioners themselves and others present to witness that he did so.

The whole kingdom seemed to submit to the new authority, the castle of Edinburgh excepted, of which the Duke of Gordon, a Papist, was governor. Upon being summoned by the convention, he peremptorily refused to deliver up the fortress; upon which he was publicly proclaimed a traitor and rebel. But a formidable opposition to the new government was soon excited by the celebrated Viscount Dundee; who had formed himself upon the model of the heroic Montrose. Having left the convention with the rest of the seceders, he quitted Edinburgh at the head of about 50 horse. On being asked whither he was going, his answer was, "Wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me." In the interior of the country, he soon collected a considerable force, entirely composed of highlanders. He soon made a rapid and alarming progress; and receiving great promises of support from the late King, he flattered himself with the hope of ultimately restoring the royal authority in Scotland. Being closely followed by General Mackay, and the English army, after various marches and counter-marches the two armies came to an engagement May the 26th, 1689, at the pass of Killicranky, some miles above Dunkeld. The English troops were entirely broken in less than ten minutes: the dragoons fled at the first charge, and the whole train of artillery fell into the hands of the enemy. The victory thus obtained appeared decisive, when a random shot put an end to the life of Dundee; and General Mackay, taking advantage of the circumstance, rallied his men, and retrieved the battle thus apparently lost. Struck with grief and consternation, the highlanders were never after able to make head; and they almost universally took the benefit of the pardon offered by King William. The Duke of Gordon, despairing of relief, surrendered the castle of Edinburgh at discretion on the 13th of June 1689: so that the whole island of Britain now acknowledged the sovereignty of the new monarch.

Ireland, however, was far from following this example. In March, 1689, the King, by message, informed the Parliament, that the late King had sailed from Brest with French troops in order to effect a landing in Ireland; on which a joint address was presented, declaring "That they would with their lives and fortunes assist his Majesty in supporting the alliances abroad, in the reduction of Ireland, and in defending the religion and laws of the kingdom." In April the House of Commons further resolved, "That in case his Majesty thought fit to engage in the war with France, the House would give him all such assistance in a Parliamentary way as should enable him to support and go through with the same." In a subsequent address, founded on this resolution, they expressed their confidence, that through his Majesty's wisdom the alliances already made and hereafter to be concluded, would be effectual to reduce the French King to a condition that it might not be in his power hereafter to violate the peace of christendom. On the 7th of May following, 1689, war was formally declared against France.

James, on his arrival in France, had been received by Louis with the utmost hospitality and kindness; and hopes were given him that he should be speedily re-established on his throne. James, however, evinced no symptoms of spirit or understanding. His faculties appeared to be absorbed in the lowest superstition. His favourite occupation was holding conferences with the jesuits, into which order he had been initiated, on the mysteries of religion. He consequently became the subject of public contempt and derision in France. Great naval and military preparations, however, were made with a view of accomplishing his restoration. Early in March, a fleet of 14 ships of the line was collected at Brest, on board of which James embarked with a considerable body of troops, Irish, French, and English, commanded chiefly by French officers, under M. Rosen, a general of approved skill and courage. At parting, Louis, embracing James with demonstrations of high regard, said, "The best thing I can wish your Majesty is, that I may never see you again." The whole armament arrived safely at Kinsale, where a landing was effected without opposition on the 22d of March, 1689.

Lieutenant General Hamilton, an Irish officer of great address, and at this time a prisoner of war, in England, having served in the armies of France, was at his own request suffered to go on his parole to Ireland, with a view to persuade the Lord Lieutenant, Tyrconnel to surrender. If there were any previous indecision in the counsels of Lord Tyrconnel, it vanished on his interview with Hamilton, who, with the most profligate dereliction of principle, used every effort to confirm him in his attachment to King James, and exerted himself to the utmost, in support of the same cause. On James's arrival in Ireland, the whole kingdom seemed to be at his devotion. Tyrconnel had disarmed the Protestants, and assembled an army of forty thousand Catholics well provided by means of the supplies sent from France: and about the end of March, James made his public entrance into Dublin, and assisted at a solemn mass.

A strong squadron under Admiral Herbert was fitted out with all expedition, with the view of intercepting the French fleet on its return: on the 1st of May it came in sight of the enemy, lying at anchor in Bantry bay. The French perceiving an engagement inevitable, bore down in line of battle; but Admiral Herbert not being able to gain the wind, the ships fought at a great distance; and, the engagement proving indecisive, both sides boasted of the victory. The French, however, had some reason to be elated with the success of the expedition; their commander having landed his troops, repulsed the enemy, taking several prizes, and brought his ships back to Brest in good condition and without loss, in the course of a few weeks.

A Parliament was convened by James to meet in Dublin on the 7th of May 1689, by which the famous act of settlement, passed soon after the restoration, was triumphantly repealed. Thus two thirds of the Protestants in Ireland were deprived of their estates, without any exception or consideration. Even the estate of Sir Phelim O'Neil, the notorious rebel, was unconditionally restored to his descendants.*

The bill of repeal was followed by an act attainting all Protestant absentees; the attainder also reaching all such as from and after the 1st of August 1688, corresponded with any who were in actual rebellion, or who were any ways aiding, abetting, or assisting thereto; that is, the whole body of Irish Protestants, who were universally attached to the new government. By a barbarous and bloody clause, supposed to have been inserted at the express desire of James, the monarch was debarred the power of pardoning after the last day of the ensuing month of November 1689—the pardon, if not enrolled previously to that time being declared null and void.†

Londonderry almost singly adopted the resolution of shutting

* The chief supporter of the bill in the House of Lords was the Lord Chancellor Fitton; a wretch, if possible, more infamous than the English Chancellor Jefferies; he had been taken from prison, where he had lain several years a convicted felon under punishment for the crime of forgery, and placed by King James at the head of the law department in Ireland, with no other merit than that of a furious zeal for Popery, or rather rage approaching the limits of insanity, combined with the most abject subserviency to the mandates of the court.

† Another act was passed, of a different and more ambiguous nature, to abolish the dependency of Ireland upon the Parliament of England, and to prohibit the transmission of all writs of error and appeal to the English courts of judicature. A bill was also introduced for the repeal of Poyning's law; but this James angrily resisted. A law was indeed enacted for liberty of conscience; but as this indulgence was not to take place till after the legal massacre of the Protestants, it seemed only calculated to add insult to injury. A royal proclamation was about the same time issued, forbidding above five Protestants meeting any where upon pain of death; and the question being submissively asked, whether this prohibition extended to the churches, Colonel Luttrel, Governor of the city, declared that it was intended to prevent their assembling there as well as in other places; in consequence of which the Protestant clergy were universally silenced, and the religious assemblies of Protestants every where suppressed.

shutting its gates against King James. Colonel Lundy had been appointed governor of this place. At a council of war, this cowardly or traitorous officer declared that the place was not tenable: a message was consequently sent to James, who was on his march to the city, offering to negotiate, and requesting that the army might halt at the distance of four miles from the town. James, however, in violation, as it is said of an agreement signed by General Hamilton, in the evening of the 18th of April, encamped under the walls of the city. Exasperated at this refusal to treat, the besieged made a furious sally, and compelled the King's forces to retire in disorder to St. John's town. The governor finding himself the object of popular rage, and perceiving that his schemes were frustrated, made his escape in disguise; and the inhabitants chose Major Baker and Mr. Walker, a clergyman, joint governors. These gentlemen prepared for defence with most heroic resolution. The city was imperfectly fortified; the cannon were badly mounted; they had no engineer to direct their operations; the garrison were undisciplined; they were destitute of stores, and exposed to the attack of a numerous and enraged enemy, provided with all the means for a regular siege, with the King at their head. Yet was there no mention of a surrender. The batteries were opened; but in every attack the besiegers were repulsed with considerable loss. Soon, however, the garrison and inhabitants had the additional calamities to contend against, of a contagious disorder and a scarcity of provisions, which by degrees arose to an absolute famine. Wearied with the perseverance of the besieged, James withdrew to Dublin, and left the command with Rosen, who declared that he would rase the town to its foundations, and destroy all the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex, if they any longer delayed their submission. Finding his threats ineffectual, he ordered all the Protestant inhabitants of the neighbourhood, to the amount of several thousands, to be drawn under the walls of Londonderry, there to perish, should the refusal to surrender be persisted in. At the same time he declared, that he would lay the whole country waste if any attempt were made for their relief. The Bishop of Meath having remonstrated to the King in person against these cruelties, James replied, "That General Rosen was a foreigner, and accustomed to these proceedings;—but that he had ordered him to desist." A prospect of relief at length appeared. An armament from England appeared in the Lough, having on board a considerable body of troops; but the enemy had erected batteries opposite the ships, and thrown a boom composed of timber, chains, and cables, across the narrow part of the river, so that it was doubtful whether the passage could be forced. Taking advantage however of a favourable gale, the Montjoy boldly sailed athwart and broke the boom: she was run aground by the violence of the shock; but, firing a broad side at the enemy, who attempted to board her, she cleared and righted, and passed the boom, followed by the Phœnix and Dartmouth. They now proceeded without farther molestation to the city, where they were received with transports of joy, the garrison being reduced to the last extremity. M. de Rosen immediately raised the siege, July 31, 1689, with the greatest precipitation, having lost eight or nine thousand men before its walls, with more than a hundred officers. The heroic defence of Londonderry was attended with the most important consequences. The town of Inniskillen also distinguished itself by a very gallant and successful resistance.

On the 12th of August 1689, General Schomberg, who had accompanied King William on his expedition to England, and who now held the chief command of the army destined for the relief of Ireland, landed with his troops, amounting to about sixteen thousand men, at Carrickfergus. After taking possession of the towns of Carrickfergus and Belfast with little opposition, he began his march to the southward. Upon his approach the Irish abandoned Newry, a strong post, and Dundalk; and here, in a situation very ineligible, M. Schomberg encamped his army in a low moist ground, having the town of Dundalk and the river towards the south, the Newry mountains to the east, and to the north hills and morasses intermixed. He meant, it is said, to continue his progress, but was disappointed of his train of artillery, which was to have been embarked at Chester for Carlingford. The army, therefore, remained wholly inactive during the autumnal months at Dundalk. Rosen, hearing that the English general halted at Dundalk, said he was sure Schomberg wanted something, and he ventured to advance as far as Ardee. No provocation, however, could induce Schomberg to engage, being much inferior in force, and conceiving the loss of a battle to be the loss of Ireland. King William repeatedly urged him in his letters to put something to the hazard, but he would not deviate from his plan of defence. This general was now upwards of eighty years of age; and after the numerous victories which had distinguished his military career, he would not risque the disgrace of a defeat from an army of Irish rebels. In the interim, a detachment of the Irish army under Colonel Sarsfield, seized on the important town of Sligo. Winter approaching, both armies went into quarters, to the great discontent of the English, who had formed high expectations from the skill and conduct of General Schomberg.

After a very short recess, the English Parliament met on the 19th of October, 1689, and the session was opened by a speech from the throne, remarkable for being the composition of the King himself. The House of Commons, in the very spirit of the speech, expressed their unanimous determination to prosecute the war against the French, in conjunction with the allies, and immediately voted a large supply. A committee was then appointed to examine who were the advisers and prosecutors of the murders, as they were termed, of Russel, Sydney, Armstrong, &c. and who were chiefly concerned in the practices touching the writs of Quo Warranto, and the surrender of charters. This enquiry was levelled at the Marquis of Hallifax, who had resigned his office of Speaker to the House of Lords, and now saw the necessity also of relinquishing the Privy-Seal, and withdrawing entirely from court. At this period, pressing instances were made by the Tories to the King to dissolve the Parliament. These intrigues coming to the knowledge of the Whigs, a bill was introduced by them into the House of Commons, for restoring corporations to their rights and privileges. It contained the following clause: "that every Mayor, Recorder, &c. of any city or borough, who did not consent to or join in the surrender of any charters, or did solicit or contribute to the charge of prosecuting any scire facias or information in the nature of a quo warranto, shall be adjudged incapable of holding or executing any office of trust in such a capacity for the space of seven years." After a violent contest, the clause was negatived; and, in this state, the bill was transmitted to the Lords, by whom it was passed, though not without some difficulty. The King, however, had been persuaded, that to give his assent to the bill, even in this form, would be a virtual surrender of himself to the Whigs. To avoid the consequences of a rupture with the latter, he went to the House of Peers on the 27th of January, 1690, and, after announcing his intention to repair in person to Ireland, prorogued the Parliament to the 2d of April. On the 6th of February, a proclamation was issued for its dissolution, and a new Parliament was summoned to meet on the 20th of March, 1690.

Before the Parliament was prorogued, General Ludlow, a member of the high court of justice which had sentenced King Charles I. to the block, unexpectedly made his appearance in England, with a view of being employed in Ireland, where he had formerly served with great credit. Having been excepted in the act of indemnity passed at the Restoration, he had retired to Vevay in Switzerland, where he had resided many years. Soon after his arrival in this country, the House of Commons were induced to vote an address to the King, to issue his royal proclamation for the apprehension of the regicide, which the King complied with, but not till

Ludlow had safely arrived in Holland, whence he returned to Vevay, where he wrote his well known Memoirs.

A. D. 1690.] King William's displeasure at the Whigs appeared by the dismission of the Lords Monmouth and Delamere from the Treasury, of which Sir John Lowther was appointed first commissioner, under whom Mr. Hampden acted as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The complexion of the new Parliament appeared by their choice of Sir John Trevor as Speaker, who had occupied the same office in the Parliament held in the late reign. The King, after repeating his former declaration to prosecute the war in Ireland in person, urged the settlement of the revenue, and stated, that having often unavailingly recommended a general indemnity to the last Parliament, he now proposed sending them an Act of Grace, with only a few exceptions. He recommended an union between England and Scotland, as an event which would be productive of great benefit to both nations.

The Tory interest predominated in the new Parliament; but the Whigs retained sufficient influence to prevent the revenue being settled for life; and it was agreed that the hereditary excise should be granted for life, and the Customs for four years from Christmas 1690. The first great trial of strength between the two parties was occasioned by a bill introduced into the House of Lords, recognizing their Majesties as the rightful and lawful sovereigns of these realms, and declaring all the acts of the last Parliament to be good and valid. This very much perplexed the Tories. The words "rightful and lawful" were strongly objected against, and at length dropped as superfluous. Respecting the latter clause, the Tories would only consent to enact, that the laws passed in the last Parliament should be good for the time to come. After a violent debate the bill was committed: but the declaratory clause was lost on the report by six voices; which occasioned one of the most able and decisive protests upon record.* In consequence of this exertion the clause was restored; upon which the Tory Lords in their turn, signed a protest, in which they affirmed, that the declaring of laws to be good which had been passed in a Parliament not called by writ in due form of law, was destructive of the legal constitution of the monarchy. This gave such offence, that the Whigs moved and triumphantly carried, a resolution for expunging the protest from the Journals of the House. In the Commons, the Tories declined the contest; and, when a solitary member presumed to question the legality of the Convention, Somers, the Solicitor General, answered, "that if the Convention Parliament was not a legal Parliament, they who were then met, and who had taken the oaths enacted by that Parliament, were guilty of high-treason—the laws repealed by it were still in force—they must therefore return to their allegiance to King James. All the moneys levied, collected, and paid, by virtue of the acts of that Parliament, made every one concerned in the execution of such acts highly criminal." Struck with these arguments, the House passed the bill without farther debate; and thus the Tories themselves gave the last hand to that settlement which they had hitherto affected both to consider and represent as illegal.

Another measure, still more obnoxious to the Tories than the former, was a bill requiring from all persons holding offices, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, an oath abjuring the late King James and his title. King William entirely disapproved this bill, recommending the House of Commons, "to go to other matters that were more pressing;" and on a division it was rejected by a majority of 192 against 165. A bill for reversing the judgment on a Quo Warranto against the city of London, for restoring it to its ancient rights and privileges, and declaring the charters granted since the late judgment null and void, passed, with a proviso, that the act should not extend to discharge any of those persons who had acted as magistrates in virtue of those charters without the legal qualifications. Another bill soon followed, ordering the 500l. forfeitures, to which those persons were liable who had acted in any civil or military capacity in the late reign, in violation of the Test laws, to be paid into the Exchequer.

The session concluded May 21, 1690, with the Act of Grace announced by the King, which passed without debate, division or amendment in either House.†

Disgusted at the turn things had now taken, the Earl of Shrewsbury determined upon resigning the Seals as Secretary of State, not yielding even to the entreaties of the King to retain possession of them till his return from Ireland. Affairs were now entirely in the hands of Carmarthen and Nottingham, who hated the Whigs as republicans and levellers, and by whom they were equally detested as men of intolerant, and despotic principles.

It was on the 4th of June, 1690, that King William set out for Ireland, attended by the Prince of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and many other Noblemen and Gentlemen. On the 14th, he arrived at Belfast, where he was met by Marechal Schomberg, who had obtained several advantages during the winter campaign. The important post of Charlemont, with several others, was reduced; and upon the whole, the province of Ulster was nearly recovered. The King now declared, "that he did not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet." On a general review of the troops on the arrival of all the reinforcements, they were found to amount to 36,000 effective men, English and foreigners. William immediately began his march to Dundalk, and afterwards advanced to Ardee, which the Irish, with James at their head, quitted upon his approach, and repassed the Boyne, encamping on the southern banks of the river. The Irish army was inferior in numbers, and also in courage and discipline, to that of the English; but James, contrary to the advice of his officers, who proposed strengthening their garrisons and retiring beyond the Shannon, was determined to risque a general engagement on this spot. The river was deep; and, his front being farther secured by a morass and rising ground, he could not be attacked without evident disadvantage; so that he expressed much "satisfaction in this opportunity of fighting one fair battle for his crown." On the 30th of June King William encamped at break of day with his whole army on the northern side of the Boyne, resolved, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Schomberg, to pass the river and attack the enemy the next day. Upon reconnoitring the enemy's camp, the King made at one place so long a stop, that it was perceived by a party of horse on the opposite side; who, bringing a couple of field pieces to bear upon him, at the first discharge killed a man and two horses very near to his person, and by the second the King himself was slightly wounded, the ball grazing the right shoulder. William treated this as a trifle; but it occasioned great confusion amongst his attendants; and the report of his death flew rapidly to Dublin, and even to Paris, where it was celebrated with bonfires and illuminations. Previously to his retiring to his tent, the King rode through the ranks by torch-light, to produce the most perfect conviction of his safety. The plan of the battle, without any previous communication, was transmitted by the King to Marechal Schomberg late in the evening: that General received it with dissatisfaction, declaring that it was the first which he had ever so received.

On the morning of the 1st of July, 1690, the army

* At the conclusion, the Protesting Lords thus expressed themselves: "If the last was no Parliament, and their acts no law, the nation is engaged in a war without the consent of Parliament, the old oaths of supremacy and allegiance remain in force, and the nation forced under colour of law to swear fidelity to King William. The Peers and Commons now assembled are under a perpetual disability; and the nation is involved in endless doubts and confusions, without any legal settlement, or possibility to arrive at it, unless a Parliament be summoned by King James's writ, and the oaths of allegiance taken to him."

† Some of the more remarkable exceptions in the Act of Grace were, the Marquis of Powis; the Earls of Sunderland, Melfort, Huntingdon, and Castlemain; Lord Chief Justice Herbert; the Bishops of Durham and St. David's; the Judges Withers, Jenner, and Holloway, &c. in all about thirty; of whom it does not appear that any were prosecuted to conviction, excepting such as were afterwards concerned in plots against the government.

passed

BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

Published by J. & J. Taylor, Albion Place, London, 1826.

passed in three bodies at Sloane to the westward, Old Bridge in the centre, and certain fords nearer Drogheda to the left. The respective divisions of the English army vied with each other in gallantry, and nobly repulsed the attempts of the Irish to obstruct the passage. M. Caillemotte, a French refugee officer of great merit, on receiving a mortal wound at the head of his regiment, was carried back to the English camp, and, meeting others crossing the river; encouraged them by exclaiming "A la gloire, mes enfans—à la gloire!" (To glory, my lads; to glory!) M. Schomberg perceiving the French Protestants exposed, and in some disorder, from the loss of their commander, passed the river in haste without his armour, with all the ardour of youth, to put himself at their head. In a short time he fell; whether by the fire of his own men, or of the enemy, could not be clearly ascertained.* The courage, activity, and presence of mind of the King himself were extremely conspicuous during the whole of this engagement; in the course of which he repeatedly charged the enemy sword in hand. An English soldier in the heat of the battle pointing his piece at him, he turned it aside without emotion, saying only, "Do you not know your friends?" The day was far advanced, and the Irish began to retire on all sides: General Hamilton, who commanded the horse, making a furious charge, in the desperate hope of retrieving the battle, was wounded and taken prisoner. When brought into the presence of the King, who knew him to be the life and soul of the Irish army, William asked him, "if he thought the enemy would make any farther resistance?" to which Hamilton replied, "Upon my honour, I believe they will." The King, regarding him with a look of disdain, repeated, "Your HONOR!" but took no other notice of his treachery. The Irish now fled; but William having neglected the advice of Schomberg to secure the pass of Duleek, they suffered little loss in their flight. The King also, recalling his troops from the pursuit, expressed himself averse to the unnecessary sacrifice of life.

James kept his station with a few squadrons of horse on the hill of Dunoré, to the south of the river, viewing through a telescope from the tower of the church the movements of the two armies. On learning that he was in danger of being surrounded, he marched off to Duleek, and thence in great haste to Dublin. There he assembled the Magistrates and council, and told them, "that the army he had depended upon had basely fled the field, nor could they be prevailed upon to rally, though the loss in the defeat was but inconsiderable; so that henceforward he determined never more to head an Irish army, but resolved to shift for himself, as they themselves must also do." He departed for Waterford, the next day, attended by the Duke of Berwick, the Marquis of Powis, and the Earl of Tyrconnel—ordering the bridges to be broken down every where behind him. At Waterford he embarked, and was conveyed to his former residence, at St. German's.

Immediately after the victory, Drogheda was invested, and speedily it surrendered. On the 5th of July the King encamped at Finglass, within two miles of Dublin, where he was informed of King James's flight to Waterford, and subsequent embarkation for France. The principal Catholics having also abandoned Dublin, the Protestants had recovered their ascendency; and, a deputation being sent, requesting the King to honour that city with his presence, he made his public entrance the next day.

The Irish army, having retired in confusion towards Athlone, on the banks of the Shannon, the King, dividing his forces, detached General Douglas to pursue the flying enemy, proceeding himself to the southward, and taking possession successively of Carlow, Kilkenny, and Waterford. About this period, a proclamation of grace and pardon was published, but less comprehensive than the King was desirous to have made it. General Douglas having reached Athlone on the 27th of July summoned the town to surrender; but Colonel Grace, the Governor, undaunted by the ill-success which had recently attended their arms, fired a pistol at the trumpeter, saying, "These are my terms." The English General resolved on undertaking the siege of the place; but his force was not adequate to the enterprize; and, after battering the castle for some days with little effect, he hastily withdrew his troops, on finding that General Sarsfield was on his march to relieve the fortress, at the head of 15,000 men. The principal object of the campaign, was the reduction of the important city of Limerick, in the vicinity of which the Irish had concentrated the far greater part of their force. A junction having been formed between the King's forces and those employed in the attack of Athlone, within a few miles of Limerick; the city was invested on the 9th of August, 1690. The siege was prosecuted with great diligence, and the place defended with equal resolution; but a most disastrous incident took place in the surprisal, by General Sarsfield, of almost the whole train of heavy artillery destined for the besieging army, and the total destruction of the carriages, waggons and ammunition; after having previously attacked and cut in pieces the detachment by which the convoy was guarded. A breach having been at last made of about 12 yards in breadth, the King ordered a general assault; but the courage of the enemy seemed to rise to fury; and, after being driven from the counterscarp, they returned to the attack with impetuosity never exceeded: even the women rushed forward and encouraged the soldiers of the garrison with amazonian fortitude. At length, the English were repulsed with the loss of 1200 of their choicest troops. The King gave orders, two days after, to raise the siege, and the army retreated towards Clonmell. Having constituted Lord Sydney and Sir Thomas Coningsby Lords Justices of Ireland, and leaving the command of the army with Count Solmes, who soon after resigned it to General Ginckel, his Majesty embarked at Duncannon on the 5th of September, 1690, and arrived safely within a few days at Windsor.

The Earl of Marlborough, who had already distinguished himself, gained additional fame by a successful attack on Cork and Kinsale with 5000 troops from England, joined by 5000 more in Ireland. By the capture of these cities, all connection between Ireland and France on that side was cut off; and the Earl of Marlborough returned to England covered with laurels, having been absent on this expedition only thirty-seven days.

General Ginckel, reinforced by a considerable body of troops from Scotland under General Mackay, took the field, about the beginning of June, 1691, and immediately directed his march to Athlone, taking in his way the town of Ballymore, which was fortified and garrisoned as a sort of advanced post. On the 18th, he sat down before Athlone. That part of the town which is situated to the eastward of the Shannon river was soon carried by assault; but the chief strength of the besieged lay in the fortifications on the Connaught side, defended by a castle which could be approached only by forcing the passage of the river; and several vigorous but unsuccessful attempts were made, to gain possession of the bridge. A council of war was consequently held on the 30th, to determine whether it would not be adviseable to raise the siege. Generals Mackay, Talmash, Rouvigny, &c. urged that no brave action could be performed without hazard, and gave it as their opinion that the attack on the bridge should be given up, and the passage of the river attempted at a ford a little below the bridge; and they offered to head the troops which should be destined to the service. General Ginckel

* This celebrated personage was regarded as one of the first military characters of the age; and he possessed all the virtues and accomplishments of a hero. He was nobly rewarded in England, for services expected, rather than performed by him, with a dukedom and a parliamentary donation of 100,000*l*. Walker the clergyman, who had rendered himself so famous by his defence of Londonderry, also lost his life in this action, gloriously combating in the cause of his country. Inflamed by the irresistible impulse of military enthusiasm, he could not, after his brows were encircled with the laurel wreath of victory, reconcile himself to his former habitudes—and with him the gown ceded to arms.

acceded to the offer. The fords of the Shannon are few and dangerous; and, that in question was only wide enough for twenty men to march abreast. The bottom was rocky, the stream flowing with prodigious rapidity, and rising in the shallowest part nearly breast high. On the opposite shore was a bastion raised to defend the pass. To deceive the enemy, the troops were not drawn out till six o'clock, the time of relieving guard; and, on the customary signal for that duty, a detachment of grenadiers, supported by six battalions of infantry, commanded by the Prince of Wirtemberg, the Generals Mackay, Tetteau, and Talmash, who served that day as a volunteer, entered the water by twenties, to the astonishment of the Irish, who instantly commenced a heavy fire from all their forts and batteries. General Sarsfield hastily communicating to M. St. Ruth, now commander-in-chief of the combined armies of French and Irish, lying a few miles from the town, that the English were attempting the passage of the river, and demanding immediate succours, St. Ruth roundly affirmed the thing to be impossible. "They dare not make such an attempt," said he, "and I so near! I would give 1000 pistoles to find it true." Sarsfield told him, "he would find English courage capable of attempting any thing."—The assailants gradually advanced, in the face of a tremendous fire; and having gained the opposite bank, the rest of the army soon followed the pontoons, and planks thrown across the broken arches of the bridge. The Irish, panic-struck, scarcely attempted resistance; and in half an hour the town was in possession of the besiegers, with the works, which remained entire towards the enemy's camp. St. Ruth now made a late and vain attempt to dislodge the English: but the cannon of the garrison were by this time turned against him; and that very night he silently decamped with his whole army, and took a new and strong position in the neighbourhood of Aghrim. His camp was extended two miles on the ridge of a hill, with a morass in front, passable only by a narrow central path, crossed by the river Suke, and defended at the extremity by the castle of Aghrim; on his left were steep hills rising among swamps; and on the right was a pass defended by two old forts about half a mile from the morass, the interval being occupied by many small enclosures lined with musqueteers. General Ginckel, having viewed the enemy's position, declared his determination to attack them. St. Ruth, perceiving the preparations, exerted all the efforts of an able commander to counteract them, making an harangue to his troops well calculated to produce upon minds so gross and barbarous a very powerful effect. He issued strict orders to give quarter to none, especially not to spare any of the French heretics in the Prince of Orange's army. He took also the most effectual way to infuse courage into the Irish, by sending their priests among them to animate them, and by making them swear on the sacrament never to forsake their colours.—About eleven in the morning of the 12th of July, 1691, being Sunday, the English army advanced to the edge of the morass with a view to force the passes, which were defended with enthusiastic resolution. After several hours contest, no ground being gained, a feint was made on the enemy's left: large reinforcements were immediately sent by St. Ruth to that quarter, to the weakening of the right and centre, and the passes after much effusion of blood, were forced. The English, however, had scarcely obtained firm footing on the other side of the morass, and begun to ascend the hill, than the main body of the enemy fell upon them with such fury, that they were compelled to retreat with precipitation into the morass; at the sight of which St. Ruth cried out in a bravado, "Now will I drive the English army back to the gates of Dublin." Reinforcements arriving, however, the English rallied; and the enemy at the same instant sustaining an irreparable loss by the death of their General, who was taken off by a random ball, the fate of the battle was decided. Sarsfield, to whom St. Ruth had not communicated his dispositions, was unable to counteract the despair of the moment. The camp was abandoned, and great slaughter was made in the pursuit. The English army now marched to Galway, which made no serious resistance; but Limerick displayed, under the auspices of Sarsfield, every symptom of determined courage. On the 26th of August that city was a second time invested on the Munster side; two days previously to which died within its walls the Earl of Tyrconnel. The operations of the army were seconded by a squadron of ships of war, which sailed up the Shannon. The siege having been pressed for nearly a month, and little progress made, the enemy receiving continual supplies from the other side of the river, General Ginckel, at the head of a large division of the army, passed the Shannon over a bridge of boats on the 22d of September, some miles above the town, leaving the Prince of Wirtemberg, Mackay, and Talmash to command on the other side. After several bloody encounters, he succeeded in effecting the complete investment of the city. The garrison now seemed to think only how to secure the best terms for themselves; and General Ginckel acceded to terms more moderate than they had been led to expect. On the first of October, the Lords Justices arrived in the English camp; and on the 3d the articles were signed, comprehending not the surrender of Limerick merely, but all the forts, castles, and garrisons still in possession of the Irish. In return, a general indemnity was granted; and they were reinstated in all the privileges of subjects, on condition of taking the oaths of allegiance, without being required to take the oath of supremacy. They were also restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise of religion as was conformable to that which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. Such officers and soldiers in the service of James as were desirous to go beyond sea, were to be furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to the amount of 70 transport vessels, accompanied, for their protection and the accommodation of the officers, by two ships of war—and they also had liberty to transport 900 horses. The inhabitants of Limerick and other garrisons were empowered to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visit, or payment of duty; it was agreed, that all prisoners of war should be set at liberty; and all the respective garrisons were allowed to march out of the towns and fortresses yet in their possession, with the honors of war. Great offence was taken at these articles, by the malignity of some, and the rapacity of others; but the many thousands who retired to the continent, left behind them sufficient property to gratify any ordinary lust of wealth or vengeance. The refugees were received, on their arrival in France, with much kindness and generosity. General Ginckel was solemnly thanked by Parliament for his services; and the titles of Earl of Athlone and Baron Aghrim were conferred upon him.

When King William left England, the Queen was appointed sole Regent, with a Cabinet Council, consisting of nine persons, four of whom were Whigs; but the real power was supposed to reside in the Lords Carmarthen and Nottingham. Her Majesty had hitherto led a private domestic life; but it now appeared that she was by no means destitute of talents for business; and, notwithstanding the perpetual conflict between the two state factions, she governed with such mildness, and mediated with such address, that she rose higher than ever in the estimation of both.

During the Regency, the first great object of the government was to fit out a fleet, equal to that which the French were preparing in Brest. The English Admiralty, however, was not successful. By the exertions of M. de Seignelay, the Marine Minister of France, a fleet of 78 ships of the line, commanded by the Count de Tourville, entered the English Channel, and were discovered off Plymouth on the 20th of June, 1690. Lord Torrington, commander-in-chief of the combined squadrons of English and Dutch, fell down to St. Helens, in order to give the enemy battle, though inferior in force by 22 ships of the line; thirty ships of war lying in Plymouth Sound not being able to join them. His Lordship, extremely chagrined at this disappointment, would have avoided an engagement; but the

the Queen was persuaded to send him positive orders to fight; so that, standing far up the Channel, he again bore down upon the enemy off Beachy-head, on the 30th of June, making two hours after day-break the signal for battle, which the French were not disposed to decline. The Dutch squadron were soon engaged with the van, and the blue division of the English with the rear of the French; but the red, which formed the centre, under the command of Torrington in person, could not, or at least did not, come into the action till ten. At that time, a wide interval was left between the center and the van; of which the French took the advantage, and so surrounded the Dutch ships, that they would have been entirely cut off or destroyed had not the centre division at length borne down to their assistance, and run between them and the enemy. About five in the afternoon the action was interrupted by a calm; and the English admiral, perceiving how severely the fleet had suffered, declined a renewal of the engagement; and weighing anchor at the close of day, he retired eastward. The French pursued in a regular line of battle, as far as Rye; and the English were compelled to burn the disabled ships, that they might not fall into their hands. This was the most signal naval victory ever gained by the French over the English. Three Dutch line of battle ships were sunk in the engagement, and three more stranded and burnt in the pursuit; besides two ships lost by the English. The Earl of Torrington brought the shattered remains of his fleet into the Thames, and, resigning the command to Sir John Ashley, he immediately repaired to the metropolis, which he found in a state of the greatest consternation. An immediate invasion was expected; but the French fleet, after insulting the defenceless coasts, retreated to Brest harbour.

The Queen immediately issued a proclamation, requiring the prompt service of all able seamen and mariners, with bounties for rendering themselves voluntarily, and penalties for disobedience; ordered a number of new commissions for the army, and a camp to be formed in the vicinity of Torbay, where a descent was deemed most probable; caused the Earls of Litchfield, Aylesbury, Castlemain, and the Lords Preston and Bellasis, with various other disaffected persons, to be apprehended; deprived the Earl of Torrington* of his command, and sent him prisoner to the Tower; and deputed an Envoy Extraordinary to the States General, to inform their High Mightinesses, "how much she was concerned at the misfortune which had befallen their squadron in the late engagement, and at their not having been seconded as they ought; which matter her Majesty had directed to be examined into, in order to recompence those that had done their duty, and to punish such as should be found to have deserved it; that she had directed 12 great ships to be fitted out, and hoped the States would do their utmost to reinforce their fleet in this juncture."

The English Parliament assembled at Westminster, on the 2d of October 1690, and the leading topics of the speech from the throne were the success of the war in Ireland, the late naval defeat, and the necessity of acting with vigour in support of the confederacy abroad. The most loyal addresses were returned, and extraordinary supplies voted, to the amount of four millions—at that time the largest sum ever asked, or given to a King of England, in one session. That the money thus bestowed might be honestly expended, a committee of accounts was instituted, consisting of nine members of the House of Commons, invested with full powers to summon whatever persons they thought proper, and to tender them an oath to answer all such questions as should be required of them. In the month of November Lord Sydney was appointed Secretary of State, in the room of the Earl of Shrewsbury; and Lord Godolphin, First Lord of the Treasury, in the room of Sir John Lowther.

King William was now impatient to repair to the Grand Congress appointed to be held at the Hague during the winter. On the 5th of January, 1691, therefore, he came to the House, and, communicating his intentions, gave his assent to the bills which were ready, and put an end to the session. Early in the same month he embarked at Gravesend, under convoy of a powerful squadron commanded by Sir George Rooke; and on the 18th about noon, being informed by a fisherman that Goree was distant only a league and a half, he resolved to quit the yacht and go on board a shallop, attended by the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, and several other persons of distinction. A thick fog, however, coming on, and the coast being surrounded with ice, they were not able to make the shore, and for the space of 18 hours, they were exposed to the inclemency of a winter's night. The danger was extreme; but the fortitude of the King did not for a moment forsake him. On hearing some of the sailors express their apprehension of the event, "Are you then," said he, "afraid to die in my company?" Soon after day-break, however, they made their landing on the island of Goree, and about six in the evening arrived at the Hague; where he was received with transports of joy, and immediately complimented by the States General, the States of Holland, the Council of State, the other colleges, and the foreign Ministers. On the 26th, by desire of the Magistrates, he made his public entry with surprizing magnificence; and the Dutch celebrated his arrival with bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of tumultuous joy. He assisted at their different assemblies; informed them of his successes in England and Ireland; and assured them of his constant zeal and affection for his native country.

The most extraordinary and splendid Congress of Princes and Ministers which Europe had ever known, was now opened. To this illustrious assembly King William addressed himself in an eloquent and pathetic speech, representing the imminent dangers to which they were exposed from the power and ambition of France. In the circumstances they were in, he observed, it was not indeed a time to deliberate so much as to act. As to himself, he would spare neither his forces, credit, nor person; and he proposed to appear, in the spring, himself at the head of the army of the allies, and they might depend upon his royal word for the strict performance of his engagement. Actuated by the same spirit, the assembly came to the most vigorous resolutions; and it was agreed to employ in the ensuing campaign 222,000 men against France, of which number each State was to furnish its specific and equitable proportion. The Congress broke up early in March; no disputes relative to precedency, or any perplexing etiquette of state, so common in assemblies of this nature, having impeded their deliberations.

After passing some weeks at his favourite residence of Loo, William embarked for England, and arrived safely at Whitehall on the 13th of April. The chief event which had occurred during his absence, was the discovery of a conspiracy against the government. Notice having been given to Lord Carmarthen, that a vessel at Barking, in Essex, had been taken up to carry some unknown persons to France, she was boarded, under the pretext of searching for seamen, the moment she fell down to Gravesend; and Lord Preston, Secretary of State to King James; Ashton, who had held a place in the household of the late Queen, and one Elliot, were found in the hold. Some papers which Ashton attempted to throw into the sea were also secured, and Lord Preston's seal of office. The most remarkable of the papers was—"The result of a conference between some Lords and Gentlemen, both Tories and Whigs, respecting

* How far the Earl of Torrington was censurable in this business, is not clear. The Dutch exclaimed against him with the bitterest acrimony, and the French accounts represented him as extremely deficient in naval conduct. The Earl of Nottingham, in his official letter to Lord Dursley, ambassador at the Hague, expressly charged him with treachery; and the Earl of Torrington, on the other hand, brought an accusation against Nottingham for purposely suppressing the necessary intelligence. After lying many months in the Tower, he was brought to a trial by a court martial, and acquitted; but the King dismissed him from the service, and he never afterwards recovered any share of credit.

specting the Restoration of King James, without endangering the Protestant religion, and civil administration according to the laws of this kingdom. From the general tenor of this paper, and of the declaration annexed, it appeared that the Whigs concerned in this political intrigue insisted upon nothing less, on the part of the King, than an entire surrender of himself into their hands. Amongst the letters, were two by Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, to the King and Queen, under the names of Mr. and Mrs. Redding, full of loyal expressions, and assuring them "that he spoke his sentiments of his elder brother and the rest of his relations." A paper of memorandums, written by Lord Preston, contained the names of the following Lords:—Dorset, Cornwallis, Montague, Stamford, Shrewsbury, Macclesfield, Monmouth, Devonshire; immediately after which were the words—"In February the King comes to Scotland—endeavour to unite the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties—land at Leith—the Scots army, not a French one—5000 good Swedish foot—the reputation of a Protestant ally—two months to settle Scotland—leave all to free Parliament, &c. &c." Elliot had the good fortune to make his peace with government; but the others were brought to their trials before Lord Chief Justice Holt; and Lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were both pronounced guilty. The latter, a blind and honest bigot, suffered with great resolution; but the former, who was supposed to have communicated the whole secret of the intrigue, or conspiracy to the government, ultimately obtained his pardon. A proclamation was soon after issued for the apprehending the Bishop of Ely, Mr. James Graham, and Penn the Quaker, noted for his attachment to the Stuarts; but they had previously absconded. The Earl of Clarendon, (uncle to the Queen,) who had refused the oath, was committed to the Tower; but, after some months, he was released by the King's order, out of tenderness to the Queen. Lord Dartmouth was also sent to the Tower, where he soon after died, and was buried with funeral honours.

It was now determined to bring matters to a crisis with respect to the non-juring Bishops and clergy, who had been deprived of their fees and preferments. The vacancies were supplied with men of known candor and moderation; amongst whom were Tillotson, Sharp, More, Cumberland, and Patrick.*

The King, in pursuance of his resolution to command in person the grand confederate army, embarked for Holland, early in May, and after a speedy passage arrived safely at the Hague. The affairs of the continent were at this period in a truly critical state. The confederacy against France was such as had never been equalled in Europe. All the contiguous countries, Switzerland excepted, were engaged in it as principals; yet she neither displayed signs of despondency, nor made unbecoming submissions. On the contrary, she prepared to exert her strength, spirit, and genius, in proportion to the difficulties and dangers which threatened her; and boldly entered the lists against them all.

Before William had taken the field, while the congress was sitting at the Hague, the French suddenly invested the city of Mons, which the Prince of Waldeck attempted in vain to relieve. The Marechal de Luxemburg was on his march to surprise Brussels, when the King of England put himself at the head of the allied army, by this time confessedly superior to that of the enemy, and effectually covered Brussels from attack. He then sent a detachment to the relief of Liege, threatened by Marechal Boufflers. Passing the Sambre, he tried all possible means to bring the enemy to a battle, exhausting his invention in marches, countermarches, and stratagems; but, being in every attempt disappointed by the skill and caution of Luxemburg, he relinquished the command to the Prince of Waldeck, and retired in September to Loo. The campaign on the Rhine, where the elector of Saxony this year commanded, was equally inactive. In Catalonia, the Duc de Noailles renewed his unavailing incursions; but on the side of Italy, M. de Catinat made himself master of Montalban, Villa Franca, Nice, and Carmagnola. He then invested the strong fortress of Coni, situated on the summit of a steep and craggy mountain, and defended by a numerous garrison. At this critical period King William sent to the assistance of the Duke of Savoy a body of auxiliary troops commanded by the Duke of Schomberg (son of the late Marechal Schomberg,) preceded by a supply of money. In pursuance of advice given by the new general, a large body of troops, under the command of Prince Eugene of Savoy, was detached to attempt the relief of Coni; which he executed with such address, that M. Bulonde raised the siege in extreme haste and confusion. Prince Eugene then attacked and captured Carmagnola, and obliged M. Catinat to retire with his whole army beyond the Po. The court of Versailles was now struck with astonishment. At the end of the campaign, however, M. de Catinat retrieved his reputation, by taking the town and castle of Montmelian.

In the autumn of 1691, King William returned to England, the Parliament having been summoned to meet on the 22d of October. The speech from the throne strongly recommended the vigorous prosecution of the war. The nation, however, was much disappointed at the ill success of the last campaign, and began to doubt the policy of continuing the continental war. The zealous Whigs were not disposed to view the measures of the King with any peculiar favour. The Tories were still the favoured and governing party; and, just at this period the Earl of Rochester, Lord Ranelagh, and Sir Edward Seymour, three of the leading men in that interest, were sworn of the privy-council. The Earl of Pembroke, who wavered between the two parties, was advanced to the office of Lord Privy Seal; and Lord Sydney, who retained a personal interest with the King, though a Whig, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The behaviour of the King himself was not calculated to acquire popularity. He was of a disposition naturally silent, reserved and thoughtful. He never appeared perfectly naturalized amongst the English; and was scarcely ever known to unbend himself but in company with his Dutch counsellors and favourites, Bentinck, Zuylestein, Auverquerque, &c. He avoided coming to the metropolis except on council days, and spent his leisure hours either in stag hunting, of which diversion he was exceedingly fond, or at his favourite residence of Hampton court, where he expended much money in magnificent, and, as many styled them, superfluous embellishments. He indeed made a visit to the University of Cambridge, to partake of the sports of the turf at Newmarket; and he accepted of the freedom of the city of London; but these condescensions not being natural to him, the coldness of his manner seemed to cancel the favour.

During this session, an attempt was made to supersede and destroy the existing East India Company, who had, as their enemies alledged, greatly abused their powers and privileges, and to establish a company upon their ruins. This design however was opposed with vigor and spirit; and, after long and warm debates, the House of Commons passed a series of resolutions, upon the ground of which "it might be proper to prolong and continue the charter of the present company." The company acceded to these conditions, amongst which several were very hard; particularly the resolutions enjoining that no one person should have or possess any share of East India stock exceeding 5000*l.* in the stock of the present company, in their own or other persons' names, but be obliged to sell so much thereof as should exceed the said sum of 5000*l.* at the rate of a 100*l.* in money for every 100*l.* stock.

In January 1692, a bill was brought in accordingly; but new petitions were presented against the company;

* Nothing more provoked the resentment and chagrin of the non-juring party at this period, than the defection of the celebrated Sherlock, Master of the Temple, after a long and pertinacious refusal to submit to the oaths, and his public justification of his conduct in so doing. This was a great triumph to the court; and he was immediately rewarded, for what one party stiled his happy conversion, and the other his faithless apostacy, by the deanery of St Paul's.

the temper of the House suddenly changed, and they came to a resolution, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to dissolve the East India Company, according to the powers reserved in their charter, and to constitute another East India Company, for the better preserving of the East India trade to this kingdom, in such manner as his Majesty in his royal wisdom should think fit." To the address, the King replied with much seeming indifference, that this was a matter of very great importance to the trade of the kingdom; that he would consider of it; and that in a short time he would give the Commons a positive answer. The conduct of this business was now transferred to the privy council: but the company endeavoured to show that their present constitution required no material alteration, and admitted no essential improvement; and in this state of suspense the contest remained till the commencement of the succeeding session.

On the 29th of February, the King acquainted the two Houses with his intention of going beyond sea very speedily, and prorogued the Parliament.

A short time before this period, the Earl of Marlborough, who had always appeared to be in high favour at court, was suddenly disgraced; and in the month of May following, he was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. The Earl, it appeared, in common with many other persons of rank and consequence, had holden a clandestine and unlawful correspondence with the court of St. Germaine's; and his disgrace was owing to the information received by the King of his practices. The Earl had written letters of deep contrition to the court of St. Germaine's, imploring pardon and forgiveness for his past conduct, which James granted, though he entertained great doubts respecting his sincerity, which his recent services at Cork and Kinsale were ill calculated to remove. A message was also sent by Marlborough to James, engaging to excite a revolt in the army; of which being after a considerable interval reminded, he declared that he had been misunderstood by the person, Captain Lloyd, who conveyed it. On which James remarked, "That he suspected Churchill wished to regain his confidence only to be able a second time to betray him." Not only were Sunderland, Halifax, Monmouth, Marlborough, &c. involved in these machinations, but men of the greatest virtue—Godolphin, Shrewsbury, and Russel; and even the Marquis of Carmarthen, one of the heads of the administration, became a plotter or pretended plotter against the government.*

For some time past, a great coolness had subsisted between the King and Queen, and the Princess Anne, on account of an application made by the latter to Parliament for an independent revenue without the privity of the King, and the actual grant of the sum of 50,000*l* per annum, by the House of Commons, out of the civil list for that purpose. This misunderstanding was greatly heightened by the refusal of the Princess, at the request of the Queen, to dismiss the Countess of Marlborough from her household, where she had long occupied the station of First Lady of the Bedchamber. In consequence, the Prince and Princess of Denmark no longer appeared at court, and the rupture in the royal family was a subject of general conversation.

King William embarked for Holland on the 5th of March; and arrived in a few days afterwards at Loo, whence he proceeded to the army, assembled near Louvain. Through his Majesty's influence, the elector of Bavaria had been recently appointed governor of the Spanish Netherlands; and by his care and activity those provinces exhibited a much better posture of defence than formerly: great hopes were therefore entertained of a successful campaign, especially as M. de Louvois, the spirit of the French councils, was dead. The King of France took the field in person, attended by Madame Maintenon and a vast retinue, and on the 20th of May joined the army under the command of Marechal Luxemburg, which he found in excellent order. The French army being put in motion on the 23d, Louis, assisted by the Marechals Boufflers and Vauban, sat down before Namur, while the Duke of Luxemburg covered the siege. On the 5th of June, when the attack had scarcely commenced, the town capitulated, on condition that the garrison should be allowed forty hours to retire into the citadel. King William was on his march towards the Mehaigne, in order to relieve the place, when he received notice of this surprising event, and that the French had invested the citadel. His army amounting to upwards of 100,000 men, he resolved to risk a battle, in the hope of saving this important fortress. Unfortunately, heavy rains swelled the waters of the Mehaigne, which flowed between the King's army and that of Marechal Luxemburg, and swept away the bridges; and, by the time the floods had abated, the French general had fortified the passes to his camp so as to render an attack impracticable. The citadel, after a feeble resistance, surrendered on the 30th of June; and the King of France immediately left the camp to celebrate his triumph at Versailles.

King William now formed a design of surprising the city of Mons: but was prevented by the vigilance of Luxemburg. The French army took an advantageous position between Enghien and Steinkirk; and here William, having received erroneous information respecting the ground, determined upon a general attack. On Sunday, the 24th of July, the Prince of Wirtemberg, sustained by General Mackay at the head of the British infantry, advanced to the assault of the enemy's right, through a deep defile, terminating in a small plain in view of the French camp. The onset was made with such vigour, that the French abandoned their lines in disorder and confusion; and, had the first column of attack been properly supported, the battle must have been won. Count Solmes, however, who commanded the centre, though repeatedly applied to by messages to march forward to sustain the van, delayed; and when a positive command arrived, he detached a body of cavalry, which he knew from the nature of the ground could not act, and ordered the foot to halt, saying to those about him, "Let us see what sport these English bull dogs will make us!" The King, astonished at this disobedience, brought up in person the reserve of infantry to the relief of the van. But Luxemburg had had time to rally his broken battalions, and the Princes of the blood and nobles led them back to the conflict, charging sword in hand. This dreadful scene of carnage lasted four hours; and, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted by fatigue, the allies were compelled to give way. The King, who had impatiently expected the approach of Solmes, repeatedly exclaimed, "O my poor English! how they are abandoned!" The night drawing on precluded a

* It appears from the Dalrymple and M'Pherson collections of state papers, that, about the end of the year 1690, Colonel Bulkley and Colonel Sackville arrived from St. Germaine's in England, and applied with success to the Lords Godolphin, Halifax, and Marlborough; a promise of pardon being not only obtained, but formally granted, Shrewsbury and Carmarthen professed their conversion The Admirals Russel and Carter followed their example; and in a short time also the Princess of Denmark joined the same party. Some months afterwards, the Earl of Middleton was sent over to England. A considerable time was spent in adjusting terms, because the Whigs, and particularly Russel, contended for concession after concession for the security of the constitution. At length all things were settled, and the court of St. Germaine's obtained assurances that the army would be directed by Marlborough, the fleet by Russel, and the church by the Princess Anne. Marlborough was, at his own request, excepted from the declaration of pardon. During the preparations for an invasion, the correspondence between Russel and James continued; in the course of which Russel entreated James to prevent the two fleets from meeting, warning him, that, as an officer and an Englishman, it behoved him to fire upon the first French ship that he met, although he saw James upon the quarter-deck; and he complained that proper provision was not yet made for the security of the subject—so that James was provoked to say, "Russel's views were not so much directed to serve him, as from republican principles to degrade monarchy in his person. If he missed the French fleet, he would claim credit with him; if he met it, he would, as was manifest, use his utmost efforts in favour of his rival." In the books of the privy council, May 3, 1692, there is a warrant for seizing Bulkley, Lloyd, and Middleton; and on the 23d of June following the names of Shrewsbury, Halifax, and Marlborough are struck out of the council book.

renewal of the attempt, and a general retreat was thought necessary. Count Solmes, it appeared, hated the English, and was extremely jealous of the Prince of Wirtemberg, having himself aspired to the command of the column of attack; but, as he was an officer in great estimation with the Dutch, he was never punished as he deserved. The loss of the French, however, was at least as great as that sustained by the Allies, who had to regret the fall of two excellent officers, in the Generals Mackay and Lanier, and about 6 or 7000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners.

In the month of August, a horrid conspiracy against the life of the King was discovered. In the course of the preceding year, M. de Grandval, a captain of dragoons in the French service, M. Dumont, and Colonel Parker, had proposed this assassination to M. Louvois; but the design proved abortive, through the want of resolution on the part of Dumont, who retired to Hanover. Suspicions arising that some dangerous design was in agitation, one Leefdale, a Dutchman, was sent to France as a spy; and, ingratiating himself with Grandval, he pretended to engage as an accomplice in the conspiracy. Dumont at length revealed all the circumstances of the plot to the Duke of Zell; and Grandval, having accompanied Leefdale to Holland, was arrested at Eyndhoven, where he made a free and full confession. He was afterwards tried by a court-martial, convicted, and executed in the camp.*

This year, the Duke of Savoy, accompanied by M. Schomberg and Prince Eugene, made a formidable irruption into Dauphiné, crossing the Durance, and reducing Fort Guillestre, with the towns of Ambrun and Gap. Marechal Catinat, at the head of a small force, exerted himself in vain to stop the progress of the Allies, who threatened Grenoble, and even Lyons. Contributions were levied, and seventy or eighty chateaus and villages were destroyed, in revenge for the ravages committed by the French in the Palatinate. M. Schomberg published a declaration in the name of King William, inviting all persons to repair to his standard, and assuring them that his Majesty's only aim in causing his forces to enter France, was to restore the nobility and gentry to their ancient splendor, the Parliaments to their former authority, and the people to their just privileges. This manifesto produced very little effect. At this time, dissensions arose, and differences of opinion prevailed amongst the respective generals; and, a dangerous illness seizing the Duke of Savoy, the vigilance of Catinat, who had possessed himself of some important passes, and the approach of winter, made a retreat necessary. After demolishing the fortifications of Ambrun, the confederates evacuated their conquests with as much expedition as they had been achieved.

In Germany, the Protestant interest acquired this year an increase of strength, by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Hanover. Renouncing its ancient connection with France, that House now formed new ties of amity and alliance with England; and, in consequence of the interposition of King William, the Emperor consented to bestow upon it this dignity, to which was annexed the office of Great Marshal of the Empire.

In October, William returned to England, where events of great importance had taken place. So early in the year as January, Colonel Parker arrived in England, and communicated to various persons the design of assassinating the King in Flanders, and of making a descent upon England. Their lawful sovereign, he said, would once more visit his dominions, at the head of 30,000 men, to be embarked at La Hogue, the transports being already collected, and a fleet equipped for their convoy. James, at the same time, published a declaration, importing, that the King of France had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his crown, and soliciting all persons to join his standard. He promised pardon, and even rewards, to all those who should return to their duty; and engaged to procure in his first Parliament an act of indemnity, with the exception, however, of a long list of names, enumerated in the Declaration, concluding with vague promises of protection to the church as by law established, and pompous protestations of paternal attention to the welfare and happiness of all his subjects.—His agents were indefatigable in enlisting men for his service; and were very successful in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Durham. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, consisting of a body of French troops; with a considerable number of English and Scotch refugees, and the regiments which had been transported from Ireland by virtue of the capitulation of Limerick. The government of England was well informed of these proceedings; the Queen issued a proclamation, commanding all Papists to depart from London and Westminster; warrants were expedited for apprehending divers disaffected persons; the Earls of Huntingdon, Marlborough, Dunmore, Middleton, &c. were committed to the Tower; and various other suspected persons, amongst whom was the notorious Ferguson, said to have been engaged in every plot against the government for the last thirty years, were imprisoned in Newgate. The Bishop of Rochester, and the Lords Brudenel and Fanshaw were secured; the train-bands of London and Westminster were armed by the Queen's direction, and she reviewed them in person; and the grand Channel fleet, under Admiral Russel, was ordered to put to sea with all expedition. A report of the disaffection of the officers prevailing, the Queen ordered Lord Nottingham to write to the Admiral, that she would change none of them; and that she imputed the reports which had been raised to the contrivances of her enemies and theirs. This measure produced a warm and loyal address from the naval commanders and captains, in which they vowed they were ready to die in her cause and that of their country. Instead of prohibiting James's Declaration, the Queen ordered it to be published, with an answer drawn by the Bishop of St. Asaph.

On the 5th of May (1692) Admiral Russell sailed from the Nore; and, desirous of joining the squadrons of Carter and Delaval, then cruising on the coast of France, he, after having been joined by the Dutch, plied through the sands, from the Nore to the Downs, and effected the junction off Beachy-head; thus disappointing the hopes of Tourville, the French Admiral, who had formed a plan to intercept them. On the 19th of May they descried the enemy's fleet to windward bearing down upon them with full sail—Cape Barfleur being then about seven leagues to the S. W. The English and Dutch fleets conjoined consisted of no less than ninety-nine ships of the line, being, next to the Spanish armada, the greatest armament ever seen in the English Channel. Tourville, though inferior in force, had positive orders from his court to fight, under the persuasion that the Dutch had not yet left their harbours; and when he discovered his mistake, it was too late to retreat. The Count himself, in the Soleil

* The particulars of Grandval's confession, were, in substance, as follow:—"That the Marquis de Barbesieux, having found the project of this plot amongst his father's papers, held several conferences with the assassins respecting it; and that the plan was finally agreed upon with this minister—that on the 16th of April 1692, Grandval, Leefdale, and Parker went to St. Germaine's to speak with the late King James about the said design, who had knowledge of it, and to take leave of him before they began their journey—that the prisoner had audience of the King, the Queen being present; the King telling him: 'Parker has given me an account of the business: if you and the other officers do me this service, you shall never want.'—That the prisoner, with Chanlais (Quarter-Master General to the French King) and Leefdale, were agreed in what manner the assassination should be committed: viz. that when the King should ride along the lines, or should go out to take any view, &c. Dumont should lie in ambuscade and fire upon the King; that Chanlais should be with three thousand horse at the Duke of Luxemburg's grand guard; the prisoner saying, that it little concerned them whether Dumont should be taken or not, provided they could escape themselves—that the prisoner, as they were travelling, told Leefdale, that, their design taking place, the alliance among the confederate Princes would be broken; that the Princes concerned would each of them recall their troops, and, the country being thereby left without soldiers, the King of France would easily make himself master of it, and King James would be restored again—that the prisoner, with Leefdale, went to the Mayor of Boisledue, and was apprehended at Eyndhoven."—On the part of the courts of Versailles and St. Germaine, no disavowal or attempt at confutation was ever made.

Royal

BATTLE OF LA HOGUE.

Published by J. R. Tutte, Queen Street, London, 1851

Royal of 110 guns, bore down upon the English Admiral with great courage. The battle soon became general, and lasted from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon, when a thick fog arose, and for a time separated the combatants. The sun at length breaking out afresh, Admiral Russel perceived the French towing away in great disorder. The signal for a general chase was then made, which continued during the remainder of the evening, and the whole of the night, to the westward—supposing they would make for the harbour of Brest. The next morning, thirty-four of the enemy's ships were seen crowding all their sail, and steering westerly. The pursuit continued with redoubled vigour, without regarding the order of battle, every ship making the best of her way. On the morning of the 22d, part of the French fleet was descried near the Race of Alderney, some at anchor, and some driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Tourville's ship, the Soleil Royal, having lost her masts, ran ashore, together with the Admirable, another first rate, and the Conquerant, of 80 guns, near Cherbourg, whither they were followed and burnt by Sir Ralph Delaval. Eighteen other ships of the enemy's line stood for La Hogue; and, being unable longer to keep the sea or elude the pursuit, as a last resource stranded themselves as far as possible on the beach. Vice-Admiral Rooke immediately ordered the boats and fireships of his squadron, under cover of several frigates, to attack them. Of this extraordinary scene the troops destined for the invasion of Great Britain, and encamped at La Hogue, the late King himself, the Marechal de Bellefonds, &c. with many thousands of the people inhabiting the surrounding country, were the amazed spectators. The ships were protected on one side by cannon planted on platforms; and on the other by shallops manned by numerous crews with all the means of annoyance. Regardless of danger, the English sailors rent the air with shouts; they crowded to the boats with an emulation of eagerness; and no sooner had they reached the ships, than they attacked them in swarms. At length, all opposition being disarmed, they proceeded to burn the ships amidst acclamations of triumph; and, having accomplished their design, returned unmolested to the fleet. Thirteen capital ships were thus destroyed, besides transports and store-ships. It was remarked, that, during the conflict, James repeatedly exclaimed with rapturous admiration, "See my brave English!"—conscious, nevertheless, that he was beholding the extinction of his hopes. Sir John Ashby, and Admiral Allemond, the Dutch commander, pursued the remainder of the French fleet, which escaped with great difficulty. The loss of the English and Dutch was trifling. The only flag officer killed was Rear Admiral Carter, who fell in the first day's engagement, leaving orders with his Captain to fight the ship as long as she could swim. At the close of the action, James returned in mournful silence to the Convent of La Trappe, there to bury in solitude and despair the remembrance of his former greatness. From his retreat he addressed a letter to the King of France, acknowledging that "This last disaster had entirely overwhelmed him—that he knew too well it was his own unlucky star which had drawn this misfortune upon his forces, always victorious but when they fought for his interests. He therefore entreated his most Christian Majesty no longer to regard as an object of his concern a monarch so unfortunate as himself—but permit him to retire with his family to some corner of the world, where he might cease to obstruct the usual course of his most Christian Majesty's prosperity and conquests." Louis endeavoured to alleviate his affliction by a kind answer, in which he nobly promised, that he should not cease to enjoy his protection.

When informed of this glorious victory, the Queen sent 30,000*l.* to Portsmouth, to be distributed amongst the sailors. She caused medals to be struck in honour of the victory; and as tokens to the officers; and she ordered the bodies of Admiral Carter and Captain Hastings to be interred with great funeral pomp. A descent upon the coast of France was also projected, and the troops were actually embarked on board the transports; but, to the disappointment of the public, this enterprise was abandoned.

Parliament met on the 4th of November; and, soon afterwards, the Earls of Huntingdon, Scarsdale, and Marlborough, who had been committed to the Tower, where they had lain some weeks, complained to the House of Peers, that, on appearing before the judges of the King's Bench at the Michaelmas term preceding, the court had refused to discharge them from their bail, or to bring them to trial, conformably to the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Act. Great debates ensued; and the House came to a resolution, "That no Peer shall be remanded to prison by the King's Bench upon his appearing before them by virtue of the Habeas Corpus Act after having entered his prayer to be tried as the said act directs, or kept under bail unless there be against him two witnesses upon oath or in a capacity to be sworn." A day was appointed, to consider in what manner to discharge the Lords under bail from their recognizance; but the House was informed, that the King had given orders for their release.*

After the victory at La Hogue, a misunderstanding had taken place, between Admiral Russel and the Secretary of State, Lord Nottingham, respecting the abandonment of the projected descent on France. This was now transferred to the two Parliamentary factions, and converted into a party contest. In the Lords the interest of Nottingham predominated; in the Commons the advantage remained with Russel. The latter declared, that they had read and well considered the papers on the subject, and had unanimously resolved, "That Admiral Russel in his command of the fleets had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct." They also voted; "That his Majesty be humbly advised, for the necessary support of his government, to employ in his councils and management of his affairs such persons only whose principles oblige them to stand by him and his right against the late King James and all other pretenders whatsoever." Also, "That in future all orders for the management of the fleet should pass through the Admiralty." In a grand committee, they likewise passed an unanimous vote, "That there had been an apparent miscarriage in the management of affairs relating to the descent the last summer." On the ultimate criminatory resolution, however, "That one cause of the said miscarriage was the want of giving timely and necessary orders by such persons to whom the management of this matter was committed," the friends of the Earl of Nottingham so vigorously exerted themselves, that it was carried by a single vote only, viz. 165 to 164—so that this deep laid project of the Whigs for the disgrace and removal of the Earl of Nottingham proved abortive. The King took a decided part in favour of the minister; and, to screen him, dismissed the Admiral.

The affairs of the East India Company were now resumed, and a bill was brought in for regulating, preserving, and establishing the East India trade to this kingdom. The whole business, however, terminated in an address to the King, "That he would be pleased to dissolve the Company upon three years' warning, according to the condition of their charter."

A bill was brought in, the first of a long series of Place Bills which met with the same fate, "for free and impartial proceedings in Parliament, rendering all members of the House of Commons incapable of places of trust or profit." This bill passed the Commons without difficulty; but it was, after violent debate, rejected by

* The Earl of Marlborough had been committed on the information of Young, a prisoner in Newgate, who had, as it proved, framed the draft of a treasonable association to assist King James on his landing, to seize on the person of the Prince of Orange, &c. to which he had forged the names of Archbishop Sancroft, the Bishop of Rochester (Sprat,) the Earls of Marlborough and Salisbury, Lord Cornbury, Sir Basil Firebrace and John Wilcox. One of his emissaries had found means to secrete this paper in the library of the Bishop's palace at Bromley in Kent, where it was found by the King's messengers. On the subsequent examination of this prelate by the privy council, the imposition was detected, the Bishop honourably discharged, the Earl of Marlborough admitted to bail, and a bill of forgery and subornation of perjury found by the grand jury of Middlesex against Young.

the Lords.—Soon afterwards, a bill of still greater importance was introduced by the Earl of Shrewsbury, "for the frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments." This was the Triennial Bill. It passed the Lords by a great majority, and was well received by the Commons; but it was very unacceptable to the King, who regarded it as a dangerous novelty, and a serious invasion of his prerogative, and he ultimately refused to give it the royal assent.

A pamphlet, written by Charles Blount, Esq. intituled "King William and Queen Mary Conquerors," was ordered, by the House of Commons, to be burnt by the Common hangman; with a pastoral letter of Bishop Burnet's, expressing the same opinions.

During the present session, much time was occupied in the investigation of the affairs of Ireland, where gross and flagrant abuses were said to have been committed under the administration of Lord Coningsby and Sir Charles Porter, previously to the appointment of Lord Sydney as Lord Lieutenant. The House, in consequence, presented an address to the King, stating the grievances of that country in strong language; to which, his Majesty, in reply, engaged to remedy whatever was found to be amiss; and, finding that the Lord Sydney had made himself extremely obnoxious to the Irish nation, he immediately recalled him, and the government of the kingdom was again committed to Lords Justices, who were Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncombe.

A. D. 1693.] The Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of March; the King informing them that affairs required his absence abroad. Perceiving the necessity of farther conciliating the Whig party, the King at this period gave the Seals vacated by Lord Sydney to Sir John Trenchard, who had been engaged in Monmouth's rebellion, and afterwards lived some years on the Continent; at the same time, Sir John Somers, Attorney-General, was declared Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, which had been several years in commission; and the department of the Admiralty was placed in the hands of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, assisted by the Admirals Delaval and Killegrew.

On the 31st of March, his Majesty embarked for Holland, and immediately repaired to the army in Flanders, where the French had assembled a force far superior to that of the confederates. Louis having joined his army in person, it was concluded that some grand design was in contemplation; but William having possessed himself of the strong position of Parke near Louvaine, the measures of the enemy were broken; and Louis, after detaching a body of 20,000 men to the Upper Rhine, left the care of the army to the Marechals Luxemburg and Boufflers, and returned to Versailles. The Duke of Luxemburg now removed his camp to Meldert, within half a league of the allies; but, though an engagement was hourly expected, neither side found a favourable opportunity of attack. The Duke of Wirtemberg, however, forced the French lines between the Scheld and the Lys, and laid the whole country as far as Lisle under contribution; and, on the same day, Marechal Luxemburg quitted the camp of Meldert, and moved towards Huy, which was next day invested by Marechal Villeroi; and, after a feeble defence, it capitulated, on the 23d of July. The French General then marched forwards to Liege. The allies had thrown ten battalions into the place; but he nevertheless made such dispositions as seemed to threaten an approaching siege. However, early in the morning of the 28th, he suddenly quitted his post at Hellicheim, twenty miles from the camp of the confederates, passed the Jaar, and, before the close of day, reached the village of Roucoux. William resolved to await the attack, depending much on the strength of his position. The French began the battle at sun-rise, by a furious attack on the villages of Neer-Winden and Landen; and, after a desperate conflict, made themselves masters of these important posts. Luxemburg then ordered a general charge, which was executed with an impetuosity that surmounted all resistance. The King, seeing the battle lost, remained in the field, to give the necessary orders for the safety of the troops.

The loss sustained by the two armies was nearly equal—about nine or ten thousand men. William being joined in a few days by the Duke of Wirtemberg, found himself immediately in a situation to risque another engagement. Both armies however remained for some weeks inactive, till siege was laid to Charleroy, which the utmost efforts of the allies were inadequate to relieve. The surrender of this fortress closed the campaign in the Low Countries.

Marechal de Lorges, commanding the French army on the Rhine, passed that river in May, and invested the city of Hiedelberg, which, being taken by storm, was delivered up to all the horrors of cruelty. Prince Lewis of Baden, who commanded the Imperial army, sent a message to Marechal de Lorges, "that he was come from a war against the Turks; and that he expected Christian enemies would have treated each other with Christian usage; but that he found the French acted more like barbarians than their Turkish allies—He should therefore in future make such reprisals as would teach them, from concern to themselves, to shew compassion to others."

M. de Lorges continued his march to Hailbron, and made several attempts to pass the Necker in order to attack the Prince of Baden; but he was invariably repulsed, and at length obliged to retreat to France by the way of Philipsburg.

In Catalonia, the Spaniards suffered the loss of the important town of Roses, almost without resistance. In Piedmont the French had greatly the advantage. The campaign opened on the part of the allies with the siege of Pignerol; in which the Duke of Savoy had made some progress when he understood that Marechal de Catinat had descended into the plains, and menaced the city of Turin. The Duke immediately drew off his army from Pignerol, and marched in quest of the enemy, whom he found encamped in the vicinity of Marsiglia. The left of the confederate army, composed of Spanish troops and Imperial cavalry, was commanded by the Marquis de Leganez; the right, of Imperial and Piedmontese cavalry and infantry intermixed, by the Duke himself, assisted by the Count de Caprara; and the centre, which consisted of Imperial, British, and Piedmontese infantry, by Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Count de Las Torres. The Duke of Schomberg, who had been denied his just rank, fought in the capacity of Colonel only, at the head of his own regiment. Early in the morning of the 4th of October, the enemy advanced to the attack with undaunted resolution, charging with fixed bayonets at the end of their fusees, without firing a shot—at that time a very unusual mode of fighting. The confederate troops defended themselves with equal spirit; till, the left wing giving way, the infantry in centre were attacked in rear and flank by the enemy's horse. Here the battle raged more desperately than ever; and the British troops had an opportunity particularly to signalize themselves. After the third attack the Count de Las Torres condescended to solicit the Duke of Schomberg to take upon him the command, and secure the retreat of the centre and right wing: but that officer, instead of a compliance, coldly replied, "that it was necessary first to have his Royal Highness's order; in the mean time they had no option but to conquer or die." After exhibiting prodigies of valour the Duke received a mortal wound; and the confederates were finally compelled to abandon the field of battle, covered with heaps of slain, to the enemy, with almost all their artillery, and above 100 standards. The French army, however, was so weakened by this victory as to be incapable of attempting any farther operations, of an offensive nature.

In the month of May, whilst the English ships were in the harbour, the different French squadrons having joined, formed a grand fleet of no less than 71 sail of the line. Early in June the English and Dutch ships sailed down the Channel. On the 6th, Sir George Rooke was detached to the Straits with a squadron of 23 ships as convoy to the Mediterranean and Smyrna

trade—the whole fleet accompanying him 50 leagues to the south-westward of Ushant, for greater security to the merchant-ships, amounting to nearly 400 in number. He proceeded on his voyage, till, on the 17th, he discovered the whole French fleet cruising about 60 leagues off Cape St. Vincent. In this emergency there was no alternative but to make signal for the merchantmen to shift for themselves—the convoy maintaining as well as they were able a running fight for their protection. The result was, that two men of war, one English and one Dutch, were burnt, and two Dutch ships after a desperate resistance taken by the enemy, who also captured about 40 of the merchantmen, several of them Smyrna ships richly laden, and destroyed about 50 more. The greater part saved themselves in Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz. Sir George Rooke bore away for the Madeiras, whence he arrived at Cork in August; and de Tourville, after insulting the coasts of Spain, and burning several English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, and other places, returned in triumph to Toulon. The greatest clamours were excited in England by this misfortune. The Whigs and Anti-courtiers renewed their attacks on the Earl of Nottingham, through whose criminal negligence, if not more criminal treachery, it was affirmed, this unparalleled calamity had happened. The Admirals Killigrew and Delaval, both strongly attached to the Jacobite party, also fell under great suspicion. No attempt was made to retrieve the honour of the British flag, except by an attack on St. Maloes, a noted rendezvous of privateers, by a squadron under Commodore Benbow, who cannonaded and bombarded the town, for three successive days.

In the spring of the year, a session of Parliament was held in Scotland. The majority of the convention and of the nation at large being Presbyterians, it was a matter of policy to confide the administration of affairs to that party. The Earl of Melville was raised to the office of Secretary of State; but the King was thought to rely principally on the counsels of Dalrymple, Viscount Stair, President of the College of Justice. By the promotion of Melville great offence was given to Sir James Montgomery, who, being disappointed in his views of obtaining the Secretaryship of State, with the chief management of affairs, became the most virulent opposer of the government. He formed a close connection with the Earl of Monmouth, the Duke of Bolton, and other men of the same stamp; and they were so far actuated by the spirit of faction and folly, as to imagine that the national happiness and safety could be permanently established only by a counter-revolution—that King James, convinced of his errors, would detach himself entirely from the French interest; and that, if his restoration were effected by the Whigs, he would entrust himself and his interests wholly into their hands. The particulars of this conspiracy were disclosed by the brother of Montgomery to Bishop Burnet.

Endeavours were used by the court to soften the rage of opposition; and almost every considerable office was put into commission, to provide for as great a number as possible. Such, however, was the strength of the different parties united in opposition, that, in the session of April, 1690, on the first division on a trivial question respecting a contested election, the majority in favour of the court was not more than six or seven voices. The violent Whigs and the violent Tories were equally eager to obstruct the measures of government; but their views and designs were so irreconcileable that no cordial coalescence could long subsist. There were in fact three distinct parties in opposition—the Jacobites, headed by the Dukes of Athol and Queensbury, the Lords Annandale, Breadalbane, Balcarras, &c.—the disaffected Whigs, led by Sir James Montgomery, colleagued with the Lords Argyle, Ross, &c.—and the discontented Revolutionists, at the head of whom was the Duke of Hamilton; who, thinking his merits not sufficiently rewarded, and aiming at the chief direction of affairs, had no farther design than the ruin of the Lords Melville and Stair. The court saw the necessity, in order to break this coalition, of making concessions which had been formerly refused. The Lord Commissioner, therefore, gave the royal assent to the bill for rescinding the act of supremacy; to another for the direct establishment of Presbytery and annihilating the right of patronage; and to a third for the abolition of the Lords of articles. Thus, those members who had been actuated by public and patriotic motives, and whose discontent had never risen to disaffection, were at once conciliated, a majority obtained, and the bills of supply voted without difficulty. The projects of the parties were now entirely disconcerted, and mutual reproaches succeeded. A direct rupture, however, did not take place, till the arrival of a messenger from the late King with a great black box of papers, directed to Sir James Montgomery. This Sir James first opened alone, and afterwards disclosed to the Lords Argyle, Arran, and Ross, who agreed that various of the papers were improper to be seen by the other party. Sir James Montgomery therefore again closed and sealed the box, and appointed a meeting at the apartments of the Marquis of Athol, at which the Marquis himself, and the Lords Linlithgow, Ross, Breadalbane and Balcarras attended. At the meeting, Sir James informed the persons present, that a box of papers had arrived, which he had determined not to open but in their presence; protesting, in the presence of Almighty God, that he was entirely ignorant of the contents. But the Lords present, strongly suspecting the integrity of Montgomery, examined the box and seals with the greatest attention, and plainly perceived not only that the cord had been changed, but that the seals themselves were, by a strange inadvertency, Montgomery's own impression. A scene of the utmost confusion now ensued, not merely from the detection of so infamous a collusion, but from the actual inspection of the papers; by which, notwithstanding the absence of those deemed most obnoxious, it appeared that King James had consented to put the whole power of the government into the hands of the Presbyterians. All confidence being now for ever lost, the only question between the parties seemed to be, which should first impeach the other. Lord Ross, after protesting with oaths, that he never would make any discovery, communicated to a fanatic minister at Edinburgh that he was under great trouble of conscience, and desired his prayers to enable him to open his heart to him. After long prayers and many sighs and tears, he told him all he knew. The minister repeated next morning to Lord Melville the result of this conference, and desired a passport to London for Lord Ross. That nobleman, on his arrival in London and examination before the Lords Nottingham and Danby, being thought to prevaricate in his evidence, was committed close prisoner to the Tower. The Earls of Argyle, Annandale, and Breadalbane withdrawing also under different pretences to England; Montgomery himself repaired to the Earl of Melville, and made a full discovery of the whole conspiracy. Melville furnished this man also with a passport to London, and a letter to the Queen in his favour. On his subsequent examinations, however, he persisted in his refusal to reveal the names of those with whom he carried on a correspondence in England; and he consequently failed in obtaining his pardon. He at length made his escape to the Continent, where his plotting genius involved him in new dangers and difficulties, till spleen and vexation put a premature end to a turbulent and miserable life.—The Earl of Annandale threw himself upon the Queen's mercy, and gave a deposition upon oath against one Neville Payne, as a man who had been the chief medium of connection and correspondence between the English and Scotch mal-contents. Payne was apprehended, and twice put to the torture without making any confession; and it does not appear that the extent of this conspiracy, was ever perfectly ascertained. Several of the Scotch Lords were set at liberty, on giving their words of honour not to disturb the government; but Lord Arran refused, saying, he was certain he should not keep it.

The session of Parliament, which opened with so dark an aspect, may be considered to have terminated very prosperously. During the sitting, it was announced that

that about 200 Highlanders, commanded by the Colonels Buchan and Wachop, who had rendezvoused at Strathspey, with a view to a descent into the Low-Country, had been surprised and defeated with great slaughter by the King's troops under Sir Thomas Levingstone. —This was the last military effort of importance, made by James's party, in the north.

A General assembly of the church of Scotland, having been convened in the autumn of the year, 1690, the proceedings of the clergy were so disagreeable to the court, that the assembly was dissolved by an act of state, and another convoked for the following year; the King determining in some measure to restore the balance of the parties, by bringing some of the Tories and Episcopalians into office. The Earl of Melville was removed from his post of Secretary of State, and made Lord Privy Seal; James Johnston, late Envoy to the Elector of Brandenburgh, and Sir John Dalrymple, were constituted joint Secretaries; Lord Tweeddale was appointed Chancellor; the Earl of Lothian, High Commissioner; and the Earl of Crawford, President of the Council. This mixed administration, however, did not conduct the affairs of government with much ability or success. The General assembly met at the close of the year 1691; and the King recommended to them, by the High Commissioner, to receive the Episcopal clergy into the church, and to concur in such measures as would be necessary to effect a general comprehension. The Prelatists now asserted, observes Burnet, "that the King was theirs; in answer to which the Presbyterians affirmed that the Law was theirs, and they would abate in no point of their government." No probability of accommodation remaining, the King ordered the assembly to be dissolved, without appointing any other time or place of meeting. The Presbyterian clergy affirmed, that they had a right to an annual meeting; therefore they adjourned themselves, first protesting against the regal dissolution; a measure which appeared to the King a gross invasion of the royal prerogative.

An unfortunate event took place at this time, which tended to throw a great odium upon the government. Breadalbane, who had been concerned in the late plot, and received his pardon, formed a scheme of quieting the Highlanders, and ensuring their submission, by distributing large sums of money among their chiefs: and 15,000*l.* were remitted from England for this purpose. He covertly informed the Highlanders, that the best service they could do King James was to lie quiet, and to reserve themselves to a more favourable time; in the mean while they were justified in taking the oaths, and sharing the money he had received among them. Many of the Highland chieftains were persuaded to a compliance; but others were obstinate, and made such extravagant demands that Lord Breadalbane found his scheme impracticable. The most refractory amongst them was M'Donald of Glencoe, between whom and Breadalbane a cause of private animosity subsisted. M'Donald having plundered the lands of Breadalbane, that nobleman insisted upon being indemnified from M'Donald's share of the money now to be distributed. M'Donald not only refused this, but was successfully active in influencing others. He also communicated to the Duke of Hamilton and other enemies of Lord Breadalbane, the dangerous secret of his being still avowedly attached to the interests of James. Exasperated at this conduct, Breadalbane devoted M'Donald and his clan to destruction. King William had by proclamation offered an indemnity to all the Highlanders who had been in arms against him, provided they would submit to take the oaths by a certain day. The time had been twice or thrice extended; and it was at last prolonged to the close of the year 1691, with a denunciation of military execution against such as should hold out beyond that time. M'Donald himself, though somewhat more tardily than the others, went to the Governor of Fort William on the last of December, and offered to take the oaths; but, as he was only a military man, he could not legally tender them, and M'Donald set out for Inverary, the county town of Argyle. The ground was covered with snow, and the weather intensely cold; notwithstanding which, he reached Inverary in a few days, or, according to some, within a single day, after the lapse of the term, prescribed by the proclamation. Sir Colin Campbell, Sheriff of the county, informed of the circumstances, administered the oaths to him and his adherents, and they returned in security to their habitations in the valley of Glencoe. Previously to this, Lord Breadalbane had repaired to London, and made his report to the King of the diligence with which he had endeavoured to effect the service entrusted to him, and to return that part of the money which he had not disposed of. He represented M'Donald to the King as the chief person who had defeated the good design; and, to gratify his own revenge, and, as some believe, to make the King odious to the Highlanders, he proposed that orders should be sent for a military execution on the men of Glencoe. This representation was strongly enforced, on the part of Secretary Stair; and shortly after the expiration of the prescribed term, a paper of instructions was drawn by the Secretary, and addressed to Colonel Levingstone, Commander of the forces in Scotland, specifying, "that such as had not taken the oaths by the time limited, should be excluded the benefit of the indemnity—and that they be destroyed by fire and sword." This instrument, dated January 21, 1692, was both signed and counter-signed by the King. However, as it was not deemed sufficiently full and explicit, a paper of additional instructions was prepared by Secretary Stair, who procured it to be, as before, super-signed and counter-signed by the King; in which, after giving directions for receiving the submission of those who had made application for mercy, it is said: "If the tribe of Glencoe can well be separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves." Burnet affirms, "that the King signed this paper, as his custom too often was, in a hurry, without examining into the import of it." The execution of this sanguinary commission was committed to a Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, who, at the head of a body of troops was sent, in February, 1692, to take up their quarters in the valley, remaining, as it appears, fifteen days—the commander professing the most amicable intentions; and he and his men being received with the rude but kind hospitality of the country. On the evening before the massacre, Campbell passed some hours in friendly converse and amusement at M'Donald's house: but, suspicion being excited in the minds of the two sons of M'Donald, they went out to reconnoitre, and found eight or ten sentinels on the spot where only one was accustomed to be posted. The overheard discourse amongst them was, "that they liked not the work: though they would willingly have fought the men of the Glen, they held it base to murder them." Hastening back to apprize their father of the impending danger, they found the mansion surrounded—heard the discharge of musquets, and the shrieks and clamors of those within; and, being unarmed, fled for their lives, and effected their escape. Rushing to his chamber, the assassins had shot the elder M'Donald, who fell lifeless into the arms of his wife. The Laird of Auchintrinkin, M'Donald's guest, who had submitted to the government three months before, and had then Colonel Hill's protection in his pocket, met the same fate; a boy of eight years old was stabbed to the heart, in the act of imploring mercy; and, in this manner, 38 persons were inhumanly butchered. The order extended to all the males in the valley under the age of 70, amounting to about 200: but the parties which were to cooperate with Campbell, did not arrive in time to secure the passes of the Glen, so that 160 escaped. The murderers now set the houses on fire and drove off the cattle; leaving the women and children naked and forlorn, in the midst of the snow which covered the mountains, at the distance of six miles from the nearest habitation. They are said to have mostly perished in the waste; and Lady M'Donald, a woman venerable for her years and condition, expired in a state of phrensy.

The King, moved with resentment at the imposition practised

practised upon him, dismissed the Earl of Stair from his service; and caused a commission to be passed under the Great Seal of Scotland for a pre-cognition.—So terrible an example of vengeance effectually prevented any future insurrection; but it naturally inspired the Highlanders with an implacable animosity against the person and government of King William.

The session of Scotch Parliament was deferred to April, 1693, when the Duke of Hamilton having been reconciled to the court, was appointed Lord Commissioner. By the management principally of Secretary Johnston, the discontents of the nation—of the Presbyterian party in particular—were much assuaged. The Parliament consequently voted an increased establishment, and large supplies. The affairs of the church were also conducted with much temper. An act of comprehension was brought into the house, including all such of the Episcopal clergy as submitted to take the oaths before the 10th of July, 1693. An oath of fidelity also, distinct from the oath of allegiance, was imposed upon all who held offices in the church or state, to be tendered at the discretion of the council, who were impowered to fine and imprison such as should refuse.

King William returned to England in October, 1693. The prejudice against the Earl of Nottingham had so far increased as to render the ministry, of which he was the head, extremely odious. It was consequently signified to him, that the King had no farther occasion for his services. At this period, the Earl of Sunderland undertook the task of reconciling the King with the Whigs. The Marquis of Hallifax also attempted to retrieve his credit with the Whig-party, by his ardor in the same cause; but, perceiving himself shunned, neglected, and despised, he soon after terminated a restless and eventful life in a state of political chagrin strangely blended with religious contrition.

Such of the Tories as remained in office did not tamely acquiesce in the measures of their antagonists. Lord Godolphin presented to the King a memorial, in which, after stating the principal difficulties of continuing the war, he represented the great and manifold advantages which would attend the conclusion of a speedy peace. But the counsel of Sunderland was more acceptable to the King, than that of Godolphin; and a resolution was taken to engage the most popular leaders of the Whig party in the Administration. Admiral Russel was restored to the command of the fleet, and in a short time placed at the head of the Board of Admiralty; and the commissions of Lieutenancy, &c. throughout the kingdom, were altered in favour of the Whigs. According to tradition, the tender of the Seal to the Earl of Shrewsbury was attended with some singular and curious circumstances. Amongst other things, it is said, that the King sent a Colonel of the guards to the Earl with the Seals of office in one hand, and a warrant of commitment to the Tower in the other. He did not long hesitate, in the choice of evils.

The King of France was now anxious for the return of peace; sensible that an insurmountable barrier was raised against any farther permanent acquisition of power. In the course of the present winter, he made a very equitable and reasonable proposal for the accommodation of differences, through the mediation of the court of Denmark. Of the terms tendered, the Tory Ministers were supposed to approve; but the King had announced in his speech to Parliament, November 7, "the necessity of increasing the national forces both by sea and land, the next year, as essential to the honour and security of the kingdom—informing them that the Continental powers had on their part resolved upon making proportionable additions, and demanding a supply equal to the present exigency." The House of Commons, in consequence voted, unanimously, "that they would support their Majesties and the government, and grant a sufficient supply for the vigorous prosecution of the war. (a) The bill for rendering all members of the House of Commons incapable of places of trust and profit, which, in the last session, had been rejected by the Lords, now passed with a high hand through both Houses; but the royal assent was again refused. The Commons immediately voted, "that whoever advised the King not to give his royal assent to the bill in question, was an enemy to their Majesties and the kingdom." An address was also unanimously agreed to, representing the grief of the Commons, that a measure which tended so much to the clearing the reputation of the House should be rejected by his Majesty after their great exertions for the public service.

An enquiry having been instituted into the naval miscarriages of the last year, Lord Falkland, who had for some time past, filled the station of First Lord of the Admiralty, fell under Parliamentary displeasure; and Russel, after a short interval, and with unusual powers, was placed at the head of the board.

It was during the present session of Parliament, that a national bank was established, under the denomination of the Bank of England; the original capital stock of which, amounting to 1,500,000*l.* was subscribed in ten days. This was an important relief to government, and greatly raised the value of Exchequer bills, and other government securities, which had experienced considerable depreciation.*

After a violent contest, and repeated hearings before the Privy-Council, a warrant had been prepared by an Order of Council for her Majesty's signature in order to pass a new charter for the East India Company, and the Great Seal was affixed to the same by the Lord Keeper Somers, on the 7th of October, 1693. A petition was, however, presented to the House of Commons, by the antagonists of the Company, on the meeting of Parliament, containing allegations both against the legality and expediency of the new charter: and after high debates, a resolution of the House passed, declaring, "that all the subjects of England had an equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by act of Parliament." No censure, however, was passed either on the several charters granted to the Company, or the manner of obtaining them:—nor was any project adopted for regulating the future trade, by authority of Parliament.

In Ireland, the administration of Coningsby and Porter had been rendered odious by a series of frauds and oppressions, which would have disgraced a barbarian government. Their interest, however, was so powerful, and with such plausibility did they urge the pretence of necessity, in extenuation of their measures, that a pardon was ordered to pass the Seals in their favour. This was arrested in its progress by the representations of Lord Bellamont, and James Hamilton, Esq. at the Council Board; and, at the ensuing meeting of Parliament, Bellamont exhibited regular articles of impeachment against them, accusing the Lords Justices of "traitorously abusing the power and authority with which they had been invested, &c. The House seemed greatly impressed, and its indignation was strongly excited by the enormity of the offences proved against them; notwithstanding which, a resolution ultimately passed, "that, considering the state of Ireland at the time, they did not think fit to ground an impeachment upon them." This was followed by the dismission

(a) A. D. 1693-4.

* Apprehensions, however, were intimated by some, "That an institution of this kind would soon become a mere creature of the government—that care would be taken to give it none but government operations—that on any sudden emergency, or even general panic, the Bank might find itself unable to answer the demands of its creditors, and that the failure of a national Bank must be attended with national ruin—that such an institution, under the influence of the executive government, would throw more real power into its hands, and add more facility to the projects of arbitrary and despotic ministers, not to say monarchs, than the erection of a citadel:—that the shutting up the Exchequer in the last reign but one, after the bankers had been induced to deposit the money there, was alone sufficient to manifest the danger of trusting any mighty mass of wealth within the reach of power:—and in fine, that from the time this new wheel was added to the machine of government, all its motions would be mysterious and unintelligible; and a very little cunning might serve to destroy what all the wisdom and virtue of the nation could never restore."

dismission of Bellamont, and the pardon of the accused.

A. D. 1694.] The session having terminated on the 25th of April, a grand promotion, civil and military, took place. The Earls of Shrewsbury, Bedford, and Devonshire were created Dukes; and also the Earl of Clare, and the Marquis of Carmarthen, under the new designations of Newcastle and Leeds. The Earl of Mulgrave was made Marquis of Normandy: Lord Sydney was appointed Master of the Ordnance, declared Warden of the Cinque Ports, and created Earl of Romney; Mr. Montague was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; two patents of Peerage were conferred on Lord Charles Butler, brother to the Duke of Ormond, by the style and titles of Lord Butler of Weston in England, and Earl of Arran in Ireland; and, the Duke of Hamilton dying at this period, his blue ribband was transmitted to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

The King embarked for the Continent, early in May, and, after passing a few weeks at the Hague and Loo, took the command of the allied army, at Louvaine, where he was met by the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne; the latter of whom had recently, in opposition to the French court, been chosen Bishop of Liege. The allied army amounted to about 90,000 men, well trained and provided. The French, inferior in number, had orders to act on the defensive. At length Marechal Luxemburgh, crossing the Maese, made a movement with his whole army on the side of Liege and Maestricht; and, counteracting a subsequent movement of the allies, in a most masterly manner, he posted his army between Courtray and Menin, so that no impression could be made on the French frontier on that side. Thus the grand object of the campaign on the part of the Confederates was wholly frustrated; and the service performed by Luxemburgh was considered so great, that Louis wrote a letter to him with his own hand, acknowledging, that to the unparalleled zeal and diligence of the commander-in-chief, and to the officers and soldiers serving under him, he stood obliged for the preservation of the frontiers on that side.—King William, to make some advantage of his universal superiority, detached a body of troops, to be joined by other detachments drawn from the garrisons of Liege and Maestricht, to invest the town and castle of Huy, which surrendered after such resistance as could be made; and about the middle of October, the armies separated and went into winter quarters. The Prince of Baden, who commanded on the Rhine, also retreated on the approach of winter, into Germany, without having gained any decisive advantage. In Hungary, the war continued with uninterrupted success, on the part of the Emperor. The principal scene of action, however, was Spain. In May, the Marechal Duc de Noailles had forced the Spanish lines on the banks of the Ter, and gained a complete victory; amongst the fruits of which was the reduction of Palamos, Gironne, Ostalric, and Castel Foletto. He menaced the city of Barcelona with an immediate siege; but, on the arrival of Admiral Russel, with the combined squadrons of English and Dutch, de Tourville, who was to co-operate with Noailles in an attempt upon Barcelona, retired into Toulon; and the Marechal was compelled to abandon his object. In Italy, the campaign terminated without siege or battle; the inactivity of the Duke of Savoy was supposed to originate in a clandestine negotiation with the French court.

Admiral Sir Francis Wheeler had been detached with a squadron to the streights to convoy the Mediterranean and Levant trade, and to cruize off Cadiz till the arrival of the Spanish flota. Having performed these commissions, he had the misfortune, in the month of February, to encounter, off Gibraltar, one of the most violent tempests ever known. It began on the 17th, and continued with little or no remission to the 19th. Sir Francis Wheeler, in the Sussex man of war, and two other line of battle ships, were totally lost; besides three of an inferior rate, and a great number of traders and coasting vessels.

Early in the month of June, about thirty sail of the line, English and Dutch, commanded by Lord Berkeley, having on board 6,000 land forces, sailed from St. Helen's, and came to anchor between Camaret and Bertheaume bays, lying on each side the entrance into Brest water, on the evening of the 7th. The defence of this important place had been committed to the famous Vauban, who, previously to the arrival of the English armament, had written to the King of France, "that his Majesty needed to be under no apprehension; that he had made all the subterraneous passages under the castle bomb-proof; that he had placed 90 mortars and 300 pieces of cannon in proper places; that all the ships were out of the reach of the enemy's booms, and all the troops in good order; that there were 300 bombardiers in the place, 300 gentlemen, 4000 men, regular troops, and a regiment of dragoons just arrived." After a bold and ineffectual endeavour to silence the castle and fort which guarded the entrance into the harbour, General Tollemache made a desperate attempt, to effect a landing with the troops in a small bay flanked to the right and left with cannon and entrenchments within half-musket shot of the water. They gained the shore; but they were received so warmly by the French, as to be compelled to a precipitate and disorderly retreat to the boats; and it being now tide of ebb, they could not clear themselves from the ooze in which they were bedded; and the greater part of the troops which had landed were either miserably slaughtered, or obliged to beg for quarter. The General, after displaying the most heroic valour, received a mortal wound, and the whole armament returned immediately to England.* To remove the public depression occasioned by this disaster, Lord Berkeley, agreeably to his instructions, sailed to Dieppe, and threw an immense number of bombs and carcases into the place, so that the town was in a manner ruined and destroyed. From Dieppe he directed his course towards Havre-de-Grace, which met with nearly the same fate. He then attempted Dunkirk and Calais; but the whole country being by this time alarmed, and prepared for defence, these attacks were attended with very slight success.

Admiral Russel, who commanded in the Mediterranean, after relieving Barcelona, and driving the French fleet into their ports, received orders to winter at Cadiz. It was by the appearance of this fleet, consisting of 60 sail of the line, that the Italian powers of Venice and Tuscany were induced to acknowledge the title of King William.

His Majesty landed at Margate, on the 9th of November, and was met by the Queen at Rochester. The session of Parliament was opened on the 12th, and supplies, to the amount of five millions, were readily granted. This session, the bill for the frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments, succeeded in obtaining the royal assent. It enacted, that a new Parliament should be called every third year, and that the present Parliament should be dissolved before the 25th of March, 1696.

Archbishop Tillotson, a prelate, who in a very diffi-

* General Tollemache declared, "That he felt no regret at losing his life in the performance of his duty, but that it was a great grief to him to have been betrayed." His belief of treachery was but too well founded. It appears that, on the 3d of May preceding, the Earl of Marlborough had transmitted through the hands of Colonel Sackville, a letter to King James, communicating the whole design of this expedition, which the Colonel in his dispatch to the Earl of Melfort, then occupying no ostensible office at the court of St. Germaine's, desired for the love of God might be kept a secret even from Lord Middleton. "It is only to-day," said Lord Marlborough, "I have learned the news I now write you; which is, that the bomb-ketches, and the twelve regiments encamped at Portsmouth, with the two regiments of marines, all commanded by Tollemache, are destined for burning the harbour of Brest, and destroying all the men of war which are there. This will be a great advantage to England; but no consideration can prevent, or ever shall prevent me from informing you of all that I believe to be for your service: therefore, you may make your own use of this intelligence, which you may depend upon being exactly true. But I must conjure you, for your own interest, to let no one know but the Queen and the bearer of this letter.——I have endeavoured to learn this some time ago from Admiral Russel; but he always denied it to me, though I am very sure that he knew the design for more than six weeks. This gives me a bad sign of this man's intentions. I shall be very well pleased to learn that this letter comes safe to your hands."

cult

cult and critical situation had conducted himself with great wisdom, temper and moderation, died suddenly about this time.* He was succeeded by Dr. Tennison, Bishop of Lincoln, a man in every sense highly respectable.

In the succeeding month (December) her Majesty was attacked with the small-pox, of the confluent and most malignant sort. She is supposed to have thought herself in danger, from the first, as in an early state of the illness, she shut herself up in her closet for several hours, and, after burning many papers, put the rest in order. Archbishop Tennison attended her; and, when no hope of recovery remained, he, with his Majesty's approbation, communicated to her the true state of her condition. She appeared perfectly resigned; saying, "she thanked God she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left till the last hour—she had nothing then to do but to look up to God and submit to his will." The day before she died she received the sacrament; after which she had her last interview with the King, to whom she addressed a few broken sentences imperfectly understood. She died on the 28th of December, in the thirty-third year of her age and sixth of her reign. She was buried at Westminster with unusual honours, both Houses of Parliament assisting at the solemnity.† The King was inconsolable for her loss; for many months he seemed plunged into the deepest melancholy; and, to the last moment of his life, he cherished the tenderest affection for her memory.

During the illness of the Queen, the Princess Anne requested to be permitted to see her. This was declined; but a forgiving message was afterwards sent by the Queen, to her sister, and after her decease a reconciliation was effected between the King and Princess, through the sole intervention of the Earl of Sunderland, and she was again received at court, and treated with great demonstrations of regard.

A. D. 1695.] A perplexing question of law was now started in the Upper House by the Lords Rochester and Nottingham, who insisted that the Parliament was dissolved in consequence of her Majesty's death, the writs being issued in the joint names of the King and Queen. The Earl of Portland indignantly answered, "that this was a matter not fit to be mentioned, and much less debated." In this sentiment the House and the nation unanimously concurred.

A petition was about this time presented from the inhabitants of Royston, complaining of oppressive usage from the officers and soldiers of Colonel Hastings's regiment quartered there, in exacting subsistence-money, &c. The House, in consequence, instituted an enquiry into the conduct of the colonels of regiments and army-agents. Several of them were eventually committed to custody; Hastings was cashiered; and a proclamation was issued against such illegal and criminal practices. This enquiry paved the way to others; and it appeared that several of the leading members of the House had been guilty of corrupt practices. The Orphan's bill, brought into the House by the corporation of London, after several years' fruitless solicitation, it was remarked, had past in the course of the last session without difficulty; and, on appointing a committee to examine the Chamberlain's books, the copy of an order was found for paying Sir John Trevor, the Speaker, one thousand guineas as soon as the said bill should be passed, with an intimation from the city solicitor, that unless the said sum were given the bill would not be allowed to pass. When the report was brought up, and received, the Speaker was reduced to the indescribable mortification of putting the question, "that Sir John Trevor, Speaker of the House, in receiving a gratuity of one thousand guineas from the city of London, after passing the Orphan's bill, is guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor." The affirmative being carried, the Speaker abdicated the chair, was immediately expelled by an unanimous vote of the House, and Paul Foley, Esq. was chosen Speaker in his room. Nor did the investigations of the House terminate here. The committee having been empowered to examine the books and accounts of the East India Company, it appeared, that whereas the sums issued for special or secret service did not in the year 1688 amount to more than 1284*l.* and in the two following years to more than 2096*l.* and 3056*l.*—in the year 1693 it rose to 167,000*l.* Sir Thomas Cooke, a member of the House, having been Governor of the Company during that year, was called upon to declare in what manner this money had been expended; but, refusing to answer, he was committed to the Tower; and a bill of Pains and Penalties was brought in against him. This bill was strenuously opposed by the Duke of Leeds in the House of Lords, as contrary to both law and equity. His Grace's warmth tended to create farther suspicion, especially as he was loud and earnest in the protestations of his own innocence, although no accusation had been urged against him. The bill ultimately passed, with a clause indemnifying Cooke from any offence committed by him in the distribution of the money in question; on which he delivered in a statement of the various sums paid by by him to various persons: amongst the rest, 40,000*l.* to Sir Basil Firebrace for favours and services done to the Company. The evidence of Sir Basil, and others, tending strongly to criminate the Duke of Leeds, Lord President, the Commons determined on an impeachment, charging his Grace with high crimes and misdemeanors, in that, being President of the Council, and sworn to give their Majesties true and faithful advice, he had, contrary to his oath, office, and duty, &c. contracted and agreed with certain merchants trading to the East Indies, to procure a Charter of Confirmation, &c. for the sum of 5500 guineas. At this time Robart in whose hands the money had been deposited, absconded; and the Duke of Leeds, knowing the evidence to be now incomplete, urged the immediate prosecution of the impeachment, and talked in high terms of the hardships and injustice of delay. A prorogation of Parliament taking place at this juncture, the enquiry was virtually relinquished; but the disgraceful imputations adhered to his Grace's character. He still continued at the head of the council; but his name was not inserted amongst the Lords of the Regency appointed by the King on his departure for the Continent.‡

In the spring of this year, 1695, a session of Parliament was held in Scotland; in the course of which a severe inquisition was made into the affair of Glencoe, and heavy censures passed on the Master of Stair and the other principal actors in that dismal tragedy, and prosecutions ordered to be instituted against them; but it does not appear that the examples made were so conspicuous as might have been wished and expected. This session was chiefly remarkable for an act to establish a company, by the name of the company of Scotland, trading to Africa and the Indies.§

In Ireland, the first session of a new Parliament was held

* Sancroft, the deprived Metropolitan, had died some months before Tillotson. Though he could never conscientiously take the oaths to the new government, he discovered nothing of a factious or seditious spirit, and abstained from whatever had a tendency to violate the public peace. From a conference which during his last illness he held with one of his conforming chaplains, it was evident that he died in charity with all men. "You and I," said Sancroft, "have gone different ways in these late affairs; but I trust heaven's gates are wide enough to receive us both. What I have done, I have done in the integrity of my heart—indeed in the great integrity of my heart."

† The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury: Dr. Kenn, the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells, reproached him in a letter, for not having called upon her Majesty on her death-bed to repent of the share she had in the Revolution. This was answered in another pamphlet. One of the Jacobite clergy insulted the Queen's memory, by preaching on the following text: "Go now, see this cursed woman, and bury her, for she is a King's daughter." On the other hand, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London came to a resolution to erect her statue, with that of the King, in the Royal Exchange.

‡ These were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper Somers, the Lord Privy Seal Pembroke, the Lord Steward Devonshire, the Lord Chamberlain Dorset, the Secretary of State Shrewsbury, and the first Lord of the Treasury Godolphin. Sir John Trenchard, Secretary of State, died about this time, and was succeeded by Sir William Trumbull.

§ This company, in which nearly the whole commercial strength of

held this year, by Lord Capel, now advanced to the dignity of Lord Deputy; in which affairs were conducted, with unanimity and dispatch; and many judicious laws were enacted.*

Early this year died Francis de Montmorenci Duke of Luxemburgh, one of the greatest generals of the age. The Marechal Duc de Villeroi was appointed his successor; M. de Boufflers commanding a separate and secondary army under him. This campaign, a new line was drawn for the protection of French Flanders from the Lys to the Scheld, where the storm was supposed most likely to fall; and M. Villeroi was restrained to act strictly on the defensive. King William having put himself at the head of the allied army, advanced by rapid marches to the French lines, apparently with a determination to risk an attack; and, to maintain the deception, a demonstration was made on Fort Knoque. The feint succeeded; all the French forces were drawn within the lines; and the King of England dispatched orders to the Earl of Athlone, who commanded a separate army on the side of the Maese, to invest the city of Namur. This service was performed with success; but, from the difficulty of the ground, and the great extent of the circumvallation, it was not possible to prevent de Boufflers from throwing himself into the place with a strong reinforcement. Thus the garrison amounted to 15,000 men; and great additions having been made to the fortifications, it was considered by the French as impregnable.

King William marched back his army to Rouselaar; left the command to the Prince de Vaudemont; and then, at the head of a grand division of the troops, joined the Elector of Bavaria and the Earl of Athlone, and took the command of the covering army before Namur. The season proved so dry, that the convoys of provision and ammunition could not be sent up the Sambre and Maese for want of water. M. Boufflers having joined M. Villeroi, that General was expected to march to the relief of the besieged; but the Prince of Vaudemont, posted in an exposed situation nine miles only from the French camp, determined first to rout this inferior enemy, and then to proceed to Namur. M. de Villeroi, though evidently having him in his power, resolved, in opposition to advice to the contrary, to defer the attack till the next day. The Prince, sensible of his danger, in the mean time made admirable dispositions for a retreat; and, making a grand movement, the French beheld with amazement a whole army vanish as it were from before them at once. By nine o'clock on the following morning, the Prince found himself perfectly safe under the walls of Ghent. This retreat was highly admired by all military judges; and the French commander was obliged to content himself with the capture of the petty fortresses of Dixmuyde and Deynse, the garrisons of which he detained contrary to the conditions of the cartel which had been established.

In the mean time, King William and the Elector inspired courage in every breast, by sharing the toils and dangers of the siege of Namur, equally with the men whom they commanded. On the storming of the first counterscarp, William remained exposed in the trenches a considerable time to a very hot cannonade from the enemy; which killed several persons about him, and amongst the rest Mr. Godfrey, Deputy Governor of the Bank, who had come over to establish certain regulations relative to the army remittances. On the 4th of August, the town was surrendered by Count de Guiscard, on condition of being allowed to withdraw the garrison into the castle. Villeroi, instead of attempting the relief of the castle, suddenly defiled with his whole army towards Brussels, then the residence of the Electress of Bavaria, to whom a polite message was sent by the Marechal, that he had orders to bombard the place, but would spare the quarter where she had her abode. Upwards of 2,000 bombs, and a prodigious number of red-hot shot were thrown into the place, a great part of which was thus laid in ruins. The siege of the castle of Namur, however, was continued with unabating vigour. M. Boufflers, fearing a speedy surrender, formed a desperate attempt to break through the allied camp, but was prevented. On the 21st of August the batteries opened with a general discharge from 166 pieces of cannon and 60 mortars. On the 28th, M. Villeroi, having received a powerful reinforcement from the Rhine, took post at Gemblours, and drew up his army as near the allies as the ground would permit. King William consequently quitted his lines, and made every disposition to receive his attack; but, in the night, the Marechal decamped; on the following day, a general assault was made on the castle; and, after a dreadful carnage, a lodgment was made nearly a mile in extent. M. de Boufflers at length consented to a capitulation—terms the most honourable being granted to the garrison; and thus the King of England had the honour of taking in seven weeks one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, in sight of an army of 100,000 men. On the marching out of the garrison, Marechal Boufflers was arrested, by way of reprisal for the detention of the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse. At first he appeared much insensed; but he was told, that, far from intending any personal affront, it was the highest compliment to detain him, as an equivalent to the thousands included in the captive garrisons. On the arrest of Boufflers being made known to the French court, orders were dispatched for the instant release of the garrisons; and the Marechal, on his return to Versailles, was received with distinguished marks of esteem and regard.

On the Rhine, where the opposite armies were again commanded by the Marechal de Lorges and the Prince of Baden, the campaign was distinguished only by its insignificance. In Italy, the Duke of Savoy recovered the important fortress of Casal, with so little show of resistance on the part of the French, as to furnish an additional proof of the secret understanding supposed to subsist between the courts of Turin and Versailles.—In Spain also, the war was feebly prosecuted. The French King was impatient for peace, and contented himself with acting every where on the defensive.—The maritime powers had not yet been able to succeed in their design of effecting a peace between the Imperialists and the Turks.

Early in the summer, a considerable naval force under Lord Berkeley, joined by a Dutch squadron under Admiral Allemonde, was employed, though with little effect, in the service of bombarding Dunkirk, Calais, and and St. Malo; but they totally destroyed the neighbouring town of Grandval. The ships thus employed in the destruction of the property of the enemy might have been more beneficially engaged in the protection of our own; for, during the summer, many merchant vessels from the West-Indies, and five East India-men, valued at 1,000,000l. fell into the hands of the French privateers.

Early in the month of October, the King returned to England, and was received with universal acclamation. A resolution was taken to dissolve the Parliament; and, during the ensuing election, the King made a progress to the north, partook of the diversions of the turf at Newmarket, and received the compliments of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

The Whig interest prevailed in the new elections;

---

of Scotland was comprehended, were authorised to freight their own or hired ships for ten years from any of the ports or places in that kingdom, or from any other ports or places in amity with his Majesty, to any lands, islands, &c. in Asia, Africa, or America; and there to plant colonies, hold cities, towns or forts, in or upon the places not inhabited or possessed by any European sovereign or state: with an exclusive right against all persons not of the said company—provided that all the ships so freighted should make their returns to Scotland, on pain of confiscation. An exemption from all impositions, duties, and taxes was granted to the company for the term of twenty-one years. This act excited in Scotland the most eager and flattering hopes, and in England the most alarming jealousies and apprehensions; and it was in the sequel productive of very serious consequences.

* Amongst these laws was an act for abolishing the writs de Hæretico Comburendo; an act declaring all attainders and all other acts in the late pretended Parliament held by King James null and void; an act for disarming Papists; an act to restrain foreign education; and an act for the better settling intestates' estates.

and

and at the meeting of the new Parliament (November 22d) the King expressed his entire satisfaction at the choice which his people had made. Mr. Foley was again chosen Speaker; and the two Houses congratulated the glorious success of his Majesty's arms, and engaged effectually to assist the King in the prosecution of the war, which they confirmed by voting large and liberal supplies.

Four days afterwards, a bill, which had been formerly offered and rejected, for regulating trials in cases of high treason, was once more brought into the House by the Tories. It enacted, "That all persons indicted for high treason, or misprision of treason, shall have a copy of the whole indictment five days, and of the pannel of the jurors two days, at least, before the trial; that they shall be permitted the assistance of counsel; that they shall not be convicted but upon the oaths of two witnesses, joining to evidence some overt act; that the indictment be found within three years after the offence be committed; that no evidence be admitted of any overt act not expressly laid in the indictment; that they shall have like process to compel their witnesses to appear for them, as is usually granted to witnesses against them; and that they be allowed peremptorily to challenge thirty-five of the jury." Amongst those who rose in support of this bill was Lord Ashley, grandson of the great Earl of Shaftesbury, and pupil of the famous Locke; at a later period of his life universally known as the author of "The Characteristics." He had premeditated his speech; but it so happened, that, struck with the august presence and deep attention of his auditory, he was disconcerted and unable to proceed. Recovering from his embarrassment, he happily converted this incident into an argument in favour of the bill irresistibly powerful and impressive. "If I, Sir," observed he, addressing the Speaker, "who rise only to give my opinion on the bill now depending, and have no personal concern in the question, am so confounded that I am unable to find voice or words to express the least portion of that which I proposed to say; what must the condition of that man be, who without any assistance is pleading for his life, and suffering under the immediate apprehensions of being deprived of it?" This spontaneous appeal to the heart operated more powerfully than the most laboured eloquence; and the bill passed in a tumult of applause. It was immediately sent up to the Lords, who added to it a clause repeatedly rejected by the Commons: "That to the trial of a Peer all the Peers should be summoned." The Commons, however, rather than risque the bill, agreed to the amendment, and the act received the royal assent.

At this time, such was the depreciation of the current coin, in consequence of the practice of clipping, &c. that thirty shillings in the common course of exchange were equivalent only to one guinea. A resolution was therefore taken to call in and re-coin the whole of the silver currency: and though confident predictions were hazarded of the evils that would ensue from the temporary suspension of the usual medium of commerce, the whole project was carried into speedy and successful execution, under the management of Mr. Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Earl of Portland had lately solicited and obtained from the crown a grant, to him and his heirs for ever, of the Lordships of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, in the county of Denbigh. This was no sooner made known to the gentlemen residing in that vicinity, than they determined to resist it; and whilst the warrant was pending, they petitioned the Lords of the Treasury for a hearing. Sir William Williams represented, "That these Lordships were part of the ancient demesnes of the Prince of Wales; and always considered by the Welsh nation as inalienable—that in the statute for granting of fee-farm rents, there was a particular exception of the Welsh rents—and it was added, that the salaries of the Welsh were payable out of the revenues in question." Lord Godolphin admitted, that the petitioners "Had offered weighty reasons for their opposition, and said he would not fail to represent them to his Majesty." The affair now lay several months dormant; but the grant not being revoked, the Denbighshire gentlemen resolved to petition Parliament against it. Mr. Price introduced the petition with a bold and energetic speech, which threw the House into a flame, and they instantly agreed upon an address to the King, in very decisive terms, to recall his grant to the Earl of Portland, which the King, with apparent reluctance, engaged to do. He declared, "That he had a kindness for the Earl of Portland which he had deserved by his long and faithful services—that he should not have given him those lands, if he had imagined the House of Commons could have been concerned—he would therefore recall the grant, and find some other way of shewing his favour to him." Accordingly, in the month of May succeeding, a fresh grant was made to the Earl of the manors of Grantham, Dracklow, Pevensey, East Greenwich, &c. of which the Parliament did not think proper to take farther cognizance. Their discontent, however, more conspicuously appeared in another affair. The recent establishment of the Scotch Commercial Company had excited in England both envy and apprehension. At a conference of the two Houses, an address to the throne was agreed upon, representing "That by reason of the great advantages granted to the Scotch East India Company, and the duties and difficulties to which that trade was subject in England, a great part of the stock and shipping of this nation would be carried thither. By this means Scotland might be made a free port for all East India commodities—and consequently those several places in Europe which were supplied from England would be furnished from Scotland much cheaper than could be done by the English.—And further, that when that nation should have settled themselves in plantations in America, the English commerce in tobacco, sugar, cotton, wool, skins, masts, &c. would be utterly lost, because the privileges of that nation granted to them by this act were such, that that kingdom must be the magazine for all commodities—and that by a clause in the said act, whereby his Majesty promised to interpose his authority to have reparation made for any damage done to the ships and merchandize of the said company, his Majesty did seem to engage to employ the shipping and strength at sea of this nation to support this new company, to the great detriment even of this kingdom." The King answered, "That he had been ill served in Scotland, but he hoped some remedies might be found to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from this act." In proof of his sincerity, the Marquis of Tweeddale, high commissioner, and the two secretaries of state, were indignantly dismissed, and the seals of secretary given to Lord Murray, son of the Marquis of Athol. The House of Commons next appointed a committee to examine by what methods this bill was obtained; and the committee having speedily made their report, and delivered a copy of an oath de fideli taken by the directors of the Scotch India company, it was resolved, "That the Directors of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, administering and taking here in this kingdom an oath de fideli, and, under colour of a Scotch act of Parliament, styling themselves a Company, were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor: and that Lord Belhaven, William Paterson, David Nairne, and eighteen other persons named in the resolution, be impeached of the same."—When the Scotish nation was apprised that the King had disowned the act for the establishment of their Company, it is not easy to describe the indignation which was excited; and they resolved, in despite of the opposition of England, to persist in the prosecution of a plan which had now the sanction of law, and which the King, however he might disapprove, could neither alter, suspend, nor repeal.

An unsuccessful attempt was made in the course of the present session, to establish a council of trade. The House of Commons voted,

Ist. That a council of trade should be established by act of Parliament, with powers for the more effectual preservation of the trade of this kingdom.

IIdly. That the commissioners constituting the said council be nominated by Parliament.

IIIdly. That none of the said commissioners should be of this House, &c.

A bill was ordered to be brought in, founded upon these resolutions. This project was warmly opposed by many, as inimical to the constitution; and the bill was ultimately lost.

A. D. 1696.] This year, on the 11th of February, one Captain Fisher waited on the Earl of Portland, informing him, that there was a design in agitation to seize the person of the King, which was to be followed by a general insurrection in England and Scotland, and an invasion from France. The ships, he said, were actually prepared, and a body of troops was ready to embark, with King James at their head. A commission, he added, had been brought over from James, authorising this attempt on the person of the Prince of Orange, in which more than forty persons were engaged. Saturday the 15th of February, he said, was the day fixed upon for its execution, and the attempt was to be made in a lane between Brentford and Turnham Green, on the King's return from hunting; and, in case of resistance, he was to be killed. Fisher refusing to specify the persons engaged in this plot, the King treated the affair as a fiction, and determined to hunt as usual. In the evening of the 14th, however, Lord Portland found a person of the name of Pendergrass at his apartments at Whitehall, who, being admitted to an audience, emphatically requested the Earl to persuade the King to stay at home the next day; as, should he go abroad to hunt, he would be assassinated. He further stated in substance what had been already said by Fisher. He acknowledged himself to be an Irishman and a Papist; but he declared, that when this business was proposed to him, he was struck with horror, and immediately resolved to discover it. He absolutely refused, however, to give up the names of any of the parties concerned. The Earl immediately repaired to Kensington; and, having obtained access to the King, who had retired to rest, informed him of what he had heard. The King, in consequence, altered his resolution of hunting the next day. This does not appear to have excited any alarm amongst the conspirators: it was attributed to accident; and the execution of the design was deferred till the following Saturday. A third witness, named De la Rue, came forward in the interval, and discovered not only the particulars of the conspiracy, but the names of Sir George Berkeley, Sir William Perkins, Charnock, Parker, Porter, &c. Fisher and Pendergrass now consented to come forward as witnesses. The conspirators were assembled at Porter's lodgings, Pendergrass and De la Rue being of the number, on the morning of the 22d. In the midst of their consultations they received intelligence that the King's hunting was a second time put off; upon which they fell into a consternation, and separated in great confusion. Several of them were apprehended in their beds, the following night.

Advices were at this time received from the Elector of Bavaria, that the French troops stationed on the coasts of Normandy and Picardy were in motion, and that ships of war and transports were assembling in different ports of the Channel. It was consequently resolved to communicate the whole of this extraordinary business to Parliament; and on Monday the 24th of February, the King, from the throne, apprised the two Houses that he had received several concurring informations of a design to assassinate him; and that the enemies of the kingdom were very forward in their preparations for a sudden invasion. The Parliament instantly voted a loyal and affectionate address, "expressing their detestation of so villainous and barbarous a design, and their resolution to revenge the same on his Majesty's enemies and their adherents." A bill was immediately ordered for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act; and the model of an association was drawn, to be signed by the members of the House, solemnly declaring that his present Majesty King William is rightful and lawful King of these realms. Upwards of four hundred members promptly signed this association; and an order was made, that they all should sign it, or declare their refusal, on or before the 16th of March. This was a procedure extremely obnoxious to the high Tories and concealed Jacobites. "The distinction of a King de facto and a King de jure," observes Ralph, "was revived on this occasion; and all the ability of the party was exhausted in their endeavours to shew, both from authority and argument, that they ought not to be pressed on this head; and that compliance or non-compliance ought not to be esteemed the test of a good subject." In the House of Lords, where the same association was proposed, the words rightful and lawful were strenuously attacked as not applicable to an elected sovereign; and the Earl of Rochester moved, that in their stead, should be inserted, "That his present Majesty King William hath a right by law to the crown of this realm; and that neither King James nor the pretended Prince of Wales, nor any other person, hath any right whatsoever to the same." This served as a salvo for the honour of the party; and it was adopted by the House, to conciliate the Tories, who, throughout the kingdom, signed the association of the Lords, while the Whigs adhered to that of the Commons. Towards the close of the session a bill was also introduced, for the better security of his Majesty's person and government, which enacted, that such as refused to take the oaths should be subject to the penalties of Popish recusants convict; that it should be penal to declare by writing or otherwise, that King William was not lawful and rightful King of these realms; that no person should be capable of any office of profit or trust, civil or military, that should not sign the association; or of sitting in that House after the determination of the present Parliament.

On the 27th of April, the King closed the session with a short but gracious speech.

Several of the conspirators had been brought to trial; De la Rue, Pendergrass, Porter, Goodman, Harris, &c. having been admitted as witnesses for the crown. The first who suffered was Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen college who in the reign of James had renounced the Protestant religion. Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins were next tried and convicted. They both persisted in their ignorance of any assassination plot, but acknowledged that they had been present at meetings held for the purpose of conspiring against the government. At their execution, these state criminals were attended by three non-juring clergymen, who had the effrontery to give them solemn absolution in the view of all the people. For this insult to the government two of them were committed to custody, but discharged after a short confinement with only a reprimand. The third (the celebrated Collier, author of the view of the English stage) absconded. —The trials of Rookwood, Lowick, Cranbourne, &c. succeeded to those of Friend and Perkins; but afford no circumstances of particular interest. Upon the whole, it may be inferred, that the persons concerned in this dark and desperate affair at least imagined, that they were acting under the sanction of the court of St. Germains.

The most vigorous efforts were at this time made to counteract the machinations of enemies abroad. Admiral Russel, having collected a fleet of fifty ships of the line, stood over to the French coast, and discovered in the port of Calais between three and four hundred transports, drawn up close in shore, as also seventeen or eighteen men of war lying amongst the sands of Dunkirk, which were intended to cover the embarkation. Astonished at the sudden appearance of the English fleet, instead of continuing their preparations for a descent on the adverse coast, the French became anxious for the safety of their own. Admiral Russel, after detaching Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to bombard the town of Calais, returned in triumph to the Downs. James, on the other hand, returned disconsolate to St. Germains; and the troops assembled for the purpose of invasion were marched back into the interior of the country.

William embarked in May, to take upon him the command of the Allied army in Flanders. Prior to his arrival, a spirited attempt had been made, under the

Earl of Athlone and General Coehorn, on an immense magazine of ammunition and military stores, which the French had collected at Givet, to enable them to make an early opening of the campaign. After a bombardment of a few hours the magazine was set on fire, and before the close of the day completely consumed, without loss to the assailants. Large armies were this year brought into the field without any apparent object; no offensive operations being attempted either by Marechal Villeroi or the King of England. The campaign on the Rhine resembled that in Flanders, and consisted wholly of unimportant movements. In Catalonia, M. de Vendome, who had superseded the Duc de Noailles, passing the Ter, attacked and forced the Spanish army under the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt encamped near the town of Ostalric. The Spaniards, however, made a good defence, and a regular retreat under the cannon of Ostalric; so that no farther advantage could be gained over them. The most important event of the present year was the defection of the Duke of Savoy, who, finding the leading powers of the alliance still reluctant to meet the advances of France, and at the same time, secretly apprised by the court of Versailles of the "infallible restoration" of King James, in consequence of the measures then concerted, provided for his own security by a separate treaty, signed early in the spring at Loretto, whither the Duke had repaired on a pretended pilgrimage. This treaty was avowed towards the close of the summer. One of its conditions went to establish a neutrality in Italy, and the consequent evacuation of that country by the confederate armies. To this the courts of Vienna and Madrid indignantly refused to accede; upon which, the Duke of Savoy, taking upon him the command of the combined forces of France and Piedmont, entered the Duchy of Milan, and invested the fortress of Valentia. After the trenches had been opened about a fortnight, dispatches arrived with the consent of his Catholic Majesty to the proposed neutrality; on which the Imperial and French troops retired; and Louis ordered a solemn Te Deum to be sung at Notre Dame for the termination of the war in Italy. In Hungary the imperial armies were again commanded by the Elector of Saxony; and a fierce but indecisive engagement took place in August, on a plain, bordering on the river Beque, after which a cessation of hostilities seemed to ensue. The attention of Europe was, however, forcibly drawn to this side of the Continent, in consequence of the sudden and successful attack made by Peter, Czar of Muscovy, on the Turkish dominions, and the surrender of the important city of Asoph, situated at the mouth of the Tanais, to the Russian arms. The Emperor Leopold was eager on this event to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Czar; and Europe for the first time began to entertain some faint idea of the greatness of that power, which was destined to make so distinguished a figure in the transactions of the succeeding century.*

The maritime powers, alarmed at the defection of the Duke of Savoy, seemed at length to lend a serious ear to the propositions of France; and on the 3d of September, the States General, with the approbation of the King of England, declared that, in consequence of the concessions of France to the imperial demands, matters were now brought to such a crisis, that in concert with their allies the mediation of Sweden might be accepted. Spain and the Emperor, however, signified their opinion, that the declarations of France were not yet sufficiently explicit. They insisted upon the re-establishment of the treaty of Westphalia in all its parts; and proposed, that the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, should join his forces to those of the allies, in case France should refuse to accede to the terms proposed.

William returned early in October to England. During his absence, a session of Parliament had been held in Scotland—Lord Murray, created Earl of Tullibardine, presiding as high commissioner. A spirit of loyalty seemed to pervade the whole of their proceedings; the supplies demanded by the court were granted without difficulty, and an association similar to that of England was unanimously adopted.

In Ireland, this year, a great public loss, was sustained by the death of the Lord Deputy Capel. Peace and order seemed, however, in a great measure restored. The government of that kingdom was transferred to Sir Charles Porter, Lord Chancellor, and the Earls of Montrath and Drogheda, as Lords Justices. A session of Parliament being held, the association of the English legislature was signed by all the members, excepting one, who, in consequence, was indignantly expelled.

On the 20th of October, the King, on opening the English session, acquainted the two Houses, that overtures for peace had been made on the part of the enemy; but he added, the only way of treating with France was with their swords in their hands. In reply, the Commons presented a very spirited and loyal address. The estimates of the necessary supplies being laid before the House, it appeared that nearly six millions were wanting for the current expences of the year; and upwards of five millions of floating debt, occasioned by the deficiency of former funds and taxes, were to be provided for. The Commons immediately resolved, that the supplies for the service of the year 1697, should be raised within the year; and this was effected by a land tax of three shillings in the pound, and a very heavy capitation tax, in addition to the previous burdens. The arrear of 5,160,000*l.* was provided for by loans and Exchequer bills, which till this time, from the delay and uncertainty of payment, had suffered an enormous depreciation. Now, however, the most vigorous and effectual measures were taken for the restoration of the public credit. An interest of 7*l.* 12*s.* per cent. was allowed upon these bills; they were taken by the government as money, in the payment of all duties excepting the land tax; and the commissioners of the treasury were authorised by Parliament to contract with such individuals or bodies corporate as they thought fit to exchange these bills or tallies for ready money at a certain premium; which was first fixed at ten per cent. but afterwards sunk to four; till, in a short time, to the astonishment of the public, who had so long seen them at twenty, thirty, or forty per cent. discount, they rose to par.†

Sir John Fenwick, deeply concerned in the late conspiracy, had been apprehended in the month of June at New Romney, in his way to France. He had been accompanied during part of his flight by one Webber, to whom he entrusted a letter to his lady, which was unfortunately intercepted. In this confidential effusion, he observed, "That nothing could save his life, but the endeavours of Lord Carlisle his brother, the family of the Howards, &c. or else the securing a jury." On his examination before the Lords of the Regency, he

* The talents of the young Czar, though obscured by the defects of a barbarous education, already appeared to bode extraordinary changes. His father Alexis, who died in 1675, left three sons, Theodore, Iwan, and Peter, and a daughter, Sophia. Theodore dying in 1682 constituted Iwan and Peter joint sovereigns; and, on account of the imbecility of Iwan and the tender years of Peter, Sophia was declared Regent of the empire. She was a woman of great courage, address, and ambition. Her administration was violent and bloody; and she harboured the design of seizing on the empire, to the exclusion of her brothers. But Peter, who had now attained to the age of seventeen, with equal sagacity and resolution attacked the Princess suddenly at Moscow, defeated her partisans, and, making her a prisoner, compelled her to retire within the walls of a monastery. Iwan dying in the present year, Peter now reigned sole Emperor, and soon gave indications of an ardent and aspiring mind, formed for vast and boundless enterprise.

† The Commons at this time condescended to notice a trifling paragraph in a periodical paper called The Flying Post, expressed in the following terms:—"We hear that when the Exchequer notes are given out upon the capitation fund, whosoever shall desire specie on them will have it, at five and a half per cent. of the society of gentlemen that have subscribed to advance some hundreds of thousands of pounds." Voting this passage to be "a malignant insinuation in order to destroy the credit and currency of the Exchequer bills," they ordered the printer, John Salisbury, to be taken into custody; and gave leave to bring in a bill to prevent the writing, printing, or publishing any news without license. When such a bill, however, was presented by Mr. Pulteney, it was thrown out before a second reading; because, though they saw the mischiefs of the liberty of the press, they knew not where to fix the power of restraint.

resolutely denied the charges brought against him: at length the letter was produced, the surprise of which so affected him, that he could not conceal his dismay and confusion, and no longer persisted in his protestations of innocence. On hearing that a bill was found against him by a grand jury, he petitioned for a delay of trial, and offered to discover all he knew, on condition he might have a pardon, and be excused from appearing as an evidence. This proposal was transmitted to the King, in Flanders, who refused to accede to it. Sir John, resolving to throw himself upon the King's mercy, sent him a paper, in which, after a slight and unsatisfactory account of the plots and projects of the Jacobites, he indiscreetly brought forward an accusation against the Earls of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Bath, the Lord Godolphin and Admiral Russel, for having made their peace with James, and engaged to act for his interest. He thus made the most powerful men in the kingdom his inveterate and determined enemies; and the King issued an order for bringing him to trial unless he made fuller and more material discoveries. Various delays, however, intervened; and Sir John Fenwick, perceiving how little chance he had of escape, thought it necessary to play a new game, and began to tamper with the witnesses who were to be produced against him. These were Porter and Goodman. The former, being the more considerable person, was offered 600 guineas to bear his charges to France, and an annuity of 300*l.* for life. Porter, instead of accepting these proposals, divulged them to the government; but Goodman proved more compliant; and when the time of the trial approached, it appeared that, one of the witnesses having absconded, no legal conviction could take place. The enemies of Fenwick, however, were too powerful to suffer him thus to reap the benefit of his artifices. On the 6th of November, Admiral Russel acquainted the House of Commons, that his Majesty had given leave to lay before them the several papers which had been given in by Sir John Fenwick, in the nature of informations against himself, and several other persons of quality; and he desired that those papers might be read, that so he might have an opportunity of justifying himself; or, if he did not, that he might fall under the censure of the House. The papers being read, Fenwick was ordered to the bar of the House, and interrogated by the Speaker as to his knowledge of the designs and practices of the enemies of government; being at the same time told, that to make a full and clear discovery was the best and only method he could take to deserve the favour of the House. To this he made a very weak and prevaricating reply; and a motion was made, and carried by a great majority, to bring in a bill to attaint him of high treason. The bill, however, in all its stages, through both Houses, encountered a most unexpected opposition. The Tories and concealed Jacobites in the House felt that they stood upon high and popular ground; and they artfully and ably improved their advantage. The first division on the motion for leave to bring in the bill was 179 voices to 61: and the bill was finally passed by 189 voices against 156. It was then transferred to the Lords, where it occasioned another vehement contest; and it was ultimately carried on a still closer division of 68 Lords against 61; forty-one of whom subscribed a strong protest against the bill. The impolicy of the Whigs was manifest in thus affording their antagonists an opportunity of appearing in the advantageous light of the advocates and defenders of the constitution; for, however romantic it may be to deny the abstract principle, that there are extraordinary cases which justify extraordinary deviations from established rules, the concluding observation of the Lords' protest cannot be justly controverted, "That Sir John Fenwick is so inconsiderable a man, as to the endangering the peace of the government, that there needs no necessity of proceeding against him in this extraordinary manner. The bill received the royal assent early in January 1697. Sir John, finding that there was no mercy in reserve for him, prepared with fortitude to meet his approaching fate; and, notwithstanding the proofs of weakness and pusillanimity which he had previously shewn, he resigned himself to the stroke of death with calmness and composure. On account of his rank and noble connection, his sentence was changed to decapitation, which he suffered on Tower-hill, January the 28th, leaving in the hands of the sheriff a paper containing, with a denial of some circumstances, a virtual confession of the substance of the charges adduced against him; and "praying God to bless his true and lawful sovereign King James; and to restore him and his posterity to the throne again, for the peace and prosperity of the nation."

Parliament closed its sittings on the 16th of April; the King declaring his intention to embark for the continent. Previously to his departure, he appointed the Earl of Sunderland to the office of Lord Chamberlain, vacant by the resignation of the Duke of Dorset. He was also sworn of the Privy Council, and constituted one of the Lords Justices during the King's absence. The Lord Keeper Somers was created a Peer, and advanced to the dignity of Chancellor of Great Britain; and Admiral Russel was made Earl of Oxford, and continued to occupy the post of first commissioner of the Admiralty.

A joint memorial was presented to the court of Vienna, by the ambassadors of England and Holland, early in the year, to entreat his imperial Majesty to accept the mediation of Sweden, and to name a place for holding the congress. The Emperor expressed, in cold and haughty terms, his acquiescence; and the ministers of the allied powers, with the exception of Spain, assembled at the Hague, in the month of February. M. de Callieres, in the name of Louis, offered to confirm and re-establish the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, as the basis of a pacification; to restore the city of Strasburg to the Empire, and Luxemburg to Spain, or an equivalent for each; to restore Mons, Charleroy, and the places captured in Catalonia, to Spain, in the state in which they were taken, and the town and castle of Dinant to the Bishop of Liege; to annul all the decrees of re-union made since the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen; to restore Lorraine according to the conditions of the said treaty; and to recognise the Prince of Orange as King of Great Britain. The Emperor, however, still appeared sullen and discontented; insisting, not only on the re-establishment of the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, according to the explanation of Nuremburg, but on the unconditional restitution of Lorraine to the Duke, of the castle and Duchy of Bouillon to the Elector of Cologne; and with respect to Spain, to place all things on the basis of the treaty of the Pyrenees. In a subsequent memorial, delivered to the Swedish ambassador as mediator, stiled the ulterior of his Cæsarean Majesty, the same demands were renewed—with the addition of the declaration, "That his imperial Majesty would not have consented to accept the mediation at all, if the King of Sweden had not consented to guaranty the preceding declarations of France." The death of the Swedish sovereign, Charles XI. at this period, did not impede the progress of the negotiation; his successor inheriting the same inclinations and attachments. The Emperor and the King of Spain at length agreed to open the conferences in form; and the congress was transferred from the Hague to the village of Ryswick, where King William had a palace, which now became the seat and centre of discussion; many successive weeks and months passing away in unavailing altercation.

Whilst the allied sovereigns affected to give law to France in the cabinet, the armies of that power were making new acquisitions and conquests: and, on the arrival of William in Holland, he received the intelligence, that the town of Aeth was invested by the enemy, under M. Catinat; the Marechals Villeroi and Boufflers having the command of the covering army. The place was surrendered after a slight defence. King William, however, took upon him the command of the allied army, and prevented Catinat from gaining any farther advantage. The opposite armies lying near

to each other, in the neighbourhood of Brussels, the attention of the public was attracted by the repeated interviews of the Earl of Portland and Marechal Boufflers, who learing their trains, were accustomed to meet by agreement in the plain of Halle, in the sight of the two camps. At the last of these conferences these two statesmen retired to a cottage, and signed the articles previously determined. It was then signified to the plenipotentiaries at Brussels, that the King of England had adjusted his separate concerns with France; and William immediately retired from the camp to his palace at Loo.

Burnet states, that the Earl of Portland told him, that it was stipulated at Halle, that the King of France should give King James no assistance, and the reigning monarch no disturbance upon his account; that James should retire to Avignon or Italy; and that the Queen's jointure of 50,000*l.* per annum should be paid as to a Dowager—James being considered as dead in law. James not retiring from France, the jointure was of course with-held.*

The chief effort of the French this campaign was made in Catalonia; for the court of Versailles, aware that the pride of Spain was the grand obstacle to peace, was resolved to convince them how unable they were to carry on the war, unsupported by other powers. Towards the end of May, the Duc de Vendome advanced at the head of a powerful army towards Barcelona. The Spaniards retiring at his approach, the city was invested on the 12th of June; and the coast being no longer defended by an English fleet, the Count D'Estrees, with a squadron of men of war and galleys, at the same time blockaded the port. The Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, governor of Barcelona, made an able and resolute defence; but the place, after a siege of nine months, was compelled to capitulate; and the court of Madrid, by a loss so great and unexpected, was thrown into the utmost consternation. Intelligence if possible still more alarming reached them nearly at the same moment. In the beginning of the year the French government had dispatched a squadron to the West Indies, to seize the Spanish Plate fleet. M. de Pointis the commander, finding on his arrival at St. Domingo that the galleons had already reached the Havanna, proceeded to Carthagena; of which, after a spirited resistance, he made himself master, and found in it an immense quantity of specie and merchandize, to the amount, as De Pointis says, of eight millions of crowns. The French evacuated the place after demolishing the principal fort, and stood to sea with their plunder. Shortly after they left Carthagena, they fell in with the English fleet, cruizing on those seas, near the streights of Bahama, and much superior in force; but by favour of the winds they had the good fortune to escape.

In consequence of these events, the Spanish court lowered its tone, and much facilitated the conclusion of the treaty.

The campaign in Hungary had this year been eminently glorious to the imperial arms. Prince Eugene of Savoy had been appointed commander in chief of the imperial armies on the Danube. The Grand Seignor took the field in person; and his first motions indicating a design of penetrating into Transylvania and Upper Hungary, Prince Eugene advanced by forced and rapid marches to cover the important fortress of Peterwaradin, apparently menaced by the Turks. The Grand Seignor, seeming to despise the youth and inexperience of Eugene, halted at Zenta, and threw a bridge over the Theysse, which he passed with his cavalry, leaving his infantry open and exposed to an attack on the other side. The Prince seized the advantage. Whilst the cavalry were still confusedly passing, and two hours of day-light only remained, the imperial troops came up, and charged the enemy with a spirit and vigour which sufficiently shewed the confidence they felt in their commander. All was now dismay on the part of the Turks; and signs of an absolute rout became visible. Retreat soon changed into flight; and, no quarter being given, the carnage was terrible. The bridge, which all endeavoured to gain, was choked up with dead bodies, and thousands threw themselves into the river to avoid the fury of the sword. Of the Turkish camp, all the tents, not excepting that of the Grand Seignor himself; all their stores, ammunition, and provisions, 130 pieces of cannon, several hundred pairs of colours, 6000 camels, 5000 horses, &c. Prince Eugene remained master. The Grand Seignor saved himself by flight; but the Grand Vizier was killed, and the seal of the empire was presented to the conqueror. The Aga of the Janizaries and twenty-seven Bashaws were found also among the dead, the number of whom was said to exceed 30,000, including those drowned in the Theysse; the loss of the Germans amounting to little more than 2000 men. The Emperor, on receiving this intelligence, dispatched a courier to the States General, with a letter in his own hand, acquainting them with the news of this decisive action, which he hoped would induce them to retard, perhaps to break off, the negotiation. The measures of their high mightinesses, however, were unalterably fixed; and they received the news of this great victory with cold indifference, if not with secret chagrin.

One of the most signal events of the preceding year was the death of the celebrated John Sobieski, King of Poland. On his demise the kingdom was distracted by the rage of opposing factions. The Duke of Lorraine, the Princes of Baden and Neuberg, and Don Livio Odeschalchi, nephew to the late Pope Alexander VIII. were amongst the earliest competitors for the crown; but, finding their weakness, they soon withdrew their pretensions; and the contest was then confined to Prince James, eldest son of the late King, the Prince of Conti, and Augustus, the Elector of Saxony. The Abbe Polignac, ambassador of France at Warsaw, had, by great address, and by lavishing vast sums of money, secured, as was thought, a decided majority of votes in favour of the Prince of Conti; but Prince James, perceiving the prospect of success hopeless as to himself, was prevailed upon to throw his interest into the scale of the Elector of Saxony, who thus greatly outnumbered the Prince of Conti. The Archbishop of Gnesna, Primate of Poland, whose office it was to declare the election, being in the interest of France, protested against the compromise as a collusion, and proclaimed the Prince of Conti. Repairing to the cathedral, he caused Te Deum to be sung for an act which threatened to involve the kingdom in a civil war. The

* On the other hand, M. Boufflers, as M. de Torcy states, insisted that a general act of grace should be granted to the English who had followed the fortunes of James, and that they should be restored to the possession of their estates—also, that none of the subjects of the French King should be allowed to enter, or to settle in, the city of Orange; because his Majesty foresaw that the new converts, still attached to their former errors, would flock to the provinces bordering upon Orange, and, if leave were given them, would settle there. It farther appears from the memoirs of King James, that Louis proposed to William to obtain a Parliamentary settlement of the crown after his decease upon the nominal Prince of Wales, a child not as yet nine years of age; and that William did not indicate any aversion to restore the Prince to that inheritance of which he had been deprived, by the extreme, and, in relation to him, unmerited rigour of fortune. On the communication of this project to James he opposed it with great vehemence; observing, that "He could not support the thoughts of making his own child an accomplice to his unjust dethronement: he could suffer with Christian patience the usurpation of the Prince of Orange, but not that of his own son." "Should even the Prince of Orange," said James, in a letter addressed to Louis, "induce the Parliament of England to repeal the Act of Settlement, it would be always on condition of having the Prince of Wales placed in their hands, without their being able to give any security either for his person or his conscience." Of course King William could not for a moment entertain the idea of reinstating the Prince, but on the condition of his residence in England for the purpose of education; a concession which he could scarcely expect from the bigotry of James. The Duke of Berwick, in the Memoirs of his life, relates, that on the proposition in question being made by the King of France, the Queen, being present at the conversation, would not allow her husband time to answer, but passionately declared, "that she would rather see her son dead than in possession of the crown to the prejudice of his father." The idea of his being educated a Protestant, filled them with horror: and, persuaded that the acquisition of a temporal must be attended with the loss of a celestial crown, they declined without hesitation an offer which appeared to them so extremely disadvantageous.

Bishop

Bishop of Cujavia proclaimed the Elector King of Poland, and sung Te Deum on the spot; and the new King afterwards made his entry in triumph into Warsaw. The Prince of Conti, on his subsequent arrival, found his opponent already in possession of the kingdom; and after a short and ineffectual struggle he was compelled to return full of chagrin and resentment to France. The Elector of Saxony was under the disgraceful necessity of changing his religion, to qualify himself to fill the throne of Poland; and from this æra the house of Brandenburg acquired the high political advantage of being regarded as the head of the Protestant interest in Germany, while the strength and riches of Saxony were exhausted, to enable the Elector King to maintain possession of his crown.

Whilst the negotiations were going forward at Ryswick, the court of St. Germains amused itself by publishing a succession of manifestoes, of which no one condescended to take the slightest notice. On the 20th of July, the ambassadors of France delivered in the ultimatum of that court; and, animated by the recent success of their arms, a declaration was made, that it was to be accepted by the last day of August; or, if not, France should hold herself as much at liberty to recede, as the allies to refuse. The Count de Kaunitz, the imperial ambassador, protested that he would pay no regard to that limitation; but, on the 30th of August, he delivered to the mediator a paper, signifying the concurrence of his court in the terms proposed, but refusing the equivalent offered for Strasburg. The French ambassador declared, that, the term prescribed for the acceptance of the ultimatum being now expired, all his offers were vacated—that therefore the King of France would reserve Strasburg, and unite it, with all its dependencies on this side the Rhine, to his crown for ever—that in other respects he would adhere to the projét, and restore Barcelona to the crown of Spain; but that these terms must be accepted in twenty days, otherwise he should think himself at liberty to refuse. In consequence of this peremptory declaration, on the 20th of September, at midnight, the articles were signed by the English, Dutch, Spanish, and French ministers, notwithstanding all the arguments and remonstrances of the imperial ambassador against it; and on almost precisely the same conditions which had been offered by France eight months before. On the 30th of October following, the Emperor consented to the treaty.

King William returned from the continent in the month of November; and the Parliament met on the 3d of December. The King expressed his satisfaction that the war into which he had entered by the advice of his people, was at length terminated by an honourable peace; but, in the course of his speech he pronounced the circumstances of affairs abroad to be such as to oblige him to declare his opinion, that, for the present, England could not be safe without a land force. This expression threw the Parliament and the nation into the highest ferment. The revival of this project was universally ascribed to the Earl of Sunderland. In their address, which was framed in high terms of respect, the Commons congratulated his Majesty as having by the late honourable and advantageous peace completed the glorious work of national deliverance, but preserved a profound silence on this topic; and when the question came to be debated in the House, the patriots and anti-courtiers carried, on a division of 185 members against 148, of whom 116 were place-men, a resolution, importing that all the forces raised since the year 1680 should be disbanded. By this vote, the whole number of troops to be maintained did not exceed 8000 men. A standing army was affirmed to be inconsistent with a free government, and absolutely destructive of the English constitution.

The credit of the ministers suffered greatly by this unsuccessful attempt; and the most severe and bitter reflections were thrown out against Lord Sunderland. Dreading the disgrace, and, what was to him far worse, the danger of Parliamentary censure, that nobleman resolved upon a resignation of his office of Lord Chamberlain, to the infinite chagrin of the King.*

Forcible and acute as William's feelings were upon his disappointment, he abstained from all public indications of spleen or discontent; and the Commons, to soften the unavoidable harshness of a resolute non-compliance in a matter of so great moment, now granted him a revenue for life, and raised the civil list to the sum of 700,000*l.* per annum.

Early in 1698, the contest between the East India Company and the associated merchants was revived with undiminished animosity. It had been intimated to the company, by persons supposed to be in the confidence of ministers, that, in consideration of a loan to be advanced by them to government at a low interest, their charter might now be renewed. Believing all opposition at an end, they received this proposition with unexpected coolness; on which Mr. Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, set on foot a negotiation with their antagonists. No sooner was this intelligence conveyed to them, than they made an offer of the sum of 700,000*l.* at the low interest of four per cent. But the opposite party had previously closed with the terms of Mr. Montague, and agreed to advance the sum of two millions at eight per cent. to government, in consideration of a new charter securing to them an exclusive trade to India; and in the month of May a bill was ordered to be brought into the House conformably to these conditions. From the commencement of this intricate investigation the Tory interest greatly predominated amongst the members of the old company, and the associated merchants were chiefly or entirely Whigs; so that this was a political as much or more than it was a commercial contest. At this period the Whigs possessed the chief share of power and influence: and in the business of finance, in particular, Montague, though only Chancellor of the Exchequer, was much more regarded than Lord Godolphin, a Tory, who filled the post of first Lord of the Treasury. Under the powerful patronage of Montague, therefore, the bill for the establishment of the new company finally passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords. The question for the second reading of the bill was carried by 65 voices against 48: twenty-one of whom, with Lord Godolphin at their head, signed a vigorous protest against it. The opposition had now exerted their utmost strength, and the bill, after passing through the usual forms, received the royal assent. In three days after opening the subscription books, the whole sum of two millions was subscribed, contrary to the prediction hazarded by the Protesters. Many individuals, however, of clear discernment, rising superior to the violence and to the prejudice of party, maintained that it was highly irrational to establish by law any corporation of commercial monopolists either foreign or domestic.

In the course of the present session, complaint was made of a book written by William Molyneux, Esq. of Dublin, intituled, "The case of Ireland's being bound by acts of Parliament in England;" in which the dependence of that kingdom on the authority of the Parliament of England was peremptorily denied. On the report of the committee, appointed to examine the same, it was unanimously resolved, "that the said book was of dangerous consequence to the crown and the people of England, &c."—and an address was presented to the King, upon the subject. Such was at this time the political depression of Ireland, that this procedure of the English Parliament excited no visible resentment on the part of the Irish legislature. A second address, no less extraordinary, was soon after presented to the King, with a view of discouraging the exportation and manufacture of wool in Ireland.

This year was distinguished by a vehement controversy between two Divines of profound erudition, Sherlock and South, respecting the mystery of the Trinity; which ultimately induced the Parliament to enact,

* The post of Chamberlain was kept vacant near two years, in the hope doubtless of his re-acceptance; during which interval it was supposed he received the emoluments of the office: but the succeeding events of the reign were not such as would incite him to resume it.

"that if any person educated in the Christian religion shall deny the same to be true, or the Holy Scriptures to be of divine authority, or impugn the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, he shall be incapable of holding any office or place of trust, and for the second offence be disabled from bringing any action, or from acting as guardian, executor, legatee, or purchaser of lands, and shall suffer three years' imprisonment without bail."

On the 5th of July, the Parliament was prorogued, and in two days after dissolved, having sat its full period three years. The chief alteration discernible in the state of things at court, at this time, was the Earl of Portland's decline of favour with the King, and the rapid rise of the Earl of Albemarle, son of M. Pellant Lord of Keppel in Guelderland—a young man of an agreeable person and address, and endowed with all the arts and accomplishments of a complete courtier. The Earl of Portland saw his rivalship with extreme uneasiness; but his remonstrances served only to excite dislike and displeasure. The King, however, whose esteem survived his affection, sent this nobleman, at the conclusion of the war, on an honourable embassy to Paris, where he displayed, and was in return entertained with, unusual splendour and magnificence.* On his return, finding his influence over the King in a manner extinguished, he resigned the places he had held for near ten years in the royal household.

The Duke of Gloucester, only son of the Prince and Princess of Denmark, having now reached the tenth year of his age, the King allotted him a separate establishment, appointing the Bishop of Salisbury his preceptor, and for governor the Earl of Marlborough.†

In the summer, a session of Parliament was held in Scotland. That kingdom was in a state of general inflamation, in consequence of the famous commercial bill passed in the former session. At an early period of their meeting, an animated representation was presented to Parliament by the Company, stating "the loss and disappointment they had suffered from the withdrawment of the English subscriptions; in lieu of which, they had published similar proposals in the city of Hamburgh, which had met with extraordinary success, 200,000*l.* being subscribed by the merchants there in a very short time. But, to their great surprize, a stop was put to the business, by a memorial delivered to the Senate by special warrant from his Majesty, not only disowning the authority under which they acted, but threatening both Senate and inhabitants with the King's utmost displeasure, if they should countenance or join with them in any treaty of trade or commerce." The Parliament voted immediately a petition to the King, in favour of the privileges of the said company; but as his Majesty was abroad, no answer could be returned before the termination of the session.

The Parliament of Ireland had also assembled at Dublin; but the session passed without any memorable occurrence.

Towards the close of July, the King embarked for the Continent, vesting the government of the kingdom, in a Regency. Previously to his departure, he left sealed orders with the Regents, conformably to which 16,000 troops were to be kept up, though, by a vote of the House of Commons, the number was limited to 10,000. But the King gave as a reason, that no determinate number was mentioned in the act, and that the illness of the King of Spain, and the near prospect of his dissolution, made it advisable not farther to reduce the standing military force of the kingdom.

William's grand object, after all the toils and dangers he had undergone, was now by fixing the balance of power in Europe to establish and, if possible, perpetuate its tranquillity. The health of the King of Spain was such, that he could not be expected long to survive: and upon whom the succession of that monarchy and its appendages should devolve, became a matter of serious consideration. The Emperor claimed the whole as his indubitable right in the capacity of heir general of the House of Austria, and nearest in blood in the male line descended from Philip and Joanna, King and Queen of Spain: and by one of the articles of the league of Augsburg the maritime powers engaged to assist the Emperor with all their forces, in the event of the King of Spain's demise, in taking possession of the same. The other great claimant was the King of France, in right of his wife Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV. who had indeed, on her marriage, renounced all pretensions to the succession of Spain. But this renunciation was held by the majority of the Castilians to be null and void in itself, as contrary to the rights of nature, and to the fundamental laws of the Spanish monarchy, which maintained the lineal order of succession without distinction of male or female.

King William was much displeased with the Emperor for his haughty and pertinacious refusal to concur in the late treaty. The Earl of Portland, on his late embassy to Paris, had instructions to communicate to Louis XIV. the project of an eventual Treaty of Partition relative to the Spanish monarchy, devised by the King of England for the purpose of preventing of those bloody and furious contentions which had been so recently and happily terminated; and to ensure to Europe the blessings of a general and lasting peace. These overtures were favourably received; and on the arrival of King William at Loo, the plan was finally digested and arranged, in concert with the French Ambassador. The terms of the treaty were extremely unfavourable to the House of Austria, to whom the duchy of Milan only was allotted as an appanage for the Archduke Charles, younger son of the Emperor. The Sicilies, Sardinia, and all that Spain possessed to the north-eastward of the Pyrenees, comprehending the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, were to be annexed for ever to the monarchy of France. And Spain and the Indies, with the Low-Countries, were given to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, an infant scarcely seven years of age, descended from the Emperor Leopold by his first Empress, Margaret Theresa youngest daughter of Philip IV. King William now wrote a letter from Loo to Lord Somers, dated August the 15th, 1696, as follows:—"I imparted to you before I left England, that in France there was expressed to my Lord Portland some inclination to come to an agreement with us concerning the succession of the King of Spain; since which Count Tallard has mentioned it to me, and has made such propositions, the particulars of which my Lord Portland will write to Vernon, to whom I have given orders not to communicate them to any other besides yourself, and to leave to your judgment to whom else you would think proper to impart them; to the end that I might know your opinion upon so important an affair, and which requires the greatest secrecy. If it be fit this negotiation should be carried on, there is no time to be lost; and you will send me the full powers under the Great Seal, with the names in blank, to treat with Count Tallard." In reply, the Chancellor wrote to the King, saying, "that Lord Orford, Mr. Montague, and the Duke of Shrewsbury had been made acquainted with the subject of his Majesty's le ter, and stating, though in faint and feeble terms, the various objections which occurred to them on the perusal of the papers transmitted by the Earl of Portland."—"As to what would be the future condition of Europe if the proposal took place, we thought ourselves," says the Chancellor, "little capable of judging. But it seemed that if Sicily was in the French hands, they will be entirely masters of the Levant trade; that if they were possessed of Finale and those other sea-ports on that side, whereby Milan would

* The Secretary of the embassy was the celebrated Prior; who passing through the grand apartments of Versailles, and being shewn those fine pieces of Le Brun which represent the victories of Lewis XIV. was asked by the officer who attended, "Whether King William's actions were also depictured in his palace?" "No, sir," replied the Englishman, "the monument of my master's actions are to be seen every where but in his own house."

† Peter, Czar of Muscovy, passed several months of the preceding winter in England; but no indications were visible, except to the discerning few, of those great talents which, in the sequel, rendered his name so illustrious.

would be entirely shut out from relief by sea, or any other commerce, that duchy would be of little signification in the hands of any Prince. And that, if the King of France had possession of that part of Guipuscoa which is mentioned in the proposal, besides the ports he would have in the ocean, it does seem, he would have as easy a way of invading Spain on that side as he now has on the side o Catalonia." Thus Lord Somers conceded in the King's favour the grand points, that England was not disposed to enter into a new war; that France could not be expected to relinquish so rich a succession without considerable advantages; and that the King would no doubt reduce the terms as low as could be done; and he concluded with sending the blank commissions under the Great Seal, as required. These commissions had no sooner arrived at their destination, than the treaty was formally signed by the Earl of Portland and Sir Joseph Williamson, Ambassador at the Hague, on the part of the King of England, and on that of the King of France by M. Tallard, in the preamble of whose powers it is said, "that the desire of maintaining the peace of Europe, together with the esteem and friendship which Louis King of France and Navarre had conceived for his most dear and most beloved brother King of Great Britain, had induced him to enter into closer engagements with his said brother, and to concert with him the necessary measures for preventing such emergencies as might occasion a new war, &c.". The treaty of Partition was succeeded by a triple league between England, Holland, and Sweden; not only importing perpetual amity and reciprocal assistance in case of invasion or attack, but professing to guaranty the peace of Europe against all aggressors. The mediation of the maritime powers was at length accepted in form by the Imperial and Ottoman courts, and a general pacification, after a negotiation of several months, was concluded January 1699, at Carlowitz; by the terms of which the Emperor was allowed to retain all his recent acquisitions and conquests. Russia, Poland, and Venice, the other belligerent powers, successively acceded to the treaty; the former was gratified by the cession of Asoph, Caminick was restored to Poland, and the Morea, with several fortresses in Dalmatia, yielded to the Venetians. Europe was therefore once more permitted to enjoy throughout the wide extent of her kingdoms and empires an universal, but precarious peace.

King William did not arrive in England till the month of December, and the nation seemed not well pleased that their sovereign, now the war was terminated, should continue to pass six months of the year on the Continent—the greater part of it spent, as was well known, in indolent retirement at Loo. The new Parliament, originally convened for the 27th of September, met December the 6th. The King in his speech strongly pressed the consideration of the force which ought to be maintained at sea and land this year. "To preserve," said he, "to England the weight and influence it has at present on the councils and affairs abroad, it will be requisite Europe should see you will not be wanting to yourselves." The indiscreet conduct of the King in retaining a military force so much larger than the last Parliament had voted or provided for, elicited the resentment of the Commons, in a very unusual manner; and, omitting to return any address whatever, they proceeded to pass a resolution, "that all the land-forces in English pay, exceeding 7000 men, and those consisting of his Majesty's natural-born subjects, be forthwith disbanded." The ministers perceiving the temper of the House, allowed the bill founded upon the resolution to pass almost without debate. The mortification and chagrin manifested by the King upon this occasion were so great, that it was said he harboured serious thoughts of abandoning the government to a Regency, and fixing his residence in Holland. There is even extant a speech, which it is pretended he had resolved to make to the two Houses on announcing to them his intention.*

However, on the 1st of February, 1699, the King went to the House of Lords, and gave his royal assent to the bill; expressing his opinion, that there was great hazard in breaking such a number of troops, and his chagrin at the removal of those guards which had come over with him to their assistance, and who had constantly attended him in all the actions wherein he had been engaged. But as nothing could be so fatal as any distrust or jealousy between him and his people, he had been induced to pass the bill; of which he desired not to be considered as responsible for the consequences. The House of Commons now declared that they would on all occasions stand by and assist him in the preservation of his sacred person and support of his government, against all his enemies whatsoever. The King made an ultimate effort to soften the most rigid and painful clause of the act, by a royal message, as follows: "His Majesty is pleased to let the House know, that the necessary preparations are made for transporting the guards who came with him to England; and that he intends to send them away immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the House be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which his Majesty would take very kindly." Instead of complying with the King's request, the Commons instantly resolved upon an address to the King, on a division of 175 to 156, declaring "their unspeakable grief that his Majesty should be advised to propose any thing to which they could not consent with due regard to that constitution which his Majesty came over to restore, and so often exposed his royal person to preserve—and did in his gracious declaration promise, that all those foreign forces which came over with him should be sent back." —To this intemperate address the King made a cool and judicious reply, "expressing his entire confidence in the affections of his people, and repelling with firmness the insinuation that his wish to retain his native guards arose from any distrust of the attachment of his English subjects.† The Tories, finding their strength, now proceeded to exhibit other proofs of their discontent and dissatisfaction. With a view to cast a reflexion on the tolerant spirit of the present Whig ministry, an address was presented to the King, complaining of the boldness with which, from his Majesty's unexampled clemency, the papists had of late frequented the metropolis and all places of public resort; and beseeching his Majesty to issue his royal proclamation against them: to which the King promised to assent. The old East-India Company were now encouraged to present a petition to the Commons, praying, "that their case might be taken into consideration; and that the House would make some provision that their corporation might subsist for the residue of the term of twenty-one years granted by his Majesty's charter: and that such farther considerations might be had for the petitioners' relief, and for the preservation of the East-India trade to England, as should be thought meet." This petition was favourably received, and a bill ordered by the House to be brought in thereupon; but it was not suffered to proceed to a second reading.

It had transpired, that the auditors of the imprests had declined passing his, Lord Orford's accounts, for want of sufficient vouchers; and it was also affirmed, that his lordship had unnecessarily retained a large sum of money in his hands, to the prejudice of the seamen and to his own private advantage. The Commons therefore called for the said accounts; from which it appeared that there remained a balance in the Earl of Orford, as treasurer of the navy, of 460,000*l.* of which the Earl declared that 380,000*l.* was then in a course of payment. The House, however, presented a violent

* Lord Sunderland, on being informed that the King threatened to throw up the crown, exclaimed with sarcastic contempt: "Does he so? There is Tom Pembroke"—meaning the Earl of Pembroke—"who is as good a block of wood as a King can be cut out of; we will send for him! and make him our King."

† In a confidential letter written by him at this period to Rouvigny, Earl of Galway, he says, "I see you are uneasy at the proceedings of the Parliament here—I think you have too much cause to be so—It is not to be conceived how people here are set against foreigners.—You will easily judge on whom this reflects. My measures must be regulated according as things go in the Parliament, of which there is no being sure till the session is over.—There is a spirit of ignorance and malice prevails here beyond conception."

address

address to the throne, "complaining of mismanagement of the public service—of misapplication of the public money—of the introduction of new and unnecessary charges—of the want of regular vouchers—and finally declaring, that the offices of first commissioner of the admiralty and treasurer of the navy were inconsistent, and ought not to be executed by the same person." In consequence of this address, the Earl of Oxford resigned his employments, and was succeeded in the admiralty by the Earl of Bridgewater, a nobleman wholly unacquainted with sea affairs.

By a bill sent up from the Commons to the Lords some years ago, attainting the Irish who had been in arms against the government, their estates by law confiscated to the crown were applied to the payment of the public debts, leaving only a power to the King to dispose of the third part of them. This bill met with much opposition; and the King, impatient to embark for the Continent, engaged that nothing should be done by him in prejudice thereof, till the Parliament should have an opportunity of settling the business. The next session, however, and several others, passing over without any bill, the King made grants of the whole of the forfeited estates. But the Commons, determined that the matter should not so rest, annexed a clause to the land-tax bill, appointing seven commissioners to take an account of the estates forfeited in Ireland, in order to their being applied in aid of the public service. When the bill was transmitted to the Lords, they found themselves precluded from entering into the merits of this provision, being compelled to pass the clause without alteration as constituting part of a money bill. A protest was, however, entered upon the journals, expressive of their lordships' disapprobation of this procedure. The bill having at length passed the Lords, received from the King a reluctant assent; and on the 4th of May, the Parliament was prorogued.

The Duke of Leeds, who had sunk into insignificance and contempt since the discovery of his India peculations, was now dismissed from his post of president of the council, which was given to the Earl of Pembroke; and the Privy-Seal, relinquished by this nobleman, was consigned to Lord Lonsdale. The Duke of Shrewsbury, who disliked the fatigues, and was indifferent to the emoluments of office, resigned without reluctance the seals of Secretary of State to the Earl of Jersey: but toward the close of the year he accepted the place of Lord Chamberlain.*

Such was the reluctance of the Scotch to be awakened from their airy dreams, that they had in the course of the preceding year sent to sea two large ships out of four which they had caused to be built at Hamburgh, and several smaller vessels freighted with divers commodities, the growth or manufacture of Scotland; and about 1200 adventurers on board, furnished with all things necessary for the establishment of a colony. The spot fixed upon for this settlement was the Isthmus of Darien, a territory situated in the heart of the Spanish empire in America; and which the Scotch projectors might have been sensible the court of Madrid would resent and repel. In October, 1698, they arrived at Golden Island on the coast of Darien; but the difficulties and dangers, which they had to encounter, soon disposed them to think more of a deliverance than of an establishment. By the orders of the King, Sir William Beeston, governor of Jamaica, issued a proclamation early in April 1699, importing that his Majesty was not informed of the designs of the Scots in relation to Darien; which being contrary to the treaties subsisting between his Majesty and his allies, he strictly charged and commanded all his Majesty's subjects, that upon no pretence whatever they should hold any correspondence with the Scots, or give them any assistance, under pain of suffering the effects of his Majesty's severest displeasure. This measure proved very seasonable and necessary; for, in May following, the Marquis de Canales, minister residentiary of Spain, presented to the court of London a memorial, remonstrating in the most resentful terms against the Darien settlement. To this memorial the orders already sent to the governor of Jamaica furnished a satisfactory answer. The English Parliament, perceiving the approaching ruin of the Scottish colony, had not deigned, during the last session, to notice it. Misfortune had from the first attended this project. One of the ships sent out with stores and reinforcements, took fire by accident; a second was wrecked near Carthagena, the cargo confiscated, and the crew sent to prison; and the adventurers which reached the destined shore, finding their expectations blasted, were utterly disqualified from adopting any rational means of subsistence or defence. Seeing their inability to resist the force which the Spaniards were preparing to bring against them, they signed a capitulation, entirely to evacuate the Spanish coast.

Though the court of France had appeared to concur in the treaty of partition, she employed all the arts of her insidious policy to induce the court of Madrid to pronounce an ultimate decision in her favour. The Queen of Spain, on the other hand, was strongly in the interest of the House of Austria, and exerted her influence with no inconsiderable effect to counteract the machinations of France, who had ordered an army of 60,000 men to assemble on the frontier of Catalonia. Such was the state of things, when the Spanish court was apprised of the treaty of partition about to be concluded at Loo. The King of Spain was instantly incited by the impulse of passion to adopt a resolution which wisdom had so long unavailingly dictated, viz. to make a testamentary disposition of his dominions, which he left, June 1698, without reserve, to the electoral Prince of Bavaria, now solemnly constituted sole heir of this vast inheritance. This resolution was taken in full council, with the secret approbation of the Queen, who was flattered with the hopes of the regency. A memorial was subsequently presented at the court of Madrid, by M. d'Harcourt, which, under colour of complaining of the injury done to France, contains a virtual acquiescence in this disposition. The answer of the Spanish court was vague and complimentary. It is probable that the two great rival powers of Bourbon and Austria would have ultimately acquiesced in a testamentary disposition so conformable to the interests of Spain and the inclinations of all Europe, had not the unfortunate death of the electoral prince in a few months (February the 16th, 1699,) entirely altered the face of things, and thrown the whole political world into confusion. Notwithstanding the pretended recovery of the King of Spain, it was well known that he could not long survive: and the attention of the King of England was again engaged in new schemes for the preservation of the peace of Europe. Soon after the arrival of the King at Loo, M. de Tallard was again deputed to negotiate with his Majesty a second partition treaty, to which the court of Vienna was invited to concur. Various obstacles, however, retarded the conclusion of this treaty, of which the objections severally suggested by the Emperor and the States General appear to have been the chief. M. de Tallard following the King into England, the treaty was at length signed, March the 3d, 1700, by the Ambassador Tallard on the part of the King his master, and on that of the King of Great Britain by the Earls of Jersey and Portland, and on the 25th of the same month by the plenipotentiaries of the States General at the Hague.† The court of Madrid,

* This nobleman was so distinguished by the generosity of his disposition and the fascination of his manners, that he was generally known by the appellation of "King of Hearts." He was said by the King to be the only man of whom both Whigs and Tories agreed to speak well. Though personally disinterested, his applications for his friends were so numerous, that the King one day, either in the spirit of peevishness or pleasantry, told him, "to set down all his demands at once, that he might see whether the whole kingdom would satisfy them."

† By this treaty, Spain and the Indies, with the Low-Countries and Sardinia, were, on the death of the King of Spain without issue, to devolve on the Archduke Charles. The Sicilies, Finale, and the other possessions of Spain in Italy, Milan excepted, with the province of Guipuscoa, &c. as settled in the former treaty, were to be ceded

drid, on the first intimation of the negotiations recommenced at Loo, discovered the most passionate resentment. A memorial, couched in energetic language, and in a style bordering upon insolence, was soon after presented by the Marquis de Canales to the Lords Justices of England, in the absence of the King,—stating, "that if these proceedings, these machinations and projects, are not quickly put a stop to, we shall without doubt see a dire and universal war over all Europe, difficult to stop when we are willing, and most sensible and prejudicial to the English nation, which has newly tried and felt what novelties and the last war have cost them;" and declaring, "that the ambassador extraordinary of Spain will manifest to the Parliament, when it shall be assembled, the just resentment which he now expresses" This paper having been transmitted to King William at Loo, the ambassador was informed, that his Majesty found the contents so insolent and seditious, that, in resentment of so extraordinary a procedure, he ordered the ambassador to quit his dominions in eighteen days, and that no writing be any more received from him or any of his domestics. In return, Mr. Stanhope was ordered to quit the Spanish territories. The negotiations at Loo seemed to excite almost as great a ferment at Vienna as at Madrid; but, circumstanced as the Emperor now was, he appeared inclined to accede to the principal terms of the treaty. Various concessions were made by the court of Versailles, to render it more palatable and calculated to ensure the succession of Spain to the archduke; in particular, that this prince should be at liberty to reside in that kingdom during the life of the King. It was also agreed that the succession of the Sicilies should be limited to the descendants of the Queen Maria Theresa. When the imperial court, however, proceeded to propose that the Indies should be ceded to France in lieu of the Sicilies, and the island of Sardinia and the duchy of Luxemburgh as an equivalent for Lorraine and Bar, the proposition was rejected as extravagant and inadmissible. In the mean time the Emperor carried on his negotiations in Spain with such success, that his Catholic Majesty, in June, 1700, was prevailed upon to sign a will, declaring the archduke sole heir of the Spanish dominions. This was immediately transmitted to Vienna; and M. de Villars was then informed, "that his imperial Majesty, considering the good state of the King of Spain's health, declined acceding to the treaty of partition; but that in failure of male heirs the Emperor considered the succession as justly belonging to him."

King William had arrived at his palace of Kensington from the Continent in the month of October, 1699; and, on the 16th of November, the session opened with a speech, in which every expression that could give just cause of offence seems to have been cautiously avoided. Such, however, was the perverse conduct of the House as to manifest a pre-determination not to be satisfied.

Complaints having been made, during the late war, of piratical depredations on the American coast, a scheme was suggested by the Earl of Bellamont, Governor of New York, to fit out a ship of war by private subscription. The King countenanced the scheme; and the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Lords Romney, Orford, &c. also contributed their assistance. Kydd, a native of New York, who had the reputation of being bold and honest, was appointed captain of the ship, which mounted thirty guns. This vessel was furnished, besides the usual commission to privateers, with a power under the Great Seal, authorising the commander to make war upon and destroy the pirates infesting the American and other seas. The choice however of the captain proved very unfortunate; for, instead of making war upon the pirates, he turned pirate himself; and, commanding a ship of great force, he became for a time the terror of the seas. At length being apprehended by the vigilance of Lord Bellamont, he was sent to England for trial. This affair being eagerly and abruptly brought into the House of Commons, a motion was made, December 6, "that the letters patent granted to the Earl of Bellamont, and others, of pirates' goods, were dishonourable to the King, against the law of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce." In the consequent debate, the most malignant imputations were cast upon the noblemen engaged in this undertaking; and the Lord Chancellor, Somers, was the peculiar object of invective and reproach, as a magistrate placed at the head of the highest department of justice, which he had "disgraced by his participation in an enterprise so scandalous; and which was said to be framed on a mere pretence of public service, but in truth for the sake of spoil—those who were too tender-conscienced to commence pirates in the first instance, finding no repugnance to sharing among themselves that which had been unjustly taken from others." The motion was, on a division, negatived by a great majority; but, the Commons presented an address to the King, praying "that Kydd might not be pardoned, tried, or discharged, till the next session of Parliament;" to which the King promised compliance. Kydd, being many months after brought to the bar of the House, declared, "that he had never in his life spoken to Lord Somers; and that he had no order from those concerned in the ship, but to prosecute his voyage against the pirates in the high seas." The House left him to his fate; and he was in a short time afterwards hanged, with several of his accomplices.

Still enraged against the Chancellor, his opponents now brought forward another charge against him, for having made a partial and undue distribution of commissions of the peace, and for individiously striking out the names of many persons of great property and responsibility. On enquiry it appeared, that at the period of the assassination plot, it was deemed expedient to exclude those from the commission who refused to sign the national association. But this was so far from being the personal act of the Chancellor, that the gentlemen in question were turned out in consequence of the express order of council, grounded on the representations of the Lords Lieutenants of the several counties. The House contented itself, therefore, with presenting an address to the King, importing, "that it would much conduce to the service of his Majesty and the good of this kingdom, that gentlemen of quality and good estates be restored and put into the commissions of the peace and Lieutenancy, and that men of small estates be neither continued nor put into the said commissions."

Similar ill-humour displayed itself in the motion made for an address to the King to displace Bishop Burnet, from his office of Preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester; but it was overruled by a considerable majority.

In the last session, an address had been presented to the throne to put the laws in force against popish recusants, &c. and a severe bill was now brought in, by which a sentence of banishment was inflicted upon all popish priests and schoolmasters, on pain of perpetual imprisonment, in case of their return; and a reward of 1000l. offered for their apprehension. It also enacted, that no papist born after the 25th of March, 1700, be capable of inheriting either title or estate; or of purchasing lands, &c. either in his own name or in trust for another, within the realm. The bill also required, that all papists possessing estates in land should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the test, when they attained to the age of eighteen; and till the oaths were taken in conformity to the act, the estate was from that period to devolve to the next of kin that was a Protestant. This bill, which a more enlightened legislature afterwards repealed, passed with general approbation.

ceded in full right to the Dauphin—as also the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, of more intrinsic value to France than all the rest of her acquisitions. To the Duke of Lorraine, in lieu of his duchy, was assigned the dukedom of Milan. To this treaty the Emperor was allowed three months to accede; and in case of refusal, the allotment of the archduke was to be disposed of to a prince who should be named by the two Kings of France and Great Britain, in conjunction with the States General: and in a separate article the Emperor was, by a farther indulgence, admitted to subscribe within two months after the death of the King of Spain.

The House of Commons would not venture on a measure so dangerous as the revocation of the charter granted by the last Parliament to the new East-India Company; but their competitors of the old establishment were encouraged to represent their case to the legislature, and to petition for an act to prolong their existence to the end of the term of twenty-one years specified in their present charter. The new company issued a counter-representation; but their invectives were fatal to their arguments; and their opposition only contributed to facilitate the passing of the bill, which ultimately received the royal assent. The court were anxious to obtain a vote of approbation for the measures taken to gratify the commercial jealousy of the English nation in opposition to the Scottish settlement of Darien; but in this they could not succeed; for the Commons, says Burnet, "resolved to do nothing that should take any part of the blame and general discontent, that soured the Scottish nation, off from the King. It was given out, to raise the national distrust yet higher, that the opposition the King gave the Scotch colony flowed neither from a regard to the interests of England nor to the treaties with Spain, but from a care of the Dutch, who, from Curaçoa, drove a coasting trade among the Spanish plantations with great advantage." William, however, expressed great concern and tenderness for his kingdom of Scotland; and embraced anew the opportunity of inculcating the propriety and necessity of an union of the two kingdoms. The Lords, in consequence, sent down a bill to the Commons, appointing certain commissioners of the realm of England to treat with commissioners of Scotland for the weal of both kingdoms; but the Commons could not be prevailed upon to assent.

The Parliamentary commissioners appointed to inquire into the Irish forfeitures, with a view to a general resumption, were seven in number. Of these four were disposed to inflame the report, and three were inclined to soften and conciliate. In consequence of this difference of sentiment, the report of the commissioners was signed only by the former.* The Commons in a violent ferment immediately resolved, "that a bill be brought in to apply all the forfeited estates and interests in Ireland, and all grants thereof, and of the rents and revenues belonging to the crown within that kingdom, since the 13th of February, 1689, to the use of the public." After a long and tedious investigation, the courtiers ventured to move, that a certain proportion of the forfeitures be reserved to the disposal of his Majesty. To this, the Commons not only refused to assent, but adopted the two following additional resolutions:

"1st, That the advising, procuring, and passing the grants of the forfeited and other estates in Ireland, had been the occasion of contracting great debts upon the nation, and levying heavy taxes on the people.

"2ndly, That the advising and passing the said grants was highly reflecting on the King's honour: and the officers and instruments concerned in the procuring and passing the said grants had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty."

One point only the courtiers were able to carry; and that was the obtaining of an order for bringing in a bill to resume the grants of all lands and revenues of the crown, and all pensions granted by the crown since the 6th of February, 1685, (the day of King James's accession) and for applying the same to the use of the public. An address founded upon the resolutions mentioned above was presented to the King, January the 21st, to which his Majesty gave the following answer: "Gentlemen, I was not only led by inclination, but thought myself obliged in justice, to reward those who had served well, and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to me by the rebellion there. The long war in which we were engaged did occasion great taxes, and has left the nation much in debt; and the taking just and effectual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting public credit, is what in my opinion will best contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of this kingdom." After a vehement debate, the Commons resolved—"that whoever advised his Majesty's answer to the address of the House has used his utmost endeavour to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the King and his people."—This bill of resumption, stiled a bill of supply, and appropriated to the discharge of certain specific debts, &c. was consolidated with the land-tax bill, and thus carried up to the Lords, who, taking great umbrage at the measure, made several alterations in the bill, not affecting the money clauses. These, however, were unanimously rejected by the Commons, who assigned, in a paper delivered to their lordships, their reasons for rejection. The Peers produced counter-reasons in support of their amendments; and violent altercations ensued; but the bill was finally passed, by 59 against 34, accompanied by an indignant protest from the Lords.

Conceiving the opposition of the Lords to derive its chief weight from the Chancellor, an address was moved to his Majesty for the removal of John Lord Somers from his presence and councils for ever. This was negatived by a great majority; but a resolution still more offensive passed at the same time, to address the King, that no person, not a native of his dominions, the Prince of Denmark excepted, should be admitted to his Majesty's councils in England or Ireland. Before this address, however, could be presented, the King came to the House of Peers, April the 11th; and, having passed the bills in readiness, commanded the Earl of Bridgewater, in the absence of the Chancellor, to prorogue the Parliament, which was accordingly done without a speech.†

His Majesty resolving to effect an accommodation with the Tories, now informed Lord Somers, that it seemed necessary he should part with the Great Seal; and he wished he would make it his own act. This the Lord Chancellor declined, observing that, in his circumstances, a resignation must be supposed to indicate fear or guilt. An order was therefore formally sent to him by Lord Jersey, and the Great Seal was delivered up, April 17. The Chief Justice Holt and the Attorney-General Trevor both declining the acceptance of it, Sir Nathan Wright, a man in no respect equal to the illustrious personage whom he succeeded, was appointed Lord Keeper. The resignation of the Duke of Shrewsbury immediately followed; the Earl of Jersey taking the key of Chamberlain, and Mr. Vernon officiating pro tempore as Secretary of State for both departments.

On the 21st of May, the Scotch Parliament was opened by the Duke of Queensbury, Lord High Commissioner, with a most gracious letter from the King, declaring his royal intention to have held the session in person, had the state of affairs abroad permitted; ex-

* This report stated, that the number of persons outlawed on account of the late rebellion in Ireland amounted to 3921—that the lands belonging to the forfeited estates contained 1,650,792 acres—that some of these lands had been restored to the old proprietors by virtue of the articles of Limerick and Galway—by reversal of outlawries and royal pardons, obtained chiefly by those who had abused his Majesty's compassion. Besides these restitutions, there were seventy-six grants and custodia under the great seal of Ireland, of which they made a recital. Amongst the number was a grant to Lord Romney of 49,517 acres; Lord Albemarle 108,633; William Bentinck, Esq. Lord Woodstock 135,820; the Earl of Athlone 26,480; the Earl of Galway 36,148, &c. &c. The commissioners acknowledge—that the estates in question did not yield so much to the guarantees as they were estimated at; for, as they had imposed upon his Majesty, so their agents had imposed upon them, and sold or let the lands at a rate much below their real value. After all deductions, and allowances, there yet remained 1,699,343*l.* 14*s.* which they laid before the Commons as the gross amount of the estates forfeited since the 13th day of February, 1689, and not restored. The committee concluded their report by the statement of a grant, made under the great seal of Ireland, May 30, 1695, to Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, now countess of Orkney, of all the private estates of the late King James, containing 95,649 acres, estimated, at the expiration of the present leases in 1701, at 25,995*l.* 18*s.* per annum.

† The King, in his private dispatches to Lord Galway, written shortly after the rising of Parliament, says: "You may judge what vexation all their extraordinary proceedings gave me: and I assure you, your being deprived of what I gave you with so much pleasure, is not the least of my griefs.——There have been so many intrigues in this last session, that, without having been on the spot and well informed of every thing, it cannot be conceived.——I never had more occasion than at present for persons of your capacity and fidelity. I hope I shall find opportunities to give you marks of my esteem and friendship."

pressing his great concern at the misfortunes and losses the nation had sustained in their trade; and promising to concur in any measure calculated to promote and encourage it. These soothing declarations produced little effect; as, in a short time, a strong and inflammatory remonstrance was presented from the Darien company, reciting all the losses, disappointments, and hardships they had sustained. This was followed by similar petitions and addresses from all parts of the kingdom; and, a resolution having been moved, "that the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and rightful settlement, in the terms of the act of Parliament of 1695; and that the Parliament would maintain and support the same;" the commissioner, to avoid the consequence of such a vote, adjourned the Parliament for three days.

All his endeavours to extinguish, or even to moderate, the flame which raged so fiercely, were however, ineffectual. The Parliament met again with the same disposition; and his Grace was compelled, by an invidious exercise of the prerogative, to adjourn them for twenty days more. The majority of the members met that evening, and framed an address to the King, demanding that Parliament should meet on the day to which it was then adjourned, and to sit as long as might be necessary for redressing the grievances of the nation. This was presented to the King by Lord Ross, June 11th, at the head of a deputation appointed for that purpose, which received for answer, "that they should know his intentions in Scotland." In the interval, the Parliament had been again adjourned by proclamation, on which great tumults had ensued in Edinburgh; and the mal-content members talked of sitting by force. Alarmed at this aspect of affairs, the King at last wrote (July 26) to the Lord Commissioner a conciliatory letter, which produced a sensible effect upon the minds of all who were capable of reflection; and though a second violent national address was signed and presented, the Parliament had met before that period, and the King wisely referred it to their consideration. The storm now began visibly to abate; the indignant humour of the Parliament and even of the nation gradually subsided; and when the great question of supplies came under discussion (January 21, 1701,) a loyal and cheerful vote passed, "that, in consideration of their great deliverance by his Majesty, and that, next under God, their safety and happiness depended wholly on the preservation of his Majesty's person and the security of his government, they would stand by and support both his Majesty and his government to the utmost of their power; and maintain such forces as should be requisite for those ends." This turbulent session had a peaceful close; and the Lord Commissioner was honoured with the Order of the Garter, and the Earl of Argyle with a dukedom.

Christiern V. King of Denmark, having departed this life about the close of the preceding summer, 1699, had been succeeded by his son Frederic IV. who was impatient to carry into execution, great and extensive views of aggrandisement. A grand confederacy was immediately formed (of which the Czar of Muscovy, the Kings of Poland and Denmark, and the Elector of Brandenburgh, were the parties) having for its object a joint and general attack upon the kingdom of Sweden, then under the government of Charles XII. a youth of eighteen years of age. According to the plan concerted by the confederate powers, Sweden was to be assailed, at one and the same time, in Holstein by the King of Denmark, in Western Pomerania by the Elector of Brandenburgh, in Livonia by the King of Poland, and in Ingria and the provinces lying eastward of the gulph of Finland by the Czar of Muscovy. Holstein was not indeed a province of Sweden, but the Duke of Holstein had married the elder sister of the King of Sweden, and was united in the closest bonds of alliance and friendship with that monarch. Charles had not been inattentive to the dangers which threatened him. In the month of January this year, 1700, he had concluded a treaty with the maritime powers, in which the contracting parties engaged for the reciprocal guarantee of each other's dominions: and King William resolved to maintain the dignity of his character, as the guardian and mediator of Europe. The King of Denmark, aware of the situation of affairs in Britain, publicly observed, "that while the King of England was at variance with his Parliament, he would be able to do but little in Europe." William, in return, observed to the Marquis de Foret, a Saxon nobleman attached to the Danish court—"that he would make Denmark know he was still able to do something in Europe." A formidable fleet was immediately equipped both in the English and Dutch ports; and, in July, 1700, Sir George Rooke, who was appointed to the command, arrived in the Sound, and was soon after joined by the Swedes, the combined squadrons then consisting of no less than fifty-two ships of the line. The Danish fleet, unable to resist so great a force, retired within the harbour of Copenhagen, and that metropolis was subjected to the insult of a slight bombardment. The Prince of Lunenburgh, at the same time passed the Elbe with a large body of troops, and, joining the Swedish and ducal army, obliged the Danes to raise the siege of Toningen. The King of Denmark now declared his willingness to accept the mediation of the maritime powers in conjunction with France, and requested the English Admiral to desist from all farther hostile operations. Sir George Rooke replied, that he had no power to agree to any temporary cessation. In the beginning of August the King of Sweden landed in person on the isle of Zealand, and preparations began to be seriously made for the siege of Copenhagen. The English Admiral not displaying all the alacrity which the impatience of the King of Sweden thought the occasion called for, some warm expostulations fell from him: to which Sir George Rooke coolly replied, "I was sent here to serve your Majesty, not to ruin the King of Denmark." His Danish Majesty was now sufficiently humbled to accept the mediation of the maritime powers without the concurrence of France; and a treaty of peace was signed under their guarantee, at a house of the Duke of Holstein, called Travendahl, in the neighbourhood of both camps, August 18th, 1700, on the principle of mutual restitution—the King of Denmark paying to the Duke of Holstein 269,000 rix-dollars for the charge of the war. The hostile fleets did not leave the Baltic till the Swedish armies had reached their native shores. They then returned in triumph from this expedition which justly entitled the King of England to the appellations of pacificator and arbiter of the north.

The Duke of Gloucester, only son of the Prince and Princess of Denmark, a youth of much promise, had completed his eleventh year on the 24th of July, on which occasion a gala had been given at Windsor. In consequence it was thought of being over-heated with dancing, he was seized the next day with a malignant fever; and, on the 30th of the same month, he expired, to the inexpressible grief of his parents, being the only surviving child of a large family. In consequence of this melancholy event, the eyes of the nation were turned to Sophia, electress dowager of Hanover, youngest daughter to the Queen of Bohemia, and grand-daughter of King James I. This Princess immediately repaired to the Hague, to confer with the King on the measures necessary for the present security, and eventual establishment of the Protestant succession.

The second treaty of partition was by this time generally known, and almost as generally condemned; and the almost extinguished hopes of the Jacobites revived at the political discontents of the nation, taken in connection with the death of the Duke of Gloucester. Mr. Graham, brother to Lord Preston, was dispatched to St. Germains with a proposal to settle the crown by act of Parliament on the pretended Prince of Wales; and with an assurance that William would not be supported in the execution of the partition treaty. The court of St. Germains, however, refused to listen to any proposition respecting a change of religion in the Prince;—the King and Queen having declared that they would rather see him dead.

The conduct of the French court, since the conclu-

sion

sion of the second treaty of partition, had been extremely artful and insidious; whilst that of the imperial court had been equally weak and irresolute. The Emperor persisted in refusing to accede to the treaty of Loo, though no vigorous or effectual steps were taken to ensure the succession to the Archduke, against the combination of France and the maritime powers. The Marquis of Harcourt, at Madrid, had entirely gained over to the interest of France the major part of the Spanish nobles; and the Queen of Spain, who had hitherto been most zealous in the cause of the house of Austria, began to perceive that she was striving in vain against the current. The King of Spain was rapidly drawing to the close of his miserable life; and Cardinal Porto Carrero, for the repose of the King's conscience, advised him to consult the Pope on this momentous point of regulating the succession. Innocent XII. firmly attached to France, determined against the validity of Queen Maria Theresa's renunciation, as being "Founded on compulsion, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the Spanish monarchy; and exhorted his Catholic Majesty to make his will in favour of one of the French King's grandsons, by which he would effectually contribute to the propagation of the faith and the repose of Christendom." A new testamentary arrangement consequently took place, dated October 2d, 1700; by which the monarchy of Spain, with all its dependencies in the four quarters of the globe, were left to the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin; and in default of issue to his brother the Duke of Berri, and next to the Archduke Charles. The King lingered a few weeks after signing this new will; and breathed his last on the 1st of November, 1700. An express being dispatched to the court of France with the intelligence of this important event, a council was immediately held, at which the King affected irresolution as to the acceptance of the will, but at length yielded; and sending for the Duke of Anjou, said to him in the presence of the Marquis des Rios, "Sir, the King of Spain has made you King. The grandees demand you, the people wish for you, and I give my consent. Render yourself worthy of the throne you are going to mount." The new sovereign set out early in December (1700) accompanied by his two brothers, to take possession of the kingdom. This affair was the source of infinite chagrin to King William.

On his return to England in the month of October, his Majesty made arrangements to establish the ascendency of the Tories in the administration. Lord Godolphin was restored to his former post in the Treasury; Lord Tankerville made privy seal in the room of Lord Lonsdale deceased; the Earl of Rochester appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Sir Charles Hedges constituted Secretary of State; and Mr. Montague created a Peer by the title of Baron Halifax. A dissolution immediately took place; and a new Parliament was summoned for the 6th February, 1701.

The King of France's highest ambition was gratified in settling his grandson on the throne of Spain with the unanimous approbation of the Spanish nation; and, as he well knew that the point of honour with them consisted in preserving the unity of the monarchy, he resolved not to listen to any proposal of dismemberment. The silence of King William was calculated to excite the most serious apprehensions of the court of France, which seemed to regard the menaces of the Emperor with contempt. Holland however required all the arts and refinements of management. At this period died Pope Innocent XII. and Cardinal Albani was, at fifty-three years of age, unexpectedly raised to the pontificate, by the name of Clement XI. Though not accounted one of the French faction, the court of Versailles entirely gained him over to their interests. The Emperor, astonished at the fatal turn things had taken, issued his imperial mandate to the inhabitants of the Milanese, reclaiming that Duchy as a fief of the empire, and commanding all persons to yield obedience to the same as feodatories, on pain of being treated as rebels. At the end of December, Count Wrattislau arrived in London as ambassador extraordinary from the Emperor. He did not at first meet with a very flattering reception; but the negotiation carried on at Paris and Madrid demonstrating that no material concession was to be expected from France; and, the Dutch garrisons being by a vigorous and unexpected stroke suddenly superseded throughout the whole line of barrier fortresses, and French troops introduced;* the English court began in earnest to listen to the propositions from Vienna.

The new Parliament met at Westminster on the 10th of February, 1701. The choice of a Speaker fell on Mr. Harley. In his opening speech, the King took notice of the necessity of a farther provision for the succession to the crown in the Protestant line. "The death of the late King of Spain," said he, "with the declaration of his successor to that monarchy, has made so great an alteration in the affairs abroad, that I must desire you very maturely to consider their present state. And I make no doubt but your resolutions thereupon will be such as shall be most conducive to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion in general, and the peace of all Europe." A resolution passed the Commons, "That the House would stand by and support his Majesty and his government, and take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of Europe."

The States General having been repeatedly pressed upon the subject by France, recognised in form the new King of Spain; of which they apprised the court of London in a memorial, which the King ordered to be laid before the Parliament.† With the Dutch memorial was presented to the House an intercepted paper, purporting to be a letter from the Earl of Melfort, the discarded secretary at the court of St. Germains, to his brother the Earl of Perth, governor of the young Prince, full of wild and incoherent projects, endeavouring to shew how favourable an aspect the affairs of the King then wore, and urging the propriety of some, "Great and vigorous attempt against England." —The Commons do not appear to have thought it worthy of specific notice; but the Lords presented an address of thanks to his Majesty, for communicating to them the Earl of Melfort's letter; and desiring that Popish recusants should be removed from London, &c. The French court were highly offended at the use made of this letter, which M. de Torcy said "was intended to incense the nation, and shewed a desire of breaking with France." Lord Melfort, however, was banished by a lettre de cachet to Angers.

Favoured by the late address of the Commons, followed by a vote for 30,000 seamen, the English and Dutch courts assumed a very lofty tone; and instruc-

* The King of France, in his dispatch of December the 24th, 1700, to Monsieur Briord, says, "Means must be used to dislodge the Hollanders, and to leave the Spaniards in the sole possession of their own towns." On the 6th of February, 1701, a number of French troops were introduced into all the barrier towns, from Luxemburg to Ostend and Nieuport, with so much secrecy that the Dutch officers in those places had not the least previous suspicion of the design; and the next day an apologetic memorial, most ably drawn, was presented to the States General, stating the reasons for this measure, and declaring it was no longer possible to leave the troops of their high mightinesses in the fortresses of a King whom they did not own.

† In this paper their high mightinesses declare, "that, notwithstanding the recognition made by them, they had reserved to themselves the liberty of stipulating in the negotiation about to commence, for such conditions as were necessary to secure the peace of Europe—that in this negotiation they had firmly resolved to do nothing without the consent of his Majesty and the other powers interested in the maintenance of the peace; as they had declared to the ambassador of France. And finally, being apprehensive of a sudden attack, they made a requisition of the succours due to them by the existing treaties." The Commons on this communication voted, without hesitation, an address to the King, "that he would be pleased to enter into such negotiations, in concert with the States General and other potentates, as might most effectually conduce to the general safety; and giving him assurances of support and assistance in the performance of his engagements." It having been suggested in the discussion, that it might be no less proper for England than Holland to own the title of the King of Spain; Mr. Monkton, a zealous Whig, with great heat replied, "that if such a vote was carried, he should expect that the next vote would be for owning the pretended Prince of Wales."

tions

tions were transmitted to Mr. Stanhope, resident in Holland, to enter into an immediate negotiation with the ministers of France and Spain, upon conditions importing, not only that the French troops shall evacuate the Spanish fortresses, but that Nieuport and Ostend shall be put immediately into the hands of the English as cautionary towns; and that Luxemburg, Namur, and Mons, to which the States General thought proper to add Venlo, Ruremonde, Stevenswaert, Charleroi, Dendermonde, Damme, and St. Donat, with their appurtenances, be consigned to their high mightinesses during such time as shall be agreed upon—with various other demands, which, when communicated to M. d'Avaux, appeared so extravagant, that he declared they could not have been higher if his master had lost four successive battles.

Louis, perceiving no prospect of peace on moderate terms while harmony subsisted between the King and Parliament of England, is charged with using corrupt and clandestine means to involve the English in domestic broils, in order to embarrass the measures of the court. The prodigious influx of louis-d'ors and pistoles at this period is a fact admitted by all; and the mercantile solution, founded on the pretended favourable course of exchange, is scarcely sufficient to obviate the jealous apprehensions of the politician. It is certain, too, that at this period the temper and disposition of the House of Commons sustained a sudden and unexpected change; though it must be admitted, that there existed internal and political causes apparently not inadequate to the effects produced.

On the 10th of March, a motion was made in the House of Lords, to take into consideration certain papers previously laid before their Lordships, relative to the negotiations carried on under the late Whig administration; and a committee was nominated to make a report of the contents. This committee, of which the Earl of Nottingham was chairman, and the most active members of which consisted of determined Tories or discontented Whigs, brought forward a number of resolutions, as the basis of an address to the King, strongly condemning the partition treaty. The Earl of Rochester and the other ministers present concurring in this address, the Whig Lords in connection with the court acquiesced, seeing that the address was so worded as to avoid all personal attack upon the late ministers, but rather containing an exculpation of them, as not having been admitted to a participation of the counsels which produced it.* Very few of the Peers attended the Lord Keeper on the presentation of this address to the King, who replied, "That it contained matter of great moment, and that he would always take care that the treaties made by him should be for the honour and safety of England."

In the Commons, on the 21st of March, an address was voted, "To thank the King for his communications respecting the state of the negotiation;" and the Whigs proposing to add, "and for his Majesty's care of these nations and the peace of Europe," one of the most violent debates ever known took place, in which the political system of the court was attacked with the utmost severity, and the partition treaty reprobated in terms of extreme virulence. It was stiled by Mr. Howe "A felonious treaty,"†—and it was said to be not more iniquitous than impolitic. The question, on a division, was negatived by 193 to 187 voices. The leaders of the opposition next moved, instead of the clause rejected, to lay before his Majesty "the ill consequences of the treaty of partition to this kingdom and the peace of Europe." This being agreed to without a division, a committee was appointed to draw up an address conformably thereto; in which, after returning thanks to the King for acquainting the House with the state and progress of the negotiations now pending, they go on to say, "which method had your Majesty been advised to take before the treaty of partition was perfected, which was passed under the great seal of England during the sitting of Parliament, and without advice of the same, we had been prevented from laying before your Majesty what we are now bound in duty, though with grief, to do—to which treaty may justly be ascribed the dangers which now threaten both this kingdom and the peace of Europe." William felt a resentment on this occasion which his discretion prevented him from expressing, and he contented himself with a vague answer, as to the "Manifold benefits which would arise from the concurrence of Parliament in all his negotiations for the happiness of his people and the peace of Europe." On the last day of March, the King informed the House, by message, "That the negotiation already seemed to be at an end; by the refusal of the French ambassador to give any other answer to the demands made in his name and that of the States General, than an offer to renew and confirm the treaty of Ryswic; and that the States had made a formal requisition of the succours due to them by treaty, viz. 10,000 troops and twenty ships of the line. And his Majesty desires the Commons will give him such advice thereupon as may be for our own security, and that of the States General and the peace of Europe." In return, the Commons advised to carry on the negotiations in concert with the States, and assured his Majesty, "that they would enable him to fulfil the conditions of the existing treaty."

The King of Spain now thought fit, by a letter in his own hand, to notify his accession to the King of England.—It was answered by a letter from the King of England expressed in gracious and complimentary terms.

The consideration of the partition treaty was now resumed with great violence by the House of Commons; and, as the ultimate result, it was resolved by the House, "That the Earls of Portland and Orford, and the Lords Somers and Halifax, be impeached at the bar of the House of Lords of high crimes and misdemeanors."‡

A motion was next made, and carried, to which all the previous proceedings had reference, "To present an address to his Majesty to remove the Lords Somers, Orford, Portland, and Halifax, from his presence and councils for ever."

The House of Peers, now roused to exertion, voted an address to the King, praying, "That the Lords impeached at the bar of their House may not have any

* Their Lordships declared that, having considered the treaty of the 15th of March, 1700, they did most humbly represent to his Majesty, that to their great sorrow they found the matters thereof to have been of very ill consequence to the peace and safety of Europe—that, by all the informations of that fatal treaty, they could not find that the draft of it had ever been laid before his Majesty at any meeting of his council—wherefore, in duty to his Majesty, and in justice to their country, they most humbly beseech him, that in future he would be pleased to require and admit, in all matters of importance, the advice of his natural-born subjects, whose known probity and fortunes might give him and his people a just assurance of their fidelity to his service.

† This expression gave more offence to King William than any ever used in the unbounded licence of Parliamentary debate. He passionately declared that, had his rank permitted, he would have demanded satisfaction of its author.

‡ During the debates, and previously to passing the vote of impeachment, Lord Somers desired to be heard in his own defence—and a chair being placed for him, he first sat down covered, according to the ceremonial used on such occasions; and afterwards rising and remaining uncovered, he entered into so masterly and eloquent a vindication of his conduct, that, had the question been immediately put, it was believed he would have been acquitted by a great majority. He admitted "that the King had asked the advice of his confidential servants upon this occasion; and that his Majesty had even informed him, that if he and his other ministers thought that a treaty ought not to be made upon such a project, then the whole matter must be let fall, for he could not bring the French to better terms. His Lordship pleaded, that it would have been taking too much upon himself if he should have put a stop to a treaty of such consequence—Had the King of Spain died before it was finished, and the blame been cast upon him for not sending the necessary powers, he could not have justified himself, since the King's letter was a warrant. At the same time he wrote his own opinion very fully to his Majesty, objecting to many particulars, and proposing several things for the advantage and interest of England. Soon after the powers were transmitted by him, the treaty was concluded; to which he affixed the Great Seal, as he thought himself bound to do.—Thus as a Privy-Counsellor he offered to the King his best advice, and as Chancellor he had discharged his acknowledged and official duty. The King's letter was not indeed a formal, though a real warrant—but he did not think it became him to endanger the public by laying any stress on a point of form, at so critical a time, and when the greatest dispatch was requisite."

censure

censure passed upon them until they are tried upon the said impeachments, and judgment be given according to the usage of Parliament and the law of the land." This address the King received in profound silence, but the address of the Commons was received with apparent complacency; his Majesty assuring them, "He would employ none in his service but such as shall be thought most likely to improve mutual trust and confidence, which were so necessary in the present juncture."

The House of Commons, in a grand committee, next taking into consideration the state of the civil list, and the savings made by the non-payment of the 50,000*l.* per annum allotted as a dower to James's Queen; of 20,000*l.* per annum fallen in by the recent death of the Duke of Gloucester, with other reductions, came to a resolution to apply 100,000*l.* per annum of the royal revenue to the current service. On the report, this resolution was combated by the whole strength of the whig party; but it was carried by 214 against 169.

The King having recommended a farther provision for the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, the House unanimously resolved:

"1st. That it is absolutely necessary a farther declaration and limitation be made of the succession to the crown.

"2ndly. That farther provision be first made for the security of the rights and liberties of the people—and

"Lastly, That the Princess Sophia, Duchess Dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in succession to the crown of England."

A bill was immediately introduced in conformity to these resolutions; and numerous limitations and restrictions imposed upon the future inheritors of the crown.* The bill passed with national applause; but it had to encounter an opposition of a singular nature, originating in a remote quarter. Anne of Orleans, Duchess of Savoy, of the blood-royal of England by Henrietta her mother, youngest daughter of Charles I. according to the law of hereditary succession, was heiress of the crown of England, on the exclusion of James and his immediate descendants. The Ambassador of Savoy delivered a paper to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in which his mistress declared, that she gladly embraced the occasion which offered, to display to the people of England the pride she took in the right she derived from her descent, to that august throne; and, after stating her incontestible pretensions, she concluded with protesting against every deliberation and decision which shall be contrary thereto. This protest, however, was deemed too insignificant for notice; and the Earl of Macclesfield was deputed by the King to carry the intelligence, with the insignia of the Order of the Garter for the Elector, to the court of Herenhausen.

The Lords now reminded the Commons, that articles had not yet been exhibited against the Peers' impeachment. The Commons replied, that articles were preparing; and in a short time they were presented. The accused Peers in a few days made their answer; and, on the 21st of May, another message came from the Lords, pressing the Commons to give in their replication, and proceed to trial; and representing the hardships of delay to the persons accused. The Commons informed their Lordships that they had prepared a replication to Lord Oxford, but chose to defer the carrying it up, because, from the nature of the evidence, they chose to proceed with the trial of Lord Somers first—affirming their right, as prosecutors, to be the proper judges of the time of conducting their own prosecution. The same day the replication to Lord Somers was reported, and ordered to be engrossed. In the interim, the Lords apprised them by message, that they had appointed the 9th of June for the trial of Lord Oxford; asserting, that the right of limiting a time for avoiding delays in justice was lodged in them. Repeated conferences ensued, till the Commons complained, "that they had been obliged to spend that time in answering their Lordships' messages, which would have been otherwise employed in preparing for the trials, so that the delay must be charged to those who gave occasion for it." Lord Haversham having expressed his opinion "that the Commons were chargeable with gross partiality in the business of the impeachments, and that the plea of justice was only a mask to cover their real design," the managers on the part of the Commons insisted on breaking up the conference; and the House, on their report, voted, "that John Lord Haversham had uttered most scandalous reproaches and false expressions, highly reflecting on the honour and justice of the House of Commons:" when invited by the Lords to renew the conference, they returned for answer, "that this was not consistent with their honour, till they had received reparation for the indignity offered by Lord Haversham." Notice having been sent from the Lords, that the trial of Lord Somers, now, according to the desire of the Commons, first in the order of precedence, was fixed for the 17th of June, the Commons refused to attend; assigning as their reasons:

1st. The unprecedented refusal of their Lordships to consent to the appointment of a committee of both Houses for the settling the necessary preliminaries.

2dly. The want of a satisfactory assurance, that Lords impeached of the same crimes shall not sit in judgment upon each other.

3dly. Because they have received no reparation for the great indignity offered to them at the last conference by Lord Haversham. A resolution also passed the House, that no member do presume to appear at the place erected for the pretended trial of Lord Somers. No accusers, therefore, standing forward to support the charge, it was moved, and carried on a division of 56 against 31, that John Lord Somers be acquitted of the articles exhibited against him, and that the impeachment be dismissed. The Lords Portland, Orford, and Halifax, were in a similar manner acquitted and discharged; and, recollecting the impeachment exhibited against the Duke of Leeds in the year 1695, which had since lain dormant, they extended the indulgence of the House to him; and his Grace was by a verdict of acquittal exonerated from the burden, though not from the reproach, of the impeachment. The Commons retorted upon the Upper House, by passing resolutions importing, "that the Lords had refused justice upon the impeachment of John Lord Somers, and that, by the pretended trial of the said Lord Somers, they have endeavoured to subvert the right of impeachment."

During these proceedings, an extraordinary petition was presented from the justices of the peace, grand jurors, and freeholders, of the county of Kent, urging the House, in bold and insolent language, to come to speedy and decisive resolutions in support of the measures recommended from the throne. "We most humbly implore this honourable House," say the petitioners, in conclusion, "to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be effectually provided for—that your loyal addresses may be turned into bills of supply, and that his most sacred Majesty, whose propitious and unblemished reign over us we pray God long to continue, may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late." The House voted this paper to be "scandalous, insolent, and seditious;" and the persons, five in number, who had been delegated to deliver it into the hands of Sir Thomas Hales, member for the county of Kent, were committed prisoners to the Gatehouse, where they lay to the end of the

* The chief were, "that no foreigner, although he be naturalized or made denizen, shall be capable of enjoying any office or trust civil or military; or of holding any grant or lands from the crown; that the nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories not belonging to the crown of England; that all things properly cognizable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the Privy-Council as shall advise and consent to the same; that no person hereafter possessing the crown of England shall go out of the realm without consent of Parliament; that no person holding an office under the King, or receiving a pension from the crown, shall be capable of sitting in the House of Commons; that all future possessors of the crown shall join in communion with the church of England; that no pardon be pleadable in bar of an impeachment; and that the Judges' commissions be made quamdiu se bene gesserint."

session, visited by numbers of persons, and loudly applauded by the Whigs, as meritoriously suffering for their public spirit and patriotism the most odious and barbarous oppression. On their liberation, and return into their own county, they were met by a cavalcade of 500 horse at Blackheath, and near their entrance into the town of Maidstone by vast crowds of persons strewing the way before them with garlands and flowers.*

About this time, a pathetic letter from the States General to the King was laid before Parliament, in which they describe the extreme danger and difficulty of their situation, and the absolute need in which they stood of immediate and effectual assistance.†

The Commons, in consequence, warmly assured his Majesty, "that they would effectually assist him to support his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe." The disposition of the House, however, was still apparent, to engage in the war as auxiliaries only. The Lords presented an address of a different complexion, requesting his Majesty "not only to make good all the articles of any former treaty to the States General, but that he will enter into a strict league, offensive and defensive, with them, for our common preservation, and invite into it all other princes and states who are concerned in the present visible danger arising from the union of France and Spain." Towards the close of the session, the Commons were also more compliant.—On the 24th of June, Parliament was prorogued.

On the 3d of July, King William arrived in Holland; and, the next day he took his seat in the assembly of the States General, where he was received with the most cordial congratulations, as the protector, friend, and father of his country. The command of the troops, destined for the relief of Holland, was confided to the Earl of Marlborough, who was at the same time appointed plenipotentiary to the States. On the departure of the King to visit the frontier of the garrisons, M. d'Avaux delivered to the States General a letter from his Most Christian Majesty, notifying the recall of his Ambassador, who, accordingly, left the Hague, (August 13) without noticing the King of England or any of his court.

On the 7th of September, a new treaty of alliance was signed between the Emperor and maritime powers, to which all Kings, Princes, and States were invited to accede, for procuring satisfaction to the House of Austria in respect to the Spanish succession, and for recovering the Spanish Netherlands, to be a barrier between Holland and France, &c. and it was expressly stipulated, that the war once begun should not be concluded but with the consent and concurrence of the allied powers.

Previously to the conclusion of this treaty, hostilities had commenced on the part of the Emperor with a spirit and success wholly unexpected. A numerous army had been assembled early in the summer on the Italian frontier, the command of which was conferred upon Prince Eugene of Savoy. Entering Italy by the route of Vicenza, he made a feint of passing the Po near Ferrara; and while the enemy were thus amused, he crossed the Adige and attacked and totally defeated a large body of troops posted at Carpi. The French and Piedmontese army, commanded by Maréchal de Catinat and the Duke of Savoy in person, retiring beyond the Mincio, Prince Eugene passed that river also in pursuit of them: and M. de Catinat, who acted under the restraint of a defensive system, making dispositions to cover the Milanese, was astonished to find that the imperialists had, by a rapid movement on the opposite side, suddenly over-run the Mantuan, reduced the fortress of Castiglione, and laid the country under contribution. The French court, not comprehending the cause of these disasters, determined to supersede M. de Catinat, and to appoint as his successor M. de Villeroy. The rashness, vanity, and ignorance of the new general quickly produced the consequences which might be expected. M. Catinat, who still remained in the army, received M. Villeroy's orders on the 29th August, to commence an attack on the imperialists, then encamped in an impregnable position at Chiari on the Oglio. During the fight the Duke of Savoy, whose fidelity was somewhat suspected, displayed heroic bravery, and M. Catinat, who saw that success was impossible, seemed prodigal of life. The French were repulsed with prodigious slaughter, and M. Villeroy, destitute of resources, made no effort to save the wreck of his troops. M. Catinat at length, though wounded, gave the necessary orders for a retreat. Immediately after this engagement he resigned his commission, and repaired to Paris to vindicate his character. Prince Eugene kept his troops in almost constant motion during the whole of the winter, and was so successful in all his enterprises as to keep the French in perpetual alarm. Maréchal de Villeroy having fixed his head quarters at Cremona, which commands a bridge over the Po; the Prince formed, in the month of January, 1702, a design to surprise the town. He conducted in person a strong detachment of troops from the Oglio, and ordered another corps from the Parmesan to force at the same time the passage of the bridge. Marching in profound silence and secrecy through the ruins of an old aqueduct, he gained possession of one of the gates of the city. M. de Villeroy, suddenly awakened, rushed, unarmed and unattended, into the midst of the tumult, and was instantly made prisoner. The party, however, who were to attack the bridge not coming up at the time appointed, the Prince was ultimately compelled to abandon his enterprise; but he retired in safety with the Maréchal and the other prisoners whom he had taken. The Prince went on, till at length the French court, seeing the whole Spanish Empire in Italy endangered, resolved to send large reinforcements into that country, under the conduct of the Marechal duc de Vendome, a General worthy to be the antagonist of Prince Eugene.

The abdicated monarch, James, departed this life at St. Germains, September 16, 1701, in the 68th year of his age.‡

Upon his death, the Prince, his son, was proclaimed King

* The confinement of these persons gave birth to a very extraordinary paper, intituled, "A memorial from the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the counties of———, in behalf of themselves, and many thousands of the good people of England." It was signed Legion, and sent to the Speaker in a letter, commanding him, in the name of two hundred thousand Englishmen, to deliver it to the House of Commons. In this strange expostulation, the House was charged with illegal and unwarrantable practices, in fifteen particulars: a new claim of right was ranged under seven heads: and the Commons were admonished to act according to their duty, as specified in this memorial, on pain of incurring the resentment of an injured nation. It was concluded in these words: "For Englishmen are no more to be slaves to Parliaments than to Kings—our name is Legion, and we are many." The Commons were equally provoked and intimidated by this libel, which was the production of Daniel de Foe, the celebrated author of Robinson Crusoe. They would not, however, deign to take notice of it in the House: but a complaint being made of endeavours to raise tumults and seditions, a committee was appointed to draw up an address to his Majesty, informing him of those seditious endeavours, and beseeching him to provide for the public peace and security.

† They say, "that France is erecting forts under the cannon of their strong places, and drawing lines along their frontier—that by her intrigues she has drawn away the Princes who were their friends, from their interests—and that they are surrounded on all sides except that of the sea—that the winter, which had been hitherto their security, was now over, and they were on the brink of being invaded and overturned every moment—and, in fine, that their condition was worse than if they were actually at war. They remonstrate on the fatal consequences of being left in this exposed condition, and express their confidence in his Majesty's consummate wisdom, and the good intentions of the English Parliament, to rescue them from that ruin with which they are threatened; and which the interests of his Majesty's kingdoms, inseparable from those of the republic, are so deeply concerned to prevent."

‡ Sunk into the extremes of bigotry and superstition, he seemed entirely to have relinquished the hope, and almost the wish, to recover his former greatness. He had been actually admitted into the society of the Jesuits; and had rarely failed, during the latter period of his life, making a visit annually to the abbey of la Trappe—practising there the same austerities which are enjoined upon the monks themselves by the rules of that rigid order. He kept very severe fasts; and would, upon certain days, bind his body with a very sharp pointed iron chain. He assisted at the choir hours, except at night. He ate nothing but eggs, raisins, and pulse; and spent his time in long meditations and spiritual conferences with the abbot, and his confessor, whom he took constantly there with him. In the usual course of things, he heard ordinarily at St. Germains, two masses every day, and on all the great festivals three masses and vespers, &c. During Lent he had sermons in his chapel thrice a week; and he, with his Queen, went every year on foot to the procession of the Holy

King of England, &c. by the officers of his own household in the court-yard of the palace, by the stile and title of King James III. However, before the French monarch would formally recognize him in that capacity, he convened a council of State, in which all his principal ministers concurred in dissuading him from a measure so flagrantly impolitic. At length he appeared fully penetrated with the force of their arguments. On retiring from the council, however, he met, in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, the disconsolate widow of the late King James, who, in the moving language of tears and supplications, conjured him not to refuse, to the only son of a monarch whom he had so generously protected, the sad homage of an empty title, the sole remains of their former greatness. She reminded him that he had, during the life-time of the father, acknowledged the son as Prince of Wales, and that he could not without tarnishing his own glory, now hesitate to acknowledge him as King: that the Prince of Orange himself could not be offended at this bare nominal recognition, whilst he enjoyed unmolested all the fruits of his usurpation. The prayers and entreaties of the Queen, powerfully supported by Madame de Maintenon, shook the resolution of the monarch; and, reverting to his original purpose, he gave orders that the King of England should be publicly recognized in that capacity: this was done that very day by the King and court of France. Startled, nevertheless, at the consequences of this rash step, M. de Torcy, in a conference held soon after with the Earl of Manchester, who would no longer appear at court, endeavoured to apologize for this measure, as "merely complimentary; and expressed his hope that the present negotiation would terminate in a peace, which would set all right." King William, however, on receiving intelligence of the death of James, and the consequent recognition of his son, sent an express to the Earl of Manchester to return to England without taking his audience of leave.

William arrived in England early in November. His state of health, for the last year harassed with incessant anxiety, was considerably impaired; and his return to England was retarded by an illness of a serious nature, from which he had partially and slowly recovered. Though sensible of the shock his constitution had sustained, his activity and energy of mind seemed in no wise diminished; and knowing how much depended upon himself, he was solicitous to conceal his exhausted condition, till his grand projects were matured; but he told the Earl of Portland, that he should not live to see another summer.

The recognition of the pretended Prince of Wales by the French Monarch, while the treaty of Ryswick was yet in force, had excited the most passionate resentment of all ranks and orders of people; and addresses were presented from all parts, expressing a resolute determination to support his Majesty in the defence of his just rights, in opposition to all invaders of his crown and dignity. This spirit was, however, very ill seconded by those who occupied the great offices of government. So long since as the month of September, the King had written to Lord Sunderland, earnestly requesting his advice in the then situation of affairs; and, conformably to the advice of that nobleman, he wrote from Loo (October 10), to Lord Somers, desiring him to state his sentiments without reserve, relative to the present situation of affairs. Lord Somers in reply, urged upon the King the propriety and necessity in the present crisis, of having recourse to the Whigs, and of dissolving the present Tory Parliament. A dissolution of Parliament was accordingly determined upon; a proclamation for that purpose was issued on the 11th November; and a new Parliament was summoned to meet on the 30th of December,—previously to which great alterations took place in the administration. Lord Godolphin was superseded by the Earl of Carlisle; the Earl of Manchester was made Secretary of State, in the room of Sir Charles Hedges; the Earl of Pembroke was constituted Lord High Admiral; the Duke of Somerset was appointed President of the Council; and the Earl of Rochester was recalled from his government of Ireland.*

The Parliament met on the day appointed; and the first trial of strength was on the choice of a Speaker, which was carried in favour of Mr. Harley, in opposition to Sir Thomas Lyttleton, by a majority of four voices only. The King's speech recommending, in animated and energetic language, unanimity in the prosecution of the most vigorous and decisive measures, was received with unbounded applause. The King, the Parliament, and the nation seemed now animated by the same spirit; and at no period of his reign had William attained to so great a height of popularity. The House of Commons passed an unanimous resolve, that no peace should be made with France, until reparation be made for the late indignity offered by the French King; and 900,000 men were voted for the sea and land service. The Peers, on their part, were equally unanimous.

Early in January, 1702, a bill of attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales, now stiling himself King of Great Britain, was introduced into the House of Commons, and passed with perfect unanimity; but the Lords, including the Queen-Regent in the attaint, the Commons refused to concur—"that it may be of dangerous consequence to attaint persons by an amendment only, in which case such due consideration cannot be had as the nature of an attainder does require." Another bill followed, for the farther security of his Majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the Protestant line—containing an abjuration of the pretended Prince of Wales, and an oath to the King as rightful and lawful sovereign. A question arising whether the oath should be compulsive or voluntary, a serious and vehement debate ensued; and the House was on a division so equally balanced, that there appeared a majority of one voice only for making the oath obligatory, the numbers being 188 to 187 voices.†

Respecting the great question of the Irish forfeitures, the House did not appear inclined to recede from the system of their predecessors; and the petitions presented to the King against the act of resumption by the city of Dublin and divers counties of Ireland, and laid before the House, were voted to contain scandalous reflections, highly reflecting upon his Majesty's honour and both Houses of Parliament. The subject of the impeachments, voted in the course of the last session, was revived with great warmth, but with little expectation, or perhaps desire, of success on the part of the Tories; and a resolution ultimately passed the House, "that it is the undoubted right of every subject of England, under any accusation, either by impeachment or otherwise, to be brought to a speedy trial, in order to be acquitted." This was regarded as a justification of the conduct of the House of Lords, and equivalent to an avowal that their Lordships had not denied justice in the matter of the impeachment.

During the whole of the winter, it had been sedu-

Holy Sacrement over the town of St. Germains. On the day and octave of Corpus Christi they heard high mass at the parish church; and on every evening during the octave, and on Sundays and great holidays throughout the year, they were present at the exaltation of the host. In the beginning of the year, his health visibly declined; and he had in April drunk the mineral waters of Bourbon without finding benefit. During his last illness the King of France came to visit him at St. Germains, and seemed much touched with his condition. The dying monarch, raising himself in his bed, expressed in faint accents his gratitude to his most Christian Majesty for the numerous instances of friendship and generosity he had received from him. Louis told him, he did not yet know the extent of the kindness he intended for him and his family: for that, in the event of his decease, he would acknowledge the Prince his son as King of Great Britain

On hearing this, James appeared overwhelmed with surprise and joy, and said "He had nothing farther to ask or wish." He exhorted his son to persevere in the faith, as a point of infinitely more consequence to him than the acquisition of a crown. He said, that by his practice he recommended Christian forgiveness to him; for he heartily forgave all his enemies, not even excepting the Princess of Denmark, the Prince of Orange, and the Emperor.

* The King pressing, as it is said, the great seal on the acceptance of Lord Somers, and that nobleman hesitating, in the apprehension of a new relapse in favour of the Tories; the King exclaimed with passionate emphasis, "Never, never, never!"

† This remarkable division probably gave rise to the popular notion, that the crown was settled on the house of Hanover by a single vote.

lously reported, by those who were near the person of the King, that he was in a fair way of obtaining a complete re-establishment of his health; but this was a subject of great doubt with many. On Saturday February the 21st, his Majesty rode as usual from Kensington to Hampton-court; passing through the park, his horse suddenly plunging, fell on very level ground, and the King's collar-bone was fractured with the violence of the shock. He was immediately carried to Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced by Ronjat his first surgeon; and he thought himself in the evening well enough to be removed to Kensington. No dangerous symptoms appeared for some days, and his active and ardent mind was still employed on the great objects he had in view. On the 28th of February he sent a message to both Houses, recommending the appointment of commissioners to treat with those already authorised by the Parliament of Scotland, respecting an union of the two kingdoms, "than which the King declared he was satisfied that nothing could more contribute to the present and future security and happiness of England and Scotland, and to which he now hoped there would be found a general disposition." On the Monday following, a commission was issued to give the royal assent to such bills as were ready; amongst which was the bill for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales.

Great hopes were still professed of a speedy and perfect recovery; but on Wednesday, March the 3d, the King, falling asleep on a couch in the gallery of his palace, on his awaking, was seized with a shivering fit, which was followed by a paroxysm of fever; and these fits returning every day with increasing violence, on the sixth his case was esteemed very dangerous. The Lords having expedited the abjuration bill, a second commission was issued to give the royal assent to this favourite measure of national security; but the King being no longer able to make perfect use of his hand, a stamp was provided to supply the defect. On the same day, (March 6th), the Earl of Albemarle arrived from Holland, and, being immediately admitted to the King's presence, gave such an account of the posture of affairs on the Continent as must have afforded him the highest satisfaction, had he been capable of attending to any temporal concerns. But he received the intelligence without any visible emotion; and soon afterwards said, "Je tire vers ma fin"—I approach my end.

During the latter period of his illness, his Majesty was attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Sarum. His reason and all his senses were entire to the last minute. Early on Sunday morning (March 7), he desired the sacrament; after which, several of the Lords of the council and other nobles attending were called in, to whom the King laboured to speak with cheerfulness. When Lord Auverquerque appeared, he raised his voice, and thanked him for his long and faithful services. He took an affectionate leave of the Duke of Ormond and others, and delivered to the Earl of Albemarle the keys of his escritoire. Breathing with great difficulty, he asked his first physician, Dr. Bidloo, "How long this could last?" to which he answered, "Perhaps an hour." But the King, offering his pulse, said, "I do not die yet!" After a short interval, he enquired for the Earl of Portland; but before he came, his voice had totally failed, though his lips were seen to move; and taking his hand, he carried it to his heart with much tenderness. Throughout his illness no symptoms of mental weakness appeared. The conflict between life and death continued till about eight o'clock the ensuing morning, when the commendatory prayer was said for him; and, as it ended, the King, who had been supported all night in his bed, expired in the arms of one of his pages, March 8th, 1702, after a reign of thirteen years and a month, and in the fifty-second year of his age. On his left arm was found a ribband, to which was fastened a ring, enclosing a lock of the late Queen Mary's hair—a proof of the tender regard he entertained for her memory. On being opened, in order to his embalmment, the left lobe of the lungs was found inflamed to a degree of mortification; but the head and the heart were perfectly sound.*

His Majesty's body, having been opened and embalmed, lay in state for some time at Kensington; and, on the twelfth day of April, it was deposited in a vault of Henry's chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

---

* Few sovereigns have had their characters drawn in more opposing colours than William III. Belsham, the favourite historian of the Whigs, thus pourtrays the object of his warm and almost idolatrous admiration:—"Thus lived and died William III. King of Great Britain and Stadtholder of Holland; a monarch on whose great actions and illustrious character history delights to dwell. In his person he was not above the middle size, pale, thin, and valetudinary. He had a Roman nose, bright and eagle eyes, a large front, and a countenance composed to gravity and authority. All his senses were critical and exquisite. His words came from him with caution and deliberation; and his manners, excepting to his intimate friends, were cold and reserved. He spoke Dutch, French, English, and German, equally well; and he understood Latin, Spanish, and Italian. His memory was exact and tenacious, and he was a profound observer of men and things. He perfectly understood, and possessed a most extensive influence over the political concerns and interests of Europe. Though far above vanity or flattery, he was pertinacious in his opinions; and, from a clear perception or persuasion of their rectitude, was too impatient of censure or control. He attained not to the praise of habitual generosity, from his frequent and apparently capricious deviations into the extremes of profusion and parsimony. His love of secrecy was perhaps too nearly allied to dissimulation and suspicion; and his fidelity in friendship to partiality and prejudice. Though resentful and irritable by nature, he harboured no malice, and disdained the meanness of revenge. He believed firmly in the truth of religion, and entertained an high sense of its importance. But his tolerant spirit, and his indifference to the forms of church government, made him very obnoxious to the great body of the clergy. He appeared born for the purpose of opposing tyranny, persecution, and oppression; and for the space of thirty years it is not too much to affirm that he sustained the greatest and most truly glorious character of any Prince whose name is recorded in history. In his days, and by his means, the first firm and solid foundations were laid of all that is most valuable in civil society. Every vindication of the natural and unalienable rights of mankind was, till he ascended the throne of Great Britain, penal and criminal. To him we owe the assertion and the final establishment of our constitutional privileges. To him the intellectual world is indebted for the full freedom of discussion, and the unrestrained avowal of their sentiments on subjects of the highest magnitude and importance. To sum up all, his character was distinguished by virtues rarely found amongst Princes—moderation, integrity, simplicity, beneficence, magnanimity. Time, which has cast a veil over his imperfections, has added lustre to his many great and admirable qualities. His political views were in the highest degree laudable and upright. He had true ideas of the nature and ends of government: and the beneficial effects of his noble and heroic exertions will probably descend to the latest generations, rendering his name justly dear to the friends of civil and religious liberty, and his memory glorious and immortal."

Smollet, the Tory continuator of Hume, thus characterises the restorer of the Protestant religion:—"William III. was in his person of the middle stature, a thin body, a delicate constitution, subject to an asthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He was very sparing of speech: his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting, except in battle, when his deportment was free, spirited, and animating. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity; and his natural sagacity made amends for the defects in his education, which had not been properly superintended. He was religious, temperate, generally just and sincere, a stranger to violent transports of passion, and might have passed for one of the best Princes of the age in which he lived, had he never ascended the throne of Great Britain. But the distinguishing criterion of his character was ambition. To this he sacrificed the punctilios of honour and decorum, in deposing his own father-in-law and uncle; and this he gratified at the expence of the nation that raised him to sovereign authority. He aspired to the honour of acting as umpire in all the contests of Europe; and the second object of his attention was, the prosperity of that country to which he owed his birth and extraction. Whether he really thought the interests of the continent and Great Britain were inseparable, or sought only to drag England into the confederacy as a convenient ally, certain it is, he involved the kingdoms in foreign connections, which, in all probability, will be productive of their ruin. In order to establish this favourite point, he scrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He procured a Parliamentary sanction for a standing army, which now seems to be interwoven in the constitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds; an expedient that necessarily hatched a brood of usurers, brokers, contractors, and stock jobbers, to prey upon the vitals of their country. He entailed upon the nation a growing debt, and a system of politics big with misery, despair, and destruction. To sum up his character in a few words—William was a fatalist in religion, indefatigable in war, enterprising in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious Prince, and an imperious sovereign."

HUME'S

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

QUEEN ANNE.

BORN 1664. — DIED 1714.

Published by J.Roberts 4 Ship Court London 1815

BOOK XXVI.

THE REIGN OF ANNE; COMPRISING A PERIOD OF TWELVE YEARS, FOUR MONTHS, AND TWENTY-FOUR DAYS.

29. ANNE.

A. D. 1702.] HOW far Anne, the only surviving daughter of the late K. James II. and by marriage Princess of Denmark, who now ascended the throne, was likely to adopt the counsels, or to pursue the mighty projects of her predecessor, was a matter of much speculation. The doubt however was soon resolved. By an act passed some years previously to the death of the King, the Parliament, notwithstanding that event, still continued to sit. Three days after her accession, (March 11) the Queen, repairing in person to the House of Peers, with the usual solemnity, made a speech from the throne, expressive of her fixed resolution to prosecute the measures concerted by the late King, whom she stiled the great support, not only of these kingdoms but of all Europe. And she declared, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of our allies to reduce the exorbitant power of France.* In answer to the address of the clergy, presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury, she expressed her high regard and attachment to the church; and to that of the dissenters she gave assurances of protection, and protested, "that she would do nothing to forfeit her interest in their affections." These measures of the new reign were chiefly influenced by the Lords Marlborough and Godolphin, who demonstrated the imminent danger to which the liberties of Europe would be exposed, were England to act with indifference or indecision in the present crisis.†

The States General, lamenting their irreparable loss, promised mutually to adhere, at whatever risque, to the interests of their country. In a few days, they received the Queen's speech, and a letter to the States annexed, in which she declared her determination "to maintain all the alliances of her crown entered into by the late King; and to concur with them in such measures as should be necessary to the reduction of the power of France."—That power greatly exulted in the death of the King of England. The sieur de Barré, left by count d'Avaux chargé d'affaires, presented to the States a memorial, inviting them to renew the negotiation, and, in language disrespectful and injurious to the late monarch, stating his hope, "that, as their high mightinesses would now recover their liberty, and be no longer under restraint, they would consult their own interest, and look upon a good intelligence with France as the firmest support of their republic." The States indignantly replied, "that the Sieur Resident ought to know that their high and mighty Lordships have heretofore had as much liberty as at present, to debate and to take all such resolutions as they judged necessary and useful for the good and preservation of their state." The Earl of Marlborough's stay in Holland, though short, answered a most important purpose. Charmed by his noble carriage and engaging manners, and struck with admiration at his superiority of genius, the States, from this time, placed the most unlimited confidence in his capacity and fidelity.

The House of Commons settled upon her Majesty for life the revenue enjoyed by the late King; and the Queen in return declared, "that, in consideration of the great burdens to be sustained by her subjects, she would direct 100,000*l.* per annum to be appropriated to the national service. The abjuration oath imposed by the act of the late King was taken unanimously, and cheerfully; and the Queen soon completed her ministerial arrangements. Her private inclinations were decidedly in favour of the Tories; but the Earl of Marlborough, impatient to give full scope to his talents, employed the extensive influence which he possessed over her mind, through the countess, to induce the appointment of an administration which should prosecute the war with vigour and effect. This he well knew was not to be expected without a powerful co-operation on the part of the Whigs. Lord Godolphin, allied to Marlborough, by the marriage of his son with the eldest daughter of the Earl, was connected with him also by the strictest political union; and though a Tory administration was at length formed, many of the Whigs were admitted into the new arrangement, and a spirit of conciliation pervaded the general system.‡

The Earl of Marlborough had agreed with the States and the imperial minister, that war should be declared against France, at Vienna, London, and the Hague, on the same day, viz. May the 15th, N. S.; but when this resolution came to be debated in council, it was vehemently opposed by the Earl of Rochester and others of the board, who contended, that it was safest and best for England to avoid a declaration of war, and that no necessity existed for acting, if we acted at all, in any other capacity than as auxiliaries. This opinion was overruled; and a resolution was taken in favour of war; which being communicated by the Queen to the House of Commons, the House returned their unanimous thanks, and assurances of assistance.§ On the day

* An expression which occurred in the conclusion of her speech, "That her heart was entirely English," was thought, by those who regarded the proceedings of the new sovereign with jealousy, to glance obliquely upon the honour of the late monarch, and was resented accordingly.

† To give efficacy to a system so opposite to the hopes and expectations of the Tories, Lord Godolphin was advanced to the office of Lord High Treasurer; and the Earl of Marlborough was declared Captain General of the forces of Great Britain at home and abroad, and at the same time appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General.

‡ Lord Godolphin, as Lord High Treasurer, was regarded as the efficient head of the ministry: the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges were re-instated in their posts as joint secretaries of state. The Earl of Pembroke being honourably dismissed from the Admiralty, with the offer of a great pension, which he refused to accept, the post of Lord High Admiral was occupied by the Prince of Denmark; the Duke of Somerset, a Whig, was continued president of the council; and Sir Nathan Wright, a Tory, Lord Keeper. The Duke of Devonshire, a Whig, was appointed Lord Steward: and the Marquis of Normandy, a Tory, Lord Privy Seal. Seymour, Howe, Harcourt, and others of the Tories, were now admitted to the council board, from which the great Whig leaders, Somers and Halifax, were excluded.

§ The Earl of Rochester, highly offended that his counsels were rejected, withdrew to his seat in sullen discontent; and a message, after

day appointed, the confederate courts solemnly proclaimed war against France in their respective capitals, to the great astonishment of Louis XIV. who, on receiving the intelligence from his first minister, the Marquis de Torcy, gave way to unusual emotions of anger; and throwing from him the Dutch declaration with great violence, he protested, "that messieurs the Dutch merchants should one day repent of their audacity."

A bill was now brought into the House of Commons to empower the Queen to nominate commissioners to treat with Scotland for the purpose of effecting an union between the two kingdoms; which, notwithstanding considerable opposition, passed both Houses by a great majority, and received the royal assent.—A report having been propagated, that the late King had formed a design of excluding her present Majesty from the throne, the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, and the Lords Marborough, Jersey, and Albemarle, who had the inspection of the King's papers, were interrogated by the House of Peers as to this point; and they unanimously declaring that nothing relative to such design was to be found, the House voted the report false, villainous and scandalous; and, in reply to an address of the House upon the subject, the Queen declared, "that she would order the Attorney General to prosecute the authors and publishers of this false report." Notice was also taken by the House of Peers of a sermon preached by a Dr. Binckes before the Lower House of Convocation on the thirteenth of January, in which a scandalous parallel was drawn between the sufferings of Christ and those of the "blessed martyr Charles;" and a decided preference given to the latter.* After some debate the Lords voted, that there were expressions in the said sermon which gave just scandal and offence to all Christian people; and it was ordered that this resolution be communicated to his diocesan, the Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, in order to his being proceeded against in the ecclesiastical court.

The business of the session having been terminated, the Parliament was prorogued, on the 25th of May.

An act having passed in Scotland, as well as in England, to continue the existing Parliament six months subsequent to the death of the King, it was convened on the 9th of June, (1702), the Duke of Queensbury being appointed High Commissioner. Before any proceedings could take place, the Duke of Hamilton, and the party of which he was the head, protested against the legality of the meeting—his Grace reading a paper containing the grounds and reasons of their dissent, on the principle, that the 17th act of the 6th session of King William's Parliament, continuing the Parliament after his death, was an unconstitutional innovation. The Duke and seventy-nine of the members, above two fifths of the number present, then withdrew, leaving the majority to sit and act by themselves; as they passed from the Parliament House to the High Cross, they were saluted with loud and universal acclamation. The Duke of Queensbury, however, delivered the Queen's letter to the Parliament, declaring "her firm resolution to maintain and protect her subjects in the full possession of their religion, laws, and liberties, and of the Presbyterian government of the church; then acquainting them with the just causes of declaring war against the French King, and earnestly recommending to them both the providing competent supplies for maintaining such a number of forces as might be necessary for disappointing the enemy's designs and preserving the present happy settlement, and the consideration of an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, which was recommended to them by the late King." The Parliament, demonstrating great firmness and spirit, passed an act declaring it to be high treason to impugn the dignity and authority of their proceedings; an act for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government; an act for a supply of ten months' cess upon all land-rents; and an act for enabling her Majesty to appoint commissioners to treat concerning an union. They also expelled a member of the House, for his audacity in affirming "that Presbytery was inconsistent with monarchy—that, like vice and hypocrisy, and other pests of mankind, it spread and flourished most in turbulent times of anarchy and rebellion; and that order and decency in the church were to be preferred to the pride and infallibility of a Pope in every parish." The Dean and faculty of advocates having passed a vote in favour of the protest of the dissentient members, they were summoned for the same before the House, and received a severe reprimand for their presumption. The dissentient members having deputed the Lord Blantyre to present an address to her Majesty in vindication of their proceedings, she peremptorily refused to receive it; and on the 30th of June, 1702, the Parliament was adjourned.

Commissioners having been appointed for treating concerning an union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, the persons named in the commission met for the first time on the 22d of October, at Whitehall. The treaty seemed for some time in a prosperous train; but when the commissioners gave in their proposals for preserving the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies, such difficulties arose as put a stop to all farther progress, and in the sequel the commission was dissolved.

The war on the Continent commenced with the siege of Keisarswart, a well fortified town, situated on the Rhine, some leagues below Dusseldorf.† The trenches were opened before the town on the 18th of April; and the place was defended with great vigour; but the fortifications being almost destroyed by the artillery of the besiegers, and the ravelin and counterscarp carried by assault with horrible slaughter, the garrison was compelled, June 15, to capitulate, and was allowed honourable terms; the besiegers having lost 7000 men. The Marechal de Boufflers, finding all his attempts to relieve Keisarswart abortive, decamped from Zanten on the 10th of June, and directed his march, without beat of drum or sound of trumpet, towards Nimeguen, purposing to take a position between that place and the confederate army. The Earl of Athlone, alarmed for the safety of that important city, put his troops in motion, and made good his retreat under the cannon of Nimeguen—resisting and repulsing the various attacks of the French with great resolution. Marechal Boufflers, in consequence, defiled with his whole army towards Cleves, venting his resentment upon the defenceless territories through which he marched, laying waste the country, and destroying the park of Cleves and all its delightful walks and avenues.

The Earl of Marlborough at length arrived to take upon him the command of the allied army; the Earl of Athlone, though Field-Marshal of the Dutch forces, and a General of great ability and experience, relinquishing his pretensions in favour of the Earl of Marlborough. The English commander, finding his force superior to that of the enemy, resolved to pass the

after an interval of some months, being sent to him from the Queen, commanding him to repair to his government of Ireland, he insolently declared, "That he would not go if the Queen would give him the country." The Earl then waited upon her Majesty, and in great wrath desired leave to resign his employments; which was readily granted, and the viceroyalty of that kingdom immediately conferred upon the Duke of Ormond.

* "If," says Dr. Binckes, "with respect to the dignity of the person, to have been King of the Jews was what ought to have secured our Saviour from violence; here is also one not only born to a crown, but actually possessed of it. He was not only called King by some, and at the same time derided by others for being so called, but he was acknowledged by all to be a King. He was not just dressed up for an hour or two in purple robes, and saluted with a hail, King! but the usual ornaments of Majesty were his customary apparel; his subjects owned him to be their King; and yet they brought him before a tribunal, they judged him, they condemned him.—Our Saviour's declaring 'that his kingdom was not of this world,' might look like a sort of renunciation of his temporal sovereignty, but here was indisputable right of sovereignty:—both by the laws of God and man. He was the reigning Prince and the Lord's anointed; and yet, in despite of all law human and Divine, he was by direct force of arms and the most daring methods of a flagrant rebellion and violence, deprived at once of his imperial crown and life."

† Keisarswart belonged to the Elector of Cologne, who had put the French into possession of all the strong places in his dominions; and whilst in their hands, it exposed both the circle of Westphalia, and the eastern provinces of the States to alarming inroads.

Maese,

Maese, below Grave, in pursuit of them; and the confederates, who were so lately reduced to the necessity of retreating under the cannon of Nimeguen, had now the pleasure to see the French flying before them. The Earl of Marlborough gave orders to lay siege to Venlo, which surrendered on the 25th of September. He then proceeded to Roermond, at the confluence of the Roer and the Maese, which with Stevenswart, a fortified town five miles south of Roermond, was reduced before the middle of October. Marechal Boufflers retreated towards Liege, apprehending that city to be in danger; but, on the approach of the Earl of Marlborough, he again put his army in motion towards Tongeren; and Liege being left defenceless, was delivered up. The garrison, retiring into the citadel, prepared for a vigorous resistance; but, in six days a practical breach being made, the place was taken sword in hand by the most extraordinary efforts of valour. This was a conquest of great importance, the navigation of the Maese being now completely opened. There is however great reason to believe that the operations of this first campaign would have proved far more decisive, had not the plans of the Earl of Marlborough been frustrated by the ignorant and obstinate opposition of the field deputies accompanying the Dutch army.*

The French army in Germany slowly assembling under Marechal de Catinat, the imperialists had an opportunity of laying siege to Landau, a strong fortress on the banks of the Queich in the Lower Alsatia. The place was invested by Prince Louis of Baden on the 16th of June; several weeks elapsed in raising batteries and making approaches; and, matters being in a prosperous train, on the 27th of July the King of the Romans arrived in the confederate camp in order to have the honour of taking the city; but it did not surrender till the 12th of September. The necessity of the French King's affairs had forced him to grant the Elector of Bavaria all his demands. No sooner had this Prince decided in favour of France, than he possessed himself by stratagem of the imperial city of Ulm upon the Danube; which excited great alarm throughout the empire. The diet, after a warm debate, resolved, by a great majority of voices, to declare war against France and Spain; the emperor was addressed to proceed against the Elector of Bavaria according to the established constitutions; and the ministers of Bavaria and Cologne were forbidden to appear any more in that assembly. In consequence of the seizure of Ulm, the Prince of Baden was obliged to return to the defence of the empire; and his army being weakened by various detachments, he took a strong position near Friedlinguen, where he was attacked by the Marquis de Villars with a far superior force. The Germans, under the conduct of this general, defended themselves with great vigour; and though the imperial cavalry were routed and broken, the enemy were finally repulsed by the unsupported efforts of the infantry, who pursued them almost to the bridge of Hunninguen. The Prince being nevertheless under the necessity of abandoning Friedlinguen, the French King caused Te Deum to be sung for the success of his arms; and the Marquis de Villars was also on this occasion advanced to the dignity of a Marechal of France. On the side of the Moselle, the French under M. Tallard made themselves masters of Triers and Traerbach. In Italy the war was carried on by the Duc de Vendome and Prince Eugene with an ardent emulation of skill and valour. The city of Mantua had for a long time been blockaded by the imperial army; and the more direct passes being strongly fortified, the Duc de Vendome marched through the Venetian territories, notwithstanding the protestations of the republic, to its relief. The Prince, who, in consequence of the defection of the Elector of Bavaria, had not received his promised reinforcements, at the approach of the enemy withdrew his forces. Philip, King of Spain, impatient to signalize himself in the field, had embraced the indiscreet resolution of assuming the command of the Italian army in person. He arrived at Naples in April, and there received, by a cardinal legate, the compliments of the Pope, who nevertheless refused the investiture of the kingdom; his Holiness thus endeavouring to preserve a good understanding with both parties; but the imperial ambassador was in consequence ordered to leave Rome. The King of Spain was conveyed to Finale by the French fleet; and soon after joining the Dukes of Savoy and Vendome, the united forces of France, Spain, and Piedmont, to the amount of 40,000 men, advanced to Luzzara with a view to cut off the communication of the imperialists with Mirandola and the Modenese. Prince Eugene, whose army did not exceed 30,000, marched to attack them (August 15), with the greatest intrepidity. It is said, that the plan formed by the Prince was the most masterly that could be conceived, and failed of success by a mere accident. The contest was very bloody, and the success doubtful. The French at length abandoned the field; part of their ammunition and provisions fell into the hands of the imperialists; but the Prince, weakened even by the advantage he had gained, was obliged to act on the defensive; and the fortress of Luzzara and other contiguous posts were captured by the French, who had upon the whole somewhat the advantage of the campaign. King Philip, disappointed and disgusted, returned at the end of the year to Madrid.

The confederate fleet, consisting of fifty ships of the line, with about 14,000 land-forces on board, under the command of Sir George Rooke and the Duke of Ormond, sailed from St. Helen's, July 1st. on a secret expedition: on the 12th of August they cast anchor before the city of Cadiz; but, owing to various circumstances, after much loss of time, they returned, without the accomplishment of any important object.† On their return they received the intelligence that the Spanish

* Upon the breaking up of the army in November, the Earl thought the easiest and most expeditious mode of retiring to the Hague was by falling down the Maese in one of the great boats which navigate that river. He had a guard of twenty-five soldiers in the boat, and an escort of fifty horse to patrole the banks; but the troopers mistaking their way in the night, three leagues below Venlo, a party of thirty-five men from the garrison of Gueldres, the only place in Guelderland yet remaining in possession of the French, lurking near the river, suddenly seized the hauling-rope, and drawing the boat on shore made a general discharge of fire-arms; and throwing several hand-grenades into the boat amongst the crew, who were mostly asleep, they rendered themselves masters of the vessel before they could recover from their surprise. The Earl was accompanied by M. Opdom, a Dutch officer of high rank, and M. Gueldermalsen, one of the deputies of the States, who were provided with passes, which the Earl, unsuspicious of danger, had neglected to procure; but, recollecting that he had an obsolete pass belonging to his brother General Churchill in his possession, he produced it with the utmost composure; and in the hurry it was returned without examination. After securing the guard and rifling the vessel, which they detained for this purpose some hours, they suffered her to proceed on her voyage. The Governor of Venlo, hearing of the capture, and ignorant of the subsequent release, marched with his whole garrison to invest the town of Gueldres; and the news reaching the Hague in the same imperfect manner, the States resolved that immediate orders be sent to all the forces in the vicinity to assemble and form the siege of the place, menacing the garrison with the last extremities if they refused to relinquish their prisoner: but before the orders could be dispatched, the Earl arrived in safety at the Hague, where he was received with inexpressible joy.

† One side of the two bays of Cadiz, both inner and outer, is formed by a narrow neck of land, which runs into the Western Ocean, three miles in length. At the extremity of this neck stands the town of Cadiz, well fortified towards the land on the east, and the bay on the north. St. Mary's is situated on the opposite shore. The inner bay, called the Pointal, formed by two points of land 700 yards distant, is commanded by two forts, called Matagorda and St. Laurent. The men of war and the galleys that lay in the outer bay retired into the Pointal, whither Sir Stafford Fairborne offered immediately to follow them; but that Sir George Rooke thought too hazardous: and, instead of proceeding to vigorous enterprise, several days were lost in endeavouring to obtain intelligence; in which time the most valuable effects of the Spaniards were conveyed from Cadiz to St. Mary's, and the narrow passage between the bays rendered impracticable. At length a council of war was called, which, in opposition to the remonstrances of the Duke of Ormond, came to a resolution not to make an attempt on the island of Cadiz. However, the land-forces being disembarked made themselves masters of Port St. Mary, where the authority of the General was insufficient to restrain them from the grossest excesses. After an unsuccessful attempt on the fort of Matagorda, it appeared to be the prevailing opinion that nothing could be done; and provisions growing scarce, and the naval commander representing the dangers of the sea at this season, the Duke of Ormond with great reluctance consented to re-imbark the land-forces; and the whole fleet set sail for England.

flota, under the convoy of a large squadron of ships of war, had put into the harbour of Vigo, which it was instantly determined to attack. The Duke of Ormond, at the head of a large detachment of troops, reduced by extraordinary exertions of valour the castles at the entrance of the port: and the immense boom thrown across the harbour being broke asunder by admiral Hopson, who amidst a most tremendous fire bore with full sail against it in the Torbay, the whole fleet of men of war and galleons, which had retreated thither for security, were destroyed or captured, with inconsiderable loss. The cargo on board the flota was computed at twenty millions of pieces-of-eight in gold and silver, and the goods were valued at as much more. Of specie and merchandize, however, a large proportion was taken out and saved by the enemy; but enough remained to reward and enrich the captors, who, at their arrival in England, were received with loud acclamations—the success at Vigo silencing the clamours occasioned by the previous miscarriage at Cadiz.

The Parliament was on the 2d of July dissolved by proclamation, and a new Parliament summoned, which met for the first time on the 20th of October, Robert Harley being again chosen Speaker. The complexion of the House of Commons quickly appeared to be of the Tory cast; and an address was presented abounding with reflections on the memory of the late King. Soon after the commencement of the session, the Queen recommended the making a farther provision for the Prince of Denmark in case of survivance; and the Commons voted him a revenue of 100,000*l.* per annum.

The Earl of Marlborough was about this time created a Duke; and the Queen informed the House of Commons, that she had also granted him a pension of 5000*l.* per annum out of the post office revenue, and signified her wish that it might be perpetuated to him and his heirs by act of Parliament. This occasioned high debates; the Duke requested the Queen to withdraw her message; and the House by way of apology, stated, in an address, "Their apprehensions of the danger of making a precedent for the alienation of the revenue of the crown, so much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the last reign." This refusal was thought to excite in the mind of the Duke no little chagrin and resentment towards the Tory party.

Sir Humphry Edwin, a dissenter, who served the office of Lord Mayor of London in 1697, had, during his Mayoralty, been guilty of the gross indiscretion of attending in his formalities with the city sword, &c. at a certain meeting-house or conventicle, called Pinner's Hall. This was much censured at the time, and was now made the pretext for bringing in a bill for preventing, under great and grievous penalties and incapacities, the practice of occasional conformity, which was painted in frightful colours, as an enormity by which the church was exposed to the most imminent dangers. This bill passed the Commons by a great majority; but the Lords received it with coldness, altered and mitigated the pecuniary penalties therein imposed, and also struck out a declaratory clause, affirming it to be the intent of the test act that every person complying therewith should be in all respects conformable to the church. The bill being returned to the Commons, a free conference was demanded and held on the subject of the amendments; and each House persisting in its opinion, the bill was lost for this session. The disposition of the Commons farther displayed itself by a bill prolonging, for a year, the time allowed for taking the abjuration oath. The Upper House agreed to this, but the Whig Lords had influence sufficient to obtain the insertion of two important clauses; the first declaring it high treason to endeavour to defeat the succession to the crown as now by law established;—and, secondly, for extending the obligation of the oath to Ireland. A bill was also introduced by Sir Edward Seymour, for "resuming all the grants of the late King;" but the measure was subsequently dropped. The place bill, so much a favourite with the Tories during the late reign, was now revived by the Whigs; but its former advocates, with surprising effrontery, opposed and negatived it, and brought in a bill, which they pretended would answer the purpose of securing the independency of the House much better—providing that no person shall be chosen members but such as are possessed of a certain qualification in landed estate. This was rejected by the Lords, and the session was terminated on the 27th February, 1703—the Queen declaring "her resolution to maintain the act of toleration, with which she hoped those who had the misfortune to dissent from the church would rest satisfied."*

In the course of the last year, Colonel Moore, governor of Carolina, with a strong provincial force, made himself master of the town of St. Augustine, capital of the neighbouring Spanish settlement of Florida; but the arrival of some French and Spanish ships compelled him to evacuate his conquests previously to the surrender of the fort or citadel. Colonel Codrington, governor of the Leeward islands, landing on the Isle of Guadaloupe, possessed himself of the town and castle of Basse-terre; and, after ravaging and plundering the country, he retired with inconsiderable loss to St. Christopher's. An English armament, consisting chiefly of privateers, sailing up the river Darien, arrived in twelve days at the golden mines of Santa Cruz, near St. Martha, whence, though the country was previously alarmed, they carried off a great booty. In the West Indies, Admiral Benbow fell in (August the 19th, 1702) with a French armament of nearly equal force under M. du Casse. The Defiance and Windsor, two of his capital ships, after receiving two or three broadsides, deserted the line, and bore away out of gun-shot; and other ships of the fleet also falling astern, the French endeavoured to escape in the night. The English commander pursued, and, for several successive days, fought the enemy with the utmost bravery, though ill supported, till on the 24th his right leg was broken by a chain-shot. Ordering his cradle upon the quarter deck, he then continued the fight with undiminished ardour. Almost all the other ships keeping aloof, he made the signal for the captains to come on board; but his entreaties and reproaches proved equally unavailing, and he was reluctantly compelled to desist from any farther pursuit of the enemy, though actually within his grasp. Returning to Jamaica, he ordered a court martial to be held on six of the captains, two of whom, Kirby and Wade, were condemned to be shot; which sentence was afterwards executed upon them, by the Queen's command, at Plymouth. Admiral Benbow, after languishing some weeks, died of his wounds, extremely lamented as one of the bravest and most experienced naval officers that England ever bred.†

The campaign of 1703 commenced by the capture of Rheinberg, by Count Lottum, General of the Prussian forces. In April, the Duke of Marlborough resolved upon the siege of the important town of Bonne, the key of the electorate of Cologne. The place was invested April 24th, being attacked on different sides by General Fagel and the hereditary Prince of Hesse; while the celebrated Coehorn directed his efforts against the fortress situated on the other bank of the Rhine. The skill and courage of the besiegers were aided by fortune; for the chain which held the flying bridge, by means of which the fort communicated with the town, was broke by a chance shot from a cannon, and the fort surrendered May 8. The garrison from the town being also repulsed in a desperate sally, and a lodgement

* At this period the preposterous practice of touching for the King's evil was revived; and an office was inserted in the liturgy, to be used upon the occasion. Bernard, first surgeon to the Queen, a man of wit, who had often made this precious foolery the subject of his satire, being reminded of his former jests, said, sneeringly,—"Really one could not have thought it, if one had not seen it!"

† When Du Casse arrived at Carthagena, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect:

"*Sir*,

"I had little hope on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains, who deserted you, hang them up; for, by God, they deserve it.

"Your's,

"DU CASSE."

made

made on the counterscarp by the Prince of Hesse, the Marquis d'Alegre, governor of the place, capitulated on the 16th of May.

Marechals Boufflers and Villeroi had attempted a diversion by seizing Tongeren, making a motion toward Maestricht, with a view to bombard that city; but finding M. Auverquerque at the head of his troops ready to receive them, they marched back to Tongeren, which they subsequently abandoned on the approach of the Duke of Marlborough. The Dutch Generals, Coehorn and Spaar, made in different quarters successive attacks upon the French with considerable advantage; but Marechal Boufflers coming by surprise with a far superior force upon a body of troops, chiefly Dutch, commanded by Baron Obdam stationed at Eckeren, near Antwerp, was near putting them to the total rout; Obdam himself escaping on the first shock with about thirty horse to Breda, whence he wrote to the States an account of his defeat, concluding that all was lost. With such skill and presence of mind, however, did General Sclangenburg rally the troops after the departure of Obdam, that the fortune of the day was in a great measure retrieved, and the French were finally compelled to retreat, both sides sustaining heavy loss. The Duke of Marlborough advancing towards Marechal Villeroi, then lying with the grand army at St. Job, that General set fire to his camp, and retired with precipitation within his lines. The Duke then detached a body of troops under Count Noyelles, who reduced the town and castle of Huy. When Huy was on the point of surrendering, a grand council of war was summoned, in order to determine what enterprise should be next undertaken. The Dutch deputies and generals proposed the siege of Limburg; but the Duke of Marlborough, in conjunction with the Duke of Wirtemburg, &c. delivered their opinion, that a general attack upon the enemy's lines between the Mehaigne and Leuwe would be attended with great and decisive success; and that Limburg might with ease be reduced by a detachment when the season was more advanced. The Dutch deputies, however, persisted in their opposition, and the Duke of Marlborough was obliged to content himself with the acquisition of Limburg, which surrendered after a feeble resistance. Gueldres also capitulated on the 17th of December. On the Rhine, Marechal Villars maintained the superiority of the arms of France. In the month of March he invested the fortress of Kehl, opposite Strasburg, which soon surrendered on honourable terms; and he had orders to join the Elector of Bavaria, who had defeated the imperialists at Scarding, and taken possession of the city of Ratisbon, where the diet of the empire was actually assembled. Prince Louis of Baden lay encamped at Stolhoffen, where he was attacked in his entrenchments by Marechal Villars and Count Tallard, with a force more than double his number; but the French were vigorously repulsed, and the two Marechals obliged to withdraw. Marechal Villars, however, penetrating the passes of the Black Forest, joined the Elector near Dutlingen. It was also designed that this Prince should be farther re-inforced by the Duc de Vendome from the Milanese: but the Elector, with a view to facilitate this junction, marching into the Tyrol, where he even made his triumphal entry into Inspruck the capital, was in the sequel attacked by the peasants, and compelled to evacuate the whole territory with great loss; and the Duc de Vendome, who had advanced almost to Trent, retired to Italy. The miscarriage of the design upon the Tyrol occasioned such loss of time, that the French made no other acquisition this summer beyond the mountains than the strong fortress of Barsello, accounted the key of the Duchy of Modena. The French interest received a great blow this year, by the defection of the Duke of Savoy, who was led to recognise the Archduke Charles (son of the Emperor) as King of Spain, and by the accession of Prussia and Portugal to the grand alliance.

Towards the end of December the nominal King of Spain (Charles) landed at Portsmouth, and immediately repaired to Windsor, where he was entertained with much splendor and magnificence. Early in the new year (1704,) he sailed, under convoy of a powerful squadron commanded by Sir George Rooke, to Lisbon, where he was welcomed with distinguished honours.

In the month of September (1703) the Duke of Ormond, who had succeeded the Earl of Rochester, as Viceroy of Ireland, held a session of Parliament in Dublin. The addresses of the two Houses were in the highest degree loyal, and complimentary to the present governor; but the proceedings of Parliament, during the whole of the session, indicated the deep sense entertained by the Irish legislature of the multiplicity and magnitude of the national grievances; and they concluded a long memorial with the declaration, "That they could not despair of her Majesty's goodness being extended towards them in such a prudent and gracious manner as might afford them relief according to the exigencies of their condition, by restoring them to a full enjoyment of their constitution, or by promoting a more firm and strict union with her Majesty's subjects of England." The answer of the Duke was favourable to this great project; but his political influence was circumscribed; and the earnest desire of the Irish legislature never became the theme of Parliamentary discussion in England. A severe bill was introduced against the Roman Catholics, framed on the model of that passed some years since in England, which the English ministry, anxious not to increase the discontents of the Irish Protestants, would not venture to reject; but they annexed to it a clause, extending the operation of the test act to Ireland, which they hoped would have been fatal to the bill. Farther measures of rigour appeared to be in contemplation, when the Parliament was suddenly adjourned.

The English session was opened (Nov. 9) by a warlike speech, in which the Queen demanded "such supplies as should be requisite to defray the necessary charge of the war during the next year, with regard, not only to all the former engagements, but particularly to the alliance lately made with the King of Portugal, for recovering the monarchy of Spain from the house of Bourbon, and restoring it to the house of Austria." A short time after the meeting of Parliament, a motion was made in the Commons for leave to bring in a bill against occasional conformity, and carried, notwithstanding the non-concurrence of the court, by a great majority. It was, however, somewhat differently modified from the former, and the penalties greatly mitigated; and in the preamble the clause against persecution was omitted. When sent up to the Lords, the bill occasioned a debate of many hours, whether it should be read a second time, or thrown out; and, on dividing the House, it was resolved by a majority of twelve voices not to give the bill a second reading, but to reject it.

During the present session a discovery was made of a plot which excited much attention. Simon Fraser, of Beaufort, head of the clan of the Frasers, who assumed upon doubtful authority the title of Lord Lovat, had been deputed from the court of St. Germains into Scotland, with a commission to treat with the Highland chieftains who were still attached to that interest. After much intrigue, he obtained an introduction to the Duke of Queensberry, to whom he betrayed the secret of his embassy. Queensberry, it appears, took an ungenerous advantage of this discovery, to expose several persons whom he accounted his personal or political enemies, particularly the Marquis of Athol, for whom Lovat pretended to have a letter from the Queen at St. Germains, thanking that nobleman for his assurances of fidelity and attachment. The direction of this letter, said to be intended for the Duke of Gordon, was observed to be in a hand different from the contents, to which it was affirmed by the friends of the Marquis to have been insidiously affixed by Lovat, between whom and Athol subsisted a deadly feud. Intelligence having been conveyed to London of this secret mission, which was corroborated by the seizure about this time of several Jacobite emissaries, her Majesty, on the 17th of December, acquainted the Parliament, "That she had

had unquestionable information of very ill practices and designs carried on in Scotland." A long and tedious examination followed, upon which the House of Commons passed no judgments; but the Peers, towards the end of the session, came to a resolution, "That there appeared to have been a dangerous conspiracy carried on for raising a rebellion in Scotland, and invading that kingdom with a French power; and their Lordships gave it as their opinion, that nothing had given so much encouragement to her Majesty's enemies to enter into this detestable conspiracy, as that the succession to the crown of Scotland was not declared to be in the Princess Sophia and her heirs, being Protestants." Her Majesty replied, "That she had already declared her intentions of endeavouring the settlement of the Protestant succession in Scotland, as the effectual means of securing their quiet and our own, and the readiest way to an entire union between both kingdoms, in the perfecting of which it was very desirable that no time should be lost." The secret correspondence of Fraser with Queensberry could not long remain unsuspected by the Jacobites. In consequence of a pass procured for him under a feigned name, he returned to the continent, and, repairing to the court of St. Germains, delivered a long and confused memorial to the Queen Regent, containing a pompous account of the success of his mission, acknowledging his intrigues with Queensberry, Argyle, Leven, &c. On the perusal of this memorial, the Earl of Middleton clearly perceived the falsehood and treachery of Lovat; and, in the sequel, he was thrown into the Bastille.

The Queen acquired much popularity, in consequence of a message delivered to the House of Commons by Sir Charles Hedges, on the anniversary of her birthday this year (1701) importing, "That her Majesty, having taken into her serious consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, to give them some ease had been pleased to remit the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy: and for an augmentation of their maintenance, her Majesty declared that she would make a grant of her whole revenue arising out of the first-fruits and tenths, as far as it should become free from incumbrances, to be applied to this purpose. And if the House of Commons could find any proper method by which her Majesty's good intentions to the poor clergy might be made more effectual, it would be of great advantage to the public, and acceptable to her Majesty." A bill was consequently brought in, enabling her Majesty to alienate this branch of the revenue, then amounting to about 17,000*l.* per annum, but since much improved and increased, and to create a corporation by charter to apply it to the use for which she now gave it. In aid of this purpose, a partial repeal of the statute of mortmain took place, that it might be free to all men to give or bequeath what they thought fit towards the augmentation of the fund. This excellent charity is known by the appellation of Queen's Anne's Bounty; and it produced a set of addresses from all the clergy of England, full of thanks and just acknowledgments.* Parliament was prorogued on the 3d of April.

The Whigs continued to gain ground in the cabinet. The Earl of Nottingham, before the prorogation of Parliament, resigned his post of Secretary of State—not being able to obtain the dismission of the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire from the Queen's service, and resolving, to participate no longer in any councils to which those great Whig Peers were admitted. The seals were given to Mr. Harley, and at the same time Mr. St. John was made secretary at war. The key of chamberlain also was at this period taken from Lord Jersey, and transferred to the Earl of Kent. These changes were however far from giving entire satisfaction to the zealous Whigs, while they still saw such men as the Marquis of Normandy, Sir Nathan Wright, and Sir Charles Hedges, in possession of some of the highest offices of the state.

In January, Count Wrattislau, the imperial ambassador, presented a memorial to the British court, in which he represented the alarming and dangerous situation to which the Emperor and the empire were reduced in consequence of the rapid success of the French arms in Germany, and the defection of the Elector of Bavaria, who had entered into a strict confederacy with France; had joined the armies of that monarchy with all his forces; seized the cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Passau, and threatened to attack even the imperial capital of Vienna itself. The Emperor therefore implored the aid and protection of the Queen and people of England to save the Roman empire from impending ruin. This application was not made in vain. The Duke of Marlborough, on his arrival at the Hague, represented to the States the necessity of making a powerful effort for the relief of the empire; and proposed, that, as the frontier of Holland was now perfectly secure, he should be permitted to march with the grand confederate army to the banks of the Moselle, there to fix the seat of the war. The consent of the States having been with some difficulty procured, the proposed movement towards the Moselle took place. M. de Villeroy, attempted to follow the English general in his first marches, but was soon left at a great distance. Marechal Tallard, to whom the defence of the Moselle was entrusted, apprehending Traerbach to be in danger, and that the Duke's intentions were to penetrate into France on that side, took no steps to obstruct his Grace's farther progress to the east. To the amazement, however, not only of the French Generals, to whom the Duke's movements were wholly incomprehensible, but of all Europe, whose attention was now fixed on this interesting scene, the allied army passed the Rhine, May 26th, and in a few days after the Mayne and the Necke. On his arrival at Ladenburg, June 3d, he thought proper to throw off the mask; and he wrote from thence a letter to the States, acquainting them that he had received orders from the Queen to adopt the most vigorous measures to deliver the empire from the oppression of France—that for this purpose he was proceeding on his march to the Danube; and he hoped their high mightinesses would not hesitate to allow their troops to share in the glory of this enterprise. The States, finding it impracticable to recede, complied with a good grace, and immediately dispatched a courier to inform the Duke, that his design met with their unanimous approbation—that they entrusted their troops entirely to his disposal, placing the most perfect reliance on his Grace's skill, experience, and discretion. The Duke now proceeded on his expedition; and at Mildenheim he had an interview with Prince Eugene, with whom he arranged the future plan of operations. On the 1st of July, the Duke, having been joined by the imperial army under the Prince of Baden, came in sight of the lines of Schellenburg, in which the flower of the Bavarian troops lay strongly entrenched, near the town of Donavert, on the banks of the Danube. Early the next morning the English and imperial generals resolved on the attack, and leading on their respective armies with a spirit of emulation, the English and Dutch commencing the action, and being supported by the Germans, after a gallant resistance, in which the Prince of Baden was slightly wounded, general Count Stirum, mortally, and many other officers, the lines were forced with great slaughter, and Donavert immediately surrendered at discretion. But this success, though brilliant, was lost in the splendor of the subsequent victory. The Elector of Bavaria obstinately refusing to listen to terms of accommodation, though he saw the country desolated around him to the very gates of Munich; and having been joined by M. Tallard, who had with great danger and difficulty traversed the immense forests of Suabia with a view to his relief;

* It is necessary to remark, that this ancient branch of the papal, and, since the æra of the reformation, of the royal revenue, had never been regularly paid into the royal treasury; but, being collected by the Bishops, was set apart as a fund on which to make assignments to court favourites—the Earl of Sunderland at this very period enjoying a pension of 2000*l.* per annum for two lives, payable out of the same.

it

it was resolved by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene—the Prince of Baden being occupied in the siege of Ingolstadt—to engage (August 13) the combined armies of French and Bavarians, then posted near the village of Blenheim. The enemy were very advantageously encamped on a rising ground; their right flank was covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, into which the Marechal had thrown a great body of his best troops; their left wing, commanded by Marechal Marsin and the Elector, in person, was protected by the village of Lutzingen and the adjoining woods; and they had in front of the camp a rivulet, whose banks were steep and the bottom marshy. The battle began with an attempt upon the fortified post of Blenheim by some battalions of English infantry who formed a van guard; but, though vigorously supported, they were compelled, after performing prodigies of valour, to retreat with the loss of one third of their numbers, amongst whom was the gallant Brigadier Rowe their commander. The Duke of Marlborough, perceiving that the village could not be carried without a vast effusion of blood, ordered a detachment to take possession of the defiles leading thereto, by which means the troops inclosed in the village were rendered useless. On the common occasion this repulse might have been construed into a defeat; but upon the present it operated only as a stimulus to greater exertions. As it had been determined that the Duke of Marlborough should command the attack against Marshal Tallard, about noon the left wing of the allied army passed the rivulet without molestation, and drew up in order of battle on the other side. So unaccountably supine, or so inexcusably presumptuous, were the French commanders on this occasion, that they suffered even the second line of cavalry to form without descending from the heights of which they were in possession, into the meadows, which occupied the interval between the camp and the rivulet. On being informed that the allies were throwing bridges over different parts of the stream, M. Tallard disdainfully replied, "If they have not pontoons enough, I will lend them some." The allies now ascending the hill in a firm compact body, the enemy advanced with great spirit and resolution, and a furious and bloody contest ensued. The centre of the French army having been extremely weakened in consequence of the great force stationed at Blenheim, they were at length overpowered; and giving way on all sides in extreme confusion, M. Tallard made an effort to gain the bridge thrown over the Danube, between Blenheim and Hochstedt; but, being closely pursued, vast numbers were either killed or forced into the river, and the Marechal himself was made a prisoner. The troops inclosed in the village of Blenheim, being now left destitute of support, were obliged to surrender at discretion. On the right, where Prince Eugene commanded, though the success was not so decisive, the Elector and M. Marsin were compelled, after a severe conflict, to retreat in confusion, and with very great loss; and upon the whole, this has always been considered as one of the most complete and important victories ever gained. Exclusively of the prodigious carnage during the heat of the action; seventy entire squadrons and battalions were either captured at Blenheim or drowned in the Danube; and the shattered remains of their army, after the loss of 40,000 veteran troops, were utterly incapable of making head against the victors. This day entirely changed the aspect of affairs in Europe.*

The Elector of Bavaria, at the head of a small body of troops, effected a retreat, or rather made his escape, and joined Marechal Villeroi in Flanders, leaving the electorate at the mercy of the conquerors; on his way he met the Elector of Cologne, his brother, driven also from his dominions, and they had the sad satisfaction of embracing and mingling their tears together. After reducing Ingoldstadt and the other fortresses of the Duchy, the imperial and allied army gloriously concluded the campaign with the sieges of Landau, Triers, and Traerbach. In the month of December, the Duke of Marlborough returned in triumph to England, where he was received with joy unparalleled.

King Charles's presence in Portugal did not produce the effects expected from it; and nothing but weakness and confusion seemed to pervade the councils of the court of Lisbon. The English and Dutch auxiliaries arrived early in the spring; but no preparations had been made for taking the field; and the Duke of Schomberg, General of the British forces, saw them with astonishment and indignation distributed among the frontier garrisons. The Duke of Berwick, who commanded for Philip V. the reigning monarch, entering Portugal in the month of May, reduced with little difficulty the towns of Sogura, Salvaterra, Cebreros, &c. The Marquis of Villa-Darias, at the head of another army, penetrated into that kingdom by a different route leading directly to the metropolis, which seemed exposed to extreme danger. Passing the Tagus, the Duke of Berwick, now joined by Philip, invested Portalegre, and afterwards Castel-Davide, both of which surrendered at discretion. A faint attempt was made to relieve the latter by the Marquis das Minas, who had drawn together, after long delay, something like the appearance of an army, the Kings of Portugal and Spain accompanying him in person. The intense heat of the weather, and not the resistance of the Portuguese, at length compelled the Spanish General to send his wearied troops into quarters of refreshment; and King Philip returned to Madrid. The Duke of Schomberg was now superseded in the command by the Earl of Galway, who carried with him large re-inforcements; and, in September, the Kings of Spain and Portugal joined the Earl, then encamped near Almeida.

In the course of the present summer, Sir George Rooke, appearing before Barcelona, sent a flag of truce with a letter from the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, formerly viceroy of Catalonia, who was on board the fleet, to the governor Don Francisco de Velasco, summoning him to surrender the town to his lawful sovereign King Charles III. The city was known to be well affected to the Austrian interests, yet the governor returned a

* The danger and difficulty of this attack, on a superior army thus advantageously posted, was represented to the Duke in strong colours by several of the general officers. But he told them, he had weighed these objections in his mind, and he foresaw that inaction would be no less fatal than defeat—the empire was not to be saved without effort, and the attempt, however hazardous, was necessary. Perceiving the crisis to which matters had now arrived, knowing the fate of Europe to be depending, and inflamed with that enthusiastic love and ambition of glory which constitute the hero, he had determined to conquer or to die. On the eve of the battle he had, agreeably to that regard to religion which was a remarkable trait in his character, devoted himself to the Almighty in the presence of his Chaplain, and received the holy sacrament; and in the morning he was observed to be inspired with an extraordinary cheerfulness and alacrity, which diffused itself over the whole confederate army, who marched as in confidence of victory. The most singular part of this business was the unconditional surrender of the forty battalions and squadrons posted at Bleinheim, and commanded by M. Clerambault, an officer of great reputed skill and courage. The encomiums bestowed on the Duke of Marlborough in consequence of this victory, were unbounded and universal; and no one was more eager to do justice to his unrivalled merit than Prince Eugene, who pretended only to the second honours of the day. In the letter of congratulation written to the Duke by the States General, their high mightinesses declare, "that they never durst carry their hopes so far as to think of so glorious and complete a victory: they style it a day whose glory might have been envied by the greatest captains of past ages, and whose memory will endure through all ages to come:" and in their subsequent epistle to the Queen, they acknowledge "that it was the bravery of the English troops that principally contributed to the victory—and that the Duke of Marlborough had reaped laurels that could never fade." The Emperor, who, previously to this glorious event, was reduced to a state of extreme peril, pressed by the Bavarian forces on the one side and the Hungarian insurgents on the other, wrote to the Duke a letter filled with the warmest acknowledgments. After mentioning to this nobleman the honours so deservedly conferred upon him by his admission into the college of Princes of the holy Roman empire, his Imperial Majesty declares this to be done, "that it may more and more appear to all the world how much, as I freely own it, I and all the empire owe to the most serene Queen of Great Britain, for having sent her powerful assistance as far as Augsburg and Bavaria itself under your conduct, when my own affairs and those of the empire were so much shaken and disordered by the perfidious defection of the Bavarians.—Past ages having never seen the like victory obtained over the French, it may reasonably be hoped that the full and perfect liberty of the Christian world shall be rescued from the power of France, which was so imminently impending over it."

haughty

haughty refusal, and arrested several of the principal citizens whom he suspected. Returning to Lisbon, in July, Sir George Rooke was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel; and in a council of war it was resolved to make a sudden attempt upon the hitherto impregnable fortress of Gibraltar. After a furious cannonade, in which 15,000 shot were in a few hours fired into the town, the boats of the fleet were armed, and landed upon the Peninsula; and a redoubt half-way between the mole and the town being taken by storm, the governor capitulated. This unwelcome intelligence had no sooner reached Madrid, than the Marquis de Villa-Darias was detached with a large body of troops to retake this important fortress. Having furnished it with the necessary supplies for a vigorous defence, Sir George Rooke, sailing again into the Mediterranean in conjunction with the Dutch Admiral Callemberg, met off Malaga, August the 13th, (O. S.) the French fleet under the Count de Toulouse, consisting of about fifty sail of the line. A fierce and bloody encounter ensued, which lasted from ten in the morning till sunset. No vessel on either side was captured or sunk; but the French suffered much in the action, and bore away in the night for Toulon, so disabled as to render it impossible to put to sea again for the season.* Sir George Rooke soon afterwards returned to England, leaving Sir John Leake with a strong squadron to defend the coasts of Portugal. All the efforts of the Count de Villa-Darias to recover Gibraltar, being found ineffectual, the Marquis de Tesse was sent from France to supersede him in the command, but with no better success. The Prince of Hesse defended the place with undaunted valour; and after a close investment by sea and land for six months, the siege was finally raised in consequence of the defeat of the French squadron, cruising off the bay under M. de Pointis, by Sir John Leake.

Subsequently to the recess of the Scotch Parliament, in the summer of 1702, various changes took place favourable to the views of the party then absolute in England. The Earls of Marchmont, Melville, Selkirk, Hyndford, and Leven, were displaced, and the Earl of Seafield constituted Chancellor, the Marquis of Annandale, president, the Marquis of Athol, Privy Seal, Viscount Tarbat, Secretary of State, and Sir James Murray, Lord Register. The Parliament having been dissolved, and writs issued in the spring of 1703, the Duke of Queensberry was appointed Lord Commissioner. A general proclamation of indemnity having been issued, on the 6th of March, for all treasons committed previously to the month of April, 1702, great numbers of Jacobites were encouraged to return to Scotland from St. Germains and other parts of France; by which means considerable strength accrued to the malcontent faction, which consisted however, of such heterogeneous materials as to render it impossible firmly to unite in any consistent plan of opposition. The new Parliament met May the 6th; and the Lord Commissioner read from the throne the Queen's letter, recommending liberality in their supplies, prudence and unanimity in their resolves; after which, the Duke of Hamilton offered the draught of a bill, recognizing her Majesty's right and title to the crown of Scotland; to which Sir James Stuart the Lord Advocate offered an additional clause, "That it should be treason to question her Majesty's right and title to the crown, or her exercise of the government, from her actual entry to the same." When the act of recognition had passed, the Earl of Hume, who had qualified only since the death of King William, rose, and moved the House for a supply: on which the Marquis Tweeddale said, "that he had an overture to make, which he hoped would, by reason of its importance, be preferred to all other business. This he declared to be for a resolve of Parliament, to proceed in the first place to make such conditions and regulations, to take place after the decease of her Majesty, as should be necessary for the preservation of the national religion and liberty." After a long debate, it was determined, that the overture should have precedence of the motion; upon which the Marquis of Athol offered "An act for the security of the kingdom in case of her Majesty's decease." After the House had made some progress in considering the clauses of this act, it was suggested to be necessary to rescind the second act of the third Parliament of King Charles II. establishing the succession of the crown in the next blood in the royal line, of whatsoever religion; for that, as the law of Scotland then stood, the right of blood, passing over the claims of the court of St. Germains, would inhere in the house of Savoy. The Lord Advocate presented a bill for rescinding the said act accordingly; but it was urged that, all Popish successors being excluded, they would by this repeal virtually decree the succession to the house of Hanover; and it was ordered to lie on the table. The act of security at length passed the House (August 13th) by a majority of 59 voices.† Several weeks of anxious expectation and suspense having elapsed, the Lord Commissioner informed the House, that he was empowered to give the royal assent to all the acts passed during the session, except the act of security. No sooner was this announced, than the members broke out into the most violent invectives—branding the servants of the crown as the slaves of the English ministry, and the calumniators of their country. Some even denied that the right of a negative was inherent in the crown. A vote passed declaring void the commission for treating of an union with England. They persisted in their refusal to grant any supply; and the commissioner urging the defenceless state of the kingdom, and the necessity of supplies for securing the same, he was reminded of the security which had been denied to the nation; and the Earl of Roxburgh declared, "That if there was no other way of supporting the natural and undeniable privilege of Parliament, the friends of their country were resolved to demand justice with their swords in their hands."

An "act for toleration to all Protestants in the exercise of religious worship," presented by the Earl of Strathmore, having been read, a strong representation was offered against it, in the name of the General Assembly, concluding in these words,—"That they were persuaded, that to enact a toleration for those of the episcopal way, which God in his infinite mercy avert! would be to establish iniquity by a law, and would bring upon the promoters thereof, and their families, the dreadful guilt of all those sins and pernicious effects that might ensue thereupon." The bill was consequently lost, the court not chusing to involve itself in a theological quarrel. But the Presbyterians were not content with this odious victory over humanity and justice; for an act subsequently passed, "for preserving the true reformed Protestant religion, and confirming Presbyterian church government and discipline by kirk sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies, as agreeable to the word of God, and the only government of Christ's church within this kingdom."‡ After a long and tumultuous session, the Lord

* Of the English and Dutch the loss in killed and wounded was computed at near 3000 men, and that of the enemy was supposed to be far greater, including more than 200 officers. Sir Cloudesley Shovel who commanded the van, and fought heroically, declares in his official letter the battle to have been so sharply contested, "that the like never has been, he thinks, in any time."

† This act contained in substance, that on the 20th day after the Queen's decease the estates of Parliament should meet; and that in the intermediate time the executive government should devolve on those members who should be resident in Edinburgh—that no foreigner or "Englishman" should be capable of sitting as a member of the assembly of the estates—that the nomination of a successor should be vested in the assembly or convention—but that the successor so named should not be the successor to the crown of England, unless such conditions of government should be previously settled as should secure the honour of the kingdom, the independence of the crown, the freedom, frequency, and power of Parliament, and the religion, liberty, and trade of the Scottish nation, from "English" or foreign influence.

‡ In another act introduced by the Duke of Argyle, ratifying the acts of the former Parliament, it was declared high treason, by writing or speaking, or any open act or deed, to endeavour to alter or innovate

Lord Commissioner adjourned the Parliament to the 12th of October, 1704.*

The Parliament of Scotland was again convened at Edinburgh, July the 6th, 1704; new counsels having been adopted by the English cabinet. Mr. James Johnston, late Secretary of State for Scotland in the reign of King William, was appointed to the office of Lord Register; and the Marquis of Tweeddale was made High Commissioner in the room of the Duke of Queensberry. The royal letter, framed in terms of remarkable temper and ability, most earnestly recommended the settling of the succession in the Protestant line. No sooner, however, had the session commenced than the Duke of Hamilton presented a resolution, "That this Parliament would not proceed to name a successor to the crown until the Scots had a previous treaty with England in relation to commerce and other concerns." This was supported by the celebrated Fletcher of Saltoun, head of the republicans, who strongly insisted on the hardships and miseries which the Scots had suffered since the union of the two crowns; and the impossibility of meliorating their condition without adopting measures to dissolve a connection which had proved so fatal.

The resolution of the Duke of Hamilton, combined with a motion of the Earl of Rothes, "That the Parliament would immediately proceed to make such limitations and conditions as might be judged proper for rectifying the constitution, and vindicating the sovereignty and independency of the nation," was then carried by a great majority. The former act of security was immediately and unanimously revived; and a supply granted for two months' cess only; at the end of which term it was well understood that the act must receive the royal assent, or the army be disbanded for want of pay. The former of these alternatives being regarded as the less of the two evils, a letter was written to the Queen, signed by all the ministers in Scotland, stating and balancing the arguments on both sides, and concluding with their humble advice to pass the bill. Orders were accordingly sent to the Marquis of Tweeddale, to signify the royal assent. The supplies were immediately granted, and the Lord Commissioner prorogued the Parliament, August the 27th.†

The English Parliament met October the 29th; and the adverse disposition of the two Houses appeared conspicuous in the different strain of their addresses; the Lords invidiously passing over the naval exploits of Sir George Rooke, the hero of the Tories; and the Commons affecting to place the successes in the Mediterranean, and the indecisive battle off Malaga, upon a level with the victories of Schellenburg and Blenheim. Mr. Bromley in a short time moved the House to bring in a bill against occasional conformity; and notwithstanding the opposition of ministers, the motion was carried, and a bill introduced, framed on principles and enforced by penalties as low and moderate as possible. The resistance, however, made against it, even in the Commons, indicated the hopelessness of its passing through the Lords; and it was determined, by its patrons, to annex it to the land tax bill. Upon a division, the tack was rejected by 251 against 134; and the bill was therefore, in its separate form, sent up to the Lords, and read for the first time. On the question for the second reading, the Queen being present, it was negatived by 71 against 50.

The attention of the House was soon transferred to the transactions of the Scotch Parliament during their last session; and the discontented party were loud in their exclamations against the English ministry, for suffering such fatal measures to pass. The House of Lords was much agitated and inflamed; and though Lord Godolphin's friends were too numerous to suffer a direct vote of censure to pass, they agreed to a variety of resolutions, which sufficiently indicated the general resentment and apprehension.‡

Their Lordships also presented an address to the Queen, desiring that speedy and effectual orders might be given for putting the town of Newcastle in a state of defence, and likewise for securing the port of Tinmouth, and for repairing the fortifications of Carlisle and Hull. They also besought her Majesty to cause the militia of the four northern counties to be disciplined and provided with arms and ammunition, and a competent number of regular troops to be stationed upon the borders. To all these particulars the Queen expressed her ready assent; and the course of things seemed rapidly tending to open hostility and war. A bill, founded upon the resolutions of the Lords, was sent down to the Commons, who, though not less enraged, scrupled to pass it, under the fastidious notion of its being a money bill, in consequence of the pecuniary penalties engrafted on it; but they framed a similar bill of their own, which they transmitted to the Lords. The Lords passed the bill without delay, and on the following Christmas-day, 1705, it was to take effect. Lord Godolphin now found himself in a very critical situation; and, forgetful of his Jacobitical principles, he determined to exert himself to accomplish the union of the two crowns.

An address of the House of Commons having recommended to the Queen to consider of some proper means to perpetuate the memory of the great services performed by the Duke of Marlborough, she declared her resolution to bestow upon his grace the honour of Woodstock, with the parks and manors appertaining thereto. A magnificent palace was consequently erected at the public expence, to which the name of Blenheim House was given.

An enquiry at this time took place in the House of Lords relative to various mismanagements in the navy and admiralty departments, which were chiefly under the direction of Sir George Rooke. Twenty-two vessels were employed in cruising with so little success, that three ships, commanded by diligent officers, might have performed more; as was proved by a sort of numerical calculation. Even treachery was suspected; and the Whig interest having obtained the ascendency, Sir George Rooke was dismissed from his offices, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel appointed as his successor. On the 4th of March, the Queen put an end to the session; and on the 5th of April following (1705) the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation.§

The

---

vate the claim of right or any article thereof—and consequently that which related to the establishment of Presbyterian government in Scotland. Sixty members voted against this bill; amongst whom to their honour, were several Presbyterians: whilst on the other hand the ministers and their dependents supported the measure—the Lords Athol and Tarbat excepted.

* During the recess, the Marquis of Athol was created a Duke, and Viscount Tarbat, Earl of Cromartie—with a view to prevent their total secession from the court, which thus paid an involuntary homage to their firmness and sincerity. At this period the Queen revived the ancient order of the Thistle, which King William had suffered to fall into disuse.

† After the recess, the Marquis of Tweeddale was advanced to the Chancellorship; the Earls of Seafield and Roxburgh made Secretaries of State; the Earls of Rothes appointed Lord Privy-Seal; the Earls of Selkirk and Belhaven brought into the Treasury; Mr. Baillie of Jervis-wood nominated Treasurer-depute; and various other alterations made, consonant to the ascendency of the Whig interest.

‡ "First, that the Queen be enabled by act of Parliament to nominate commissioners, the former commission having expired, to treat concerning an union with Scotland.

"2dly. That the natives of Scotland should not enjoy the privileges of Englishmen, until an union be effected, or the succession settled as in England.

"3dly. That the bringing of cattle from Scotland into England be prevented.

"4thly. That the Lord High-Admiral be required to issue orders for capturing such Scotch vessels as shall be found trading to the ports of France, or any other of her Majesty's enemies.

"5thly. That the exportation of English wool into Scotland be prohibited."

§ This Parliament was distinguished by the perpetual misunderstandings which prevailed between the two Houses. At the last general election, the vote of one Ashby, an inhabitant of the borough of Aylesbury, being rejected by White, the returning officer, he commenced an action at common law against White, for illegally depriving him of his franchise; and obtained a verdict for damages at the ensuing assizes for the county of Bucks. The court of Queen's Bench, however, being moved to quash all proceeding in this matter, as contrary to the privileges of the House of Commons, the three puisne judges were of opinion "That the verdict could not be sustained." Lord Chief Justice Holt, however, at this time presiding in the court, declared, "That the verdict was both legal and just—that, though the House of Commons possessed a separate and independent

The union of England and Scotland having been finally resolved upon by the English cabinet, the Marquis of Tweeddale, and the Earls of Rothes, Roxburgh, and Selkirk, the Lord of Belhaven, Baillie of Jerviswood, and Mr. James Johnston, were removed from their offices, and the Duke of Queensberry re-instated in the chief management of affairs, under the designation of Lord Privy-Seal. The Earl of Seafield was at the same time again appointed Chancellor; the Marquis of Annandale and the Earl of London were made Secretaries of State; Sir James Murray, Lord Register; and a secret understanding taking place between the new administration and many of the Whigs not connected with the ex-ministers, the Duke of Argyle, a young nobleman already distinguished both by his civil and military talents, head of an illustrious family, zealously attached to the Whig interest, and of great influence and popularity in the kingdom, was appointed High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, which met June 28, 1705. The Queen's letter having been read, recommending the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, and setting on foot a treaty of union, as the two principal ends to prevent all differences that might happen between the two kingdoms, it was resolved, on the motion of the Duke of Hamilton, ambiguously expressed, "that the Parliament would not proceed to the nomination of a successor till they had a previous treaty with England in relation to their commerce and other concerns with that nation." This motion, grounded on the precedent of the last year, met with little opposition; and the way was now open for proceeding to the grand business of the session. On the 20th of July, the draught of an act for a treaty, not of commerce merely, but of union, irreversible and indissoluble, was presented, occasioning in its progress very high debates, which continued for several weeks in succession. When it became evident that the act would pass, the Duke of Hamilton moved, that the Queen should have the nomination of the commissioners. On the first hearing of this motion, many of the Jacobite party rushed out of the House, exclaiming aloud, "Betrayed! betrayed!" after which the treaty met with comparatively little opposition. The reason which Hamilton alledged for this measure was, "that as it was impossible to prevent the bill from passing, it was politic to conciliate the favour of the Queen, by complimenting her with the choice of the commissioners." A vote founded on a motion of the Duke of Athol was however agreed upon, that no proceeding should be made in the treaty, till the act which declared the Scots aliens, &c. should be repealed. This business having been settled, the supplies were granted, and the Parliament was adjourned to the 20th of December.

In the month of April, the Duke of Marlborough, now intending to execute the project, respecting which the French were so needlessly apprehensive the preceeding year, (to penetrate into France on the side of the Moselle,) again passed into Holland. Prince Louis of Baden, upon whose co-operation the success of the project depended, had expressed his entire approbation of it; but when all things were in readiness for opening the campaign, he sent an express to the Duke, signifying his inability on account of ill health, and the weakness of his army, to fulfil his engagements. The Duke at length persuaded him, with much difficulty, to resume the original plan of operations; but, after waiting in vain several weeks, he received advice that the Prince of Baden was gone much indisposed to the baths of Schwalbach, and that neither horses nor artillery were provided. At the same time he learned the loss of Huy, and that the Elector of Bavaria and M. Villeroi had actually invested the city of Liege. Perceiving his schemes thus rendered abortive, the Duke resolved immediately to march back to the Maese, though without expressing strong resentment against the Prince of Baden, who was believed to view his successes in the last campaign with envious eyes. On the arrival of the Duke, the face of affairs was immediately changed in the Netherlands. He compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Liege, with little difficulty recaptured Huy, and attacking the French, who had retired within their lines, successfully forced them in their entrenchments, near Tirlemont. In this action, his Grace distinguished himself by extraordinary exertions of personal valour. M. Villeroi and the Elector continued their retreat along the banks of the Dyle, till, separated from the allied army, which pressed upon the rear, only by the small river Ysche, the Duke and M. Auverquerque commanded the troops to form in order of battle. Unexpectedly the field deputies accompanying the Dutch

---

pendent jurisdiction, agreeably to the constitution of Parliament, so far as to determine, in case of appeal, which of the different candidates were duly elected; yet, their authority did not supersede the common course of judicial proceeding in the courts sitting at Westminster, which founded their decision on the known laws of the land and the evidence which came regularly and properly before them: and which neither could nor would take cognizance of the proceedings of the House of Commons, nor of the grounds of their proceedings. Where a legal right existed, "and such," said his Lordship, "is the franchise of an elector, the law, of which the courts of justice are the sole dispensers, will protect him in the enjoyment of that right." The verdict was however reversed, but the cause was by writ of error immediately brought before the House of Lords; who, after requiring the opinion of the twelve judges, and debating the matter at great length, determined almost unanimously to supersede the judgment pronounced in the Queen's bench, and to affirm the verdict originally given at the county assizes. The House of Commons, enraged at these proceedings, declared, "that Matthew Ashby, having, in contempt of the jurisdiction of that House, commenced and prosecuted an action at common law against William White for not receiving his vote at an election for burgess to serve in Parliament for the borough of Aylesbury, was guilty of a high breach of the privileges of that House—and that all attorneys, solicitors, counsellors, and serjeants at law, soliciting, prosecuting, or pleading in any such cause, were guilty of a high breach of the privileges of that House." They ordered these resolutions, signed by the clerk of the House, to be affixed to Westminster-hall gate. So far, however, was the chief justice from being intimidated by this language, that he publicly declared, "that if any messenger of the House of Commons presumed to enter that hall, in order to seize the person of any attorney or pleader by virtue of this warrant, he would immediately commit him to Newgate." The House of Lords, on their part, passed votes justificatory of their own conduct; copies of which were transmitted to all sheriffs and borough-reeves throughout the kingdom. The Commons, finding the general voice of the people declare strongly in favour of their antagonists, seemed disposed to let it rest in its present state; and the judgment of the Lords was duly and regularly executed. Upon this five other inhabitants of the borough of Aylesbury brought their several actions for damages upon the same grounds. This threw the House of Commons into a new ferment; and by their own authority they committed these five men to prison, where they lay three months, without however offering to make any submission. After the money bills had been passed by the Commons, a motion was made in the Queen's Bench, in behalf of the prisoners, for a habeas corpus, and the puisne judges declared themselves of opinion, as before, "that the court could take no cognizance of the matter." The chief justice, however, maintained that a general warrant of commitment for breach of privilege was of the nature of an execution; and as it appeared, upon the face of the warrant itself, that the prisoners had been guilty of no legal offence, unless to claim the benefit of the law in opposition to a vote of the House of Commons were such, it was his opinion that they ought instantly to be discharged. This opinion not availing in opposition to that of the majority of the bench, the prisoners were remanded; in consequence of which they moved for a writ of error, to bring the matter before the Lords. As this could only be obtained by petition to the crown, the Commons presented an address to the Queen, humbly requesting her Majesty, that the writ of error might not be granted; and they also took upon them to affirm, "that in this case no writ of error could lie." The Queen replied, "that she hoped never to give her faithful Commons any just ground of complaint; but to obstruct the course of judicial proceeding was a matter of such importance, that she thought it necessary to weigh and consider carefully what it might be proper for her to do." The Commons received this answer in sullen silence, and immediately ordered the prisoners to be removed from Newgate into the custody of their serjeant at arms, lest they should be discharged in consequence of the Queen's granting a writ of error. They also resolved, that the lawyers who had pleaded in behalf of the prisoners on return of the habeas corpus were guilty of a breach of privilege; and ordered them to be taken into custody. The Lords upon this voted, "that for subjects to claim their just rights, in a course of law, was no breach of privilege—that the imprisonment of the men of Aylesbury was contrary to law—and that the writ of error could not be refused, without a violation of Magna Charta." This was followed by an address to the Queen, humbly beseeching her Majesty to give immediate orders for issuing the writ of error. The judges, now recovering from their terrors, decided, "that a petition for a writ of error was a petition of right, and not of grace." The Queen was pleased to reply to this address, "that she would certainly have complied with their Lordships' request in regard to the writ of error, but that, as it now became necessary to put an end to the session, she knew it could produce no effect." The Lords immediately returned their humble thanks to her Majesty for this instance of her Majesty's regard for the legal and impartial administration of public justice.

army

army interposed their veto, and could not be induced to hazard a general engagement, which promised, as the Duke said, "all imaginable success." His Grace, in consequence, wrote a warm letter to their high mightinesses, complaining how much less he found his authority in Flanders than when he had the honour of commanding the troops the last year in Germany. The result was, that General Schlangenburg, to whose advice the refractory conduct of the field deputies was attributed, received his dismission. The French and Bavarians having made good their retreat to the strong camp of Parke, which covered Louvaine and Brussels, the projects of the Duke were finally defeated both in Germany and Flanders.*

In Italy, Prince Eugene encountered difficulties from the duc de Vendome. The campaign in Portugal had an auspicious commencement: the siege and vigorous defence of Gibraltar causing a diversion of the Spanish arms, afforded the Portuguese an opportunity of penetrating the Spanish frontier; and something of the spirit of enterprise appeared, notwithstanding the indisposition of Don Pedro the King; during which the Queen dowager of Charles II. of England, (who died on the last day of this year,) the sister of that monarch, who had returned to Portugal soon after the Revolution, was entrusted with the Regency of the kingdom. Towards the end of June, the English fleet, with a large reinforcement of troops on board, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel and the Earl of Peterborough, had arrived at Lisbon; and the Prince of Hesse, who, on the relief of Gibraltar, had repaired also to that metropolis, giving to the Archduke, stiling himself King Charles III. the most positive assurances of the favourable disposition of Catalonia and Valencia; and being strongly seconded by the Earl of Peterborough, a man of great but eccentric talents, the Archduke declared his resolution to try his fortune in that part of Spain. The whole armament, having on board nineteen battalions of infantry and 1300 horse, with a good train of artillery, arrived in the bay of Barcelona August 22, and a landing was effected amidst the acclamation of the Catalans. A determination was taken in a council of war, immediately to lay siege to the city of Barcelona, though the force of the allies was to appearance utterly inadequate to such an enterprize. The principal dependance was on the known disaffection of the inhabitants. Deserters came daily from the town, who brought them much useful intelligence: the most important article was, that fort Monjuic, a castle of great strength, situated on the heights, which in a great measure commanded the town, was very ill guarded. A resolution was consequently taken to attempt it by a coup de main. The Prince of Hesse and the Earl of Peterborough, at the head of a chosen body of troops, after a nocturnal and circuitous march attained the summit of the hill at break of day, September the 7th. At the first onset the Prince of Hesse fell mortally wounded; but the Earl continued the assault with little prospect of success, till, the magazine of powder by some accident suddenly blowing up, the governor in consternation surrendered the fort. The city was now attacked with great advantage; and on the 9th of October the governor consented to capitulate; and the garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. The whole province of Catalonia, the town of Roses excepted, now declared in favour of King Charles III. The kingdom of Valencia rapidly followed the example of Catalonia, Alicant alone retaining its allegiance to King Philip.

On the 25th of October, the new Parliament met at Westminster; and, of 513 members, 457 were present at the choice of a Speaker, which fell on Mr. Smith, (who had occupied the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer in the late reign) in opposition to Mr. Bromley, by 250 against 207 voices. Thus it clearly appeared, to the great joy of the nation, that a Whig Parliament had been elected.†

On the 15th of November, in a committee on the state of the nation, Lord Haversham moved, "that an humble address be presented to her Majesty, that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to invite the presumptive heir to the crown of England, according to the acts of Parliament made for settling the succession to the crown in the Protestant line, into this kingdom, to reside here." This was strongly supported by the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earls of Nottingham and Rochester. In lieu of this measure, so replete, as the Whigs contended, with mischief and danger, the Earl of Wharton moved for a bill establishing an eventual council of Regency, which should be empowered to act on the demise of the Queen, previously to the arrival of the successor; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord High Admiral, and the Lord Chief Justice of England, for the time being, were nominated for that high trust. The successor was also authorised, to send over an instrument sealed up, containing the name of such persons as he thought proper to join in the same trust as coregents. This bill was received with great applause, and soon passed, with slight opposition, into a law. Another act endowed the electoral family with all the privileges of naturalization, rendered yet more valuable, or at least more honourable, by the singular distinction of its extending to all the descendants of the Princess Sophia wheresoever born. The conduct of the Tories, in their opposition to the act of Regency, conduced greatly to the Queen's cordial reconciliation with the Whigs.‡

Her Majesty having laid before the two Houses the addresses of the Scotch Parliament, expressive of their resolution not to enter into any negotiation respecting a union with England, until the act declaring them aliens, &c. should be repealed; a motion for that purpose was accordingly made, and unanimously acceded to.

The "danger of the church," had been much used, of late, by the Tories, as the watch-word of the party; in consequence of which Lord Halifax moved to appoint a day to enquire into the grounds of this pretended danger. A violent debate ensued; in the course of which, the Earl of Rochester affirmed, that the danger of the church arose from three causes:

1st. The act of security, by which Scotland, where presbytery was established without a toleration, was rendered very formidable and dangerous.

2dly. The Protestant heir not being resident in the kingdom;—and

3dly. The not passing the occasional conformity bill.

* This year, in the month of May, died the Emperor Leopold, who had experienced, during his long reign, frequent and wonderful vicissitudes of fortune. He was succeeded by his son Joseph, King of the Romans, who inherited, with the imperial diadem, all his father's weakness, pride, bigotry, and hatred of heresy. The Duke of Marlborough, with whom the new Emperor declared himself desirous to confer, arrived at Vienna November 12, where he was received with the highest distinction, and invested with the dignity of a co-estate of the empire—the Lordship of Mindelheim, in the circle of Suabia, being erected into a principality, and assigned to him in reward of his great services. He then visited the courts of Berlin and Hanover, as in the preceding year, and arrived in London on the 30th of December.

† Some months previously to the meeting of the new Parliament, the Duke of Buckingham, late Marquis of Normandy, had been dismissed from his office of Lord Privy Seal, which was conferred upon the Duke of Newcastle; and more recently the great seal had been taken from Nathan Wright, Lord Keeper, and given to Mr. William Cowper, soon after created Lord Cowper—a lawyer very eminent in his profession, and zealously attached to the Whig principles of 1688. The Duke of Ormond was also in the ensuing spring superseded in the government of Ireland by the Earl of Pembroke.

‡ The Princess Sophia, now 75 years of age, but unimpaired in health, vivacity, and intellect, would have had no objection, it appears, to accept an invitation to fix her residence in England—in which case it was understood that a royal appanage, and the title of Princess of Wales, would have been conferred upon her. She even wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the few Whigs who supported the motion of Lord Haversham, expressing her suspicions of some who had been numbered amongst the friends of her family, for the part they had taken in opposition to it. The Earl of Halifax being sent to Hanover with the two acts of regency and naturalization, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Lords Cowper and Somers, &c. wrote letters to the electoral court in vindication of their late conduct, which appear to have given complete satisfaction. The order of the Garter was also presented to the electoral Prince by Lord Halifax, accompanied by a gracious declaration of the royal favour to the house of Hanover.

Lord Halifax replied, "that the act of security in Scotland was a national thing, wholly foreign to church affairs; that, however inimical the church or the kingdom of Scotland might be supposed, England was at all times able to defend herself; and at present more so than at any former period—the strength of England having increased since the union of the two crowns, much more in proportion than that of Scotland; but that, by God's blessing, an entire union of the British nations was soon likely to put an end to this source of danger. As to the House of Hanover, he said, that was a danger but of eight days standing; for a fortnight ago no one dreamed that the absence of the Princess Sophia was cause of danger to the church. With regard to the occasional conformity bill, that matter had been recently canvassed, and the opinion of the House was already formed, that such a bill would not prove of any advantage or security to the church, but rather the reverse. On a division, it was carried by a majority of 61 against 30, "that the church of England, as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by King William III. of glorious memory, is now in a most safe and flourishing condition, &c." The resolution of the Lords having been agreed to by the Commons on a division of 212 against 160, an address to the same effect was presented to the Queen, who declared her satisfaction to find both Houses so ready to join with her in suppressing so indecent an outcry.* On the 19th of March, the Queen came to the House of Peers, and, with many gracious expressions, closed the session.

Her Majesty now again appointed commissioners on each side to treat upon the great business of the union of the kingdoms, who met for the first time on the 16th of April, (1706,) at Whitehall. The Scotch commissioners had entertained the idea of a federal union, like that of the United Provinces, or of the cantons of Switzerland; but the English had determined to treat only concerning an incorporating union, which should consolidate all national interests. The Queen twice appeared amongst the commissioners, to urge and exhort the speedy conclusion of the treaty; and, on the 23d of July, the articles of the union having been fully completed and agreed upon, were presented to her Majesty at which she expressed the highest satisfaction.†

The French court was emboldened, at the opening of the present campaign, to resume her ancient spirit of military enterprise; and orders were sent to M. Villeroi to act upon the offensive, and risque a general engagement. The French commander consequently passed the Dyle, behind which his army lay strongly entrenched, and took a secure post at Tirlemont; he also advanced the next day, (Whitsunday, May 12,) to Ramillies, where he unexpectedly found his progress stopped by the English General. The disposition of M. Villeroi on this occasion is said to have been grossly deficient in skill and judgment. The village of Ramillies, into which was thrown a great body of troops, fronted the centre of the French infantry; but without any precautions of defence, and at such a distance from the line as to render it incapable of support. The left wing, composed of cavalry, was covered by the Gheet and the impassable marshes that bounded it: the troops, therefore, could neither charge the enemy, nor be charged by them. The right extended to the village of Taniercs on the banks of the Mehaigne, and ought to have been supported by it; but the village itself was guarded by one regiment only of dragoons. The baggage, instead of being removed to the rear, was heaped between the two lines, and materially embarrassed their motions. The Duke of Marlborough, perceiving the left wing of the French army rendered useless, detached a large proportion of his right to reinforce his centre and left, where the stress of the battle must necessarily lie. During this grand movement, M. Villeroi was urged to adjust his order of battle to that which he saw the enemy forming; but nothing could prevail upon him to vary his first disposition, though five hours were employed in the necessary evolutions on the part of the allies. The event justified the prediction of M. Gassion, the Lieutenant General of the French army, who had exclaimed to the Commander-in-Chief—"You are lost if you do not change your order of battle!" The troops posted precisely as the enemy could wish, having no confidence in their General, and overpowered by numbers, were speedily routed, and a complete victory was obtained with inconsiderable loss. The Duke of Marlborough was nevertheless exposed to the utmost personal danger, being thrown with violence from his horse while charging at the head of his squadrons, and with difficulty rescued from the enemy; after which, a cannon-ball took off the head of Colonel Bringfield, his gentleman of the horse, as he was holding the Duke's stirrup to remount. M. Villeroi lost his whole train of artillery, most of his baggage, 120 standards, and about 18 or 20,000 men, killed, wounded, prisoners, or deserters. The Marechal and the Elector of Bavaria, who displayed much personal courage in the action, with the broken remains of their army, continued their flight beyond the Dyle, till they reached Louvaine; where having held by torch-light in the market-place a council of war, they resolved to abandon that place, and retire towards Brussels: whence the Elector first found an interval of leisure to announce to the French King this unfortunate event, which he ascribed to a fatality beyond example. The consternation occasioned by this great victory extended even to Paris; and the Duc de Vendome was in haste recalled from Italy to take the command of the army in Flanders. M. Villeroi, on his subsequent arrival at Versailles, expected to be received with resentment and reproach; but Louis, with whom he had ever been a favourite, gave him a cordial and gracious welcome, observing only, "Fortune you know, M. le Duc, is a female, and you and I are now too old to expect her favours." The English commander followed the dispersed and disheartened enemy by rapid marches, and received on the 26th of May the submission of the States of Brabant. On the 28th the Duke marched in great military pomp into the city of Brussels, and was received with all the external demonstrations of joy. Louvaine, Mechlin, Ghent, and Bruges, surrendered on the first summons; and, what was still more surprising, Oudenard capitulated on the

* The Upper House of convocation having prepared an address to the throne in terms of loyal affection, and expressing their indignation at the suggestion that the church was in danger under her Majesty's administration, the Lower House refused either to concur, or to state their exceptions. Much altercation ensued, which terminated in a secession of about one third of the members of the Lower House. At length the Queen sent a letter to the Archbishop, dated February the 25th (1706,) in which she expressed her surprise that the differences in convocation were still kept up—and intimated her dislike of divisions and innovations. She declared her resolution to maintain her supremacy, and the due subordination of Presbyters to Bishops as a fundamental part of the ecclesiastical constitution; and she required the Archbishop, after communicating this resolution to the Bishops and clergy, to prorogue the convocation to such time as appeared most convenient. The high church party submitted to the prorogation with great resentment and reluctance; as a violation of their pretended right to continue their sitting during the session of Parliament.

† Lord Somers was believed to have had the chief share in framing this treaty, which was in many respects highly advantageous to Scotland, though in some points it seemed to derogate from her national dignity and independence. When four shillings in the pound land tax, amounting to the sum of two millions, were levied in England, Scotland was to be assessed at the rate of 48,000*l.* only. On the other hand, the peerage of Scotland were divested of their privilege of sitting as Lords of Parliament, and the whole body was in future to be represented by sixteen Peers elected by themselves; and the Commons by 45 members chosen by the country. Scotland was rendered liable to the same duties of customs and excise with England; and a part of these being mortgaged for the payment of the principal or interest of the public debt of England, the sum of 398,000*l.* was paid to Scotland as an equivalent for her share of the same, to be applied to a re-coinage of the public moneys, to the payment of the Scotch national debt, to indemnify the Darien company for their losses, in consideration of the dissolution of the same, and the encouragement of the infant manufactures of the kingdom. Trade was to be free over all the island, and to the plantations: private rights were to be preserved; and the judicatories and laws of Scotland were to be continued. Finally, the two nations were to the end of time to constitute one kingdom, under the same succession to the crown, and united under one legislature. There was no provision in the treaty respecting religion—agreeably to an express limitation in the powers granted to the commissioners by the Parliaments of both kingdoms. These were the chief and leading articles of this memorable treaty—the first of the kind upon record.

mere

mere condition of the garrison being allowed to retire to Mons.—"The hand of God," says the Duke, "appears visibly in all this, striking the enemy with such a terror as obliges them to deliver up so many strong places and large countries without offering the least resistance." Two leagues from Antwerp the Duke was met by the Bishop and clergy, accompanied by the magistracy of that city, who, on presenting its keys, declared that they had never been delivered to any person since the great Duke of Parma. The Marquis of Terracena, grandee of Spain, and governor of Antwerp, declaring for King Charles, nearly the whole garrison, consisting of six French and six Spanish battalions, followed his example, and the States of Flanders formally recognized the title of that monarch. Courtray was taken possion of early in July, and the Elector of Bavaria, who then resided at Mons, retreated with precipitation to Valenciennes. The arrival of the Duc de Vendome seemed at length to restore something like order, and to re-animate in some measure the drooping courage of the French. The Governor of Dendermond had the merit, in the midst of the general consternation, to declare, in answer to the summons which he had received, that he hoped to deserve the esteem of the English commander by discharging his duty, and the trust reposed in him; and after sustaining a blockade of three months, he did not at last surrender till besieged in form and reduced to extremity. At the latter end of June, Ostend was invested by Field-Marshal Auverquerque, and at the same time attacked on the sea-side by an English squadron commanded by Sir Stafford Fairborne. It held out not more than ten days, and four days only after the batteries were opened. On the other hand, the town of Menin disputed all the efforts of the besiegers with extraordinary vigour; and it was not till after a fierce and bloody action, and till the fortifications had been reduced to a heap of ruins, and the garrison diminished to a third of their original number, that the place finally capitulated, its brave defenders being allowed to march with the honours of war through the breach. The campaign closed with the siege and capture of Aeth, which surrendered on the 1st of October, the Duke of Marlborough in person commanding the covering army. Leaving the army under the command of M. Auverquerque, at the latter end of October, his Grace repaired by the route of Brussels and Antwerp to the Hague, and thence to London.

Philip, King of Spain, had assembled a great army early in the spring, with which, on being joined by the French auxiliaries under M. de Tesse, he appeared suddenly before Barcelona, where the rival monarch kept his court, and in a short time formed the investment of that important place by land, while the count de Toulouse blockaded it by sea. The Earl of Peterborough, who flew from Valencia to its relief, made incredible efforts to save this capital; but all his exertions would have been unavailing, had it not been for the critical arrival of the English fleet under Sir John Leake, May the 8th, 1706; on the first appearance of which the Count de Toulouse retired to Toulon; and M. de Tesse, raising the siege in much disorder, retreated with a dispirited and nearly ruined army beyond the mountains.*

Lord Peterborough now urged the necessity of immediately proceeding to Madrid, to form a junction with the Portuguese army under the Marquis Das Minas and the Earl of Galway, who, after capturing the towns of Alcantara, and Cuidad Rodrigo, had marched to that capital, of which on the 24th of June they took quiet and peaceable possession. The decisive counsels of the English General, happily for Spain, were disregarded by the Archduke; Charles lingering near three months in Catalonia and Arragon—thus allowing his rival full time to recruit his shattered forces, and to receive additional succours from France; and on his reapproach to the capital, the Portuguese army, dispirited by inaction, suspense, and disappointment, retreated towards Arragon, where they formed a tardy and ineffectual junction with the imperialists. Lord Peterborough, enraged to perceive his expostulations fruitless, withdrew in disgust, and without leave sailed in one of the Queen's ships for Genoa.†

The success of the allied arms in Italy was scarcely inferior to those in Flanders.‡ On the banks of the Rhine alone, where M. Villars commanded with superior strength against the Prince of Baden, did fortune seem disposed to be more favourable to France. The imperialists were compelled to abandon the posts they held on the western side of that great river; to raise the siege of Fort Louis; and they were even forced from the lines they occupied at Buhl, near Stolhoffen, celebrated both for their natural and artificial strength.

During the autumn, advances were made by the King of France, for obtaining peace. The Elector of Bavaria wrote, by his direction, a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, proposing conferences to be held for that purpose, at some spot between the two camps, and, after the separation of the two armies, at any place between Mons and Brussels. This proposal having been rejected, the King of France next applied to the Pope to interpose his good offices, and left it to the arbitration of his holiness to satisfy the rights and demands of the Emperor—specifically offering the Milanese, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, with a barrier for Holland; all which propositions were refused with disdain by the court of Vienna, which insisted on nothing less than the dethronement of Philip, and the renunciation of the whole Spanish sovereignty.

On the 3d of October, the Parliament of Scotland was convened for the last time at Edinburgh, the Duke of Queensberry opening the session with unusual state and magnificence. Her Majesty's letter announced that the articles of the treaty of union had been agreed upon by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, and recommended their adoption, "as the only effectual way to secure their present and future happiness, and to disappoint the designs of her and their enemies, who would doubtless on this occasion use their utmost endeavours to prevent or delay this union, which must so contribute to her glory and the happiness of her people." The accomplishment of this treaty was the death blow to the hopes of the court of St. Germains; yet the delusive idea was cherished, that the English ministers entertained amicable intentions respecting the exiled family. The French King, shewed no inclination, and even declared his total inability, to engage in any hostile enterprise against Britain. All that the court of St. Germains therefore could do, was to send over to Scotland, in compliance with the commendation of M. Chamillart the French minister, Colonel Hooke, a man

* An almost total eclipse of the sun, which happened on that day, afforded occasion for much sarcastic and much superstitious reflection—the sun being the chosen device of the French monarch, whose ostentatious motto was "Nec pluribus impar."—Not an unequal match for numbers.

† The chief reason assigned for the fatal lapse of time during the weeks wasted at Saragossa, was the inability of his Majesty to make his public entry into Madrid with the requisite magnificence: to which General Stanhope with warmth replied, "that King William, when he made his descent upon England, went to London attended only by a few dragoons, otherwise he had lost his crown."

‡ The Duke of Savoy, who had acceded to the grand alliance in the expectation of being powerfully supported by the Emperor, seemed abandoned to his fate, which his resolution and courage served only to protract, but could not avert. Overpowered by the superior force and great military talents of his antagonist, he was at length reduced to take refuge in his capital of Turin, where, on the recall of the Duc de Vendome, he was closely besieged by the French army under Marechal de Marsin, and the Duke of Orleans, nephew of Louis XIV. The Imperial court, determining to make one grand effort effectually to aid the Duke of Savoy in this extremity, directed Prince Eugene at the head of a powerful army to march to the relief of Turin. With such ability and success did that commander execute this important commission, that, after surmounting all the numerous difficulties which obstructed his junction with the Duke, and passing the Adige and the Po in the sight of the Duc de Vendome, he attacked the French army in their entrenchments before Turin, and gained a glorious and decisive victory—the unfortunate Marechal Marsin falling in the action. The Duke of Orleans was wounded and carried off the field; the lines were forced in all quarters; and the French army was put completely to the rout, and all the baggage, provisions, ammunition, and military-chest, fell into the hands of the conquerors. This event was quickly followed by the final expulsion of the French from Lombardy—a treaty of evacuation being concluded between France and the Emperor, in consequence of which a large body of troops were left at liberty to act in Spain or elsewhere.

of sense and experience, to acquire on the spot a perfect knowledge of the state of things.*

Upon the whole, the Jacobites determined to exert themselves to the utmost in opposition to the treaty of union; and in this design they were, from motives very different, seconded by the old republican party, headed by Fletcher of Saltoun.† On the other hand, the Marquis of Tweeddale, and those who adhered to that distinguished nobleman, notwithstanding their recent dismission from office, still preserved a good understanding with the court; and, perceiving matters had arrived at a crisis, they probably thought that they consulted the welfare of their country, as well as their private interest, in throwing their whole weight into the scale of government. That dangerous clause in the act of security, authorising all the Protestant heritors and the burghers to provide arms, and to discipline and exercise their fencible men, was suspended by the Scottish Parliament at the commencement of the treaty of union, and the lieges were prohibited from assembling on any pretence, during the session;—a wise and necessary measure, by which the chieftains, who were adverse to the union, and preparing force to oppose it, were suddenly and effectually restrained. The Duke of Queensberry discovered also much political dexterity and address in gaining over the leaders of the Cameronians, and other disaffected clans. The debates of the Scotch Parliament on this occasion were, both in argument and eloquence, equal perhaps to those of any public assembly whose transactions have been the subject of historic record. Every consideration of honour, interest and safety, which can touch the human heart, or awaken the dormant passions of the soul, was urged by the members in opposition to deter the House from the adoption of this project. Such, indeed, was the violence with which the treaty was opposed, and such the commotion which it excited in the kingdom, that the Duke of Queensberry absolutely despaired of success, and was desirous of adjourning the Parliament, till by time and management he should be able to obviate those formidable difficulties. But the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, who saw that the measure would be lost by delay, urged him to persist in his exertions; which were at length crowned with success. The Duke of Athol, and the opposition in general, had resolved to have recourse to a forcible dissolution of Parliament: but their designs were rendered abortive by the irresolution or treachery of Hamilton, whose conduct was altogether inconsequential and indecisive.‡

The commissioners having been expressly restrained from treating of the subject of religion, an act was preparing for securing the Presbyterian government of the church of Scotland. Exclusively of the methods used to allay the popular resentment, and the sacrifices made to national prejudice, other means were adopted to facilitate the final passing of the act of union. The sum of 20,000*l.*, and upwards was remitted at the present juncture to Scotland, and distributed so judiciously, that the rage of opposition suddenly subsided, and the treaty received, without any material alteration, the solemn sanction of the Scotch Parliament; the general question being carried by a majority of 110 voices. On the 25th of March, the Parliament was adjourned, never to meet again.

The English Parliament had met on the 3d of December, 1706, and voted liberal supplies for carrying on the war; but nothing material occurred till the 28th of January, when the Queen came to the House of Peers, and announced that the treaty of union had been ratified by the Parliament of Scotland. The treaty itself, and the proceedings relative to it, being laid before the House of Peers, their Lordships, on the motion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered a bill to be brought in for the security of the church of England; which speedily passed both Houses, and received the royal assent. On the 4th of February, the House of Commons, in a grand committee, took into consideration the articles of the union as ratified by the Scottish Parliament; on the 15th of the same month, they were submitted to the Lords; and, having been approved, a bill founded thereon passed triumphantly through both Houses, and received the royal assent.§ The Parliament was prorogued on the 30th of April; and on the succeeding day, the two nations of England and Scotland were indissolubly incorporated into one kingdom—ever afterwards to be known by the appellation of Great Britain. On this occasion, congratulatory addresses were sent up from all parts of England; and the 1st of May was celebrated by a public thanksgiving in all the churches. Scotland, however, observed a sullen and expressive silence; and the day was kept in many parts of that kingdom as a day of fasting and humiliation, indicating the idea entertained of the union with England, as a judgment inflicted upon them by Divine Providence.‖

A. D. 1707.] In the spring of the present year, the Duke of Marlborough was invested with a very important embassy to the King of Sweden. That monarch, after

---

* The Colonel was furnished by the two courts of St. Germains and Versailles with ample instructions, and a formal declaration on the part of the former, to be published at the proper period, proclaiming "the resolution of his Majesty King James VIII. to repair to his kingdom of Scotland in order to assert his undoubted right, and to deliver all his good subjects from the oppression and tyranny they had groaned under for above eighteen years past." And the Colonel was expressly authorized and commissioned to represent to them "the necessity of laying hold of this opportunity of vindicating the sovereign's right, and their own privileges and independency, which, if neglected, may never be retrieved." But in the paper signed by M. Chamillart it is "particularly recommended to Colonel Hooke, not to engage his Most Christian Majesty in expences which he cannot conveniently support, nor give them any room to hope for more than he can furnish."

† The leaders of the Jacobites were the Dukes of Hamilton, Gordon, and Athol, the Marquis of Annandale, the Earls of Errol, Marischal, and Belhaven, &c. Of these the Duke of Hamilton was universally considered as the chief in point of power, influence, and popularity; and, being descended by the female line from the House of Stuart, to which the House of Hamilton was regarded in Scotland as next in the order of succession, a gleam of royalty opened upon his mind, and he was suspected, not without reason, of aspiring to the vacant throne, if by any means the claims of the rival courts of St. Germains and Hanover could be superseded.

‡ After urging the party in opposition not to look back upon what might have been done amiss, but now at last to unite their efforts to save the nation, which stood on the brink of ruin, he proposed at a general meeting a daring protestation against the union, which, he said, "if the English did not desist from prosecuting, they must have recourse to arms, and call over the King." All who were present expressed their concurrence; and a day being fixed for presenting the protestation, the Duke pretended to be taken ill. In consequence, however, of the expostulations of his friends on his ambiguous and fluctuating conduct, he was prevailed upon to go to the Parliament House; but being there seized with another paroxysm of terror, he absolutely refused to present the protestation, and promised only to be the first adherer. The Duke of Athol therefore undertook the office of presenting the protest, which declared "an incorporating union of the two nations to be contrary to the honour, interest, and fundamental laws and constitution of Scotland; and in particular to the act of the 8th of James VI. by which it is ordained that none of the lieges presume to impugn the dignity and authority of the three estates of Parliament; and also to the act of the 1st of her present Majesty, by which it is declared high treason by any open act or deed to alter or innovate the claim of right."

§ When the question of the union was about to come under the consideration of the English Parliament, a committee was named by the Lower House of Convocation to consider the present "danger of the church;" but, to prevent an interference so subversive of the public welfare and repose, a prorogation immediately took place; and the Queen, by advice of her ministers, determined to discontinue the sittings of this factious assembly. During the remainder of this and the whole of the next Parliament, the convocation was prorogued from time to time, and not suffered to enter upon business.

‖ Many promotions took place at this period. The Marquis of Montrose and the Earl of Roxburgh were created Dukes in Scotland; Lord Cowper was declared Lord High Chancellor; the Earl of Stamford, First Lord of Trade, &c. A more remarkable change had been made in the course of the session by the dismission of Sir Charles Hedges, Secretary of State, and the transfer of the seals to the Earl of Sunderland, who had lately succeeded to that title on the death of his father, and who was nearly allied to the Duke of Marlborough by marriage with his second daughter. This promotion seemed favourable to the interest and influence of the Whigs, but it proved otherwise. The Queen parted from Sir Charles Hedges, with extreme reluctance, and she retained a permanent resentment of the force and constraint which she acted under upon this occasion. In October the Duke of Marlborough had written to the Duchess to urge this matter upon the Queen; which she did in a style of singular insolence. About this period a new favourite had arisen in the court. This was Mrs. Masham, a relation of the Duchess of Marlborough, introduced by her to the Queen; over whom she had, by her insinuating manners, so opposite to the imperious deportment of the Duchess, acquired such

after forcing the Danish court to a separate peace at Travendahl, passed over into Ingria, where the czar Peter was engaged in the siege of Narva at the head of an army of 80,000 Russians. Leading to the attack a body of troops not exceeding 10,000 men, he totally defeated the czar. He then advanced into Livonia, and compelled the King of Poland to raise the siege of Riga. Afterwards attacking the united army of Poles and Saxons on the banks of the Dwina, he forced the passage of that river with great slaughter; and, penetrating into the heart of the kingdom, by a series of astonishing successes made himself master of Cracow and Warsaw; and, animated by an implacable animosity against King Augustus, he caused a diet to be assembled, by whom the deposition of that monarch was pronounced, and Stanislaus Leckzinski, a Polish palatine of great merit, elected King of Poland in his stead. The unfortunate Augustus, retiring into Saxony was pursued thither also by his relentless antagonist, who reduced the whole electorate, Dresden excepted, to unconditional submission, levying immense contributions upon the inhabitants, and diffusing terror throughout all the neighbouring states, and even the court of Vienna. A treaty was at length signed at Alt-Ranstadt between the Kings of Sweden and Poland; by which the latter relinquished his pretensions to the Polish diadem in favour of Stanislaus—retaining the mere empty title of King, and stipulating only for the restitution of his electorate. The King of Sweden, however, remained with his army in Saxony, where he gave great umbrage to the allies, particularly the Emperor.* At length the Duke of Marlborough arrived in Saxony, upon an ostensible embassy of compliment, but with a secret purpose to discover the real intentions of the King of Sweden. Conducted by Count Piper with distinguished marks of honour into the King's presence, he presented to King Charles a letter from the Queen of England, written with her own hand; and knowing the weakness of the King's character with respect to flattery and the extravagance of his pride, ill concealed under a guise of simplicity and modest reserve, he declared, "that had not the sex of the Queen of England, his mistress, prevented, she would have crossed the sea to visit a Prince admired by the whole universe;" adding, "that he esteemed himself honoured in making these assurances; and that he should think it a great happiness if his affairs would allow him to learn under so great a General as his Majesty, what he yet wanted to know in the art of war." The King of Sweden answered, "that he should always have the utmost regard for the interposition of the Queen of Great Britain, and the interests of the grand alliance—that her Majesty might be assured his design was to depart hence, as soon as he had obtained the satisfaction he had demanded—and that he should do nothing which might tend to the prejudice of the common cause in general, or to the Protestant religion in particular, of which he should always glory to be a zealous protector." He then invited the Duke to dinner, placing him on his right hand, and Count Piper on the left: after which the Duke retired with the King and the Count into the audience room, where a long and interesting conference took place; during which the Duke it is said, often fixed his eyes attentively on the King. When France was mentioned, he perceived symptoms of disgust and aversion; and when the conquests of the allies were touched upon, of satisfaction and pleasure. When he named the czar, the King's countenance was inflamed, and his eyes sparkled with anger. He moreover remarked, that the King had a map of Muscovy lying before him on the table. Hence he inferred, that the real object of the King's ambition was to dethrone the czar, as he had already done the King of Poland—that he entertained no designs inimical to the allies; and meant only to impose some hard terms upon the Emperor, with which the court of Vienna would be obliged to comply: and satisfied with the justness of these conclusions, he retired from the King's presence without making any specific proposal. After receiving the highest marks of distinction which this modern Vandal ever perhaps conferred upon any individual, he took his leave, and, passing through the courts of Berlin and Hanover, arrived at the Hague, on the 8th of May.

Intelligence having been received, a few days afterwards, that the French were encamped on the plain of Fleurus, the Duke of Marlborough hastened to the attack, but found the pass of Ronquieres, secured by the enemy. He had proposed to form the siege of Mons or Charleroi, in case he failed in his attempt to bring on a general engagement; but this design was frustrated by M. Vendome's taking a position which would have exposed the wealthy and open cities of Brabant, Louvaine, and Brussels in particular, to the utmost danger. The two armies after this remained in the strong opposite camps of Meldert and Gemblours, nearly two months, almost in a state of inaction; during which the Duke declared the enemy to be in such a situation, that, so far from being able to undertake any siege, the allies would rather be obliged to spend their time in observing his motions". At length the Duke and M. Auverquerque, receiving advice that the French General had detached twenty-five battalions and squadrons to Provence, resolved to venture an attack on the fortified camp of Gemblours; and on the 9th of August the allies passed the Dyle at the abbey of Florivale, and, marching all night, arrived at break of day at the heights of Wavren. On the first alarm the French decamped with precipitation from Gemblours, and retreated to the strong position of Pieton. On the Duke of Marlborough's continuing his march towards Pieton, they again decamped silently in the night, scarcely halting till they had passed the Scheldt, and found themselves safe behind their lines under the cannon of Lisle, their right extending to Pont-à-Tresin. The heavy rains which fell at this time prevented the allies

---

such an ascendency, that her Grace was supplanted before she was apprised of the danger. Mrs. Masham had formed a strict connection with the Secretary of State, Harley, who had, in conjunction with her, devised a project of raising himself to the summit of power on the ruins of the present ministry, whose politics he found secretly distasteful to the Queen. The Secretary had been frequently introduced by the favourite to private audiences of the Queen, in which he represented to her, the political thraldom in which she was held by the Marlborough family; and he operated on the goodness and humanity of the Queen's disposition, by reprobating the boundless ambition and avarice which prompted the General to continue a war so fruitful of misery and calamity—a war which might indeed be necessary to his greatness, but which it would be easy to terminate on very advantageous and honourable terms for the sovereign and nation. The advancement of Sunderland would of course tend to strengthen that influence, which the Queen had now learned to dread; and the personal consequence of Harley, who feared not the competition of Sir Charles Hedges, would be greatly eclipsed by the promotion of a man of Sunderland's high rank, connections, and political ability. After a long and obstinate resistance, the Queen yielded the point; and the Earl of Sunderland was declared Secretary of State in December, 1706. From this moment the Marlborough interest was undermined.

* The Swedish Envoy at Vienna, Baron Strahlenheim, having complained in high terms of the conduct of Count Zobar, a young and rash Hungarian noble, who had spoken disrespectfully of the King of Sweden, that fierce Coqueror insisted upon the Count's being delivered up to him; also upon the absolute surrender of the Russian troops who had escaped from the defeats in Poland into Germany, and had been entertained in the imperial armies; and of those officers who had obstructed the Swedish levies in Silesia. Count Wrattislau being nominated Ambassador to the King of Sweden, Count Piper, first Minister to his Swedish Majesty, wrote to him, saying "that if he came with power to give his master real satisfaction, he would be welcome; but that, if he only came to enter into a discussion of his Swedish Majesty's pretensions, he might save himself the trouble of that journey;" and upon the Count's subsequent arrival at Alt-Ranstadt, the King refused to admit him to an audience. The demands of Sweden were now enlarged and multiplied into divers distinct articles, of which the most remarkable were, that the Protestant religion, in Silesia be restored, according to the treaty of Westphalia; that his imperial Majesty should renounce all pretences to the quota which the King of Sweden, as Prince of the empire, had omitted to furnish during the present war; and that the whole Swedish army, on their return to Poland, should be maintained at the Emperor's charge: all which the court of Vienna was ultimately compelled to ratify. On the expression of surprise, by some of the courtiers, at his imperial Majesty's yielding to the article respecting the restoration of Protestantism in Silesia, the Emperor replied, "that it was fortunate the King of Sweden did not insist upon his turning Protestant himself."

from

from urging the pursuit beyond the plains of Marimont; and though the French suffered greatly in this long and fatiguing march, the Duc de Vendome ultimately succeeded in his determination to avoid a battle, and in covering the fortified towns on the frontier. The Duke of Marlborough left the camp at Helchin early in October, and retired disappointed to the Hague. On the Rhine, Marechal Villars met with considerable success. The disasters of the preceding campaign in this quarter, were believed to have sunk deep into the mind of Prince Louis of Baden, who had been for some time in a declining state of health. He had retired to the baths of Schlangenbade, declaring openly, "That as affairs were at that time managed, the greatest misfortune that could befal a man of honour was to command an imperial army." He expired on the 4th of January 1706-7, and was succeeded by the Margrave of Bareith, a man enfeebled by age, of mean capacity, and of great perverseness of character. All Germany was thrown into consternation at the rapid progress of the French army, which, passing the Rhine at Strasburg, defeated the advanced guard of the Imperial army, forced the lines at Stolhoffen, esteemed the rampart of the empire, laid the Duchy of Wirtemburg under contribution, made themselves masters of Suabia, and penetrated to the Danube. The anxiety of the court of Vienna, at these alarming successes, appears in a letter from the minister Count Zinzendorf to the Duke of Marlborough, dated June the 4th, in which he observes —"I understand, by the letter your highness was pleased to write me on the 23d of May, the uneasiness you were then under with regard to the state of affairs on the Rhine, which without doubt is increased by the behaviour of the army of the empire when the Marechal de Villars passed the Rhine. I confess this is a very unlucky accident, which could not have happened if we had had a competent chief at the head of our troops. Your highness knows that the first proposal was to send for the Prince of Savoy, and that it was afterwards thought proper in England and Holland to change that purpose; though I will not pretend to say whether this might not have been the most reasonable project. Count Staremberg was put in the room of this Prince; but immediately this resolution was changed,—and, thanks be to God! the whole court was witness that I had no hand in it. But, in short, there are certain moments at court in which it is impossible to put a stop to, or to hinder, those evil resolutions which one has frequently reason to wish otherwise in the sequel. In this unhappy juncture I have proposed the elector of Hanover for this command, because I believe it necessary the army of the empire should have a chief whose birth and personal merit may carry a weight with them." This was an honourable testimony to the political and military character of that Prince, who now began to derive importance from his eventual claim to the succession of the British crown. In a short time he assumed the command of the Imperial army, which he conducted with much judgment and prudence. Count Merci having surprised and defeated the Marquis de Vivans at Offenburg, M. de Villars was forced to abandon his splendid projects, and repass the Rhine by Fort Louis into Alsace.

In July, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy passed the Var at the head of 30,000 men, and marched directly towards Toulon, to which they laid close siege. As the principal naval magazines of France, and the greater part of its fleet, were inclosed within its walls or its harbour, this enterprise excited general consternation. The place was however defended with the most heroic valour; and troops being assembled from all parts for its relief, the Duke of Savoy thought proper to raise the siege with precipitation, and to repass the Var. This expedition, however, caused a powerful diversion to the French forces on the Rhine; and immense damage was sustained from the attacks of the English fleet, co-operating with the besieging army, on the ships of war and merchantmen in the harbour.*

In Spain, the affairs of the allies suffered a fatal reverse. Don Pedro, King of Portugal, having died December 9, 1706, was succeeded by his son Don Juan V. who declared that he would religiously observe all the engagements of his father. In a council of war, held at Valencia (February 1707) it was resolved by the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of Galway, to act offensively. The Earl of Peterborough, who had returned to Spain, gave his opinion in favour of a defensive campaign; but this was by his enemies ascribed merely to envy and hatred of the Earl of Galway. In consequence of the resolution actually taken, the confederate army moved to Yecla, where the Duke of Berwick had formed a grand dépot of provisions and stores, which he abandoned at their approach. The confederates advanced to Portalegre, with a view to surprise him in his camp; but before this design could be effected, intelligence was received that the Duke, having been joined by the re-inforcements he looked for, was on his march to attack the allies. The Earl of Galway proceeded (April 14) to the plains of Almanza, where he found the enemy, far superior in number, drawn up and ready to receive him. The action extended from wing to wing. The centre of the allied army, composed of English and Dutch infantry, fought with the greatest gallantry, and drove the enemy before them; but the right wing, consisting entirely of Portuguese troops, commanded by the Marquis das Minas in person, fled at the first onset; and the left, where the English and Dutch cavalry were posted, after incredible efforts of valour, yielding to superior force, the Duke of Berwick ordered his two wings to attack the main body in flank. The Generals of infantry, however, forming the battalions into a hollow square, retired from the field of battle with inconsiderable loss; but night quickly came on; they were strangers to the country, and did not know whither to retire for safety; after marching nine hours, and fighting about six, they could move no farther; they had spent their ammunition, and had not so much as bread and water to refresh themselves with; and they expected to be attacked next morning by the enemy, against whom they could oppose no effectual resistance. In these circumstances, they resolved to surrender themselves prisoners of war, to the amount of twenty-three entire battalions. The Duke of Berwick is said to have been astonished, and scarcely to have believed the officer who brought the message. The Portuguese and part of the British cavalry, with the foot that guarded the baggage made good their retreat to Alcira, where the broken remains of the army mournfully assembled, after sustaining a loss of 14,000 men, exclusive of 800 officers; with all the artillery, equipage, ammunition, and standards. Das Minas made an early escape with the Portuguese cavalry of Xativa; and the Earl of Galway, who charged, first as General, at the head of the left wing, and then as a volunteer in Fabreque's regiment of dragoons, retired reluctantly from the field, after receiving a dangerous sabre wound on the head. The day after the battle, the Duke of Orleans arrived to take the command of the Spanish army, which had now acquired the most decisive superiority; and though the Earl of Galway did all that an active and able general could to retrieve so great a misfortune, Arragon and Valentia were gradually evacuated, and the campaign concluded with the siege and capture of Lerida by the forces of King Philip.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel commanded in the Mediterranean. On the miscarriage of the expedition he left a strong squadron under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes, and sailed from Gibraltar with fifteen ships of the line, for England. On the 22d of October, 1707, he had ninety fathom water in the soundings, and brought the fleet to, the weather being extremely hazy. To-

* Great blame was upon this occasion imputed to the Emperor, who, careless and indifferent to the success of an enterprise from which he could reap no benefit, had detached a large body of troops, originally destined for this purpose, to the kingdom of Naples, of which he effected a complete conquest.

wards evening a fresh and apparently favourable gale springing up, he made the signal for sailing, supposing the channel to be open; but by eight o'clock signals of distress were made by several of the fleet, who found themselves, to their astonishment, upon the rocks to the westward of Scilly. The Association, in which Sir Cloudesley had his flag, struck and instantly foundered with all the crew. The Eagle and Romney experienced the same fate. The Royal Anne was saved by the extraordinary presence of mind and activity of Sir George Byng and his men, who shifted the sails when within a ship's length of a rock to the leeward. Lord Dursley, in the St. George, had a still more miraculous escape; for his ship was dashed on the same ridge of rocks with the Association; and the same wave which was perceived to be fatal to the latter, set the St. George again afloat. Sir Cloudesley Shovel's body, with many others, being cast on shore and found on the strand, was carried to London and interred in Westminster abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory.* This terrible calamity was ill compensated by the accounts which at this period arrived of the total destruction of the French fisheries at Newfoundland—several frigates on that station being taken or burnt, and upwards of 300 boats demolished, with 70,000 quintals of fish.

In the month of July, a session of the Irish Parliament was held by the Earl of Pembroke, in which some faint attempts appear to have been made to obtain a reform of the more flagrant existing abuses. The House of Commons passed a resolution, to which the members engaged individually upon their honour to adhere, in favour of the manufactures of Ireland; and the address of the Commons, congratulating her Majesty upon the glory which she had acquired by accomplishing the union of the British kingdoms, hinted at a more comprehensive union, which would farther redound to the strength and lustre of her crown.

The first Parliament of Great Britain assembled on the 23d of October, this year, and Mr. Smith was chosen speaker. Fresh assurances were given of the resolution of the two Houses to support the war; the Lords and Commons joined in a resolution and address, "That no peace could be safe or honourable for her Majesty or her allies, if Spain or the West Indies were suffered to continue in the power of the house of Bourbon;" and the Queen replied, "that she was fully of opinion that no peace could be safe till the entire monarchy of Spain was restored to the house of Austria." The Tories magnified the services of the Earl of Peterborough; and the Whigs vindicated the Earl of Galway; but, after much useless discussion, the whole business fell to the ground.

During this session, a bill was introduced, and passed, "For rendering the union of the two kingdoms more entire and complete;" by which it was positively enacted that there should be but one privy council in the kingdom of Great Britain. The influence of the court was strenuously exerted against this bill, but without success.

In February, 1708, an important change occurred in the administration, by the dismission of Mr. Harley, Secretary of State, and the promotion of Mr. Boyle, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to that office, who was succeeded by Mr. Smith, Speaker of the House of Commons. Mr. St. John, Secretary at War, and Sir Simeon Harcourt, Attorney-General, followed the fortunes of Mr. Harley, and resigned their places; the former of which was given to Mr. Robert Walpole; and Sir James Montague was made Attorney-General.† Shortly after this change, the nation was alarmed with the news of an invasion. Encouraged by the spirit of disaffection now prevailing in Scotland, incited by the invitations of a number of persons of rank and property in that kingdom, and desirous perhaps to avenge the insult he had recently suffered at Toulon, the French King, with a view of making a descent in North Britain, equipped a powerful armament; on board of which embarked the Chevalier de St. George, son of the late King James. On sailing from Dunkirk they were closely pursued by an English squadron, commanded by Sir George Byng, who captured, near the Frith of Forth, one of their flag ships; and the whole armament was so scattered and dispersed in their retreat from the action, that they could not even effect a landing, which might at this crisis, have been attended with very serious consequences. After being tossed about for more than a month, they got back, in a distressed condition, to Dunkirk. On this occasion the most firm and vigorous measures were taken by the government. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; the abjuration oath was tendered to all persons; and those who refused it were declared to be in the condition of convict recusants. A vote of credit passed the House of Commons; twelve battalions of troops were ordered immediately from Flanders; and the Queen publicly declared, "That her chief dependence was placed on those who had given repeated proofs of their warmth and concern for the support of the Revolution." Yet she is said to have discovered much personal affection and tenderness for her unfortunate brother. Sir George Byng had no instructions relative to him individually; and when the subject was under discussion by the privy council, she appeared greatly agitated, and dissolved into tears, on which the council broke up in much confusion. In the speech delivered by the Queen to the Parliament, the Chevalier de St. George was stiled "The Pretender," a term which was re-echoed in the numerous addresses to the Queen from every part of the kingdom; and by this appellation he was in future usually distinguished. The Parliament, which had completed its three years, was now dissolved; and a new one was summoned to meet in November, in which the Whig interest still preponderated.

Early in April, the Duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague, where he met with Prince Eugene, with whom and the grand pensionary Heinsius, and the deputies of the States, he held a long conference respecting the future operations of the war. Having settled the plan of the campaign, the two commanders repaired to the court of Herenhausen, where they prevailed upon the electoral Prince of Hanover again to assume the command of the army under the Rhine; and Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough had the satisfaction to serve together in the Low Countries.

Louis XIV. seemed this year inclined to act more upon the offensive; and, early in the summer, the cities of Ghent and Bruges were surprised by a detachment from the French army; after which the Duc de Vendome sat down before Oudenard. Prince Eugene, having rejoined the army with a strong re-inforcement from Germany, the allied Generals advanced with swift marches to the relief of that place: on which the enemy raised the siege with precipitation, and retreated towards

---

* It is not generally known, that this distinguished officer, who deservedly ranks amongst the Naval Worthies of Britain, was not drowned; but, after having reached the shore in safety, was, according to the confession of an ancient woman, by her treacherously and inhumanly murdered. The atrocious act she, many years afterwards, when on her death bed, revealed to the minister of the parish who attended her; declaring she could not die in peace till she had made this confession. She acknowledged having been led to commit this horrid deed for the sake of plunder; and that she then had in her possession, among other things, an emerald ring, which she had been afraid to sell, lest it should lead to a discovery. This ring, which was then delivered to the minister, was by him given to James, Earl of Berkeley, (in possession of whose family it now remains) at his particular request, Sir Cloudesly Shovel and himself having lived on terms of the most intimate friendship.

† The Lords Godolphin and Marlborough had for a considerable time been very uneasy at the secret practices of the late Secretary, and the dangerous intrigues carrying on by him in conjunction with Mrs. Masham; and at length they avowed their determination to serve the Queen no longer, if he were continued in that post. The Queen being inflexible, these noblemen actually withdrew from court. Shortly afterwards the Queen repaired to the cabinet council, where Mr. Harley attempted to state some particulars relative to foreign affairs; on which the Duke of Somerset said, "he did not see how they could deliberate on such matters in the absence of the General and Treasurer." The other members present plainly acquiescing in this sentiment, the council broke up in disorder, and the Queen, sending for the Duke of Marlborough, told him Mr. Harley should resign; which he did within two days. But from this æra the Queen harboured the deepest resentment against the Duke and the Treasurer, and manifested an incurable alienation from the Whigs.

the Scheldt, which the main body of the French army passed at Gavre. The intention of M. Vendome was to attack the allies when the troops were divided by the river; and he had made his dispositions accordingly; but the pride and ignorance of the Duke of Burgundy (eldest son of the Dauphin, and entrusted with the chief command) frustrated this plan, and the French army was thrown into confusion by a variety of inconsistent movements: the army of the allies, having crossed the Scheldt (July 11) appeared in sight, and it was too late to think of a retreat. The attack soon became general; and the Imperial and English Generals charging at the head of their respective troops, the French were borne down on all sides. The electoral Prince of Hanover had a distinguished share in the glory of the day, leading on the Hanoverian cavalry sword in hand to the attack of the household troops of France with brilliant success; whilst (according to the English and Dutch contemporary historians) the Pretender, who accompanied the Duke of Burgundy, and "saw" the engagement from the steeple of an adjacent village, was amongst the first to quit the field.* The French army was in the end entirely defeated. Night, however, saved them from total ruin; and M. de Vendome, seeing all hope extinguished, formed his best troops into a rear-guard, with which he secured a tolerable retreat. The loss suffered by the French did not amount to less than 14 or 15,000 men; and above 100 standards and colours were taken.

The Generals of the allies now determined to undertake the siege of Lisle, on the fortifications of which Vauban had exhausted his skill, and which was defended by a garrison so numerous, commanded by an officer of such experience and valour, the Marechal de Boufflers, that the success of the enterprise was considered extremely doubtful. In addition to this, all the great military talents of the Duc de Vendome were exerted to obstruct the progress of the siege. This important town, however, after a noble defence, surrendered to the allied army on the 10th of December; and thus the frontier of France was exposed to the most dangerous attacks of the enemy.

A resolution was immediately afterwards taken, late as the season was, to recover the important city of Ghent, lost at the commencement of the campaign, and which was the key of the principal rivers and canals. Count de la Mothe, who had recently been beaten at Wynendale, commanded there with thirty-seven battalions.

In four days after the opening of the trenches he beat a parley and surrendered, though no batteries had been raised against the body of the place, and the covered way had not been attacked. The surrender of Bruges immediately followed. After the termination of the campaign, public clamour ran so high against Chamillart, the French minister, that he was removed from the post of secretary, and the seals were transferred to M. Voisin. Soon after the surrender of Lisle, M. Berwick received a private letter from the Duke of Marlborough, signifying in frank and ingenuous terms that this was a favourable occasion to set on foot a negotiation for peace. Chamillart, however, "taking it into his head," as was his usual phrase, that this proposal proceeded from the bad situation of the allied army, dictated such an extraordinary answer, that M. Berwick sent it in French to show that it did not come from him. The Duke of Marlborough was so highly offended, that M. Berwick and M. de Torcy were persuaded that the extreme aversion which he afterwards showed in respect to all propositions of peace originated in resentment for the insult thus offered.

On the Rhine, this summer, nothing of importance occurred. From Italy, the Duke of Savoy attempted another invasion of France. Bending his march towards Savoy over Mount Cenis, he suddenly turned short, and, eluding the vigilance of M. Villars, made himself master of Exilles, Fort la Pérouse, and the citadel lately erected of Fenestrella; by which he not only secured his own territory from insult, but gained a free passage into the enemy's country.

At the close of the campaign of 1707, the Earl of Galway and the Marquis das Minas had returned under convoy of an English fleet to Portugal; and, that the war in Spain might be prosecuted with renewed spirit and vigour, the Emperor appointed to the chief command in Catalonia, Count Staremberg, a General, second in reputation only to Prince Eugene; and General Stanhope succeeded the Earl of Galway in the command of the English auxiliaries. The imperial General, however, not being sufficiently in force, the whole summer passed in operations of a defensive nature. In the interim, Sir John Leake made a conquest of the island of Sardinia, and, in concert with General Stanhope, of Minorca; and the Pope was menaced with the bombardment of Civita Vecchia, in return for the assistance which he had afforded the Pretender on his late expedition to Scotland. From this, however, his holiness was saved by the interposition of the imperial court; for the Pope had, though with great reluctance, and in consequence of the near and alarming approach of the German army from Lombardy towards Rome, recognised the Archduke as King of Spain; excusing himself to Philip V. by saying, "that this recognition added nothing to the right of his competitor."

In May, Commodore Wager, who commanded in the West Indies, signalised himself by an attack upon the Spanish Plate-fleet, on its passage from Carthagena to Porto Bello. The fight began at sunset; and soon after it was dark, the Spanish Admiral blew up with a tremendous explosion. The Rear-Admiral struck about two in the morning, and the Vice-Admiral escaped in a shattered condition. Another large ship of forty guns was run ashore and burnt, and the remaining ships were with difficulty saved by the intervention of a dangerous shoal off Carthagena.†

This year, on the 28th of October, died his royal highness Prince George of Denmark, who had been twenty-five years married to the Queen. It has been justly remarked, that "his total want of talents, his unaspiring disposition and mildness of temper, very happily combined to qualify him for the peculiarly critical station in which his high fortune had placed him, and in which a man of more shining abilities and more daring ambition might have proved singularly troublesome and dangerous." The Earl of Pembroke succeeded the Prince in the post of Lord-High-Admiral; resigning the offices of president of the council and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the former of which was given to Lord Somers, and the latter to the Earl of Wharton. The Earl, however, finding the business of the Admiralty too burdensome, it was, after a short interval, again put into commission, the Earl of Oxford being first Lord Commissioner; and thus the administration was once more constituted entirely of Whigs. The ground, however, was undermined beneath them, and they were themselves sensible that

* The French writers, on the other hand, declare, "that the 'King' showed in this battle much courage and keenness."

† In London, about this time, the Count de Matueof, the Russian ambassador, was arrested in the open street, by certain tradesmen to whom he was considerably indebted. This affair made a great noise; the ambassador declaring to Mr. Boyle, the secretary of state, that if the "criminals" were connived at, under any colour whatsoever, he should instantly depart the kingdom, and leave to the czar his master the protection of his injured honour. The Queen expressed great regret and resentment at the indignity offered, and ordered a prosecution to be instituted against the offenders by the attorney-general; but this did not satisfy the ambassador, who retired into Holland, and thence transmitted a letter from the czar to the Queen, requiring that capital punishment be inflicted upon all concerned in this atrocious assault. That monarch was astonished to be informed, that in England the laws were no less obligatory upon the sovereign than the subject, and that they authorised no such punishment. The persons who committed the arrest were tried in the court of Queen's bench by Lord Chief Justice Holt, and found guilty; but, on arguing the point of law, the court was compelled to dismiss the action. An act, however, was subsequently passed for securing the privileges of ambassadors and foreign ministers; a beautiful copy of which, illuminated on vellum, was presented to the czar by Mr. Whitworth, the English envoy; who at the same time acknowledged and apologised, for the previous insufficiency of the English laws to punish such an offence. The czar graciously declared his acceptance of the apology to the envoy, and also by a letter written with his own hand to the Queen.

they

they no longer possessed the Queen's regard or confidence.*

On the 16th of November, the new Parliament assembled, and chose Sir Richard Onslow speaker. On account of the recent death of her consort, the Queen did not open the session in person; but the Lord Chancellor delivered a speech on the usual topics, concluding with the declaration, "That her Majesty would always endeavour, on her part, to make her people happy to such a degree as that none should enter into measures for the disturbance of her government, the union, or the Protestant succession as by law established, without acting at the same time manifestly against their own true and lasting interest, as well as their duty."† In the course of the session, a remarkable law, originating in the terrors excited by the late invasion, was passed for the regulation of trials for high treason in Scotland. By a clause of this act, torture was abolished, and the forms of procedure in the Scottish judicatures were assimilated nearly to the practice of the English courts. As a heavy drawback on this indulgence, however, the pains and forfeitures of the English law were extended to Scotland. The House of Commons at length inserted a clause, that no estate in land should be forfeited upon a judgment of high treason; and the Lords agreed to the amendment, with the farther proviso, moved by Lord Somers, "That it should not take place till after the death of the Pretender." This rendered the bill odious in Scotland. The term of its duration was, at a subsequent period, extended to the death of the sons of the Pretender. Towards the close of the session, an act of grace, expressed in terms remarkably full, pardoning all treasons, &c. committed before the 19th of April, 1708, passed without any difficulty, and on the 21st of April, 1709, the Parliament was prorogued.

On the 5th of May following, the Earl of Wharton opened the Irish session with a speech, in which he called the attention of the two Houses to the inequality between the Roman Catholics and Protestants with respect to numbers, and reminded them of the sanguinary disposition of the former, as often as they had an opportunity to gratify it. In pursuance of this hint, a horrible bill was introduced and passed, inflicting penalties disgraceful to humanity, on those they were pleased to consider as delinquents; though, since the æra of the revolution, the Catholics had submitted with exemplary and uniform patience to hardships and oppressions, under the intolerable pressure of which even their sighs and groans were regarded as symptoms of an implacable and rebellious spirit. A prorogation of Parliament took place on the 30th of August, and in the succeeding month of May (A. D. 1710) another session was held, in which some acts passed for the encouragement of manufactures and commerce. At the end of the summer the Earl of Wharton took his leave of Ireland, the government of which in his hands displayed throughout the features of oppression.

France, reduced to great extremities, again entertained serious thoughts of peace; and, in March, after the departure of the Duke of Marlborough to England, M. Rouillé was sent to Holland to treat with the States upon the subject. Their high mightinesses, however, though they allowed him to enter the country, would admit no communication without the knowledge and participation of their allies. In April, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague, and held several conferences with the pensionary and the deputies of the States respecting the proposals of M. Rouillé, whose overtures were finally declared unsatisfactory, and the Duke returned in a short time to London. Unwilling to relinquish all hope of pacification, Louis XIV. now sent M. de Torcy, minister for foreign affairs, to the Hague, to renew the negotiation. The Duke of Marlborough and Lord Townshend, a young nobleman rising into political eminence, and now joined with the Duke in this important commission, immediately repaired thither a second time; and Count Zinzendorf also arrived nearly at the same time from Vienna as joint plenipotentiary with Prince Eugene. The conferences were renewed with fresh ardour; and such concessions were made by M. de Torcy as ought to have satisfied the utmost ambition of the allies. The French minister, having gone without avail to the extent of his commission, required a specification of the terms on which the allies would grant peace to France. Preliminary articles were accordingly framed and even signed by the ambassadors of the allied powers;‡ which M. de Torcy was authorised to lay before his most Christian Majesty, and to which he promised that a final answer should be given on or before the 4th of June ensuing (1709.) Such was the excessive rigour of the terms, that M. de Torcy was observed to be affected even to tears in the course of the conferences; the King of France, deriving courage from despair, determined to reject them; and on the 4th of June, Prince Eugene, who was then at Brussels, received a letter from M. de Torcy, importing that Louis XIV. having examined the project of peace concluded at the Hague, found it impossible for him to accept it. The article which chiefly influenced his decision was the last, which, as he affirmed, made the continuance of peace to depend upon a condition not in his power to execute —though he consented to recognise the Archduke as King of Spain, and to withdraw all assistance from the reigning sovereign.§ The negotiation being at an end, the campaign in Flanders was opened in June, 1709,

* It does not appear that at this period the Queen, deeply as she resented the conduct of the Marlborough party, entertained any design, or even idea, of emancipating herself from what she regarded as a political tyranny. The war, and the great leaders and supporters of it, were still highly popular; a new Parliament was on the eve of being elected under the influence of the present ministers: and Harley, whom the queen secretly and confidentially consulted, could not cherish the most distant hope that an administration of a different complexion, if formed, could sustain itself for a moment against so extensive and so potent a combination. Her Majesty, indeed seems to have considered herself as wholly at the mercy of her ministers; and, upon some surmise that a motion for inviting the electoral Prince to England would be brought forward in the ensuing session, at the instance, or with the concurrence of the Whigs, she had addressed herself in a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, couched in the most pressing terms, to avert from her what she deemed so intolerable an evil.

† The Lords Haddo and Johnstown, eldest sons of Scotch Peers, having been returned as representatives of the shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, petitions were presented against them as incapable by the act of union of sitting in the House of Commons. By an act of the Scotch Parliament, regulating the mode of electing sixteen Peers and forty-five commoners of that kingdom to represent Scotland in Parliament, and ratified by the act of union, it was declared, "that none shall be capable to elect or be elected to represent a shire or burgh in the Parliament of Great Britain, but such as are now capable to elect or be elected as commissioners for shires or burghs to the Parliament of Scotland." Several instances were alledged of the rejection of the eldest sons of Peers by the Scottish Parliaments; particularly the son of Viscount Tarbat in 1685, and of Lord Levingstone in 1689; and the case being clearly made out, new writs were issued for the counties of Aberdeen and Linlithgow. The Duke of Queensberry having been created an English Peer by the title of Duke of Dover, and taken his seat in Parliament as such, had nevertheless claimed his privilege of voting as a Peer of Scotland in the election of the sixteen Peers. This precedent was objected against as inequitable and dangerous, and, on a division, the matter in dispute was determined against the Duke of Queensberry, though supported by the influence of the court.

‡ The articles were in substance as follows:—"That the most Christian King shall acknowledge Charles III. as King of Spain; that in two months Sicily shall be put into the hands of King Charles; and the Duke of Anjou shall evacuate Spain; to which if he refuses his consent, the French King and the allies shall enter into proper measures for its enforcement—that the French King shall deliver up Strasburgh and Landau to the Emperor, and demolish New Brisac, Fort Louis, and Huningen—that he shall acknowledge the Queen of Great Britain and the Protestant succession—that he shall demolish Dunkirk, and cause the Pretender to retire from France—that he shall deliver up Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Warneton, Commines, Werwick, Poperingen, Lisle, Conde, and Maubeuge, for the barrier of the States—that he shall make over Exilles, Fenestrella, and Chemont, with the valley of Pragelas, &c. for a barrier to the Duke of Savoy—that the pretensions of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne shall be referred to the general negotiation—that the allies shall be allowed to make farther demands at the general congress—that the suspension of arms shall terminate at the end of two months, if the whole Spanish monarchy be not surrendered up before that time."

§ This negotiation, though unsuccessful, answered a good purpose to the King of France, who, in a successful appeal to the French nation, stated the preliminaries insisted upon by the allies. Even in England the impression made was very visible; persons of moderation and reflection perceiving, from the terms now offered and refused, that the war was in future to be continued merely to gratify the immeasureable ambition of the house of Austria.

by the siege of Tournay, which surrendered at discretion, after a long and obstinate resistance. The allies next prepared to attack the city of Mons: but the French army, commanded by Marechal Villars, posting themselves behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet, in order to obstruct this design, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene formed a resolution (September 11) to attack the French General in his camp, which, naturally strong, he had fortified with such care and diligence as to render it apparently inaccessible. After an obstinate and bloody engagement, however, the lines were forced; more than 30,000 men having been left dead upon the field. Marechal Villars was wounded, and compelled to retire from the scene of action: but Marechal Boufflers, second in command, made an excellent retreat; and the loss of the victors was little less than that of the vanquished. The victory, however, was crowned by the taking of Mons, a conquest essential to the security of Brabant; after which both armies went into winter quarters.

On the Rhine, the Elector of Hanover again took upon him the command; but Count Merci, being detached with a considerable body of troops to make an incursion into Franche Comté, was repulsed with loss by M. Harcourt, who conducted the opposite army: and the remaining operations of the campaign were entirely of a defensive nature.

On the frontier of Portugal, the Spanish and Portuguese armies were prepared for action early in the spring; and the Marquis das Minas, contrary to the advice of the Earl of Galway, determining to pass the Coya in face of the enemy commanded by the Marquis de Bay, was defeated with loss: the British infantry, as usual, fought heroically; and, as usual, were abandoned by the Portuguese cavalry. The Earl of Galway had a horse shot under him, and very narrowly escaped being taken. This brave but unfortunate General afterwards chose his posts along the Guadiana, to the banks of which he retreated so judiciously, that the Marquis de Bay could derive no advantage from his victory. On the eastern side, the town and castle of Alicant surrendered to the Spaniards, after a long and most pertinacious defence. The enemy, who had formed the blockade early in the month of December 1708, finding all other means ineffectual, resolved to blow up the rock on which the castle stands; and a mine having been excavated with immense labour, was filled with 200 barrels of powder. The Chevalier d'Asfeldt, who directed the operations of the siege, generously reluctant to carry his purpose into execution, summoned the governor, Colonel Syburgh, to surrender, and at the same time permitted him to send out two of his officers to view the condition of the mine. This produced no change in the resolution of the governor, who determined to stand the explosion; and the signal being next day made for firing the mine, he walked with several officers to the parade, and ordered the guard to retire. This was no sooner done than the mine was blown up, and with little or no noise, made on the very parade, an opening in the rock of some yards in length and about three feet wide, into which the governor and divers other officers fell; and, the opening instantly closing upon them, they all perished! Notwithstanding this horrible catastrophe, Colonel d'Albon, upon whom the command devolved, refused to capitulate. In consequence of so extraordinary a defence, a council of war was held at Barcelona, to concert effectual measures for their relief. General Stanhope in person undertook the command of an armament destined for that purpose; but the weather proved so tempestuous that the troops could not disembark. At length, provisions failing, and the garrison being reduced to extremity, General Stanhope sent a flag of truce to the Spanish commander, offering to surrender the castle of Alicant upon honourable terms; which were granted without hesitation, and the garrison marched out, on the 18th of April, with all the honours of war. On the frontier of Catalonia Marechal Staremberg passed the Segra, and captured the town of Balaguer, the garrison being made prisoners of war; after which he contented himself with acting upon the defensive.

Charles XII. of Sweden, resolving to invade Muscovy, had engaged himself so far in the Ukraine that there was no possibility remaining of retreat. Relying, therefore, upon his fortune, he passed the Nieper, and invested the important fortress of Pultowa. The czar marched at the head of a far superior army to raise the siege. Charles nevertheless determined to risque a battle; but in the end the Swedes were compelled to quit the field with the loss of their camp, artillery, and baggage; and, being closely pursued, the whole army, having neither bread nor ammunition, found themselves reduced to the dreadful necessity of surrendering as prisoners of war. Charles himself with a few followers, passing the Nieper, took refuge in the Turkish dominions, fixing his residence at Bender. Upon this great reverse of his affairs, King Augustus, declaring his renunciation of the crown forced and void, returned to Poland; which his rival Stanislaus was in no less haste to abandon, finding himself utterly unable to make any effectual resistance. The Kings of Denmark and Prussia embraced this apparently favourable opportunity to renew the war against Sweden; but the Danes, passing the Sound to Schoenen (March 1710,) were unexpectedly attacked and entirely defeated by the Swedish militia; and leaving behind them their horses, provisions, and baggage, the remainder of their army returned precipitately to Denmark.

Subsequently to the termination of the campaign in the Netherlands, the French court renewed, in a covert manner, their overtures for peace; and applied, through the mediation of M. Petkum, resident from the Duke of Holstein at the Hague, that passes might be granted for some ministers from France to come to Holland and renew the conferences; or otherwise, that M. Petkum should be permitted to go to France in order to concert some expedient that might facilitate the same general purpose. The former the States refused: but they consented that Petkum should go to France; which he did the latter end of November. Whilst these negotiations were carrying on, King Philip published a manifesto, wherein he protested against all that should be acted to his prejudice, as null and void; and declared his resolution to adhere to his faithful Spaniards as long as there should remain a man that would stand by him. In the course of a few weeks, Petkum returned with a proposal to resume the negotiations in form; and, at the same time, with a frank avowal from King Louis, that it would be impossible for him to execute the thirty-seventh article of the preliminaries relative to the evacuation of Spain, even if he should sign it. On this, the States not only refused to resume the negotiations, but wrote letters to the Emperor and the diet, and the other powers of the alliance, exhorting them to prosecute the war with redoubled energy and spirit. The Parliament met on the 15th of November; and though the necessity was again inculcated of making fresh efforts against the common enemy, the war became every day more unpopular in England.

On the 5th of November, Dr. Sacheverel, a clergyman of the high church party, preaching at St. Paul's cathedral upon the words of St. Paul, "Perils from false brethren," indulged himself in a strain of violent defamation of the present administration. The Lord Treasurer in particular was attacked by the name of Volpone (or the Fox;) and divers of the right reverend bench were also inveighed against, as "perfidious prelates and false sons of the church," on account of their moderation respecting the dissenters, and their avowed approbation of the toleration. He asserted, in terms the most unqualified, the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; and pretended that to say the revolution was inconsistent with those doctrines, was to cast black and odious imputations upon it. He affirmed that the church was violently assailed by her enemies, and faintly defended by those who professed themselves her friends. He vehemently urged the necessity of standing up in defence of the church, for

which he declared that he sounded the trumpet, and exhorted the people "to put on the whole armour of God." This harangue, being published at the request of the Lord Mayor, was extolled and applauded by the Tories, and circulated by them with great industry throughout the kingdom. At the height of the popular ferment excited by this invective, a complaint was formally preferred to the House of Commons, by one of the members of that House, Mr. Dolben, of this sermon, as containing positions contrary to revolution principles, to the present government, and to the Protestant succession. As it was thus obtruded upon the notice of the House, it was impossible to pass it over without notice; and the majority resolved upon a solemn Parliamentary impeachment at the bar of the House of Lords, which was in a short time actually presented. Every possible artifice was now put in practice by the Tory party to inflame the minds of the public, and to represent Sacheverel as the champion and martyr of the church, which the Whigs had, as they affirmed, a fixed intent to subvert; and of which project the impeachment of Sacheverel was only the prelude. These insinuations were swallowed by the populace with amazing avidity. During the trial, which lasted three weeks, his coach in passing between Westminster-hall and the Temple, where he then lodged, was constantly attended by vast multitudes with shouts and acclamations of applause. Great tumults prevailed in the metropolis; several places of worship, licensed under the act of toleration, were pulled down; and the houses of many of the most eminent dissenters were plundered, and those of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Wharton, the Bishop of Sarum, &c. were threatened with demolition. When the Commons had gone through their charge, the managers for Sacheverel undertook his defence with great art and eloquence. He afterwards recited a speech himself, in which he solemnly justified his intentions towards the Queen and her government. He spoke in the most respectful terms of the revolution, and the Protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance as a tenet of the church, in which he was brought up; and in a pathetic conclusion endeavoured to excite the pity of his audience. He was surrounded by the Queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was favoured by the Queen herself, who could not but approve a doctrine that confirmed her authority and enlarged her power. In conclusion, Sacheverel was found guilty of a misdemeanor by a majority of 17 voices only—52 to 69; and he was adjudged to be suspended from preaching for the space of three years, and his sermon to be publicly burned. To the same flames was also committed the famous decree of the university of Oxford, passed near thirty years before, asserting the absolute authority and indefeasible right of Princes. This mild sentence was considered as equivalent to an acquittal by the Tories, who celebrated their triumph by bonfires and illuminations, over the whole kingdom. These rejoicings were succeeded by numerous addresses, expressive of a zealous attachment to the church, and an utter detestation of all anti-monarchical and republican principles. In a progress which Sacheverel afterwards made into a remote part of the country, he was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, invited to the palaces of different noblemen, received in many towns by the magistrates in their formalities, and generally attended by a numerous escort of horse. In other places the hedges were ornamented with garlands of flowers, the steeples were covered with streamers and flags, and the air every where resounded with the cry of "The church and Sacheverel." The enthusiasm spread like a contagion through all ranks and orders of people.*

The Queen gave the first public indication of her total change of system by dismissing the Marquis of Kent, April 1710, and giving the office of chamberlain to the Duke of Shrewsbury. The Lord Treasurer, to whom the Queen had communicated her intention, and her hope that this change would meet with his approbation, wrote a strong expostulatory epistle to her Majesty; expressing his "conviction that she was suffering herself to be guided to her own ruin and destruction, as fast as it was possible for those to compass it to whom she now seemed so much to hearken." About the beginning of June the design of dismissing the Earl of Sunderland began to be publicly talked of: on which the Duke of Marlborough, then abroad, wrote to the Queen, stating in the most energetic terms the pernicious consequences of this step, and "the alarm and distrust it would excite in all foreign courts." The Duchess of Marlborough also interposed in behalf of the Earl, making it "her last request," and that Majesty would defer the blow till the end of the campaign. This, she added, "she begged upon her knees." On the 14th of June, however, Lord Sunderland was dismissed, and the seals were given to the Earl of Dartmouth. A step so decisive gave the utmost alarm to the Whigs, at whose suggestion, probably, Count Gallas, the imperial minister, and M. Vryberg, the Dutch resident, represented to the Queen the ill effects which a change of the ministry would produce on the whole political system. In answer to their respective memorials, the Queen declared her resolution, whatever changes might be in contemplation, to continue the Duke of Marlborough in his employments. In August the Lord High Treasurer Godolphin was deprived of his staff, and the treasury was put into commission—Earl Paulet being appointed the first commissioner. This appointment, however, was considered merely nominal; Mr. Harley, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, being regarded as chief and sole minister. In October the Queen came in person to the council, and ordered a proclamation to be issued for dissolving the Parliament; upon which the Lord Chancellor rose to speak: but the Queen declared, that she would admit of no debate, for that "such was her pleasure." At the same time, she dismissed the Lord Somers, and made the Earl of Rochester president of the council; the Duke of Buckingham was declared Lord Steward in the room of the Duke of Devonshire; the seals in the possession of Mr. Boyle were given to Mr. St. John; the Lord High Chancellor Cowper was superseded by Sir Simon Harcourt; the Earl of Wharton resigned to the Duke of Ormond the government of Ireland; and the Earl of Orford relinquished his seat at the head of the Admiralty, Sir John Leake succeeding as first commissioner. The Duke of Marlborough alone was still suffered to retain his employments, which he was deterred from resigning by the pressing entreaties of the Emperor and the States General, who conceived the fortune of the war to be in a great measure attached to his person.—The Tories were much elated at these changes, extolling the Queen "for asserting her just prerogative, and setting herself free from an arbitrary junto, who kept her in an inglorious dependence on their will and caprice;" and the Duke of Beaufort congratulated her Majesty "on his being now able to salute her as Queen in reality."

In the early part of the year, M. Torcy sent another project of peace to M. Petkum, offering three fortified towns in Flanders as a pledge for the execution of the 37th article respecting the restitution of the monarchy of Spain. To this an answer was returned, importing that the allies required his most Christian Majesty should declare in plain and express words that he consented to all the preliminaries except the 37th article; which done, the allies would send passports to his ministers to treat of an equivalent for that article. Louis at length reluctantly assented to this proposition; and the Marechal d'Uxelles, and the Abbe de Polignac, were appointed plenipotentiaries from his most Christian Majesty to meet those of the States General, to whom the management of this negotiation was committed, at Gertruy-

* Henry Sacheverel was born at Marlborough, and educated at Magdalen college, Oxford, of which he became fellow, and proceeded to the degree of doctor in divinity in 1709. He translated into English verse part of Virgil's first Georgic in Dryden's Miscellanies, and Mr. Addison addressed to him his Account of English Poets. After his trial he was presented to the valuable living of St. Andrew, Holborn. He died in 1724.

denberg. Several interviews took place; but the French ministers in conclusion broke up the conferences, declaring that the proposals made by the deputies of the States were unjust, and impossible to be executed. On the 25th of July, the French ambassadors quitted Gertruydenberg, to repair to their own court, which, seeing a new scene of things opening in England, began to talk of peace with an air of coldness and indifference.

Great progress had now been made in the military operations of the summer. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough had taken the field, in April; and, notwithstanding the exertions of M. Villars, who directed the operations of the French army, the allies successively reduced the towns of Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, passing in the prosecution of these sieges one hundred and fifty days in open trenches.

Nothing worthy of notice occurred on the Rhine, where Count Grousfelt commanded, in consequence of the resignation of the Elector of Brunswick. In Piedmont also the campaign was wholly defensive. The Duke of Savoy was, to all appearance, weary of the war, and little disposed to vigorous exertion. He even made secret proposals to M. Berwick of separate accommodation, requiring, as conditions, indemnity for his losses; the cession of Exilles, Fenestrella, and Monaco; and that Swiss garrisons should be placed in Briancon and Fort Barreaux, by way of security for the performance of the treaty. In lieu of these, France offered a transfer of all the pretensions of Spain upon the Duchy of Milan, and to acknowledge the Duke of Savoy as King of Lombardy; but Louis added, with becoming dignity, that he never would put into the hands of any foreign power the keys of his own kingdom; and as for Monaco, he could neither in honour nor conscience dispose of what did not belong to him. The negotiation upon this broke off, as secretly as it had commenced.

In Spain, the reigning monarch, eager to put a final termination to the hopes and claims of his competitor, advanced at the head of a powerful army into Arragon. General Stanhope, however, with a force inferior, attacked and totally routed the Spanish cavalry at Almanara, killing with his own hand the Spanish commander Amessaga, who had personally assailed him. Count Staremberg, following the motions of the King, discovered the Spanish army drawn up in order of battle near Saragossa; and an engagement ensuing (August 9) the enemy were entirely defeated. King Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip retired with the wreck of his army to Madrid. Charles, proceeding to Madrid in pursuit of his competitor, had the mortification to find that city entirely deserted by the Spanish grandees, and received the most convincing proofs of the fidelity and attachment of the Castilians to his rival. As it was now evident that the Archduke could never reign in Spain, he, after remaining one night only in the capital, removed to Toledo, there purposing to pass the winter; but he soon found his quarters untenable, from the hostile disposition of the surrounding country.

Philip having made great exertions to collect another army, he soon appeared again in great force, and took possession of his metropolis, amidst loud acclamations. Count Staremberg being wholly unsupported, and apprehending that his retreat to Catalonia might be intercepted, marched back to Saragossa, in the beginning of November.

General Stanhope, with the greater part of the English forces, not entertaining any apprehension of danger, imprudently entered into cantonments at Brihuega, a place so far distant from Saragossa as to make it impracticable to receive immediate support in case of necessity from General Staremberg. He was advised to place a guard upon the neighbouring hills, to prevent a surprise; but neglecting this caution, he found himself, on the 27th of November, suddenly surrounded by the Spanish army; and, as the place was not tenable, and he had little ammunition, he was obliged, after a short but vigorous resistance, to capitulate, and surrender himself and all his forces prisoners of war.

The two armies having approached very near to each other, the imperialists lay on their arms the whole night of the 28th at Villa Viciosa; and, on the morning of the 29th, they were attacked by the Spaniards, much superior in force. The battle was fought with great valour but doubtful success. Staremberg's left wing was utterly defeated, but the right, where he commanded in person, not only maintained their ground but compelled the enemy finally to retire from the field, with the loss of 6000 men, to which his own bore so large a proportion that he found it requisite to abandon Arragon, and retreat to Catalonia; and being closely pursued by the Duc de Vendome, he was at last driven to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona. The important towns of Balaguer and Gironne were also reduced before the end of the campaign to the obedience of Philip, who, from the condition of a fugitive, became in three months absolute master of the whole Spanish monarchy, some places in Catalonia only excepted.

Early in July, the Marquis de Bay surprised the town of Miranda de Duero, in Portugal, and afterwards formed the blockade of Braganza without effect. The Spanish army retiring within the line of their own frontier, on the approach of the allies, the Portuguese made themselves masters of some fortified posts of little consideration. Some time before this, the Earl of Galway had obtained leave to return to England. His enemies, finding it impossible to bring his honour or his courage into question, as vainly endeavoured to impeach his conduct and judgment.

General Stanhope now owned, that nothing could be done more in Spain; and Lord Peterborough was impressed with the same important truth.

On the 25th of November, the new Parliament assembled. It was composed almost wholly of Tories; Mr. Bromley was chosen speaker with scarcely any opposition. In her speech, the Queen recommended the carrying on the war in all its parts, "particularly in Spain," with the utmost vigour.

The Duke of Marlborough arrived in London, in December, and was received with the usual popular acclamation. Strongly solicited by the States General and the Emperor to continue in the command, he seemed resolved to acquiesce in the new order of things; but, convinced at length, that the Duchess of Marlborough must relinquish every hope of regaining the lost affection of the Queen, he carried (January 19, 1711) a surrender of all her places to his sovereign, who divided them between the Duchess of Somerset and Mrs. Masham.*

The House of Commons, actuated by party spirit, eagerly sought occasions to display their hatred to the principles and persons of their predecessors. In pursuance of the report of a committee instituted for examining into the public accounts, they voted, "That of the moneys granted by Parliament, thirty-five millions remained unaccounted for." Mr. Mainwaring, however, auditor of the imprest, published a satisfactory answer to the report, by which it appeared, that of the thirty-five millions, above thirty were accounted for; although from official impediments, the accounts were not formally passed: that, in order to swell the amount, arrears due from the reign of King William, and even of Charles II. were included: and that in no time were accounts so regularly brought up as under the administration of Lord Godolphin. The House of Commons nevertheless, presented a subsequent address to the Queen, in which this accusation was repeated; and, for the sake of offering an indignity to the memory of King William, they ordered in a bill empowering commissioners to examine all grants made by that monarch, and to report the value of them, and the considerations

* The Duke was told "That he had nothing to reproach the present ministers with; that his wife, Lord Godolphin, and himself, had thrown the Queen's favour away; and that he ought not to be angry if other people had taken it up." He never brought the key till he had but three days given him to do it in; and till he found there a longer delay was not to be hoped for from the Queen's resolution.

upon

upon which they were bestowed. This however was rejected by the Upper House.

The Tories having now obtained an ascendancy in the Lords, in consequence of the accession of the sixteen Scottish Peers, came to a resolution, "That the Earl of Peterborough had given a very faithful, just, and honourable account of the councils of war in Valencia; and that the adoption of the opinion of the Earl of Galway, and General Stanhope, for the prosecution of offensive measures, was the unhappy occasion of the battle of Almanza, and our consequent misfortunes in Spain:" and the Earl of Peterborough was thanked for his great and eminent services. A strong protest, however, was entered against this resolution, signed by thirty-six Peers.

About this time, a person calling himself the Marquis de Guiscard, a French refugee, who had been refused, or deprived of a pension by Mr. Harley, being subsequently apprehended on a just suspicion of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with France, and examined before the Council Board, made a sudden and desperate attempt to stab him in the breast with a penknife. Fortunately, the knife alighting on the bone, broke short, and the hurt was comparatively slight. Guiscard was secured, though not without some difficulty, and after receiving several wounds, of which he soon after died in prison. On this event an act was passed, declaring an attempt on the life of a privy counsellor to be felony; and both Houses of Parliament joined in an address to the Queen, expressing their great concern for this barbarous and villainous attempt on the person of Mr. Harley, whose fidelity to her Majesty, and zeal for her service, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and faction. Another circumstance, favourable to the views of Mr. Harley, was the sudden death of the Earl of Rochester, between whom and Harley strong symptoms of jealousy and competition had already appeared. Mr. Harley was immediately raised to the dignity of Lord High Treasurer, and created Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer.

Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of June.*

Joseph, Emperor of the Romans, died about this period. His death was an event of great political importance, as it afforded a fair opening to renew the overtures for a general peace. In April this year died also the Dauphin of France, only son of the King, in the 50th year of his age. His eldest son, the Duke of Burgundy, succeeded to the rank and title of Dauphin, but did not retain them many months, as he died, to the great grief of the French nation, early in the ensuing year.

By his incessant intrigues and machinations at the Porte, the King of Sweden had prevailed upon the Grand Seignor, Achmet III. to declare war against Muscovy. The czar, advancing with indiscretion and dangerous contempt of his enemy, far into the Turkish territories, was surrounded by the grand vizir in his camp near the banks of the Pruth, his supplies cut off, and he himself reduced to the necessity of purchasing a peace by the sacrifice of Asoph and his other conquests. In Germany, the King of Denmark unsuccessfully attempted the sieges of Stralsund and Wismar, and he incurred the disgrace of violating the peace, without obtaining any commensurate advantage.

In May, the Duke of Marlborough appeared for the last time at the head of the grand army in Flanders—Prince Eugene commanding a separate body of forces on the Rhine. This campaign was not distinguished on the part of the English, by brilliant success, but it attracted uncommon attention, as exhibiting consummate proofs of military skill and conduct.†

On the Rhine, in Italy, and in Spain, where the Duke of Argyle had succeeded General Stanhope, nothing of moment was attempted on either side The imperial diet assembling at Frankfort under the protection of Prince Eugene, proceeded quietly to the election of an Emperor; and the votes of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who were under the ban of the empire, being previously rejected, the electoral college made choice of Charles King of Spain, brother to the late Emperor; who, in the prospect of his new dignity, having quitted Barcelona in September, was crowned at Frankfort with the usual ceremonies.

In the course of the summer, the French, whose marine had gradually fallen into decay since the battle off Malaga, unexpectedly fitted out a considerable squadron under M. Du Guai Trouin, destined for Brazil. Having entered the bay of Rio de Janeiro, he compelled the Portuguese to run ashore, and set several of their ships on fire; after which he made himself master of the town of St. Sebastian, where he found a prodigious booty. On the other hand, an expedition of a somewhat similar nature, set on foot by the new ministers in England, succeeded very ill. The French settlement of Port Royal in the Peninsula of Acadia in North America had been taken possession of by Colonel Nicholson, who gave it the appellation of Annapolis. A design was now formed for the capture of Quebec, the capital of French America; and 5000 troops were put under the command of Brigadier Hill—brother to the favourite, Mrs. Masham—convoyed by a strong squadron under Sir Hovenden Walker. After various delays the fleet entered the gulf of St. Laurence in August; expecting a powerful co-operation from the colonial forces, who were to join them by way of Albany. Before they could reach the city of Quebec, however, they were overtaken by a violent storm, and enveloped in so thick a fog, that they entirely lost sight of land,

* The convocation, which met at the same time with the Parliament, chose the famous Atterbury prolocutor. Soon after, the Queen sent them a licence under the great seal, to sit and do business in as ample a manner as had been ever granted since the Reformation. By this licence they were empowered to enter upon such consultations as the present state of the church required, and especially of such matters as she should lay before them. Immediately a committee was appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of religion and the church, which contained a most virulent declamation against the government from the time of the revolution. This was ascribed to the pen of Atterbury; but the Bishops disapproving the terms in which it was framed, a contest between the two Houses ensued. Their attention, however, was soon diverted to another topic. Whiston, the famous mathematical professor at Cambridge, had recently published a book, in which he attempted to revive and defend the ancient Arian heresy; for which he was expelled the university. Upon this, he wrote a vindication of his doctrine, and dedicated it to the convocation; for which astonishing instance of effrontery, the orthodox sons of the church determined to make him feel the effects of their resentment. But the Archbishop Tennison, a mild and tolerant prelate, stated it as a doubt whether this assembly had any clear warrant for proceeding criminally against a man for heresy. The judges being consulted, were divided in opinion; eight affirming, with some hesitation, that they could; and four with great confidence, that they could not proceed in such a case. With the terrible penalties of a præmunire in prospect, it was necessary therefore to act very cautiously: and their Lordships satisfied themselves with extracting certain propositions from the book in question, which they censured as false and heretical; in which the Lower House concurred. This the Archbishop transmitted to the Queen for her assent, who promised to consider of it; but she did not send any answer during the sitting of the convocation. Neither at their next meeting in the ensuing winter did the expected answer appear. Two Bishops being at length deputed to ask for it, she declared, that she could not tell what was become of the Archbishop's paper. So a new extract of the censure was again sent to her: but no answer ever arrived, and Whiston's affair remained undecided.

† Marechal Villars had with great labour and perseverance drawn lines from Bouchaine on the Scheldt along the Sanset and Scarpe to Arras and Cauche, which he had fortified by redoubts, batteries, and other military works, in such a manner that he hesitated not to boast that they were impregnable, and that the English commander had arrived at his "ne plus ultra." The Duke, however, boldly advanced within two leagues of the French lines; and Villars drew his whole force on that side, in expectation of an immediate engagement. The Duke had previously given orders to Generals Cadogan and Hompesch, with a strong detachment secretly drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, to take possession of the passes on the river Sanset at Arleux. At nine in the evening the Duke silently decamped; and by eight the next morning he arrived at Arleux with his whole army, after a march of ten leagues, without halting. Villars, on being certified of the Duke's motions within a few hours of his departure, marched all night with such expedition, that at eleven the next morning he was in sight of the Duke of Marlborough, who, to his unspeakable mortification, had, as Villars now found, entered those lines which he had himself vauntingly pronounced impregnable, without the loss of a man. The Duke immediately invested the important fortress of Bouchaine, which surrendered after twenty days' open trenches only. This admired and hazardous military achievement closed the long glories of this celebrated commander, who, at the critical moment in which he had almost penetrated the French barrier, and when another Ramillies might have removed all obstacles in his march to Paris, was divested of all the civil and military employments which he had filled with so much glory to himself and to his country.

and could find no soundings or anchorage. The men of war escaped with extreme hazard, but eight transports were lost with their crews and stores; and when the weather cleared up, it was agreed to return home without making any further attempt. They accordingly arrived at Portsmouth early in October.*

During the recess of Parliament, Lord Raby, head of the family of Wentworth-Woodhouse in Yorkshire, long resident at Berlin, was created Earl of Strafford, and sent ambassador to Holland; Sir Simon Harcourt was created Baron Harcourt, and soon after Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Hamilton was admitted to the honours of the English peerage, under the title of Duke of Brandon; the Bishop of Bristol, on the decease of the Duke of Newcastle, was constituted Lord Privy Seal; and the Duke of Buckingham, being made president of the council in the room of the Earl of Rochester, was succeeded in the office of Lord Steward by Earl Paulet, who had been superseded in the treasury by the late promotion of Mr. Harley.† The Earl of Oxford, aware of the unpopularity of the war, had from the first moment of his accession to power, formed the determination to conclude a peace with France; a determination which he manifested too strongly and eagerly not to afford great advantage to a politic and penetrating adversary. The King of France received this intimation with an affectation of indifference, and absolutely refused to resume the negotiations with Holland. However, in a memorial transmitted by M. de Torcy to the court of London, in April 1711, he declared his willingness to treat through the medium of England; and the States General acknowledged themselves ready to join in any measures to obtain a good peace. The whole of the summer was spent in an interchange of messages; and towards the autumn the negotiation became accidentally public, in consequence of the unexpected arrest of one of the government agents, Mr. Prior, at Deal, for want of a passport. Count Gallas, the imperial ambassador, expostulating upon this occasion with the Earl of Oxford, was assured that there was no ground of alarm; for that the Queen would never conclude a peace derogatory from her engagements with her allies. But M. Mesnager, who accompanied Mr. Prior from Paris, being invested with full powers on the part of the most Christian King, provisional articles were actually agreed upon, September the 27th, 1711, O. S. between Great Britain and France, and signed by the two secretaries of state.‡ Five days after the departure of M. Mesnager, the ministers communicated the provisional articles to Count Gallas, who treated them with much scorn, and caused an English translation of them to be published in a paper called The Daily Courant.§

Great and just offence was taken at his thus disclosing the circumstances of a pending negotiation; and an order was sent him, forbidding his appearance at court. The States General, to whom no communications had been made for many months, were scarcely less dissatisfied than the court of Vienna at the tenor of these provisional articles, which they considered as a very insufficient foundation to build upon; and it was not without great reluctance, that their high mightinesses agreed to open the conferences afresh at Utrecht, on the 1st of January, 1712. The Emperor, on his part, wrote a circular letter to the Electors and Princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in the engagements of the grand alliance. To obviate any disagreeable consequences from the resentment of the Emperor, Queen Anne had sent Earl Rivers to Hanover, to assure the Elector that his interests would be particularly attended to; but his serene highness, notwithstanding, expressed his total disapprobation of the measures in question; and he also ordered his minister, Baron Bothmar, to deliver to Mr. St. John a memorial, which soon afterwards appeared in the public prints, representing the pernicious consequences of leaving Spain and the Indies in the hands of the Duke of Anjou. This indiscreet step, applauded as it was by the Whig party, produced no other effect, than to give extreme umbrage to the court of London, and to lay the foundation of a dangerous misunderstanding between the Queen and her successor.

By a separate and secret instrument signed the same day with the provisional articles, certain additional specific advantages were stipulated for Great Britain: viz. the confirmation of Gibraltar and Minorca, and the cession of the island of St. Christopher.‖

The Pretender, knowing the coldness subsisting between the courts of London and Hanover, was at this time emboldened to address the Queen, in a letter, urging her, as she tendered her own honour and happiness, to do him that justice to which he was entitled; in which case he assured her that no reasonable terms of accommodation which she could desire for herself should be refused by him—and declaring his readiness to give all the security that could be desired, of his

* Scarcely had they reached the harbour, when the Admiral's ship, the Edgar of seventy guns, by some accident blew up, with a great number of persons on board, exclusive of the ship's crew.

† A singular occurrence took place about this time in Scotland. The Duchess of Gordon, a violent female politician, noted for her attachment to the banished family, sent as a present to the faculty of advocates at Edinburgh, a medal with a head on the right side and this legend, "Cujus est?" and on the reverse the British islands, with this motto, "Reddite." A debate arising whether this curious donation should be received, the affirmative was carried by sixty-three voices against twelve; and Mr. Dundas of Arnistoun, in the name of the faculty, returned her grace most hearty thanks for this medal of their sovereign Lord the King—"hoping and being confident that her grace would very soon have an opportunity to compliment the faculty with a second medal, struck upon the restoration of the monarch and the termination of rebellion." Advice being transmitted of this act of effrontery to the Duke of Queensberry, Secretary of State for Scotland, and M. Kreyenberg, the Hanoverian resident, making it the subject of a formal memorial, the Lord Advocate, Sir David Dalrymple, a known friend to the Protestant succession, was dismissed from his office, on pretence of remissness in not prosecuting the Scottish medalists: while Dundas was allowed to escape, notwithstanding his printing a vindication of his conduct, still more impudent and treasonable than his former proceedings. This affair was represented by the enemies of the ministry as a decisive proof of their secret bias in favour of the Pretender; and by their friends, as a trivial and idle business, unworthy of serious notice.

‡ It has been asserted that M. Mesnager, by the instigation or encouragement of Mr. St. John, spoke to the Queen in favour of the Pretender, whom he called "her brother;" and that she did not seem displeased at his discourse. But this is not confirmed by his own account of the negotiation. Indeed the official instructions of M. Mesnager were not such as were likely to incite him to urge this topic with much earnestness or ardour. "It will be acceptable to me," said Louis, on delivering to him his commission, "if you can render the young King any service, and bring the new ministry and Queen into his interest, and make way for his being placed on the throne after the Queen. But remember, if the main affair of the treaty requires it, and the Queen insists upon it, you must give him up to his better fortunes. We must not be ruined on his account. "Entendez vous?" said the King twice together.

§ The articles were seven in number, importing, 1stly, the acknowledgment of the Queen of Great Britain and the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover; 2dly, an engagement to take all just and reasonable measures to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain. The third respects an eventual treaty of commerce. The fourth contains a promise of a secure barrier for Holland; the fifth, the same on the side of the empire; the sixth, the demolition of Dunkirk; the seventh, a vague engagement that the pretensions of all the Princes and States engaged in the war shall be amicably discussed and regulated. These loose and general conditions excited universal surprise and distrust.

‖ Considerable difficulties arose in the course of the negotiation respecting the second provisional article—the King of Spain being extremely reluctant to relinquish his right of succession to the crown of France, which by the recent death of the Dauphin, late Duke of Burgundy, would by the laws of France devolve upon him on the demise of the only surviving son of the Duke. In this case the King of Spain proposed that the Spanish monarchy should be transferred to the Duke of Orleans, first Prince of the blood, while he himself succeeded to the crown of France. Louis supported him in his claim: the Marquis de Torcy urging, "That no act of renunciation would invalidate the sacred unalienable right of succession, being founded on a fundamental law, which (said he) we in France are persuaded that God alone can abolish." To this reasoning Mr. St. John replied, "We are willing to believe that you in France are convinced that God alone can abolish that law, upon which the rights of your succession are founded; but you will permit us in England to be also convinced that a Prince can go from his right by a voluntary cession of it; and that he in favour of whom this renunciation is made, may be justly supported in his pretensions by the powers who become guarantees to the treaty." This reasoning, corroborated by a peremptory declaration that the negotiation should be suspended till the solemn renunciations required were assented to, was found too cogent to be resisted; and the renunciations were ultimately executed by the King of Spain, and the Princes of the blood in France, in all the legal and diplomatic forms.

unalterable

unalterable resolution to make the law of the land the rule of his government—to maintain the church of England in its just rights and privileges; but without giving the slightest intimation or hope that he might be induced to change his religion. To this letter it does not appear that any answer was given.

The Queen, in her speech to the two Houses, (Dec. 7, 1711) expressed her joy in being able to inform them, that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, both time and place had been appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace. An address of thanks being proposed, the Earl of Nottingham moved that a clause might be added to the address, representing to her Majesty, "That in the opinion of that House, no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the Indies were allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon." This gave rise to a violent debate. The Duke of Marlborough, conceiving himself to be invidiously pointed at in the speech from the throne, affirmed, "that he could declare with a safe conscience, in the presence of her Majesty, of that illustrious assembly, and of that Supreme Being who is infinitely above all the powers upon earth, and before whom, according to the ordinary course of nature, he must soon appear to give an account of his actions, that he ever was desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and that he was far from any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. That his advanced age, and the many fatigues he had undergone, made him earnestly wish for retirement and repose, having already honours and riches heaped upon him far beyond his desert or expectation. But that he was, in duty to his country and to his sovereign, bound to declare his opinion, that no treaty of pacification, either honourable, safe, or lasting, could be concluded on the foundation of the seven preliminary articles." The previous question being put upon the motion of the Earl of Nottingham, it was carried in the affirmative by a single vote, and the main question by eight voices (sixty-two to fifty-four) against the utmost efforts of the court.* On presenting the address, her Majesty coldly replied, that "she should be very sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West Indies from the house of Bourbon." On the other hand the address of the Commons was expressed in the highest strain of satisfaction and loyalty, a clause similar to that of the Earl of Nottingham being rejected by a majority of 232 voices against 106.

The ministers appear to have been desirous of fixing some stigma upon the character of the Duke of Marlborough; and it appearing on the report of the commissioners of public accounts, framed in a spirit of party rancour, that he had received, in the capacity of commander in chief, certain perquisites, not indeed recognised by Parliament, but authorised by precedent, and out of which the whole expence of secret service was defrayed, it was resolved by the House, that the sums so applied ought to be accounted for as public property; and in the sequel the Queen ordered the attorney-general to commence a prosecution against the Duke for money actually received by virtue of her own warrant.

The occasional conformity bill, which had miscarried three times, and had lain dormant for seven years, was passed this session, through a political manœuvre of the Earl of Nottingham.

During the Christmas recess of 1711, matters having then attained sufficient maturity, the Duke of Marlborough was dismissed from all his employments, by a letter under the Queen's own hand; the charges brought against him in the House of Commons, respecting the perquisites received by his grace as commander-in-chief of the forces of Great Britain, being made the pretext for his disgrace. The Duke, in answer, told the Queen, "That if the inveteracy of his enemies had not been more powerful with them than the consideration of her Majesty's honour and justice, they would not have influenced her to impute the occasion of his dismission to a false and malicious insinuation, contrived by themselves, and made public when there was no opportunity for him to give in his answer."

A. D. 1712.] Very dangerous schemes and projects occupied the Whig party from this period, and gave rise to still more dangerous designs on the part of the furious on the opposite side. The command of the Queen's forces in Flanders was, on the dismission of the Duke of Marlborough, offered to the elector of Hanover; which he, as was foreseen, refusing to accept, the Duke of Ormond was appointed Captain-General of all her Majesty's forces at home and abroad. The Whig interest still preponderating in the Lords, a resolution was taken to create twelve new Peers, to secure a majority for the court.†

The 2d of January (1712) the twelve new Peers were introduced into the House; and the Scotch Lords being now also arrived, the court acquired a decided and permanent majority.

Ministers were embarrassed at this time by an unexpected and unwelcome visit from Prince Eugene, who, on the dismission of Count Gallas, was charged with instructions from the Emperor to represent to the Queen in terms the most urgent, the fatal consequences which would attend the defection of England from the alliance, and to propose a new plan for the future conduct of the war, in which his Imperial Majesty would take upon himself a larger proportion of the burthen than had been required from his predecessors, Leopold and Joseph. The remonstrances of his highness produced no effect; but he was treated with all the external demonstrations of esteem and respect by the Queen, and entertained with great magnificence by the ministers, particularly by the Lord Treasurer, who, it is said, declared in polite terms to the Prince the pride he felt in having for his guest the first General in Europe. "If I am," said his highness, "it is to your lordship I am indebted for it"—alluding to the recent dismission of the Duke of Marlborough. The Prince received, however, positive assurances of concurrence in a vigorous prosecution of the war.

Mr. Walpole, late Secretary at War, having rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the Tories, advantage was taken of an act of his, when in office, to expel him from the House, and also to commit him to the Tower. It appears that Mr. Walpole, in contracting with certain persons for the article of forage, was desirous that a friend might be admitted to a participation of the profits; in lieu of which, the contractors agreed to give him five hundred guineas. The name of the person being concealed, a bill for the amount was paid into Mr. Walpole's hands and indorsed by him. No part of the money was retained by Walpole; but the House nevertheless voted the acceptance of it to be an act of corruption, and proceeded to expulsion and commitment. The censures of the House were treated by the friends of Mr. Walpole with contempt, and he was immediately rechosen by the borough of Lynn Regis. Upon which the House came to the following remarkable resolution, "that Robert Walpole, Esq. having been this session of Parliament committed a prisoner to the Tower of London, and expelled this House for a high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption when Secretary at War, was

* The ascendancy of the opposition in the Peers conspicuously shewed itself, on another occasion, to the great chagrin of the court. The Duke of Hamilton, lately created Duke of Brandon, claiming the place which appertained to him in that quality, was opposed by many of the English Lords, who conceived such assumption to be incompatible with the act of union, as giving a power to the crown to introduce a greater number of Scotch Peers into the House than were allowed by the act. After a vehement debate, the claim of the Duke was rejected, notwithstanding the precedent of the Duke of Queensberry admitted to sit as Duke of Dover, by fifty-seven to fifty-two voices. The Scotch Peers were much enraged at this determination; and signed a representation to the Queen, complaining of it as a breach of the union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland, who were thus stigmatised as the only description of persons in the realm incapable of being admitted to the honours of the English peerage.

† Sir Miles Wharton, being offered a peerage on this occasion, rejected it with disdain, saying, "that formerly peerages were the reward of services done, but now it appeared they were merely a compensation for services to be done."

and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament."

As it had been a great object with the late Whig ministers to obtain the guarantee of Holland in support of the Protestant succession, it was no less a favourite point with the States that England should guaranty to them in return the quiet possession of their barrier in Flanders. A treaty containing these reciprocal conditions was signed by Lord Townshend at the Hague, October 29, 1709, wherein the barrier was settled to consist not merely of various places acknowledging the sovereignty of the crown of Spain, but of several very important towns captured during the course of the war from France—as Lisle, Tournay, Menin, and Douay. This treaty was regarded by the present ministers as a grand obstacle in the way of peace, which could not too soon be removed; and though it had been solemnly ratified by the Queen, it was now condemned without reserve by the Commons, who came to divers resolutions upon the subject, importing:

1st. "That in the treaty for settling a barrier, &c. under colour of securing the Protestant succession, were several articles destructive to the interest of Great Britain, and highly dishonourable to her Majesty.

2dly. "That Lord Viscount Townshend had not any orders or authority for negociating or concluding several articles in that treaty.

3dly. "That the Lord Viscount Townshend, who signed, and all those who advised the ratifying of that treaty, were enemies to the Queen and kingdom."

The States General, astonished and alarmed at these proceedings, wrote a respectful letter to the Queen, stating the necessity of a powerful barrier for the security of England as well as Holland, and expressing their readiness to explain or modify any articles of the treaty which should not essentially affect the preservation of the Dutch nation, and entreating her Majesty to continue towards them that precious friendship and good will with which she had hitherto honoured them. The House of Commons, however, in an inflammatory representation to the Queen, charged the allies in general, and the States General in particular, with having been grossly deficient in furnishing their quotas of men and money; and, in answer to the various memorials of the States, they received only a cold and vague assurance from the Queen, that she would contribute what was in her power towards their satisfaction, without abandoning the interest of her own kingdoms.

One of the most laudable measures of this Parliament was the bill of granting a toleration to the Scottish episcopalians. Seventeen members only divided against this measure; and of these fourteen were Scotch. The bill passed, with a remarkable clause prohibiting the magistrates of Scotland in future to execute the sentences of the judicatories of the kirk, which was by this means divested of its temporal terrors. This bill was accompanied by another for restoring the right of patronage.

It was about this time, that the first symptoms began to be visible of a coldness and jealousy between the Treasurer and the Secretary, which seem to have originated at the period when Oxford being for a time incapacitated for business by the wound he received from Guiscard, the sole management of affairs devolved on Mr. St. John.*

The first day of the new year had been nominated for opening the Congress at Utrecht, but the conferences did not commence till the 29th of January, 1712; when the Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy Seal, repairing to the appointed place in great pomp, addressed the assembly in a set speech, particularly and earnestly recommending "clearness, openness, and sincerity, in the conduct of the present negotiation." The propositions signed by M. Mesnager were declared to be the basis of the treaty; for the Congress had not the least notice or intimation of the provincial articles signed on the part of France and England. The ministers of France delivered in their projet of peace February 11th, and it was couched in so high a strain as to excite the greatest amazement.† On the other hand, a contre-projet was given in on the part of the allies, in which the English plenipotentiaries, in contradiction to the secret preliminaries, joined with the rest of the confederate powers in demanding the restitution of the whole Spanish monarchy to the House of Austria; and a specific answer in writing was insisted upon by the French ministers. This the Marechal d'Uxelles refused, and proposed to enter into verbal conferences upon the subject. Upon this difference, the negotiation seemed for many weeks at a stand. The Dutch ministers resuming the language which they had before held, the abbé Polignac disdainfully replied.—"Gentlemen, circumstances are changed, and we shall change our tone: we have been betrayed through you, and by you." In the course of the negotiation, M. Vanderdussen, one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries, urging upon M. de Polignac the releasement of the Protestants confined in the galleys as a condition of the peace, that minister, so celebrated for his wit and address, asked whether the States would, at the request of France, set at liberty the people detained in their spinning-houses and rasp-houses? To which the Dutchman happily answered, "Yes, if the French court would acknowledge those malefactors as brethren."—About this period, Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the Treasurer, and the abbé Gualtier, an obscure priest, arrived at Utrecht, by whom a plan for a general peace was imparted to the English plenipotentiaries, without the least communication with the rest of the allies. Only the Dutch were vehemently urged, "to come into the Queen's measures; otherwise she would consider herself as discharged from all obligation towards them." The States at length thought proper to send a solemn deputation to the Earl of Strafford (April 28,) to know authoritatively what the Queen's measures were. But this nobleman declined to enter into particulars, declaring nevertheless, "that her Majesty's intentions were that her troops should act with the same vigour against France as if there were no negociation on foot."

The confederate army took the field in April under the Prince of Savoy, whom their high mightinesses had appointed Captain General of their forces. The Duke of Ormond, arriving at the Hague nearly at the same time, gave all possible assurances to the pensionary of

* So long since as May 1711, the Secretary wrote to Lord Orrery, resident at Brussels: "Mr. Harley, since his recovery, has not appeared at the Council or at the Treasury at all, and very seldom in the House of Commons. We who are reported to be in his intimacy have few opportunities of seeing him, and none of talking freely with him. As he is the only true channel through which the Queen's pleasure is conveyed, so there is and must be a perfect stagnation till he is pleased to open himself, and set the water flowing." In a following letter he declares the Treasurer "to be wanting in that grace and openness which engages the affection:" and at a later period, April 1712, he mentions him with disgust, as "affecting secrecy and concealment in some important points of the negociation." In his dispatch of July 23d. he breaks out into the most undisguised and impassionate terms of hatred. His own recent promotion to the peerage he ascribes to envy on the part of Oxford. "In the House of Commons," says he, "I was at the head of business, and I must have continued so whether I had been in court, or out of court. There seems to be nothing done for my sake, or as a mark of favour to me. I own to you that I felt more indignation than ever in my life I had done: and the only consideration which kept me from running to extremities, was, that I knew any appearance of breach between myself and the Lord Treasurer would give our common enemies spirit."

† The abbé de Polignac, one of the plenipotentiaries, had previously declared the propositions made at Gertruydenberg—to which the imperial minister, Count Zinzendorf, wished to advert—to be no longer existing; and all the King of France now offered was, to recognise the title of Queen of Great Britain, and the succession of the crown in the House of Hanover, at the signing of the peace; to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk for a satisfactory equivalent, to cede the islands of St. Christopher, Hudsons's Bay, and Newfoundland, excepting Placentia, to England; and to add to the present Dutch barrier the towns of Furnes, Ypres, Menin, and Fort Knoque. At the same time his Most Christian Majesty demanded, in order to form the barrier of France, Aire, St. Venant, Bethune, and Douay, with their dependencies; that the frontier on the side of the empire and of Italy should be the same as before the war—or, in other words, that Landau, Fenestrella, and Exilles, should be restored to France—that the Low Countries should be given to the Elector of Bavaria; and that Lisle and Tournay should be considered as the equivalent for Dunkirk. Finally, his Most Christian Majesty engaged, that the King of Spain do relinquish all his pretensions to Naples, Sardinia, and Milan, in favour of the Emperor.

a cordial

a cordial and confidential co-operation with the allies, and especially the Dutch. On the subsequent junction of the armies, a good understanding seemed to prevail between the two Generals; and about the middle of May, the Prince proposing to pass the Scheldt and attack the French, or, if they appeared too strongly posted, to invest the town of Quesnoy, it was assented to by the Duke without hesitation. Within a few days, however, after this movement had taken place, the Duke of Ormond received positive orders from Mr. Secretary St. John to avoid engaging in any siege or hazarding a battle; and desiring at the same time, to disguise the receipt of this order—adding, that it had been communicated to the court of France; and if M. Villars should take any private notice of it, the Duke was to answer accordingly. Notwithstanding the violence of his party zeal, the Duke's noble and ingenuous nature revolted from the execution of the infamous task imposed upon him. In his answer to Mr. St. John (May the 25th) he promised obedience and secresy; but he declared "the difficulty of disguising the true reason of his conduct, having no excuse for delays." Upon receiving a letter from M. Villars, congratulating him on the intelligence which had just reached him from Paris, "that they were to be no longer enemies," he signified to the Marechal the orders he also had received from the Queen of England. On the 8th of June, having been strongly pressed to co-operate actively with the allies, he stated to Mr. St. John "the extreme uneasiness of his situation. Many of the allies scrupled not openly to say, they were betrayed. If he was restrained from action, he saw no use in remaining in his present situation, and he desired leave to return to England. But in all things he professed to submit to her Majesty's pleasure." It was impossible that such proceedings abroad should pass without notice or animadversion at home, On the 7th of June, N. S. the Baron de Hohendorf, on the part of the court of Vienna, and M. Van Borselen on that of the Hague, held conferences with the Lord Treasurer; and in the sequel, orders were dispatched to the Duke of Ormond to concur with the General of the allies in a siege. On the same day the Earl of Hallifax moved, in the House of Peers, an address to the throne, requesting a copy of the orders transmitted to the Duke of Ormond, and beseeching that he might be ordered to act offensively in concert with the allies. In the debate which ensued, the Lord Treasurer declared the orders moved for not proper to be divulged; that he would however venture to say, that if the Duke of Ormond had refused to act offensively he did not doubt but he had followed his instructions; but he could be positive he would not decline joining the allies in a siege. In vindication, however, of the honour of the ministry, who were even publicly accused, of the design to make a separate peace, the Lord Treasurer assured the House that nothing of that nature was ever intended, and that such a peace would be so base, so knavish, and so villainous a thing, that every one who served the Queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation. Forty Peers voted in support of the motion of Lord Halifax, and sixty-eight in opposition to it, upon which a most animated protest was signed by twenty-five Peers, declaring "the order of restraint under which they were convinced the Duke of Ormond lay, to be derogatory to her Majesty's honour, to public faith, and that justice which was due to her allies." This protest was immediately printed, and circulated on the Continent in French and other languages, to the great chagrin of the government, which in vain offered a large reward for the discovery of the printer or publisher.

The Queen came to the House of Peers on the 17th of June, and stated to the two Houses, the terms on which peace might be made; for such was the caution of the Lord Treasurer, that he was determined to conclude nothing without the previous sanction of Parliament. An address of thanks and approbation was obtained from the Commons without difficulty; but a very warm debate took place in the House of Peers. The proposed address contained an assurance "that the House did entirely rely on her Majesty's wisdom to finish the great and good work of peace." An amendment was moved that these words might be added, "and in order to that her Majesty would take such measures, in concert with her allies, as might induce them to join with her Majesty in a mutual guarantee." This was rejected by eighty-one voices against thirty-six. But a protest equally forcible with the former was signed by twenty-four Peers.* The session terminated on the 2d of July.

Quesnoy had been invested on the 8th of June; and the Duke of Ormond not having received his last instructions, was with difficulty prevailed upon to furnish sixteen battalions of troops, to join the besieging army. This occasioned a secret expostulation from M. Villars; but the Duke being now free to act, took a proper position to cover the siege. Villars, astonished at this conduct, wrote to the Duke desiring positive information whether the army under his command would oppose any attempt which the King's forces would certainly make upon Prince Eugene's if he continued the siege, adding, that "the King, while he sees Prince Eugene undertaking a siege, and knows the army under his Grace ought not to act directly or indirectly against his, would be very much displeased with him if he should continue inactive." Quesnoy, however, remained closely invested, and the Duke still continued to cover the siege; so that both the French and the allied armies might complain of the treachery of the English councils.

On the 18th of June, (the day succeeding that wherein the Queen made her declaration concerning the terms of peace to the two Houses) Mr. St. John wrote to the Duke informing him, that the Queen insisted on the execution of the article relating to Spain, and on the delivery of Dunkirk, as points without which she would not declare for a cessation of arms in the Netherlands; but if these conditions were accepted, and sent signed by the Marquis de Torcy to his Grace, and Dunkirk put into his possession, he was publicly to own that he could act no longer against the French. The Duke having received a copy of the articles from M. de Torcy accordingly, he, on the 25th of June, visited Prince Eugene and the deputies of the States as he had previously concerted with Marechal Villars. In this conference he stated to the Imperial General that the French King having acceded to the demands of the Queen, and among others the giving up Dunkirk as a pledge, he could no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy: being obliged by his instructions to march with the Queen's troops and those in her pay, and to declare a cessation of arms as soon as Dunkirk was delivered up. This intelligence was received by the Prince and his deputies with indescribable indignation.†

On

* Some of the expressions contained in this second protest were so offensive to the majority, that it was a few days afterwards moved and carried by ninety voices against sixty-four, the largest number of Peers who had voted upon any question in the present reign, that the protest should be expunged from the journals of the House. But, like the former, it was printed and published in defiance of the orders and menaces of the House.

† His Highness told the English General that the secession of the English troops and forces in British pay would leave them to the mercy of the French: but that he was sure the foreigners would not march. He expostulated with him on the unparalleled baseness of this violation of national faith and honour, and the danger and ruin which might ensue upon this desertion. The Duke was immoveable; and finding, on his subsequent communications with the Generals of the foreign troops in British pay, that they would obey no orders incompatible with the safety of the confederate army, and the common interests of the allies, he sent to M. Villars to apprize him of their determination. Such indeed was the odium attached to the conduct of the English General, that M. Villars having at this period caused several bridges to be thrown over the Senset, a universal surmise prevailed that he waited only till the Duke of Ormond marched off, an event concerning which it was presumed he would receive very correct notice, in order to attack the confederate army, and orders were issued to General Hompesch, Governor of Douay, and to other neighbouring garrisons, that the English troops designed for Dunkirk should not be permitted to enter their gates. An ultimate attempt having been made on the part of the English General to dissuade the Prince from prosecuting the siege of Quesnoy, to which his highness

On the 28th of June the Duke of Ormond ordered the British forces and the troops in British pay to hold themselves in readiness to march. The answer from the foreign Generals imported that they could not separate from Prince Eugene without express orders from their respective Princes: the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, afterwards King of Sweden, adding, that the Hessians desired nothing more eagerly than to march, provided it were to fight the French. On the 4th of July Quesnoy surrendered, the garrison consisting of near three thousand men being made prisoners of war. Upon the succeeding day the Duke of Ormond received an express from Mr. St. John, ordering him for the second time to declare the suspension of arms in case he should be informed from M. de Torcy that orders had been dispatched for the surrender of Dunkirk, that event having been retarded by the refractory conduct of the foreign auxiliaries. The court of London was compelled to acknowledge its inability to make good the conditions on which Dunkirk was to be delivered up, yet the King of France hesitated not to give orders for the surrender of that important place, which was taken possession of by a detachment of troops from England, under the command of General Hill, on the 17th of July. Upon the same day the Duke of Ormond, who had previously received the required satisfaction respecting this preliminary article, caused the cessation of arms to be proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet, as also did Marechal Villars on the part of France. On the 18th of July the British forces began their march to Ghent, of which they took possession, as also of Bruges, on the 23d, after being refused entrance into every fortified town on their route, and in a short time they embarked for England. The Duke of Ormond was highly applauded by the ministers for his conduct in the whole of this critical business.

The Bishop of Bristol, conformably to his instructions, had proposed in a conference with the ministers of the allied courts at Utrecht (June 27), to concur in the suspension of arms agreed upon between England and France, in order to adjust the demands of all the confederates: but he found them unanimous in their answers that the thing required of them exceeded their powers, and that they must wait for fresh orders from their principals. On the other hand Count Zinzendorf, first imperial plenipotentiary at the Congress of Utrecht, presented, June 28, a remarkable memorial to the States, in which he animadverted with great severity upon the conduct of the court of London, and insisted strongly on the danger that would result to the common cause from a cessation of arms, and containing new propositions for the vigorous prosecution of the war, with a view to compass the recovery of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and to accomplish the other purposes of the grand alliance. In the midst of the rejoicings for the taking of Quesnoy, the Earl of Strafford, who had been for some weeks absent in England, returned to the Hague, and, at a solemn deputation of the States, now somewhat elated by recent success, exerted his last and utmost efforts to engage their high mightinesses to accede to the proposal of England for a suspension of arms. But the minister of the Emperor signified to the States, "that if they agreed to such proposal, Prince Eugene had orders immediately to march off with all the Emperor's forces into the empire, and leave the Dutch to the mercy of both their old and new enemies." At length, their high mightinesses came to a resolution (July 9th), that they were entirely disposed to put an end to this bloody and expensive war by a good peace; that, in order to this, they were ready to listen to such proposals as France should be willing to make in writing, in answer to the specific demands of the allies: that if the same were just and reasonable, in such a case their high mightinesses would readily consent to a general peace, but that they would never depart from their engagements with their allies, without whose consent they could not agree to a cessation of arms. On this the Earl of Strafford left the Hague in great anger, and repaired to the army of the Duke of Ormond, then encamped at Chateau Cambresis.

A short time previously to the 17th of July, the day on which the suspension of arms took place—a measure which is thought, by some, to have originated with the Queen herself—Prince Eugene retired from Haspre with all the allied forces, excepting the British. Almost at the moment of proclaiming the suspension, the Prince, as it were in bravado, caused the strong and important fortress of Landreci to be invested; and it was determined, in a council of war, that, notwithstanding the defection of the English, nothing should be omitted to carry on the operations of the campaign with such vigour as to enable the allied army to take winter quarters in Picardy. Landreci was regarded as a place of so much importance that the siege of it excited, even in Paris, great agitation and alarm: and Louis declared to the Duke of Harcourt, that in case of any fresh disaster he would convene all the nobility of his kingdom, and though now seventy-four years of age, would lead them on in person to the enemy, and, if unable to save the kingdom, to perish at their head. Marechal Villars, however, on the 24th of July, passing the Scheldt with great secresy and dispatch, fell suddenly, with a far superior force, on a separate corps of the allied army posted at Denain, and commanded by the Earl of Albemarle, whom he totally defeated in sight of Prince Eugene, who was prevented, by the accidental breaking down of the bridge thrown over the Scheldt, from affording him the least succour. Seventeen entire battalians were either killed or captured on this occasion; and a convoy of 500 waggons, destined for the camp before Landreci, fell into the hands of the French.

The communication between the allied army and the grand depot of ammunition and military stores at Marchiennes, on the Scarpe, being now completely cut off, the French General immediately invested that important post, which was well fortified, encompassed with morasses and canals, and defended by a garrison of more than five thousand men. To the astonishment of the world, however, this place surrendered in less than a week, the garrison being made prisoners of war. In consequence of this unexpected capture, the allied army experienced the most distressing embarrassments, the siege of Landreci was raised, and the French acquired a decided superiority in the field. Villars, ever active and indefatigable, immediately proceeded to the investment of the city of Douay. This important place, not being supposed in danger, was weakly garrisoned; yet General Hompesch, the Governor, made so vigorous a defence, that Douay held out till the 8th of September, when the garrison was compelled to surrender prisoners of war. The next object of Marechal Villars was the town of Quesnoy, recently captured by the allies. This place made a defence no less resolute than Douay; and it was not till the 14th of October that it submitted to a capitulation. Bouchain, the sole acquisition of the last campaign, also capitulated, after a defence very ill proportioned to its reputed strength. These garrisons completed the number of forty battalions killed or made prisoners by the French since the unfortunate affair of Denain. The surprisal of Fort Knocque, situated on the canal of Ypres, was the only compensation for all these losses; so that the triumph of Villars was complete.

Mr. Secretary St. John, now created Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, was dispatched early in August to the court of Versailles, in order to obviate all the remaining difficulties. He was received by the French monarch with all imaginable marks of distinction; and in a short time the object of his mission being in great part effected, a cessation of arms by sea and land for the space of four months was agreed upon. In the mean time the negociations at Utrecht proceeded slowly and heavily.

highness replied, "that instead of relinquishing the siege he would cause it to be prosecuted with all imaginable vigour," all correspondence ceased between them. The Prince, knowing the constant and amicable intercourse kept up between the British and French commanders, made no scruple to declare "that he should be glad if the English would march off; they being now only a burden to the Netherlands."

At length their high mightinesses declared (October the 9th,) "that for the good of peace, the States were willing to yield Lisle to France, and to recede from their pretensions to have Douay, Valenciennes, and Maubeuge, which they had hitherto insisted upon: provided Conde and Tournay were included in their barrier, the Tariffs of 1664 restored, and that Sicily be yielded to the Emperor, and Strasburgh to the empire." This was a proposition which the English court acknowledged to be entitled to regard and consideration; but the arrogance of France still retarded the negociation.—In October, Lord Lexington was appointed to go as ambassador to Spain; and the renunciation of King Philip having been drawn up in form, his Majesty signed it November the 5th, and swore upon the holy Evangelists to observe it, in presence of the council of state and of the chief nobility.*—In November, a further suspension of arms was agreed upon for four months, to which Portugal acceded: and the British forces in that kingdom were immediately recalled.†—About the close of the year ‡ the British plenipotentiaries at Utrecht signified to the States, that if they would sign the preliminaries of peace in conjunction with England, Tournay should be added to their barrier. Their high mightinesses acceding, not without great opposition from the States of Holland, to this proposition, a new barrier treaty was concluded, differing from the former, so much inveighed against, chiefly by its inferiority of strength and security.

The King of Prussia, who had been some time indisposed, died on the 25th of February, 1713. This event occasioned some delay, and it was not till the month of April following, that the British plenipotentiaries declared to the ministers of Holland and the Emperor, that they were ready, with the ministers of Prussia, Portugal, and Savoy, to sign their respective treaties. The imperial ambassadors replied, that neither they nor the ministers of the empire were ready to sign, nor would they hearken to peace without the restitution of Strasburgh: and they entered a formal protestation against the treaty. The Dutch, however, thought proper to comply; and on the 11th of April, 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was completed.§—In addition to the places anciently possessed by the Dutch, Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroi, Ypres, and Neuport, were assigned to the States as a perpetual barrier. His imperial Majesty was allowed to the first of June to declare his acceptance, or non-acceptance of the terms proposed.

As soon as this important intelligence reached London, the Parliament was assembled, after no less than seven prorogations since the month of January; and the substance of the treaty being laid before them, an address of congratulation was presented by the two Houses, whose example was followed by most of the corporate bodies, accompanied by great public rejoicings. The proclamation of peace was published on the 4th of May, exactly eleven years subsequent to the declaration of war. In a few weeks Mr. Benson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, offered to the House of Commons copies of the treaty of peace with France, as also of commerce; by which the manufactures of each kingdom were admitted into the other upon the payment of very low ad valorem duties. Political artifice and commercial prejudice being combined in opposition to this wise measure, the bill for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual was, after violent debates, rejected by 194 against 185.

The Scotch Peers being extremely exasperated at their exclusion from the honours of the English Peerage; and the Scotch nation being equally enraged at the recent impositions of a heavy additional duty on malt, a motion was made by the Earl of Findlater for leave to bring in a bill for dissolving the union and securing the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. To embarrass the administration, this was defended by the Scotch Lords Mar, Eglington, &c. and warmly supported by the English Whig Lords, Sunderland, Townshend, Halifax, &c. once the zealous advocates of the union. On the other hand, it was opposed by the Tories, who were the original and vehement enemies of that measure. The question being put upon Lord Findlater's motion, it was negatived by a majority of four voices only—the numbers being 71 to 67 Peers, proxies included.

In consequence of the peace, immense reductions were now made both in the army and navy establishments. "Make yourselves safe," said the Queen, "and I shall be satisfied. Next to the protection of

* The cortez of Spain being summoned to meet at Madrid, the King afterwards went in state to that assembly, and declared to them, "that the efforts which the nation had made with so much zeal and fidelity to secure his crown in two perilous emergencies were of such a nature as never to be forgotten. In order, therefore, to shew his gratitude, to procure peace for his people, and to be never separated from them, he renounced all pretensions which either himself or his issue might have to the crown of France; and desired them to give their consent to it." Upon this, the cortez confirmed and approved the renunciation; and the crown of Spain, after King Philip's posterity, was limited to the house of Savoy. The like renunciation was made some months after by the Princes of France to the crown of Spain, and King Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. This was the more necessary, as the death of the dauphin of France, father to the King of Spain, had been quickly followed by that of the Duke of Burgundy, February 1712, and in a few days afterwards by the eldest son of the Duke; so that the younger of his two children, an infant scarcely two years of age, was the only intervening impediment to the hereditary claim of the Catholic King to the Gallic crown.

† The Duke of Hamilton, noted for his attachment to the Stuart family, was at this time appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France; but being at the eve of his expected departure killed in a duel with Lord Mohun, who himself also fell in the bloody contest, he was succeeded by the Duke of Shrewsbury. Some dispute, it appeared, had arisen, between the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun, respecting a law-suit. Mohun, who had been twice tried for murder, and was accounted a mean tool, as well as the Hector of the Whig party, sent a message by General Macartney to the Duke, challenging him to single combat. The principals met by appointment in Hyde Park, attended by Macartney and Colonel Hamilton. They fought with such fury, that Mohun was killed upon the spot, and the Duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house. Macartney disappeared, and escaped in disguise to the Continent. Colonel Hamilton declared upon oath before the Privy Council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example; and that Macartney was immediately disarmed; but the Colonel seeing the Duke fall upon his antagonist, threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up: that while he was employed in raising the Duke, Macartney, having taken up one of the swords, stabbed his Grace over Hamilton's shoulder, and retired immediately. A proclamation was issued, promising a reward of five hundred pounds to those who would apprehend or discover Macartney: and the Duchess of Hamilton offered three hundred pounds for the same purpose. The Tories exclaimed against this event as a party duel: they treated Macartney as a cowardly assassin, and affirmed that the Whigs had posted others of the same stamp all round Hyde Park, to murder the Duke of Hamilton, in case he had triumphed over his antagonist, and escaped the treachery of Macartney. The Whigs, on the other hand, affirmed, that it was altogether a private quarrel: that Macartney was entirely innocent of the perfidy laid to his charge: that he afterwards submitted to a fair trial, at which Colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was contradicted by the testimony of divers persons who saw the combat at a distance.

‡ At the end of the autumn, the Duke of Marlborough embarked for the Continent, and proceeded by way of Antwerp and Aix-la Chapelle, accompanied by his Duchess, to visit his principality of Mindelheim, being every where received with the highest honours. This was regarded as a sort of compromise with the ministry, for on his departure from England, the prosecutions instituted against him as a public defaulter and delinquent, were stayed by the queen's order, as was also a suit at law commenced against him for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim-house, the contracts for which had been made in the Queen's name. He resided abroad during the remainder of this reign.

§ By this famous treaty the Protestant succession was recognized by France, and the Pretender compelled to depart that kingdom: the union of the two monarchies of France and Spain was provided against by mutual and solemn renunciations; the harbour of Dunkirk was demolished, and the fortifications razed; Acadie, Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and St. Christopher's, ceded in full right to England. Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Spanish Netherlands, were yielded to the Emperor, together with Landau, Brisac, and fort Kehl, on the side of Germany. Sicily, by the particular and partial interposition of the Queen of England, was forcibly disjoined from Naples, and transferred to the Duke of Savoy, with the regal title; the eventful succession to the crown of Spain being also in default of descendants from the reigning monarch, vested in the House of Savoy. The extreme solicitude of the Queen to obtain terms of advantage for the Duke of Savoy, is strikingly apparent throughout the negociation. Some of these propositions, nevertheless, were so palpably unreasonable, particularly that which required a cession of part of the ancient domain of France, as to be peremptorily and indignantly rejected by the court of Versailles, which granted, not without reluctance, to Savoy, the fortresses of Exilles, Fenestrelles, and the valley of Pragelas, with a considerable tract of the country beyond Mount Genevre.

Divine Providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection of my people; I want no other guarantee."

At the latter end of the session, a royal message was sent to the House of Commons, acquainting them with the incumbrances under which the civil list now laboured; and a grant for the sum of 500,000*l.* was moved to discharge the debts of the crown. The friends of the Earl of Godolphin, recently deceased, expressed their astonishment at this demand; and Mr. Smith, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, averred, "that to his certain knowledge the debts on the civil list did not, in August, 1710, amount to 150,000*l.*"—a trifling sum, when the annual appropriation of one hundred thousand pounds towards the expence of the war, the charge of maintaining the palatines, of building Blenheim-house, &c. were taken into consideration. It was intimated that the statement was deceitful, and that the real object was to secure a large sum, in order to influence the approaching general election; and it was urged to be a most dangerous precedent for the House to grant such a demand, as the same compliance would be expected by all future Princes. The motion, however, was finally carried in a thin house.

Addresses were also presented to the Queen by both Houses, humbly beseeching her Majesty to use the most pressing instances to obtain the removal of the Pretender from Lorraine, whither he had recently retired, not without the secret approbation of the court of London. On the 16th of July, 1713, the Parliament was prorogued, and soon after dissolved by proclamation.*

The Lord Treasurer now stood in the singular predicament of being equally hated by the Whigs and Jacobitical Tories; by the former for having done too much, and by the latter too little, for the Pretender's interest. Oxford and Bolingbroke, the two principal leaders of the administration, had been long at variance, and the dissension between them now became open and public.

The indiscreet interference of the Elector relative to the negociations with France, and the memorial or remonstrance presented by his Ambassador in London against the project of peace, had given extreme offence to the Queen; and from this period she appears to have entertained frequent discourses on the subject of her brother's restoration; and even expressed herself at times, though with great caution, in terms favourable to it. The Whigs also were incessant in their exclamations that the present ministers were forming deep and dangerous designs against the Protestant succession and in favour of the Pretender.†

The characters of the great leaders, Oxford and Bolingbroke, however opposite, were equally adapted to impress the idea that extraordinary designs and projects were in agitation. Bolingbroke was a man of an adventurous and aspiring genius—Oxford was full of secresy and of mystery; and he possessed for some years in reality, and still in appearance, an unbounded influence over the Queen.

Since the dismission of the Earl of Wharton from the government of Ireland, that kingdom had been sinking under Tory influence and oppression.—Sir Constantine Phipps, Chancellor of the kingdom, and one of the Lords Justices in the absence of the Duke of Ormond, having the chief management of affairs. The Duke of Shrewsbury, a nobleman respected by both parties, being on his return from France appointed Lord Lieutenant, arrived in Dublin October the 27th, 1713, and immediately checked the insolence and virulence of the predominant faction, by declaring publicly that he was still the same as in the year 1688; and on the birth-day of King William, November the 4th, he celebrated, with great demonstrations of regard and veneration, the memory of that monarch. The Parliament of Ireland meeting, after a new election, on the 25th of November, were told by his excellency the Lord Lieutenant in his opening speech, "that her Majesty, having procured a safe and honourable peace, had nothing now to wish but that her subjects might enjoy the benefits and advantages of it;—that her Majesty had nothing more at heart than the preservation of the rights and liberties of her people, and the settling them upon a lasting foundation by securing the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover." The new Parliament soon manifested itself to be decidedly Whig. They ordered in a bill to attaint the Pretender and his adherents; they took effectual measures to suppress all seditious and Jacobitical publications, which had been of late notoriously countenanced and encouraged; and they resolved upon an address to the Queen for the removal of Sir Constantine Phipps from the Chancellorship. A motion was even made, declaring the Lord Chancellor an encourager of popery, and a friend to the Pretender. This threw the House into so violent a flame, that the adverse parties were near drawing swords. It was at length, and with much difficulty, withdrawn by the mover, Colonel Southwell. On the other hand, the House of Lords, where the Tory interest prevailed, resolved, that the Lord Chancellor Phipps had in his several stations acquitted himself with honour and integrity, and voted a counter-address.‡

The Duke of Shrewsbury, at length, received orders to prorogue the Irish Parliament, and it was suffered to meet no more during this reign. The Lord Lieutenant himself began to be very uneasy at his situation. He knew the Queen's health to be greatly impaired; and, having certain measures to keep, and views to answer, he desired and obtained leave to return to England: the Lord Chancellor Phipps, the Primate Lindsey, and the

* Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, dying at this juncture, was succeeded by Atterbury, late prolocutor of the convocation; as was Compton, of London, by the Bishop of Bristol.—The Earl of Dorset was removed from his government of Dover castle, which was given to the Duke of Ormond; and the Duke of Athol, a notorious Jacobite, superseded the Duke of Montrose as Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, the Earl of Mar being constituted Secretary of State for that kingdom. Nearly at the same time the Privy Seal of England was consigned to the Earl of Dartmouth; Mr. Bromley being appointed to the northern, and Lord Bolingbroke removed to the southern department of office. Sir William Wyndham succeeded Mr. Benson as Chancellor of the Exchequer, the latter going to Madrid as ambassador, under the title of Lord Bingley, on the return of Lord Lexington.

† The Duke of Marlborough, in a letter to M. Robethon, of February 1714, declared himself rejoiced to find, "that the Republic" (i. e. of Holland) "takes the alarm, and begins to wake out of the lethargy it had fallen into since the peace of Utrecht. And he affirms, that the Queen's ill health, and the ministers making such open steps in favour of the Pretender as to leave no doubt of their intentions to place him on the throne, have brought things so near a decision, that, unless the States design to look on and see us lost, and consequently themselves, they could no longer remain inactive." It appears in the course of the letter, that in consequence of his representations, together with those of the other leaders of the Whigs, the States were equipping a great fleet to convoy a large body of forces to England, effectually to assert, in case of need, the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, of which they were the guarantees. This must be considered as a demonstrative proof of the real and zealous attachment of the Duke of Marlborough to the Hanoverian succession; yet the grossness of his political hypocrisy was such, as to incite him to maintain precisely the same exterior to the court of St. Germains. In a confidential conversation with one of the agents of that court, as reported to the Earl of Middleton (November 1711), he solemnly declared, "that nothing should be wanting on his side, as occasions should present—that he thought the King's business could not fail of going forward, and that his religion would not be any hindrance to it." He said, he knew the Princess of Denmark well; that she was a very honest person, easily won and wrought upon, but who at bottom had certainly no aversion from her brother: but she was one that must not be frightened—and that "any external force used would rather do harm than good, both in regard to her and others: whereas, if things were suffered to go on in their own train, the King's business would go on of itself, and he doubted not would come to a happy conclusion."

‡ The two houses of convocation attending at the castle of Dublin to present an address similar to that of the Lords, Mr. Molesworth, afterwards Lord Molesworth, so celebrated for his embassy to Denmark, being at this time a member of the Irish Parliament, and a Privy Counsellor of that kingdom, said aloud in the presence and hearing of the Bishops and clergy: "They that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." Enraged at this sarcasm, the Lower House of convocation sent to the Upper a formal complaint of the words uttered by Mr. Molesworth, which they asserted "to be an intolerable profanation of the holy scriptures, and spoken with a design to cast an odium and aspersion on their graces and Lordships, and the whole body of the clergy; whom they humbly prayed their Lordships to vindicate from this wicked calumny." The Bishops immediately laid this complaint before the House of Lords, who desired a conference with the Commons on this important business, and left with them a copy of the paper delivered by the convocation. But the Commons would take no cognizance of the complaint: and no redress being obtainable in Ireland, recourse was had to a direct representation to the Queen, by whom Mr. Molesworth was removed from the privy council.

Archbishop

Archbishop of Tuam, being in his absence appointed Lords Justices of the kingdom.

At the signing of the treaty of Utrecht, Zinzendorf, Ambassador from the court of Vienna, declared the resolution of the Emperor to carry on the war, and hazard all rather than submit to the prescribed conditions. But in the following summer, (1713,) M. Villars entered Germany with a prodigious army, consisting of 200 battalions and 300 squadrons; and Prince Eugene, who commanded an inferior force, remaining reluctantly inactive within the lines of Etlingen, while the French captured the city of Landau and Friburgh, the Imperial pride began to listen seriously to the overtures of France; and the two Generals being constituted plenipotentiaries, a treaty was towards the close of the year set on foot at Rastadt, and articles of peace finally signed at Baden, March 1714; conformably to which, Naples, Milan, and Sardinia, and the Low Countries, were ceded to the House of Austria. The evacuation of Catalonia was agreed to, and a suspension of arms with Spain; but Charles refused to recognise the title of his rival, King Philip: and the important fortresses of Landau, Strasburg and New Brisac remained with France, with the sovereignty of the province of Alsace. Soon after this were exchanged the ratifications of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain; by which it was stipulated, that the commerce of the two nations should be replaced on its former basis, as in the reign of the late King Charles II.; that the Assiento contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes should be granted to England for the term of thirty years; that no part of the Spanish West Indies should ever be alienated from the crown of Spain to France or any other nation. Gibraltar and Minorca were ceded for ever to England; and Sicily was yielded to the Duke of Savoy, but to revert to Spain in case of a failure of the line of Savoy. The Catalans, who had engaged with zeal, and persevered with fidelity, in the cause of the Archduke Charles, were merely to receive a pardon on submission, and to enjoy, in the treacherous words of the conventional treaty, "the privileges of the King's best-beloved subjects, the inhabitants of the Castiles." These privileges consisted only in some commercial advantages; in return for which they were to be divested of their constitutional liberties. In pursuance of the agreement entered into by their Imperial and Catholic Majesties, Count Staremberg did in fact deliver up Tarragona and Ostalric, and in the month of December 1713, embarked at Barcelona with his troops. The people of that great city resolved nevertheless to defend themselves to the last extremity, unless they were assured of freedom and security. The blockade of Barcelona was commenced, and the Duke of Berwick arrived in June, 1714, from France, to invest the place in due form. The court of Madrid, incensed at the obstinate resistance of the Catalans, talked of nothing but sackings and executions; and sent express orders to M. Berwick, not to receive them on any other terms, after the batteries were once begun, than those of submitting at discretion. This barbarous policy made them furious and desperate. Appealing to Heaven, and hanging up at the high altar of their cathedral the Queen of England's solemn declaration to protect them, the people of Barcelona defended themselves with incredible resolution, till seven breaches were made in the body of the place; their provision also being nearly consumed, while no possibility remained of receiving succours. In this state a formal summons was sent by M. Berwick previously to a general assault; but it was rejected; and after prodigies of valour on the part of the besieged, the city was carried sword in hand with dreadful slaughter. By the good conduct and vigilant efforts of the commander, however, the houses of the inhabitants were preserved from plunder, and the excesses of the soldiery effectually restrained. According to the acknowledgment of the Duke of Berwick, the loss of the besieging army did not amount to less than ten thousand men. On the surrender of the city, the ancient and popular form of government was immediately abolished, and many examples of severity made; though the sanguinary and remorseless revenge of the court was sensibly mitigated by the wisdom and humanity of the hero who achieved the conquest.

In the north of Europe, the war still continued, much to the disadvantage of Sweden. The King of Denmark at length succeeded in the siege of Stade, and in the subsequent reduction of the Duchy of Bremen, and contiguous principality of Verden. In the mean time the czar invaded Finland with a great force, and reduced the whole province, with Abo its capital. Count Steenbock the Swedish General, who had long maintained his ground in Pomerania with great courage and ability, sustained a grievous reverse of fortune, and was compelled to surrender with his whole army prisoners of war. After several years' residence in Bender, the King of Sweden received orders from the Porte to quit the Ottoman territory; the Grand Seignior undertaking to procure him a safe passage to his own dominions: but, with singular obstinacy and rashness, he refused compliance, and fortified himself in the house where he resided. This being carried, after sustaining a regular assault, he was made a prisoner and conveyed to Adrianople; the greater part of the Swedes who had accompanied him to Turkey being sold for slaves. After a variety of romantic adventures, the Swedish monarch returned to his own kingdom.

Towards the conclusion of the year (1713,) the ascendency acquired by Lord Bolingbroke in the cabinet began plainly to appear; and the resignation of the Lord Treasurer was the public theme of conversation. At the end of December the Queen was seized with a severe fit of the gout, from which she recovered very slowly and imperfectly. The public funds fell prodigiously, and there followed a great run upon the bank; but the Queen declaring in a letter to the Lord Mayor her intention to open the Parliament in person on the 16th of February (1714,) the alarm subsided.

A. D. 1714.] On the appointed day, the new Parliament accordingly met; but it was opened by commission, and Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker without opposition. On the 2d of March, however, the Queen went to the House of Lords, and delivered a popular speech, in which she took occasion to remark, "That there were some who had arrived at that height of malice as to insinuate that the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover was in danger under her government." "Those," said she, "who go about thus to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers can only mean to disturb the present tranquillity, and bring real mischief upon us." The grand question being brought forward by the Earl of Wharton, whether the Protestant succession was in danger under the present administration, a very warm debate ensued; and the Lord Treasurer Oxford, laying his hand upon his heart, declared "that he had on so many occasions given such signal proofs of his affection to the Protestant succession, that he was confident no member of that august assembly could ever mean to call it in question." The Protestant succession was at length voted out of danger by a small majority, the numbers being seventy-six against sixty-four. Upon this occasion the Earl of Anglesey, who had the reputation of being at the head of the "trimmers," divided with the Whigs. The Earl of Wharton then moved, that an address should be presented to the Queen, to issue a proclamation promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the Pretender dead or alive: to which Lord Trevor proposed to add, "in case of his landing or attempting to land in Great Britain or Ireland." To the motion thus modified, the House agreed; and, on its being presented to the Queen, she replied in the following terms: "My Lords, it would be a real strengthening to the succession in the house of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end were put to those groundless fears and jealousies which have been so industriously promoted. I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation: whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having it issued."

The next step which the jealousy of the Whigs led them

them to adopt, was to persuade the court of Herenhausen, to order Baron Schutz to demand of the Chancellor a writ for the electoral Prince as Duke of Cambridge, with a view to his residence in England, in direct contradiction to the sentiments and policy they had so strenuously defended in the early part of the present reign. It was now the turn of the Tories to oppose; and though it was impossible to deny the writ, the Queen expressed in a letter to the Princess Sophia her disapprobation of the design in terms so pointed and forcible, that it was thought expedient to lay it aside. Her Majesty not only stated "her surprise that an attempt should be made so derogatory from her dignity and royal authority, but her determination to oppose it, however fatal the consequences might be." It appears that the leaders of the Whig party entertained at times schemes and projects highly romantic and extravagant, and that they had, in particular, a plan in contemplation for the Elector to convey himself to England at the head of a body of Hanoverian troops; and if the States General refused to provide ships for the purpose, it was suggested that they might be had from the King of Denmark. Of this proposition the Elector declared his total disapprobation;—and Robethon, in his dispatches to England, treats the whole plan as dangerous, absurd, and impracticable.

The Earl of Oxford, aware of these machinations, moved in the House of Peers a bill "for the further security of the Protestant succession," making it high treason to bring foreign troops into the kingdom. To this it was forcibly objected, that a law against bringing troops into Great Britain to support the cause of the Pretender was unnecessary; since such troops, if foreigners, might be treated as enemies; if natives, might be punished as rebels: and the bill was silently dropped.

It seems to have been a great object with the Elector to procure a royal appanage for his mother the Electress, who complained that she had as yet gained nothing by the English succession but some sheets of parchment. Mr. Thomas Harley, when at Hanover, had flattered the Electoral court that the Lord Treasurer would contribute to this with all his power, acknowledging that nothing could be more just—yet it was never mentioned in Parliament by either Tories or Whigs. On the contrary, the latter were very earnest and importunate in their applications for money to the Elector, who parted with it, as may well be imagined, very reluctantly; and when it was proposed to him to advance a large sum to secure a majority of members at the last general election, he absolutely and very properly refused, saying, "that the court would always have the heaviest purse: that the nation must exert itself, for that he could not save them against their will." The death of the Electress taking place at this period, the Elector of Brunswick was, by an order of the court, prayed for by name in all churches and chapels throughout England, as presumptive heir to the English crown.*

In the month of May, a bill to prevent the growth of schism was introduced, by which Dissenters were, under very severe penalties, prohibited from all interference in the business of education. Of this measure, Lord Bolingbroke was believed to be the chief adviser; but, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Whigs, the bill, declared by Mr. Walpole, "to be more like a decree of Julian the Apostate than a law enacted by a Protestant Parliament," passed through the House of Commons by a majority of 237 against 126. It was then carried by Sir William Wyndham, its original mover, up to the House of Lords, where it excited one of the most violent and memorable debates which had occurred since the revolution. The motion was supported by Lord Bolingbroke,† and others; and opposed by the Lords Cowper, Wharton, Halifax, Townshend, Nottingham, &c. It is remarkable, that both the great leaders of the administration, Oxford and Bolingbroke, were educated in the principles of nonconformity; and, in allusion to this circumstance, the Earl of Wharton expressed his surprise to see men brought up in the bosom of dissent, become the most zealous champions of the church—and those who had been indebted for their great acquirements to the seminaries described in the bill, most forward for the suppression of them.

A petition from the dissenters to be heard by counsel against the bill was rejected by 72 voices against 66. In the progress of the business a clause was inserted, extending the operation of the bill to Ireland (though the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom, declared strongly against it) by a majority of 57 to 51 voices: and the general and final motion for passing the bill, was carried by 77 against 72. The royal assent was given, on the 25th of June, to the act, which was to take effect on the 1st of August following: but, on that very day, a reverse of fortune, fatal to the authors of the bill took place—the unfortunate dynasty of the Stuarts expired!

The Queen's constitution was now so entirely broken, that it was evident she approached towards the conclusion of her life; and the ministers of the crown, in the alarming prospect of her dissolution, thought of little else than their private interests and personal safety. Oxford and Bolingbroke were now so exasperated against each other, that they could not abstain from the most indecent and bitter altercation, even in the presence of the Queen. On the 8th of June the Earl of Oxford presented a memorial to the Queen, containing a recapitulation of the principal events of his administration—vindicating his own conduct, and reflecting with great acrimony upon that of his antagonist, whom he charged with endeavouring to enlist a separate party for himself in the House of Commons from the beginning of February 1711. This remonstrance seems to have made no impression upon the mind of the Queen, who was now entirely alienated from the Lord Treasurer. Not a single measure however was adopted at this critical period by the confidential ministers of the crown, from which it could be inferred that they entertained designs inimical to the Protestant succession. On the contrary, attempts having been made to enlist men for the service of the Pretender, a proclamation was immediately issued, promising a reward of 5000*l.* for apprehending the Pretender whenever he should land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain or Ireland. Both Houses voted an address of thanks for this proclamation; and the Commons, as a further and demonstrative proof of their attachment to the Protestant succession, assured her Majesty, "that they would, out of the first aids, grant the sum of 100,000*l.* as a further reward to any who shall perform so great a service to her Majesty and her kingdoms; and also that they would heartily concur with her Majesty in all other measures for extinguishing the hopes of the Pretender, and all his open and secret abettors. At the same time Lord Bolingbroke brought in a bill, denouncing the penalties of high treason against those who should enlist or be enlisted in the Pretender's service. On the 9th of July the session was terminated by a speech from the

* The Princess Sophia was a woman of excellent understanding highly esteemed for her virtues, and admired for her personal and intellectual accomplishments. She was one of those extraordinary persons over whom time seems to have no power. Walking and conversing with her usual cheerfulness in the gardens of the palace of Herenhausen, she was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit, and expired in the arms of the electoral Princess.

† Lord Bolingbroke, on the first reading of the bill, declared it to be of the highest importance, since it concerned the security of the church of England, the best and firmest support of the monarchy—both which all good men, and more especially the members of that august assembly, who derive their lustre from and are nearest the throne, ought to have most at heart. Disclaiming in strong language the character of a religious persecutor, he admitted that an indulgence to tender consciences, which the prejudices of education and long habits have rendered scrupulous, might be agreeable to the rules of good policy and humanity; yet he denied that government was from hence under any obligation to indulge a tenderness of conscience to come, or to connive at the propagating of these prejudices, and at the forming of these habits. The evil effect was indeed without remedy, and might therefore deserve indulgence; but the evil cause was to be prevented, and could of consequence be entitled to none: he moved that the bill be read a second time.

throne, in which the Queen affirmed, "that her chief concern was to preserve the Protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and the tranquillity of the kingdom."

On the 27th of July (1714) the Earl of Oxford was unexpectedly divested of the staff of Treasurer; and Bolingbroke found himself elevated to the summit of power. This splendid pre-eminence, however, he enjoyed only for a moment. The Queen, who was perceived to be extremely agitated from the time of the dismission of Lord Oxford, never recovered her composure of mind; but, as though exhausted by incessant fatigue, chagrin, and vexation, she gradually sank into a sort of lethargy, in which she remained several days, deriving no relief from medicine.

A meeting of the privy council being convened, when the Queen was apparently on the verge of departure, the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle entered the council chamber, without any previous summons, to the astonishment of the majority of the members: the Duke of Shrewsbury arose and thanked them for their readiness to assist the council in that critical juncture. They then took their places; and it being represented as of the highest importance that the office of Lord Treasurer should be immediately filled, the Duke of Shrewsbury, already occupying the posts of Lord High Chamberlain, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was proposed and unanimously agreed upon as the fittest person for that great trust. The Queen's physicians, on examination, assuring the council that her Majesty was still sensible, the Chancellor and several other Lords were nominated to attend her. On being informed of the recommendation of the privy council, she expressed her entire approbation of it, and, giving with her own hands the Treasurer's staff to the Duke, charged him, "to use it for the good of her people." Her Majesty, after an interval of some hours, relapsing into her lethargic state, the council proceeded by the most vigorous measures to provide for the security of the kingdom. Orders were dispatched to several regiments of horse and dragoons to march towards the metropolis; directions were given for equipping a fleet with all expedition; and an express was sent off to the Elector of Hanover, signifying, that the Queen's life was despaired of; and desiring that he would, without delay, repair to Holland, where he would find a British squadron ready to convoy him to England. Instructions were at the same time dispatched to the Earl of Strafford, ambassador at the Hague, to demand from the States the performance of their engagements, as guarantees of the Protestant succession; and the heralds at arms were kept in waiting in order to proclaim the new King the instant the throne should become vacant. The Queen continued to breathe rather than to live till Sunday morning, August 1, 1714, when she expired in the 50th year of her age, and 13th of her reign. No symptoms of popular tumult or discontent appeared on the proclamation of the successor, but on the contrary it was received with every token of joy; and, whatever might have been intended, it is certain that nothing had been attempted, much less effected by the late Queen and her ministers in favour of the Pretender.*

* In her person, observes Macpherson, Queen Anne "was of a middle stature, and, before she bore children, well made. Her hair was dark, her complection sanguine, her features strong, but not irregular, her whole countenance more dignified than agreeable. In the accomplishments of the mind, as a woman, she was not deficient: she understood music; she loved painting; she had even some taste for works of genius; she was always generous, sometimes liberal, but never profuse. Like the rest of the family, she was good natured to a degree of weakness; indolent in her disposition, timid by nature, devoted to the company of her favourites, easily led. She possessed all the virtues of her father, except political courage; she was subject to all his weaknesses, except enthusiasm in religion; she was jealous of her authority, and sullenly irreconcilable towards those who treated either herself or prerogative with disrespect; but, like him also, she was much better qualified to discharge the duties of a private life than to act the part of a sovereign. As a friend, a mother, a wife, she deserved every praise. Her conduct as a daughter could scarcely be exceeded by a virtue much superior to all these. Upon the whole, though her reign was crowded with great events, she cannot, with any justice, be called a great Princess. Subject to terror, beyond the constitutional timidity of her sex, she was altogether incapable of decisive counsels, and nothing but her irresistible popularity could have supported her authority amidst the ferment of those distracted times."

Chamberlaine speaks of this Princess in still higher terms. "Thus died Anne Stuart," says he, "Queen of Great Britain, and one of the best and greatest monarchs that ever filled that throne. What was most remarkable, was a clear harmonious voice, always admired in her graceful delivery of her speeches to Parliament, insomuch that it used to be a common saying in the mouth of every one, "that her speech was music." Good nature, the true characteristic of the Stuarts, predominated in her temper, which was a compound of benevolence, generosity, indolence, and timidity, but not without a due sensibility of any slight which she thought was offered to her person or her dignity; to these all her actions, both as a monarch and as a woman, may be ascribed; these were the sources both of her virtues and her failings; her greatest blessing upon earth was that entire union of affections and inclinations between her and her royal consort; which made them a perfect pattern of conjugal love. She was a fond and tender mother, an easy and indulgent mistress, and a most gracious sovereign; but she had more than once reason to repent her giving up her heart, and trusting her secrets without reserve to her favourites. She retained to the last the principles of that true religion which she had imbibed early; being devout without affectation, and charitable without ostentation. She had a great reverence for clergymen eminent for learning and good lives, and was particularly beneficent to the poorer sort of them, of which she left an evidence which bears her name, and will perpetuate both that and her bounty to all succeeding generations."

BOOK XXVII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I. COMPRISING A PERIOD OF TWELVE YEARS, TEN MONTHS, AND TEN DAYS.

30. GEORGE I.

A. D. 1714.] IMMEDIATELY on the death of Queen Anne, an express was sent off to the Earl of Clarendon, the British ambassador at Hanover, which reached him on the night of August the 5th. Instantly repairing to the palace of Herenhausen, his Lordship entered the chamber of the Elector two hours after midnight, and on his bended knee saluted him "King of Great Britain." This intelligence was received with decorous and dignified serenity.

King George was, at the period of his accession, in the 55th year of his age; having been born the day before the restoration of Charles II. It has been justly observed, that the uniform prudence with which he had conducted himself throughout the conflicts of the late reign, the general respectability of his character, and the auspicious circumstances which attended his elevation, seemed to augur calm and prosperous days. The embers of civil discord and animosity, however, were extinguished only in appearance; and the violent measures which the King was led to adopt soon rekindled the torch of sedition and the flames of war.

Convinced that no danger was to be apprehended, on the death of the Queen, either from foreign or domestic enemies, his Majesty appeared in no haste to leave Herenhausen; and it was not till the middle of September that he arrived in England, which exhibited every where the appearance of satisfaction and tranquillity.* Agreeably to an act passed in the late reign for securing the Protestant succession, the existing Parliament was continued for six months, notwithstanding the demise of the sovereign; and, having been assembled on the 5th of August, the Lords of the Regency, consisting of the seven great officers of state, and certain other persons previously nominated under the hand and seal of the Elector, came to the House of Peers; where the Lord Chancellor Harcourt made a speech in their name, exhorting to unanimity, and a firm adherence to his Majesty's interest. Mr. Secretary Bromley, moving the address of condolence and congratulation in the House of Commons, insisted much on the loss sustained by the nation on the death of the late Queen; but Mr. Onslow observed, that the stress of the address ought to be placed rather on the congratulation than on the condolence; and the House, approving the suggestion, declared to his Majesty, "That the duty they owed to his Majesty and to their country obliged them to moderate their grief; that the Princely virtues of his Majesty gave them a certain prospect of future happiness in the security of the national religion, laws, and liberties; assuring his Majesty that they would support his undoubted right to the imperial crown of this realm, against the Pretender, and all other persons whatsoever." The civil list bill passed with perfect unanimity, clauses being added for the payment of the disputed arrears due to the troops of Hanover; and the sum of 100,000*l.* was voted by the House to any person that should apprehend the Pretender, if he should land, or attempt to land, in any part of the kingdom. In the answer transmitted by the King, he declared, "That it would be the constant object of his endeavours to secure to them the full enjoyment of their religion, laws, and liberties, and to make them a happy and flourishing people." The sum of 1,400,000*l.* having been granted in the last session, by way of lottery, both blanks and prizes bearing a certain interest, such was the state of public credit, that not more than one-twentieth part of the sum had been subscribed. The Parliament now therefore voted an addition of one per cent. to the interest of the capital: and the Lords of the Regency and Privy Council went in a body to the Bank, and subscribed individually large sums to the loan; which had so happy an effect, that in a few days the whole subscription was completed.

Before the departure of the King from Hanover, he had transmitted orders to the Regency to remove Lord Bolingbroke from his post of Secretary of State, and to seal up the doors of his office; and an absolute and decided change of ministry took place immediately on his assumption of the regal power.†

It soon appeared, that measures of great severity amounting to almost a general proscription of the Tory party, had been determined upon by the Whigs, who were now in full and exclusive possession of the government.‡ The Parliament which assembled in March 1715,

* The King of France, of whom alone any jealousy could be entertained, ordered, on the first intelligence of the demise of the Queen, M. d'Ibberville, his envoy extraordinary at the court of London, to declare, in the most explicit language, his resolution to adhere to the terms of the late treaty, and his sincere desire to maintain the most perfect amity and good understanding with the new sovereign. The Pretender, who had repaired from Lorraine to Paris at this juncture, was refused an audience of his most Christian Majesty, and received notice from M. Torcy to return without delay to his former residence at Bar-le-duc. Count Konigseg, the imperial ambassador, in addition to the usual congratulations, offered, in the name of the Emperor his master, any number of troops that might be wanting at this crisis to support the authority of government.

† The Earl of Halifax was made first commissioner of the Treasury, the King refusing to create a Lord High Treasurer; not choosing, as he said, that there should be any greater man in the kingdom than himself. Lord Townshend and General Stanhope were nominated Secretaries of State, and to them was chiefly committed the direction of foreign affairs. The Earl of Nottingham, the only Tory admitted into the new administration, was declared President of the Council, the former council having been previously dissolved. Lord Cowper was re-instated in the high office of Chancellor; the command of the army was restored to the Duke of Marlborough; the privy seal given to the Earl of Wharton; and Lord Sunderland appointed to the government of Ireland; the Duke of Shrewsbury alone, of all the members of the late administration, being received with marks of favour, and he retained his office of Lord Chamberlain.

‡ In the sermon preached at the coronation of the King, October 20, the Bishop of Oxford inveighed strongly against the treaty of Utrecht, which he affirmed had raised the hopes of the Pretender to the highest pitch; asserting also that the peaceable accession of the King was owing merely to the "unexpected death" of the late Queen. In a few places only was the general joy interrupted by any appearance of disaffection. Dr. Sacherevel, on the Sunday preceding the coronation of the King, preached at Sutton Coldfield near Birmingham; and when the loyalists met at a tavern to celebrate the coron-

tion

BAPTIST

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

GEORGE THE FIRST.

BORN 1648.—DIED 1716.

1715, was composed almost entirely of Whigs; and the royal proclamation convoking this assembly contained in it the following expressions; "It having pleased Almighty God, by most remarkable steps of his providence, to bring us safe to the crown of this kingdom, notwithstanding the designs of evil men, we do not doubt that our loving subjects will, in the ensuing elections, have particular regard to such as shewed a firmness to the Protestant succession when it was in danger." This was stiled by Sir William Wyndham, "an unprecedented and unwarrantable exertion of the prerogative, and of dangerous consequence to the very being of Parliaments;" for which, having refused to apologise, he was, by order of the House, reprimanded by the speaker, who intimated that it was owing to the extraordinary lenity of the House that he was not committed to the Tower. Sir William, in reply, declared, "that he was neither conscious of offering any indignity to his Majesty, nor of violating the privileges of that House; and that he had therefore no thanks to give those gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, had brought this censure upon him."

The attention of the House was, however, soon engaged by greater objects. Official information was received from General Stanhope and Mr. Walpole, that the papers found in the office of the late Secretary Lord Bolingbroke would afford ample ground for impeaching several of the members of the former administration, which they affirmed to be the most wicked and corrupt that had ever presided in this country. This nobleman, who had hitherto preserved the appearance of great serenity, attending and even taking a part, as usual, in the debates of the House of Lords, now precipitately withdrew to the continent. In the beginning of April, General Stanhope laid before the House of Commons all the papers relating to the negotiations of the late ministry with France, which were immediately referred to a select committee of twenty-one persons, whose candour and impartiality may be estimated by the tenour of their declarations during the investigation.* In June, Mr. Walpole, as chairman, made the report, in which the secret preliminaries signed with M. Mesnager, the suspension of arms, the seizure of Ghent and Bruges by the Duke of Ormond, Lord Bolingbroke's journey to Paris, and separate conferences with the French ministry; in fact, all the measures which preceded or facilitated the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, were stated as highly criminal; and, boldly asserting that to vindicate these measures was in a manner to share the guilt of them, the chairman terminated the report by impeaching Henry Lord Viscount Bolingbroke of high treason. Lord Coningsby, immediately standing up, exclaimed, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head—I impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer of high treason." On the 21st of June General Stanhope impeached the Duke of Ormond of high treason; and the day following, Mr. Aislabie impeached the Earl of Strafford of high crimes and misdemeanors. Such was the temper of the House, that the greater part of these impeachments were carried without difficulty, and almost without a division.†

Of all the charges adduced against the late ministry, the suspension of arms, productive of consequences so disastrous and fatal, was the most serious; but it cannot be pretended that the Duke of Ormond could, or ought, to have exercised any discretion in this case, as his orders were peremptory and positive. The Duke, however, seeing the spirit of faction and revenge so strongly predominate, followed Lord Bolingbroke to the continent; and both these noblemen entered into the service of the court of St. Germains, now removed to Commerci in Lorraine.‡

Conscious of the steadiness of his attachment to the house of Hanover, of the King's real obligation to him, and the knowledge of that obligation, the Earl of Oxford determined to abide the fury of this political tempest; and the impeachment preferred by the Commons being followed by a motion in the House of Peers for his commitment, he rose to speak in his defence, observing, "that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiation and conclusion of the peace. That the nation wanted a peace (he said) no one would deny; and he averred, that the conditions upon which it was made were as good as the obstinate and perverse reluctance of the allies to concur in the Queen's measures would admit;—that it had been approved by two successive Parliaments; that he had acted by the express commands of his sovereign, without offending against any known law; and, being justified in his conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man." The Earl was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, shouting "High church! Ormond and Oxford for ever!" and the riots and tumults which

tion day, the rabble assembled in a tumultuous manner, broke the windows of the tavern, and compelled the company to disperse. The popular cry was, "The church and Sacheverel for ever—Down with the Whigs!" If any one cried "God bless King George!" his life was in danger.

* Mr. Boscawen spoke of "the insolence of a set of men, who, having committed the blackest crimes, had yet the assurance to dare the justice of the nation;" Mr. Walpole said, "that he had not words to express the villainy of the last Frenchified ministry;" and Mr. Secretary Stanhope expressed his wonder, "that men who were guilty of such enormous crimes had still the audaciousness to appear in public."

† The governing party, however, thought it not advisable to institute any proceeding against the Bishop of London, the co-adjutor of Lord Strafford, and vested with equal powers as plenipotentiary at the congress of Utrecht. On the contrary, it was said "that this good and pious prelate was joined in the commission only to palliate the iniquity of it under the sacredness of his character." The Bishop himself declared, "that he was kept wholly in the dark in all the negotiations relative to this transaction;" and Mr. Hungerford pleasantly remarked, that he saw it was determined that the Bishop, though in fact equally concerned with Lord Strafford, should be allowed "benefit of the clergy." On a subsequent occasion, nevertheless, when the storm had blown over, this prelate affirmed in debate, "that the Utrecht treaty was just and honourable, and that he himself drew up the instructions of the embassy;" on which Lord Coningsby reminded him of his former plea of ignorance, and asked "how his Lordship could pretend to have been kept entirely in the dark as to this business?" to which no answer was made.

‡ On his arrival in France Lord Bolingbroke apologised in a letter to Lord Lansdowne for his abrupt departure: "You will," said he, "excuse me when you know that I had certain and repeated information, from some who are in the secret of affairs, that a resolution was taken by those who have power to execute it, to pursue me to the scaffold. Had there been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged unheard by two Houses of Parliament, I should not have declined the strictest examination. I challenge the most inveterate of my enemies to produce one instance of a criminal correspondence, or the least corruption of any part of the administration in which I was concerned." Though Lord Bolingbroke suffered himself to be engaged, by earnest solicitation, in the service of the Pretender; and even accepted the seals as Secretary of State to that shadow of a King, while, as he expresses it, "the smart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein;" on perceiving the hopeless condition of his affairs, and the weakness and distraction of his counsels, he willingly received in about six months his dismission from this unenviable pre-eminence. On leaving the Pretender's service, he had articles of impeachment formally exhibited against him, branched out into the several heads of treachery, incapacity, and negligence: to which he made an elaborate reply, expressing at the close of it his obligation to the Pretender "for cutting by this means that Gordian knot asunder by which he had conceived himself for ever bound to his interests, and which would have effectually precluded every idea of making his peace at home,"—an event which from this time became the object of his incessant intrigues and solicitations. 'We must," says the Duke of Berwick, in his Memoirs, "be entirely deprived of common sense not to see that the 'King' committed an enormous fault in dismissing the only Englishman capable of conducting his affairs. I owe him the justice to declare, that he omitted nothing that was in his power to do. He moved heaven and earth to obtain succours, but the court of France did nothing but amuse him." The Duke of Ormond, who was much more in earnest in his attachment to the exiled family, and who disdained to court a reconciliation with that country by which he considered himself as treated with the highest injustice and ingratitude, retained, during the remainder of his life, his station in the Pretender's court, around the cheerless and contracted circle of which he alone reflected some scattered rays of lustre. Previously to his departure from London, he visited, for the last time, the Earl of Oxford, who dissuaded him from flying with as much earnestness as he entreated Oxford to make his escape. He at length parted from the Earl with these words: "Farewell, Oxford without a head!" To which Oxford replied, "Farewell, Duke without a duchy!"—That the King had originally no intention of proceeding to these fatal extremities might, in defect of other proofs, be collected from the mode of Ormond's dismission; as, on the day succeeding his landing at Greenwich, a message was delivered to the Duke by Lord Townshend, "that his Majesty had no farther occasion for his services as Captain-General, but would be glad to see him at court." This nobleman was also nominated of the privy council. The impeachment of Ormond was distinguished from the rest by the closeness of the division, being carried, in a House of 425 members, by a majority of forty-seven voices only.

ensued

ensued in various parts of the kingdom, fully justified the expression of the Earl of Anglesea in the debate of this day, "that it was to be feared such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the King's hands." For this remark, however, the House insisted upon his making an apology.

At the time that the articles of impeachment were exhibited against the Earl of Strafford, that nobleman complained of the arbitrary and illegal seizure of his papers; and desired a competent time to prepare for his defence—requiring for this purpose duplicates both of such as had been laid before the committee of secrecy and of those remaining in the hands of government. This request was wholly opposed, until the Earl of Ilay observed, "that in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, 'the Inquisition excepted,' allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary to their justification; and that the House of Peers of Great Britain would not, he was persuaded, in a case of this nature, do any thing contrary to that honour and equity for which they were so justly renowned throughout Europe." The House at length resolved that the Earl should be allowed copies of such papers as he might have occasion to use in his defence. Bills of attainder, in default of personal appearance, passed against the Duke of Ormond and Lord Viscount Bolingbroke; their names and armorial bearings were erased from the rolls of the Peerage by order of the House; and the Duke's achievement as Knight of the Garter was taken down from St. George's chapel at Windsor.

The session was protracted to the end of the summer; but it does not appear that the anger of the House had suffered any abatement.—"Your Commons," said the Speaker, in his address to the King, "could not see, without the utmost indignation, the glories of her late Majesty's reign tarnished by a treacherous cessation of arms; the faith of treaties violated; that ancient probity, for which the English nation had been justly renowned throughout all ages, exposed to scorn and contempt. Such was the condition of the kingdom when it pleased the divine Providence to call your Majesty to the throne of your ancestors, under whose auspicious reign your Commons behold with pleasure the glory of the Plantagenets, your Majesty's royal ancestors, revive, and have an unbounded prospect of the continuance of this happiness to the latest posterity."

The Earl of Halifax had reluctantly acquiesced in the system of that administration of which he was looked up to as the head; and he was consequently regarded by the zealots of Whiggism as deficient in vigour and spirit, if not secretly attached to the Tories." This nobleman was greatly disgusted at the unexpected ascendency acquired by Lord Townshend; and the disapprobation which he expressed of these violent proceedings, was liable to the suspicion of its being in some degree personal. An universal expectation of his resignation prevailed, when he suddenly expired, after a few days' illness, in the vigour of his age, May 19th, 1715.* His Lordship was succeeded as first commissioner of the Treasury by Mr. Walpole.

By the late extraordinary proceedings, the partisans of the Pretender were incited to exert themselves with great vigour and activity; and it was determined at one and the same time to take up arms in both kingdoms against the government. In the month of September, the Earl of Mar set up the standard of rebellion, and proclaimed the Pretender, under the stile and title of King James III. at Castletown in Scotland, and soon collected an army of 10,000 men. The vigilance of the government in a great measure rendered abortive the designs concerted by the adherents of the house of Stuart on the south of the Tweed. The Habeas Corpus Act being suspended, several noblemen were committed to the Tower, amongst whom were Lord Lansdowne and the Earl of Jersey, who had engaged to join the Duke of Ormond on his intended landing in the west; Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Harvey, and various other members of the Commons, were seized, and committed to close custody; the bail of the Duke of Somerset, father-in-law to Sir William Wyndham, was peremptorily refused; and the Duke himself, for some expressions of resentment, was removed from his place of master of the horse.

The Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster, however, appeared at the head of a considerable armed force in Northumberland, hoping to surprise the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where they expected to find ample supplies of arms and stores, and to be joined by very many of the lower order of inhabitants: but the well-affected, both of the church and dissenters, formed themselves into a town guard of 700 men, and another corps of 700 keelmen, principally dissenters, were also embodied for the defence of the place; so that this design, the success of which would have rendered them very formidable, proved abortive. Thus disappointed, the rebels suddenly altered their route, and advanced northward to Kelso, where they were joined by a body of Highlanders; and again entering England by the western border, proclaimed the Pretender at Warkworth, Penrith, Lancaster, and other places, in their progress to the southward. On their arrival at Preston, November 12, they were attacked by the King's forces under the Generals Willes and Carpenter, who, investing the town on all sides, compelled them to surrender at discretion. On the same day a bloody battle was fought, between the Earl of Mar and the Duke of Argyle, at Sheriff-moor, near Dumblaine in Scotland. Apprised of the intention of the Earl of Mar to cross the Forth, in order to join the insurgents in the Lowlands, the Duke hastened to secure the passes of that river, which he himself crossed at Stirling, and immediately took possession, with a force not exceeding 4000 men, of the heights of Dumblaine. The Earl of Mar now advanced to the attack; the clans of Clanronald and Glengary marching in the van. Clanronald, who led in person the right wing, was killed at the first onset, which occasioned a sudden pause; but Glengary, who succeeded to the command, stepping forward, waved his bonnet, and cried three or four times aloud, "Revenge;" On this the men rushed down upon the royalists, sword in hand, with such irresistible impetuosity, that the left wing of the King's army was in a short time entirely broken; and General Whetham, who commanded it, carried the news of his own defeat with incredible expedition to Stirling—declaring the ruin of the whole army to be inevitable. The Duke of Argyle, who commanded the right wing in person, charged, and drove the enemy before him, about two miles, though they repeatedly attempted to rally. On his return from this pursuit, he was unexpectedly confronted by the victorious rebels on their return from the pursuit of Whetham; and each army found itself possessed of the station occupied, in the early part of the engagement, by its adversary. In this posture they remained till evening, when the rebels returned to Ardoch, and the Duke to Dumblaine; and next day, marching back to the field of battle, he carried off the wounded, and several pieces of cannon left by the enemy. Though the combat was thus indecisive, all the honour as well as advantage rested with the Duke of Argyle, who, with an inferior force, had entirely disconcerted the schemes of his antagonist. Various successes were obtained also by the royalists in the northern parts of Scotland, where the loss of Inverness was severely felt by the rebels; and Argyle having been joined by large re-inforcements, it was with difficulty that Mar kept the field till the arrival of the Pretender in person, who landed at Peterhead the 26th of December, and immediately issued various proclamations; one of which was for summoning a convention of the estates; a second ordering all fencible men to repair to his standard; and a third fixing a day for his coronation. He cherished, however, no san-

* Though the abilities of the Earl of Halifax as a statesman and financier were unquestionably great, he is perhaps still more known to posterity as a most munificent patron of literature; maintaining in this respect an illustrious rivalship with the Earl of Oxford, the head of the opposite state faction: in the lapse of a century, these noblemen have had, in this view, neither equals nor successors.

guine hope of success;* and, in a short time, the folly and rashness of the enterprise became so apparent, that, on receiving intelligence of the approach of the Duke of Argyle, he resolved to embark on board a French ship lying in the harbour of Montrose, (February 4, 1716,) accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Melfort, which, stretching over to Norway, in order to avoid pursuit, and coasting along the shores of Germany and Holland, arrived in five days at Gravelines. The rebel army, retiring northward, quietly dispersed without making any farther effort, or receiving the slightest molestation from the royalists.†

The rebellion in both kingdoms was thus happily and speedily suppressed; but the clemency of the King did not appear so conspicuous as might have been expected. The Lords Derwentwater, Nithisdale, and Nairne, with several other noblemen, being tried in Westminster hall, received sentence of death. Earnest intercession was made for the condemned Lords; and the Countesses of Derwentwater, and Nithisdale, and Lady Nairne, threw themselves at the King's feet, and with affecting and urgent supplications implored his mercy; but no mitigation of the sentence could be obtained. In consequence of divers petitions presented to the House of Peers, a motion was made, and carried by a majority of five voices, "that the House should address the throne to reprieve such of the condemned Lords as should deserve his Majesty's mercy;" but to this address the King answered, "that on this and all other occasions he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown and the safety of his people." The Earl of Nottingham, who had supported the motion, so far incurred the displeasure of the court, that he was within a few days removed from his office of president of the council, and his brother the Earl of Aylesford from the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster.‡

Many of the lower classes of the people also fell a sacrifice to the fatal delusion of those mistaken principles which led them to engage in this revolt, which might in all human probability, have been easily prevented by the adoption of a more equitable and generous policy. The King was, notwithstanding, of a disposition by no means harsh or implacable: on the contrary, it was with extreme hesitation and reluctance that he concurred in the measures which he was assured were necessary to his safety.

A. D. 1716.] The ministry, perceiving, and probably resenting, the general discontent and disaffection of the people, now found or imagined the necessity of adopting a powerful measure for the preservation of the public safety. This was the introduction of the famous septennial bill, in the session of 1716, by which the Parliament not only assumed a power of prolonging the duration of future Parliaments, but even its own; and having been elected by the nation for three years, they elected themselves for four years more. It has, however, been truly urged in its favour, that it was agreeable to the sentiments of a great and respectable part of the nation, who had long seen and deplored the evils attending the frequent recurrence of Parliamentary elections under the corrupt, though long established, modes of election; and who were convinced of the danger which must eventually have arisen from the dissolution of the present Parliament at a juncture so critical. The bill, which originated in the House of Peers, was opposed with great ability by several noblemen, particularly by the Earl of Nottingham, who had now quitted his connection with the Whigs.§

The question of commitment being at length put, it was carried in the affirmative, after a violent debate, by 96 voices against 61. Thirty Lords, however, entered their protest, at the head of whom were the Dukes of Somerset and Shrewsbury. When this bill was transmitted to the Commons, it had to encounter an opposition still more formidable. No sooner was it announced to the House, by two of the judges sent from the Peers, that their Lordships had passed a bill for enlarging the time of the continuance of Parliaments, to which they desired their concurrence, than Lord Guernsey moved to reject the bill without reading it. The House, however, determined by a great majority to receive it; the bill was read a first and second time; and, after a long and animated debate, the motion for its commitment was carried, by 284 against 162.

Whilst this memorable bill was pending, various petitions were presented against it; but it was finally passed, by 264 votes against 121; and soon afterwards received the royal assent; the King expressing in his

* "For me," said he in a speech addressed to his friends convened in council, "it will be no new thing if I am unfortunate: my whole life, even from my cradle, has shown a constant series of misfortunes; and I am prepared, if so it please God, to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours."

† When the Earl of Mar arrived at Paris, he published a narrative of his expedition into Scotland; in which he declared, "That, a month before the chevalier landed, the resolution was taken of abandoning Perth, in consequence of the total failure of their expectations. Instead of the wild incursion into England, he had imagined that Mr. Forster would have co-operated with him in the south of Scotland; and had actually detached 1500 men across the Forth to join him. The vigilance of the government had prevented any insurrection in the west, where the Duke of Ormond, after actually landing incognito, was immediately compelled to retreat. They were wholly disappointed in their expected supplies of men and ammunition from France. The Duke of Berwick positively refused to repair to Scotland to take the chief command; and it is plainly intimated that the conduct of Lord Bolingbroke, at this time entrusted by the chevalier with the principal management of his affairs, was in the highest degree insidious." It is evident, that the chevalier had too little sense or sagacity to avail himself of the talents, or derive advantage from the counsels, of Lord Bolingbroke; and that Lord Bolingbroke had too much pride, and too little either of zeal or of hope, to take any pains to accommodate his conduct to existing circumstances.

‡ In the last declaration of the Earl of Derwentwater, a young nobleman whose virtues and accomplishments made him the object of general regard and compassion, he apologised for suffering himself to be persuaded, though with difficulty, to the disingenuous expedient of pleading guilty upon his trial, in the flattering hope of obtaining a pardon, knowing that his intentions were ever strictly honourable and disinterested—though, had the Prince who governed granted him life, he professed that he should have thought himself under an obligation never more to have taken up arms against him.

§ His Lordship observed, "that frequent Parliaments were the essence of the English constitution, and were sanctioned by the practice of ages; that the members of the Lower House were delegated by the body of the nation for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they were no longer the representatives of the people; that by thus lengthening, at their own pleasure, the duration of their own authority, they deprived the people of the only remedy which the wisdom of our ancestors had provided against the ignorance and corruption of those who might be tempted to betray the trust reposed in them; that as to the pretence of adding energy or stability to the foreign transactions or projected alliances of government, what Prince or state could rationally entrust us with the care of their interests, when we appeared so ready to abandon our own? that the preamble of the bill itself might suffice to deter them from entering into engagements with our government, when they understood by it that the Popish and Jacobite faction was so powerful as to threaten destruction to the present establishment; and that the government acknowleded its weakness to be such, as to make so extraordinary a provision necessary for its safety, when it appeared that the nation was not to be trusted, and that the affections of the King's subjects were restricted within the limits of the House of Commons. He affirmed that a long Parliament would encourage every species of corruption in every class of the community; that the value of a seat would bear a determinate proportion to the legal duration of Parliaments, and the purchase would rise accordingly; that a long Parliament would both enhance the temptations, and multiply the opportunities, of a vicious ministry, to undermine the integrity and independency of Parliaments far beyond what could occur if they were short and frequent; that the reasons urged for prolonging the duration of this Parliament to seven years would probably be as strong, and by perseverance in the same impolitic conduct, might be made much stronger before the end of that term, for continuing and even perpetuating their legislative power." On the other hand, Lord Carteret, who, though young as a statesman, was one of the ablest speakers in support of the bill, "acknowledged that frequent Parliaments are a great security of the people's rights and liberties; but he observed that this bill was not against frequent meetings of Parliaments, but only against frequent elections; that they ought maturely to weigh and consider what was suggested in the preamble of the bill; that there is a restless Popish faction, designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom; that of all rebellions, this last was the most monstrous and unnatural,—for all others were carried on under pretences of liberty, whereas the last was a rebellion for slavery. That as to our allies abroad, though he could not affirm that they expected this bill, yet it was reasonable to suppose that they would rejoice to see it pass into a law, having found, by sad experience, that great changes may be made in the best concerted measure by different Parliaments, inflamed by different ministers; that, in short, this bill would fix the King and the present happy establishment on a lasting foundation, and therefore he was for committing it."

speech at the conclusion of the session (June 26) the satisfaction he felt at the prospect of a "settled government," supported by a Parliament which had shown such zeal for the prosperity of their country, and the Protestant interest of Europe. His Majesty now feeling himself in a state of perfect security, and having been, by an act passed in the course of the last session, relieved from the embarrassment of a clause in the act of settlement restraining him from leaving the kingdom without the consent of Parliament, determined to revisit his dominions in Germany.

Louis XIV. had terminated his reign and life, September 1, 1715. He was succeeded by Louis XV. an infant only five years of age, and the government of the kingdom was now vested in the hands of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France. This Prince, who, in case of the death of the infant monarch, had just pretensions to the throne of France, dreaded, notwithstanding the act of renunciation, the competition of the King of Spain. The situation of the King of England, who had also the designs of a restless rival to oppose, being analogous to that of the Regent, they eagerly concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance, to which the States General, after some hesitation and delay, acceded. This treaty was signed at the Hague, January 1717, by Lord Cadogan, l'abbé Dubois, and pensionary Heinsius. In England, it excited much murmur and surprise; nor would the nation believe that the Protestant succession could derive any additional security from the guarantee of France.*

The affair, however, which principally engaged the King's solicitude at this period, was the recent cession of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden by Denmark, who had conquered them from the Swedes; and for which Denmark was to receive a certain equivalent in money from Hanover. Exclusively, however, of this pretended equivalent, the King of England, as Elector of Hanover, undertook to guarantee to Denmark the Duchy of Sleswic, conquered by that power from the Duke of Holstein, the ally of Sweden, and son of Hedwig Sophia eldest sister of Charles XII.—his Danish Majesty thus parting with one-half of his conquests, to establish a permanent property in the other. The ratifications of the treaty by which these duchies were ceded to Hanover were exchanged July 1715, and the duchies actually delivered into the possession of his Britannic Majesty October 15th next ensuing; on which day, agreeably to an express proviso of the treaty, war was declared by King George, in his electoral capacity, against Sweden. This whole transaction the King of Sweden regarded as a flagrant injury and insult: and little regarding, in the vehemence of his anger, the distinction arising from the twofold character sustained by his adversary, as King of England and Elector of Hanover, and well knowing that, in the mere capacity of Elector, he would not have ventured to gratify his ambition so much at the risque of his safety, he directed all the efforts of his vengeance against the English nation, who appeared to him to countenance this usurpation.

During the summer of the same year (1715) Sir J. Norris sailed with a strong squadron to the Baltic, for the protection of the national commerce, which had suffered extremely from the hostile resentment of the Swedes. The purposes of this armament were, however, much more of a political than a commercial nature; for by a memorial presented in the month of October to the court of London, the Swedish ambassador complained "that the English squadron had actually joined the Danish fleet in the attack upon the island of Rugen, 'in consequence of the late cession of Bremen and Verden,' contrary to the treaties subsisting between the two nations." The King of Sweden was himself at this time besieged in the city of Stralsund; to the reduction of which that of the isle of Rugen was considered as preparatory. Rugen was taken; and the Swedish monarch made his escape with extreme personal hazard, in the night preceding the surrender of Stralsund. A disposition much less inflammable than that of Charles XII. might be easily supposed roused into resentment by such treatment. In the succeeding summer also (1716) Sir John Norris had again appeared in the Baltic, openly acting in conjunction with the Danes. At this period, therefore, with a view to gratify his hatred and revenge against the King of England, the King of Sweden was deeply engaged in negotiations and intrigues with the English mal-contents; and a project was formed for the invasion of the kingdom, by that monarch, at the head of a large body of forces. The King of England, who had received information from various quarters, of this conspiracy, on his return from the continent caused the Swedish ambassador, Count Gyllenburg, to be arrested. At the same time Baron Goertz, the Swedish resident in Holland, was arrested, at the requisition of the King, by order of the States; and in the papers of these two noblemen, was found ample proof of their secret machinations. The foreign ministers were not a little alarmed at this extraordinary procedure; and the Marquis de Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador, in particular, expressed his astonishment and regret that no other mode of preserving the peace of the kingdom could be devised, than by arresting the persons of ambassadors, and seizing their papers—the sacred repositories of their masters' secrets. The Secretary of State, Mr. Methuen, stated the urgent necessity which had impelled the King his master to adopt a measure so contrary to his inclinations: and Baron Goertz openly avowed the whole project of the invasion, of which he acknowledged himself the author, and which he said "was amply justified by the conduct of the King of Great Britain, who had joined the confederacy against the King of Sweden without having received the least provocation —who had assisted the King of Denmark in subduing the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, and then purchased them of the usurper—and who had, in the course of this very summer, sent a strong squadron of ships to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Russians against the Swedes." The states of Holland not venturing to detain the Baron long in confinement, he prosecuted his designs with great increase of zeal.

Parliament met on the 20th of February (1717) when the King declared to the two Houses the alliance recently concluded with France and the United Provinces, and stated the actual danger of an invasion from Sweden; and in a short time copies of the letters which had passed between the ministers Gyllenburg and Goertz were laid before them;† and a royal message

* This treaty with France was preceded by two others—the first a defensive alliance between the Emperor, Great Britain, and Holland, signed November 1715, by which all differences relating to the Dutch barrier was accommodated, and the Protestant succession in the house of Brunswick guarantied by the Emperor: the second a defensive alliance between England and the Emperor, signed May 1716, by which the quota of troops to be furnished on each side, in case of necessity, was fixed, and the Protestant succession anew guarantied by the Emperor. This treaty was never formally communicated to Parliament, and appears to have been chiefly designed as a political manœuvre to quicken and facilitate the negotiations then depending with France.

† Of the dangerous nature of this correspondence a few passages may be selected as proofs. October 1716, Gyllenburg writes, "There is no medium. Either Bremen or the Hanoverian must be sacrificed. The latter is not so difficult, considering the general discontent. Ten thousand men would be sufficient. The mal-contents require but a body of regular forces, to which they may join themselves. That body being transported in the month of March, when the easterly winds reign, and when it will not in the least be dreamt of, will cause a general revolt."——November 1716, "I should believe, that if the preliminary concerning Bremen was settled, we might come to an agreement in relation to what they ought to help us to take from the czar by way of reprisal for our losses in Germany. On the other hand, if we do not submit to them, your excellency may be assured, that as well to justify their past actions, as to force us to a compliance, they will prevail upon the 'mercenary Parliament' which they have at present to take vigorous resolutions, and even to declare war against us. This is what we must expect. The English ministers do not mince the matter; and they have already made it appear that they will stick at nothing. They are all furious persons. Sunderland, who is in a manner at the head of affairs, has got all the interest he has with the King of England by having consented to what has been done against us; and, being beside our enemy, is at present at Hanover to take his instructions from the Germans: and your excellency may depend upon it he will execute them with all the boldness imaginable.

sage was delivered in the month of April to the House of Commons, by General Stanhope, informing the House of the danger which still impended over the nation from the designs of Sweden, and demanding an extraordinary supply, to enable him to make good such engagements as it might be necessary for him to contract with other powers, in order effectually to avert it. A supply of 250,000*l.* was accordingly voted, but by a majority of four voices only, and not without vehement debate and opposition, chiefly in consequence of an alarming division in the administration, and the eventual secession of various of its members distinguished equally by eminence of station and ability—amongst whom Lord Townshend, some time Secretary of State, and lately appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Walpole, first commissioner of the Treasury, appeared most conspicuous. The message was declared, by Mr. Shippen, to be unparliamentary and unprecedented: penned, he supposed, by some foreigner totally unacquainted with their accustomed forms of procedure, and their invariable usage of granting money only on estimate, and for certain specified services. And he asked, what glorious advantages were to be obtained for England, which made it necessary to incur this expence, and to encounter this danger? Mr. Hungerford ridiculed the idea of courting, and much more of purchasing, foreign alliances; and said, that a nation so lately the terror of France and Spain was surely able to defend itself, in any cause which called for national exertion, from the attack of so inconsiderable an enemy as Sweden. General Stanhope, in the warmth of debate, happening to assert, "that none could refuse compliance with this message, but such as were not the King's friends," much offence was taken, by many members far removed from the suspicion of disaffection; and Mr. Lawson, member for Cumberland, observed, "that he was surprised to hear such unguarded expressions fall from so respectable a person; and that if every member of the House who used freedom of speech must be accounted an enemy to the King, whenever he happened to disapprove of the measures of his ministers, he knew no service they could render to their country in that House; and it were better at once to retire to their country seats, and leave the King and his ministers to act entirely at their discretion."

In conclusion, though the subsidy was granted, the dissatisfaction of the House was strongly apparent; and the fact itself remained indisputable, that the Germanic politics of the King had embroiled the kingdom of Great Britain in a dangerous contest, not only with Sweden but Russia. Before the rising of the Parliament, however, the King informed the two Houses, in person, by a speech from the throne, that a powerful fleet under Sir George Byng had safely arrived in the Baltic, and that the danger of an immediate invasion was now removed.

The debate on the supply was the prelude to a great and almost total change in the ministry, which had been for some time past agitated by great internal animosities. On the very evening of the day on which the discontented party had distinguished themselves by their public and Parliamentary opposition to the measures of the court, Lord Townshend was dismissed from his government of Ireland; and, on the next morning, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, delivered in their resignations. Also, in a short time, the Earl of Oxford relinquished his seat at the head of the admiralty, and the Duke of Devonshire at the board of council—Lord Cowper, with difficulty, consenting to retain possession of the great seal.* To the astonishment of the nation, Stanhope, divesting himself of his military character, now assumed the gown of Chancellor of the Exchequer; and a general of horse was, for the first time, placed at the head of the Board of Treasury. The Earl of Sunderland was constituted Secretary of State in his room; his colleague being the celebrated Addison. The Earl of Berkeley succeeded the Earl of Orford, and the Duke of Bolton Lord Townshend—the office of Lord Chamberlain, vacated by the last promotion, being conferred upon the Duke of Newcastle. The Duke of Kingston had, some months previously to these political changes, been constituted Lord Privy-Seal in the room of the Earl of Wharton, deceased; and the Duke of Roxburgh appointed Secretary of State for Scotland.†

During the present session, a very short time previously to his resignation, Mr. Walpole had exhibited a signal proof of his financial ability in the introduction of the memorable bill for the reduction of the public debt; which, amongst other regulations, enacted, that all the public funds redeemable by law, and bearing higher interest than five per cent. be redeemed according to the respective provisoes of clauses of redemption; and that the irredeemable annuities, with consent of the proprietors, be converted into an interest, or perpetual annuity, not exceeding five per cent. per annum, redeemable by Parliament. By this bill the joint surpluses arising as well from the proposed reduction of interest from six to five per cent, as from the excesses of the several taxes appropriated to the payment of the interest, were solemnly declared to be solely and unalienably applicable, under the denomination of a sinking fund, to the discharge of the principal of the public debt contracted previous to the 25th of December, 1716. It has been justly observed, that, "had this plan been as steadily prosecuted as it was wisely concerted, the nation would have been soon relieved from her pecuniary difficulties: for as, in consequence of the progressive redemption of the debt, the surpluses must increase with accelerated rapidity, it operated, so long as it was allowed to operate, with a marvellous and almost magic energy."

Riots and tumults, the natural consequences of the measures adopted by the present ministry, broke out from time to time in various parts of the kingdom with alarming symptoms of disaffection and violence. Oaken boughs worn on the 10th of May, and white roses on the 10th of June, the birth-day of the Pretender, were the ostentatious badges of the party. The spirit of disloyalty and sedition, however, seemed to display itself at this period with more conspicuous malignity at the

imaginable. Your excellency therefore will find we ought to make use of this opportunity to enter into measures against people who certainly will not do any thing by halves. We must either ruin them, or be undone ourselves—that is, if it be in their power to bring it to pass. My friends are now in town. An express which came to them yesterday from the Pretender will put them in better condition for forming a plan. To-day they are going about it." Baron Goertz writes to Count Gyllenburg, December 11, 1716: "As I run no risque with you, Sir, I will freely tell you, that, even before my departure from Sweden, we were already, on our side, disposed to this expedition. It is easy to believe that those dispositions are since increased, in proportion as the animosity of the court where you are hath continued increasing. There is therefore now no other question, but of the means to satisfy our just desire of revenge. For several months past we have had some preliminary negotiation upon these matters with the court of Avignon. Which way can the King of Sweden better secure to himself the recovery and possession of the said duchy (viz. Bremen) than by reducing King George to be nothing more than an elector of the empire?" Again, January 1717: "Assure your friends, that the expedition to England does at present take up all our thoughts and attention.—Tell me whence proceeds the good disposition wherein Walpole seems to be?"

* Great endeavours were made to detach Walpole from his party—the King himself condescending to urge his continuance in office with extreme earnestness; but his resolution was not to be shaken.

† Mutual resentment and aversion from this time succeeded to the friendship which had formerly subsisted between Stanhope and Walpole. In a debate which took place soon after the change of administration, Stanhope observed, "that, conscious of his incapacity for the affairs of the Treasury, he had accepted of this employment, so remote from his studies and inclination in obedience to the King's commands; that, however, he would endeavour to make up by honesty, application, and disinterestedness, what he wanted in ability and experience; that he would content himself with the salary and lawful perquisites of his office; and, though he had quitted a better place, he would not quarter himself upon any body to make it up; that he had no brothers, nor other relations, to provide for: and that, upon his first entering into the Treasury, he had made a standing order against the late practice of granting reversions of places." Mr. Walpole, touched with these inuendoes, replied with great asperity; and so bitter an altercation ensued, that the House was obliged to interpose its authority in order to prevent any disastrous consequences. Mr. Hungerford remarked, that "it became the members of that House, after the oriental fashion, to avert their countenances while these two great men, the fathers of the state, were thus exposing each other's nakedness."

city

city of Oxford than perhaps any other place; insomuch that it was deemed necessary by the government to station there a considerable military force, between whom and the youth of the University frequent occasions of quarrel arose; some of which were of sufficient magnitude to come under judicial cognizance.

The Prince of Wales, who had been constituted guardian of the realm during the absence of the King, had conducted himself with such prudence, and had acquired such popularity as to excite the serious umbrage of the monarch, by whom he was never again entrusted with the reins of government. On the return of the King, numerous addresses of congratulation were presented; amongst which, one from the University of Cambridge, particularly noticing the suppression of the late rebellion, was most graciously received. At a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and heads of houses in Oxford, a motion being made for the same purpose, it was rejected with marked indignation. The cry of 'the Church and Sacheverel' seemed still to retain considerable efficacy and influence over the multitude; and the dwelling-houses and meeting-houses of the Sectaries were the favourite objects of the popular vengeance. The House of Commons consequently presented an address to the King, in which they stated, "that great numbers of his Majesty's deluded subjects had assembled in a tumultuous and rebellious manner, had committed great disorders, and done great injuries to others of their fellow-subjects and fellow Protestants; and they declare it to be their indispensable duty to express their utmost abhorrence of all such traiterous proceedings, and their highest resentment against the authors and promoters of them; and beseech his Majesty, that the laws now in force may be put in speedy and vigorous execution against them. And they further desire that, in justice to those who for their zeal and firm adherence to his Majesty's government have been sufferers in the said tumultuous and traiterous disorders, his Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct an exact account to be taken of the losses and damages sustained by such sufferers, in order that full compensation may be made; and assuring his Majesty, that all the expenses so incurred shall be made good out of the first aids granted by Parliament." The King replied, that he would give immediate directions for putting in execution the several matters so justly recommended to him." This was followed by a very loyal address from the dissenters themselves, acknowledging the seasonable protection granted them by government, and expressing a grateful sense of his Majesty's gracious answer to the address of his faithful Commons in favour of those whose sufferings they so justly impute to the zeal displayed by them for his Majesty's person and government. To this address his Majesty replied in the most gracious terms, assuring them of his royal protection and a full compensation for all their sufferings.*

The Earl of Oxford, having remained two years in the Tower, was now encouraged, by the defection of his most powerful adversary, Mr. Walpole, to petition the House of Lords that his imprisonment might not be indefinite. The house, in consequence, appointed an early day for his trial in Westminster-hall; for which the most solemn and magnificent preparations were made. The articles of the impeachment having been read, Sir Joseph Jekyl stood up as one of the committee of managers, in the name of the Commons of England, to make good the first charge; on which Lord Harcourt rose and observed, "that the articles of the impeachment being numerous, and two of them only extended to the charge of high treason, it was superfluous to enter into the investigation of the rest till these had been decided upon; for, supposing him guilty of all, the utmost their Lordships could inflict, or the earl could suffer, would amount to no more than the forfeiture of life and estate." The Commons affected to resent what they stiled an encroachment upon their privileges, and peremptorily refused to proceed in the order prescribed by the Lords. The Lords on their part haughtily refused "a free conference" on the subject, as demanded by the Commons: and on their non-appearance at the subsequent adjournment of the court, the Earl was acquitted; as was generally believed, with the secret approbation and concurrence of the crown. The Commons, however, presented an address to the King, desiring that he might be excepted out of the intended act of grace; by which they expressed at once their sense of the Earl's demerit, and their contempt of their Lordships' sentence of acquittal. The act of grace accordingly passed with this and some other exceptions; and Oxford, to preserve some appearance of consistency, was forbidden to present himself at court; but no attempt was at any time made to revive the proceedings against him.† The session of Parliament terminated July 15.

In the spring of this year, the minister of Russia had presented a memorial to the court of London, setting forth the solicitude of the czar to conclude a treaty of amity with his Majesty, and to guarantee the Hanover succession; saying, "that it was not the fault of his Czarish Majesty that the said negociation was not brought to a happy conclusion; although his Czarish Majesty has lately observed, that several contrary steps have been taken by your Majesty's ministers in many foreign courts, particularly at the court of Vienna, and those of Denmark and Prussia, as well as at the diet of Ratisbon, though his Czarish Majesty had given no cause for such measures; notwithstanding that he had sufficient reasons to be upon his guard, and to provide for his own security, considering the general report, and the particular advices he had from many places, that your Majesty is negociating a separate peace with Sweden, in which you promise your assistance against his Czarish Majesty, upon the condition of the cession of Bremen and Verden, as it plainly appears by the letter lately published by the Swedish minister." An answer was delivered to this memorial, dated April 2, 1717, which says,—"As to the complaints contained in that memorial of the steps which his Majesty may have taken at several courts in Germany with regard to the Russian troops in the empire, granting it to be true that the British ministers had acted with vigour at the said courts in order to procure the evacuation of the said troops, his Czarish Majesty ought not to be in the least surprized at it, considering the strict union which has so long subsisted between Great Britain, the Emperor, and the empire; which union has been confirmed and strengthened the last year by a new treaty of alliance and guarantee between the Emperor and the King." The breach between the courts of London and St. Petersburgh became every day more public; and the animosity of the Czar being raised to the highest pitch, he at length acceded to the preliminaries of a convention, through the intervention of Baron Goertz, with his inveterate rival the King of Sweden, with whom he had been nearly twenty years at war, and assented to the project of elevating the Pretender to the throne of Great Britain. When the King of England passed through Holland, on his return from Hanover, (January 1717,) the Czar Peter was at the Hague; but the two monarchs were mutually indisposed to a personal interview. A conference between the Czarish Majesty and Baron Goertz took place soon after at Loo, in which the foundation was probably laid of the good understanding which was in a short time established between Sweden and Russia.

The good fortune of the King of England, however,

* At this period the riot act passed for the prevention of similar disorders, declaring it to be felony for more than twelve persons to remain assembled more than one hour after its being publicly read by the magistrate; and by the salutary operation of this law the internal tranquillity of the kingdom was in a great degree restored and established.

† By virtue of this act of grace, the Lords Carnwath, Widrington, and Nairne, with many other persons of distinction concerned in the late rebellion, were discharged. Lord Nithisdale had previously effected his escape; the Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Viscount Kenmure only suffering the utmost rigour of the law. The prison doors throughout England and Scotland, were now at length thrown open, and the wretched captives immured in the castles of Lancaster, Chester, Carlisle, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were set at liberty. Great numbers, however, had previously been sent as slaves to the plantations, or had silently expired in their dungeons.

which

which throughout his life was remarkable, soon delivered him from all apprehensions, by the death of the King of Sweden, who was killed in the trenches before the fortress of Frederickshall in Norway, November 30, 1718, O. S.; an event which produced great political convulsions in Sweden, in the first shock of which Baron Goertz lost his head on the scaffold.

Parliament again met in November, 1717; when the King assured the two Houses that his endeavours to preserve the public tranquillity had not been unsuccessful; and that he had reason to believe they would in the end produce their full effect. A considerable reduction of the army was in consequence proposed on the part of the ministers, who contented themselves with moving for 18,000 men only for the service of the ensuing year. Even this force was deemed by the opposition unnecessary, and a fruitless effort was made to limit the number to 12,000. Mr. Walpole, in particular, declaimed with much energy on the danger of a standing army in a free country; and Mr. Shippen used such strong language, that he was committed to the Tower. —In the course of the session another remarkable debate took place on the introduction of the annual bill for the prevention of mutiny and desertion: when Mr. Walpole again appeared as the champion of the rights and liberties of a great and high-spirited nation determined to live or to die free. Martial law was declared by him, and many others in the House, to be a law unknown to our constitution, destructive of our liberties, and not endured by our ancestors; and it was moved that the offences committed by the soldiery be cognizable and punishable by the civil magistrate. On the clause, whether courts-martial should punish mutiny and desertion with death, it was carried in the affirmative by 217 voices against 229. Upon this occasion Mr. Walpole used the memorable expression, "He that is for blood shall have blood." In the Lords, where the debate was renewed with equal vehemence, the bill finally passed by a majority of 88 against 61 voices.*

The session of Parliament closed March 21; a few days previously to which, the King, by message, informed the House of Commons, "that he had reason to judge, from the information he had lately received from abroad, that an additional naval force would be necessary;" and an address was moved and presented, assuring his Majesty "that the House would make good such exceedings as his Majesty in his royal wisdom should deem necessary for the purpose of giving effect to his unwearied endeavours to preserve the peace of Europe." No division on this motion took place, Mr. Walpole alone observing, "that this pacific address had violently the air of a declaration of war."

A new and interesting scene now began to open, and the designs of the court of Herenhausen gradually unfolded themselves. Though Bremen and Verden had been several years in the actual possession of the King of England, the investiture of those duchies by the Emperor was still wanting to complete the validity of the purchase. This, therefore, had been for some time past the grand object of the attention and solicitude of the English court; and as the Emperor, notwithstanding the recent renewal of treaties, affected delay, indicated much reluctance to comply with the eager applications of the English monarch, means were to be devised to obviate his objections, or at least to convince his Imperial Majesty how much it concerned the interests of the court of Vienna not to insist too strongly or pertinaciously upon them. By the treaty of Utrecht, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia were ceded to the House of Austria, together with Milan and the Low Countries: and the island of Sicily, with the title of King, to the Duke of Savoy. This was a subject of bitter chagrin to the Emperor, who was anxiously desirous to annex to his other Italian dominions that opulent and extensive island, from time immemorial connected with the neighbouring kingdom of Naples, from which it had been so recently disjoined by an act of political violence. The intrigues of the court of Vienna to this purpose were well known to the Hanoverian cabinet; and, so long since as November, 1716, Secretary Stanhope, speaking of the situation of Victor Amadeus of Savoy, in a dispatch to Lord Townshend from Hanover, used these words: "He will think himself very happy if the King can secure his peace with the Emperor at the expense of Sicily; so that we may boldly offer Sicily to the Emperor, and may, I hope, secure his assistance for these northern affairs." On the other hand, Spain was no less dissatisfied with the situation in which she was left by the treaty of Utrecht than the Emperor. Her pride was deeply wounded by the forcible dismemberment of her monarchy, though the experience of a century had shewn how little accession of strength she really derived from the possession of those detached and remote provinces, or rather how great an increase of weakness. Cardinal Alberoni, Prime Minister of Philip V. a man of a lofty and aspiring genius, which delighted to form bold and dangerous projects, at this time entertained the chimerical hope of re-uniting to the monarchy of Spain the kingdoms and provinces of which she had been divested; and the Emperor, being actually engaged in a war with Turkey, the Cardinal embraced the opportunity to equip a formidable armament, which sailed from Barcelona, July 1717, and, landing at Cagliara, the capital of Sardinia, soon made an entire conquest of the island; pretending, as a reason for this invasion, the previous violation of the most positive engagements on the part of the Emperor.†

The war carried on against the Ottoman Porte by the Emperor was occasioned by the ambition of the Sultan Achmet III. to recover possession of the Morea, ceded to the Venetians by the treaty of Carlowitz. The court of Vienna, actuated by the lofty genius of Prince Eugene, first remonstrated against so flagrant a violation of that treaty of which she was one of the chief contracting parties and guarantees; and then openly commenced hostilities in defence of the rights of her ally. The immense but undisciplined armies of the Turks were found unable to cope with the superior skill and extraordinary talents of the Imperial General, who, in the course of this new war, fully sustained the glory he had formerly acquired in the fields of Zenta. Crossing the Danube in the sight of the enemy, he gained a complete victory (A. D. 1716), at Peter-

* An extraordinary incident happened in the month of March this year, (1718) on the trial and execution of James Shepherd, a youth under nineteen years of age, for a singular and atrocious design upon the life of the King. He had imbibed from his childhood the highest principles of monarchial right; and regarding the present sovereign as an unjust invader of the crown, he formed a cool and deliberate resolution to assassinate him. On the 24th of January he left a letter at the house of Mr. John Leake, a non-juring clergyman, in which he declared his belief, from the discontents visible throughout the kingdom, that, if the Prince now reigning could be removed, the King might be settled on the throne without loss of blood. In order to effect this, he professed his readiness, should it be thought advisable to trust one so young, to convey letters of invitation to his Majesty, then in Italy; and on his arrival in England "I will," said he, "smite the usurper in his palace." He acknowledged, nevertheless, the temerity of his attempt, and the probability of his suffering a cruel death; which, that he might the better support, he desired, from the period of his return to England to that of making the attempt, to receive every day the holy sacrament from one who, that he might be exempt from any participation in the danger, should be entirely ignorant of the design. Leake, alarmed at the contents of the epistle, gave immediate information to the magistrates; and, on Shepherd's again repairing to the house, he was apprehended. On being examined at the office of Lord Sunderland, he avowed himself, without hesitation, the writer of the letter, glorying in his design, which he affirmed had been for three years past in his contemplation. On his trial he disdained to make any defence, but acknowledged the truth of the depositions, and declared, that he died a willing martyr to his principles. At the place of execution he was attended by one Orme, a non-juring priest, who gave him public absolution; for which daring insult on the government, he was taken into custody, but soon afterwards discharged, nothing further being proved against him. Shepherd died with undaunted and heroic firmness, leaving to mankind an instructive and memorable example in how dreadful a degree the most admirable qualities of the human mind may be perverted and depraved by a fatal conjunction with speculative errors.

† It should be remarked that no definitive treaty had taken place between Spain and the Emperor since the war of the succession, nor had the respective titles of these rival potentates been as yet reciprocally and formally acknowledged.

waradin;—the grand visir, Ali Coumourgi, and almost all the pachas and agas who commanded under him, with the flower of the Turkish army, perishing in the battle, which was immediately followed by the siege and capture of Temeswar, and the reduction of a great part of Walachia. Early in the following campaign Eugene invested Belgrade; and an immense army of 150,000 men being assembled by the new grand visir, Astchi Ali, for its relief, encamped on the heights surrounding that city in the form of an amphitheatre, through the openings of which flow the rivers Save and Danube: so that the besiegers were themselves in a manner besieged. The Imperial General did not await the attack; but, marching out of his entrenchments, charged the enemy with such impetuosity that they were again totally defeated with the loss of their camp, artillery, and baggage—the field being covered with a countless multitude of the slain. Belgrade surrendered the next day; and the Sublime Porte, being thrown into the utmost consternation by these repeated disasters, immediately set on foot a negociation, which, under the mediation of the maritime powers, terminated in a pacification signed at Passarowitz, September 1, 1718. Conformably to the terms of this treaty, the conquests acquired by the heroic valour and high fortune of Prince Eugene remained with the Emperor; while, on the other hand, the Turks were suffered to retain the Morea, the successful invasion of which constituted the original pretext for the court of Vienna to interfere as a party in the war. The duplicity of Spain, during these transactions, was so gross as to excite the indignation of all Christendom. The Catholic King had given strong and repeated assurances to the Pope, that he would not undertake any thing against the Emperor whilst his army should be employed in so religious a cause, and would even aid the Venetians with a squadron of men of war. The ships so sent did not however arrive in the Levant till the season for action had elapsed; and the circular letter or manifesto of M. de Grimaldi openly avowed, "that his Catholic Majesty looked upon the war with the Turks to have opened to him a gate of revenge in recovering those territories which had been usurped from him by the Archduke." On this, a sort of counter-declaration was published by the Cardinal Paulucci, Secretary to the Pope, to clear his holiness from the imputation of any collusion in this affair; and expressive of vehement resentment at the violation of faith in his Catholic Majesty, for whose neutrality during the Turkish war the pontiff had pledged himself in the most solemn manner. The Emperor loudly complaining of this attack, while his armies were combating the common enemy of the Christian faith, and the King of Spain professing a willingness to submit the justice of his quarrel to equitable arbitration, the King of England, and the Regent of France, in concert with the States General, undertook the accommodation of these differences. Conferences being opened with the court of Vienna, the famous Quadruple Alliance was at length concluded, July 1718, at London, between these formidable powers, by which it was determined that Sardinia, now actually in the possession of Spain, should be transferred to the house of Savoy, and Sicily, a more valuable possession, ceded in exchange to the Emperor. In vindication of this arbitrary and violent measure, the following very extraordinary reason is assigned in the preamble of the treaty: "the powers by which the treaty of Utrecht was set on foot believe that article, viz. 'the cession of Sicily to the house of Savoy,' which is not essential to the treaty, may justly be altered, even without the consent of the parties concerned, as it tends to the perfection of the treaty." The pretensions of Spain were altogether disregarded; only it was stipulated that the succession to the Duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, claimed by the Queen of Spain as heiress of the houses of Medici and Farnese, should devolve upon her eldest son, in case of a failure of male issue: and three months only were allowed to the parties interested in these cessions to declare their acceptance or rejection. The Regent of France, from his eager desire to secure the friendship of England, and from personal animosity to the King of Spain, entered entirely into the views of the English monarch upon this occasion; yet he retained at the bottom all the Bourbon prejudices against the house of Austria. The principal obstacle to the alliance concluded A. D. 1716-17, between Great Britain and France, was the unwillingness of the Regent to assent to the expulsion of the Swedes, the ancient enemies of the Imperial house, from Germany; and he at no period discovered any further indifference respecting the political interests of the country which he governed, than a regard to his own interest and the great objects of his personal ambition, rendered absolutely requisite. Spain was little disposed to acquiesce in this settlement. The propositions of General Stanhope, the English Secretary of State, who was invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary to the court of Madrid on this occasion, were refused with disdain. A still more formidable armament than that which had last year effected the conquest of Sardinia was now fitted out, by the indefatigable exertions of Cardinal Alberoni, destined for the invasion of Sicily; his Sicilian Majesty having concerted his own measures with the court of Vienna, and wisely resolving to submit to terms which he would in vain attempt to resist. The Spaniards having landed their forces, consisting of 30,000 men, flattered themselves with the speedy reduction of this rich and beautiful island; but the King of England relying on the acquiescence of his Parliament, though England had no imaginable motive to interfere in these distant scenes of contention, caused a formidable fleet to sail for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng, with peremptory orders to attack the Spanish fleet if engaged in any hostile enterprise against Naples or Sicily. The British Admiral, on his arrival off Cadiz, transmitted by his Secretary a copy of his instructions to the Cardinal, who perused them with great emotion; and throwing the paper passionately on the ground, in the spirit of rashness and folly, returned for answer, "that the Chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the King his master." The Admiral, proceeding therefore on his voyage, cast anchor with his whole fleet in the bay of Naples, where the magnificence of the spectacle drew immense multitudes of people to the surrounding shores, which resounded with acclamations. On receiving intelligence from Count Daun, the Viceroy, that Messina, the capital of Sicily, was reduced to the last extremity, he again weighed anchor, and on the 9th of August, 1718, came in sight of the Faro of Messina; and dispatched his own captain with a message to the Marquis de Lede, commander of the Spanish forces, proposing a cessasion of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have an opportunity to concert measures for restoring a lasting peace; declaring at the same time, that, should this proposal be rejected, he should, in pursuance of his instructions, use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb the dominions the King his master had engaged to defend. The Spanish General answered, "that he had no power to treat of an armistice, but should obey his orders, which were to reduce Sicily to the dominion of his master the King of Spain." On the 11th of August the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line, was descried off the coast of Calabria, lying to in the order of battle: and though, on the approach of the British squadron, they bore away, apparently with the view of maintaining a running fight, the superior manœuvres of the English commander soon brought on a close action, which, before sun-set, terminated in the almost total destruction of the Spanish fleet—Don Castanita, the Commander-in-chief, and three other Admirals, being captured. Captain Walton being detached by Sir George Byng with five ships of the line in pursuit of a division of the Spaniards much superior in force, acquainted the English Admiral with the event of his undertaking in the following memorable letter: "Sir, we have destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as per margin." Upon inspecting the margin of this laconic epistle, no

fewer than thirteen ships of war of different descriptions were found comprised in it.—In reward of this great victory, Sir George Byng was raised to the dignity of the Peerage, by the style and title of Viscount Torrington, and received other distinguished marks of the royal favour. The court of Madrid exclaimed in the most bitter language against the conduct of England, as contrary to the law of nations, and a flagrant violation of the most solemn engagements; and orders were issued at all the ports of Spain and the Indies for making reprisals upon the English—a blow most severely felt by the mercantile part of the community; which, since the grant of the Assiento, had carried on a most lucrative commerce with the Spanish colonies in America. In consequence of this procedure, war was formally declared by England against Spain, which was soon followed by a like declaration on the part of the Regent of France. To this decisive measure the Duke of Orleans was incited, not merely by a desire to maintain inviolate his engagements with England, but by a recent provocation on the part of Spain of the most serious nature. France abounded with mal-contents, and the Regent had many enemies, who either wished his removal, or were interested in the execution of the late King's will—assigning the Regency to his legitimated son, by the celebrated Madame de Montespan, the Duc de Maine. These mal-contents were favourably heard at the court of Madrid; and the Prince de Cellamare, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, was ordered to treat with them. A plot was soon formed, and a great number of persons of rank and distinction were involved in this conspiracy. The project was, to seize the Regent, when engaged in one of those parties of pleasure which were frequent with him in the vicinity of Paris. The King's person was at the same time to be secured, and orders were to be issued to the governors of the different provinces and towns to assemble the Parliaments for settling the government, whilst the States of the kingdom should meet and make a final determination of matters. At this juncture, the Regent received from the King of England an intimation that some attempt was contriving against his person and government. This notice, though general only, was of great use in exciting the vigilance of the Regent and his ministers, who from that time kept a very strict watch over all suspected persons, particularly the Duke and Duchess of Maine, and the Prince de Cellamare. At length the whole affair was discovered. The Ambassador of Spain had entrusted his dispatches, containing intelligence of the most secret and important nature, to the Abbe de Portocarrero, and a son of the Marquis de Monteleone. These emissaries set out from Paris in a chaise, and had not proceeded two leagues before the carriage broke down. On this occasion the Abbe shewed much more concern for his portmanteau than for himself, and he had the indiscretion to protest that he would not have lost it for a hundred thousand pistoles. The driver of the voiture, astonished at this declaration, gave notice, on his return to Paris, to the police, of what he had seen and heard. The Spaniards being pursued, were overtaken and seized at Poitiers. The whole conspiracy being thus detected, the Prince de Cellamare was arrested, and his papers secured. Soon after he was conducted under a guard to the frontier. The Marquis de Pompadour, and several other persons of note, were committed to different prisons. The Duc de Maine was sent to Dourlens, the Duchess to Dijon, and the Cardinal de Polignac was ordered to his Abbey of Auching, where he remained under confinement. The declaration of war on the part of the Regent was accompanied by a manifesto, stating the causes of the rupture, and concluding as follows:—"We now see with horror what it was which made the minister of Spain inaccessible to all projects of peace. He would thereby have seen all the odious plots which he formed against us prove abortive. He would have lost all hopes of laying this kingdom desolate, of raising up France against France, of having the management of rebels among all the orders of the state, of kindling a civil war in the bosom of our provinces, and, in fine, of becoming to us the scourge of Heaven, by putting in execution those seditious projects, and springing that mine which was to serve as a prelude to the conflagration. What a recompense is this to France for the treasures and blood of which she has been so profuse for the sake of Spain."

Parliament again met * November 1718; when the King declared, "that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable proposals, and had broken through their most solemn engagements for the security of the British commerce. To vindicate therefore the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain those he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his subjects, which had been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for his naval forces to check their progress. That, notwithstanding the success of his arms, that court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain and the West Indies, to fit out privateers against the English. He said he was persuaded a British Parliament would enable him to resent such treatment; and he assured them his good brother the Regent of France was ready to concur with him in the most vigorous measures." An address of thanks and congratulation, in reply to the royal speech, having been proposed, it was urged, that such address might be attended with the most serious consequences, as stamping with the approbation of Parliament measures which, upon examination, might appear equally contrary to the law of nations and the interest of Great Britain; and it was moved in the House of Peers, by Lord Strafford, that the instructions of Admiral Byng might be laid before the House. Earl Stanhope replied, that there was no occasion to submit the Admiral's instructions to public discussion, as the treaties, of which the late sea-fight was a necessary consequence, had already received the approbation of Parliament. He accused the court of Spain of a violation of the treaty of Utrecht, in attacking the Emperor while he was engaged in a war against the common enemies of Christendom; added, that it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order effectually to protect the British commerce, which had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards; and declared, "that in this whole affair his Majesty had acted by the advice of his Privy-Council, of which he was one; that he thought it an honour to have been one of the advisers of the late measures, and was ready to answer for them with his head." In the Lower House Mr. Walpole inveighed strongly against the measures in question; and affirmed, that to sanction them by the proposed address, would answer no other purpose than to screen from punishment the ministers of the crown who had dared to plunge the nation into a war with Spain, of which they now wished to relieve themselves from the responsibility. The conduct of the ministry was contrary to the laws of nations, and a breach of solemn treaties. The address, however, was carried in both Houses, the number in the Upper House being 83 against 50, and in the Lower 210 against 155.

On a subsequent message from the King (December 17,) that he had found it necessary actually to declare war against Spain, the debate was renewed with fresh vigour. The supplies necessary for the national defence in this exigency were however voted with zeal and unanimity; but the declaration of war was not attended with those acclamations which had distinguished the commencement of the two former wars against France.†

Earl

* During the recess, several alterations had taken place in the offices of government. The Earl of Sunderland had been promoted to the head of the treasury, in the room of General Stanhope, who resumed his post of Secretary of State; having been created a Peer of the realm, under the title of Earl Stanhope. Mr. Addison, who is said to have been found essentially deficient in the requisite qualifications for his situation, resigned at the same time, under colour of ill health and the fatigues of office, to Mr. Craggs; Mr. Aislabie was appointed to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer; and the Great Seal of England, recently relinquished by Lord Cowper, was transferred to Lord Chief Justice Parker, created Earl of Macclesfield.

† About this time, the attention of the public was excited in an uncommon

Earl Stanhope presented to the House of Lords, in December, a bill for the repeal of the occasional conformity and schism acts passed under the late administration; and also such clauses of the test and corporation acts as operated to the exclusion of Protestant dissenters from civil offices. The latter part of the bill encountered violent opposition; and, after a long debate, the House agreed to leave out the clauses respecting the corporation and test act; in which state it was transmitted to and passed by the Commons; and in the royal speech, at the close of the session, his Majesty expressed the highest satisfaction at this signal instance of legislative wisdom and moderation.*

Previously to the prorogation, a bill was brought in, under the sanction of the government, for limiting the peerage, by restraining the crown from enlarging the present number of Peers by more than six new creations—the King by message declaring, "that he had so much at heart the security and constitution of Parliaments in all future ages, as to be willing that his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work." This was generally considered as a measure not so much of policy as resentment on the part of the crown, eagerly and intemperately desirous to excite the chagrin and diminish the political importance of the Prince of Wales; who had highly offended the court by the support he had for some time past given to the opposition. The court influence, however, was at this juncture deemed not sufficiently powerful to carry this project into effect: and the bill was withdrawn, in order to its revival in the ensuing session. On the 18th of April, 1719, the Parliament was prorogued; and early in May, the King, accompanied by Lord Stanhope and many other persons of distinction, set out on his second journey to his foreign dominions.

The Irish Parliament assembled on the 1st of July; and the Duke of Bolton (Lord Lieutenant) in his speech, strongly urged the necessity of guarding against the designs of the disaffected. An act was passed to relieve the dissenters from certain penalties inflicted by the existing laws; but the repeal of the sacramental test, to which the King had extended his views, could not be obtained.

Cardinal Alberoni had by this time formed a rash and romantic project for the restoration of the Pretender, who had recently quitted his residence at Urbino in Italy. Repairing to Madrid, the latter personage was received there with all the honours due to the King of Great Britain; and a new armament was equipped at Cadiz, on board of which 6000 regular troops, with arms for a much larger number, were embarked, under the command of the Duke of Ormond. Scarcely, however, had they reached Cape Finisterre, when they were dispersed and shattered by a violent tempest. Two frigates only, with the Earls Marechal and Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, and 300 Spanish soldiers on board, arrived, (April 1719) on the northern coast of Scotland, where they were joined by some clans of Highlanders. On the approach of the royal troops, the Highlanders, after a futile attempt to defend the pass of Glenshiel, dispersed, and the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

In consequence chiefly of the exertions of Sir George Byng, and the powerful assistance which the imperialists derived from the English fleet, the Spaniards were reduced to the humiliating necessity of evacuating, and relinquishing their pretensions to, the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. Lord Cobham, with a considerable force, made a descent on Spain, and took Vigo; two line of battle ships, several vessels on the stocks, and a great quantity of naval stores, were totally demolished by a detachment of French soldiers and English sailors acting in conjunction at Port Antonio on the coast of Biscay; preparations also were made for an expedition against Spanish America; and an army of French, which had penetrated into Spain under the Duke of Berwick, reduced the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian. Thus the court of Spain found itself attacked on all sides, with no resource left but to accede, however reluctantly, to the terms of the quadruple alliance. The disgrace of Alberoni immediately followed; and he was ordered to quit the kingdom in three weeks.

King George was no less successful in his political negociations than in his warlike exertions. Supported by the presence of an English fleet in the Baltic, the English Ambassador deluded Sweden with promises to assist in wresting from Russia, Livonia and the other conquered provinces. The Czar, incensed at the conduct of the Swedish government, sent a powerful armament to the gulf of Bothnia; and landing 40,000 men in different parts of the kingdom, carried havoc and destruction into the unfortunate and devoted country, destroying eight towns and a great number of villages. Thus Sweden had no alternative but to throw herself into the arms of Britain. In the month of July, a provisional treaty was concluded, and ratified in November; agreeably to which Bremen and Verden were ceded to Hanover, at the expense of a million of rix dollars—a greater sum than the revenues of that electorate were generally found competent to discharge. The Kings of Poland, Prussia, and Denmark, under the mediation of Great Britain, agreed at the same time to a suspension of arms, which was speedily followed by definitive treaties of peace. His Polish Majesty contented himself with a simple recognition of his right to the crown; the King of Prussia acquired Stetin, and the eastern Pomerania, on the payment of two millions of rix-dollars; and Denmark was allowed to retain possession of Sleswic, on the restitution of the western Pomerania and the city of Wismar, with its surrounding district. The Czar alone, harassed Sweden with repeated descents, and absolutely refused to listen to the mediation of Britain.

On the 23d of November, the Parliament was opened by a popular speech, in which his Majesty (having returned from the Continent) congratulated the two Houses on the present happy posture of affairs. Dutiful and loyal addresses were returned. Two days after the commencement of the session, the bill for limiting the peerage was again introduced. Its object being in unison with the feelings, and favourable to the power and grandeur of the peerage, it passed the House by a great majority of voices; but on its transmission to the Commons it met with a very hostile reception;† and

uncommon degree by a sermon preached before the King at the Chapel Royal, by Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, Lord Bishop of Bangor, "On the nature of the kingdom of Christ." As the foundation of his discourse, the Bishop selected the famous declaration of Christ to Pilate, the Roman procurator—"My kingdom is not of this world;" and his direct and undisguised object was, to prove "that the kingdom of Christ, and the sanctions by which it is supported were of a nature wholly intellectual and spiritual—that the Church, taking the term in its utmost latitude of signification, did not, and could not, possess the slightest degree of authority under any commission, or pretended commission, derived from him: that the church of England, and all other national churches, were merely civil or human institutions, established for the purposes of diffusing and perpetuating the knowledge and belief of Christianity; which contained a system of truths, not in their nature differing from other truths, excepting by their superior weight and importance; and which were to be inculcated in a manner analogous to other truths, demanding only, from their more interesting import, proportionably higher degrees of care, attention, and assiduity, in the promulgation of them." On the meeting of the convocation, a committee was appointed to examine this publication; and a representation was quickly drawn up, in which a heavy censure was passed upon it, as tending to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ, to reduce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion, to impugn and impeach the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions. A sudden stop, however, was put to these proceedings, by a royal prorogation; and from this period the convocation has never been convened but as a mere matter of form, and for the purpose of being again prorogued. The controversy, thus commenced, was carried on for several years with great ability and animation on both sides.

* No subsequent attempt during this reign was made in Parliament for the repeal of the test; for the King declared to Lord Barrington, who was at this time accounted the head of the dissenters, "that he was assured by the ministers there were no hopes of carrying this point; and he was persuaded the dissenters were too much his friends to insist upon a thing which might be infinitely prejudicial to him without doing them any essential good."

† Mr. Walpole particularly distinguished himself by his opposition

and, in the result, after a long, and violent debate, and notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the court, it was rejected by a majority of 92—or 269 against 177.

In the course of this session, the celebrated declaratory bill, for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, was introduced and passed; in which the supremacy of the appellant jurisdiction of the English House of Peers, and the right of the English Parliament to make laws to bind the kingdom of Ireland in all cases whatsoever, were asserted in a high tone, in consequence of the refractory spirit which had lately displayed itself in various instances in that kingdom.* This session of Parliament was also rendered memorable by the introduction of the famous South-Sea bill by Mr. Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, which, after long and able discussion, received the royal assent (April 7, 1720).† Early in June, the session closed, and the King declared his intention again to visit the Continent.

About this period, the Earl of Stair, who had for nearly six years past served his country with distinguished ability as Ambassador at the court of Versailles, was unexpectedly recalled. He had been for some time not upon very cordial terms with the present ministers, with whom, as appears, he had recently and zealously interceded in vain for the pardon of the Earl of Mar; who had been amused and deluded with false hopes of obtaining it. The immediate cause of his recal, however, was a political difference of a somewhat serious complexion, which arose between him and the Lords Sunderland and Stanhope, respecting the famous Law, who had been raised by the Regent to the Comptroller-Generalship of the Finances, and whose credit at the French court, from the knowledge of his mischievous designs, the Ambassador had laboured to subvert.

Previously to the recess of Parliament, an apparent reconciliation had taken place between the King and the Prince of Wales, chiefly through the intervention of Mr. Walpole. This was followed by a sort of coalition of parties; in consequence of which Lord Townshend was, before the King's departure, declared President of the Council; Mr. Walpole accepted the post of Paymaster of the Forces; and Mr. Methuen that of Comptroller of the Household. The government of the kingdom was vested, as before, in the council of Regency, to which were now added Lord Townshend and the Duke of Devonshire.

The negociation with Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, had been far advanced when the King left Germany; and Lord Carteret, Ambassador at Stockholm, laboured with such assiduity and success, that in the month of January, 1720, he had signed a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with the Swedes, containing twenty-one articles; conformably to the tenor of which his Britannic Majesty stipulated not only to furnish the powerful succours therein specified, but to engage his friends and allies to contribute by subsidies and auxiliary troops, "ad coercendem Czarum Russiæ" —the express words of the treaty—and the King of Great Britain, "as a strong mark of his friendship," promised that the war in which he was now engaged with Spain should not prevent his sending, the next spring, a squadron sufficient to stop the progress of the Czar. In this, as well as in the former treaty, the losses sustained by the English commerce, in consequence of the depredations of the Swedes, which formed the only plausible pretext for involving Great Britain in this northern quarrel, were passed over entirely unnoticed. A very indignant memorial was presented to the court of London by M. Bestuchef, minister of Russia; but as the policy now adopted, of counteracting the ambitious projects of Russia, and rescuing Sweden from the destruction which threatened her, was upon the whole rational and just, the successive treaties with that power were approved and applauded by the English nation.

Sir John Norris, with the English fleet, entered the Baltic in April, and immediately formed a junction with that of Sweden. The Russians, aware that the English Admiral had instructions similar to those under which Sir George Byng had lately acted, retired into their ports, where it was not judged expedient to attack them.

A. D. 1720.] The South-Sea act which had been passed in the last session, proved infinitely more alarming in its operations and consequences than its most determined opposers could have imagined. No sooner had the royal assent been given to the bill, than the most artful and insidious methods were put in practice to delude the public with the notion of the vast emoluments eventually to be derived from the commercial intercourse, which it was pretended would, with the consent of the court of Madrid and as an equivalent for the cession of Gibraltar and Minorca, be established with the Empires of Mexico and Peru. The successive sub-

---

to this bill. He compared the two Houses of Parliament to the temples of Fame and virtue; and observed, "that among the Romans the former was placed behind the latter, to denote that fame was no otherwise attainable than by virtue. But, if the present bill passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away. He affirmed that this bill would not only operate as a discouragement to merit, but would endanger the constitution; that the Peers were already possessed of sufficient privileges; but that the proposed limitation of their number would prodigiously enhance their authority, and in time reduce the Commons to their ancient state of feudal dependency; that he was astonished their Lordships could presume to send such a bill to that House, or that they could flatter themselves it would ever receive their concurrence, or expect that they would voluntarily exclude themselves and their posterity from the honours of the peerage. And he thought it a very injurious and ungrateful return in one who had himself been advanced to a participation of those honours for his public services, to endeavour, on his admission to the House of Peers, to bar the door against future claimants. Besides this, he declared, on adverting to the clause which assigned to twenty-five Scotch Peers hereditary seats in lieu of the sixteen elective ones, that the bill was a manifest violation of the act of union, and would endanger the entire dissolution of it, by the high offence it would give to the great body of the Scotch peerage, in thus excluding them and their posterity from all future possibility of taking their seats as British Peers."

* This act originated in an appeal to the House of Peers in England, by Maurice Annesley, against a decree of the House of Peers in Ireland, which was reversed by the English Peers, and Annesley ordered to be put in possession of the estate of which he had been deprived. Agreeably to this order, the barons of the exchequer in Ireland issued an injunction to the sheriff of the county of Kildare to put the sentence in execution, and set a severe fine upon him for his pertinacious non-compliance. The Irish House of Peers discharged the fine, and passed a resolve that Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, and the other Barons of the Exchequer, had acted in manifest derogation to the King's prerogative in his high court of Parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the Parliament thereof, and the Barons were committed to the custody of the black rod. A representation also was transmitted to the King, setting forth their right to the final adjudication of causes in that kingdom; on which the house of Peers in England resolved, that the Irish Barons of Exchequer had acted with courage, according to law, in support of his Majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain; and an address was presented to the King, that he would be pleased to bestow on them some mark of his royal favour. Finally, the declaratory bill was framed, and passed, with the single protest of Duke of Leeds; though in the House of Commons it met with a vigorous opposition.

† By this act, which proposed eventually to reduce all the different public securities into one grand aggregate fund, the South-Sea company was invested with certain commercial privileges, and authorised to take in by purchase or subscription both the redeemable and irredeemable debts of the nation, to the amount of about thirty-three millions, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the Company and the respective proprietors;—a clause proposed in the House of Commons, for ascertaining what share of the capital stock of the Company should be vested in those proprietors of government stock who might voluntarily subscribe, being most unwisely rejected. In return, the Company consented that the interest upon their original capital of nine millions four hundred thousand pounds, as well as the interest upon the public debts, to be redeemed in the mode prescribed by the present act, should, after Midsummer Day, 1727, be reduced to 4 per cent. redeemable by Parliament. Exclusively of this reduction, the Company agreed to pay into the Exchequer four years and a half purchase of all the long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase of such long annuities as should not be subscribed—amounting on the execution of the act to no less than seven millions; for raising which sum they were empowered to open books of subscription, to grant annuities redeemable by the Company, and to convert the money so raised into additional stock. "It is evident, from the wild and extravagant terms of this contract," observes a contemporary writer, "that it was never meant to be seriously fulfilled. In vain did the sagacity of Walpole discern, and his elegance display, the mighty mischiefs contained in this casket of Pandora; in vain did he urge the acceptance of the equitable and rational proposals of the Bank; the House was fascinated by the dazzling and magnificent appearance of the South-Sea project, and the bill passed with general applause, and by a vast majority of votes, fifty-five members only dividing against it."

scriptions filled with amazing rapidity; and the court of directors declaring a dividend of 30 per cent. for Christmas 1720, and 50 per cent for no less than twelve years after, the transfer price of the company's stock advancing in proportion to the public demand, rose, from 130, which was the price it bore while the bill was depending in Parliament, in a very short space of time to 1000; by which means an opportunity was offered to those who were concerned in the project, or rather the plot, to make immense fortunes before the bursting of this mighty bubble. The stock falling with equal or even greater rapidity than that with which it had risen, vast numbers of adventurers—and such was the general infatuation, that, upon this occasion, the whole nation seemed to have become adventurers—awaking from their golden dreams, found themselves reduced to a state of ruin. England had never experienced so total a destruction of credit; never had any country been so convulsed by despondency and terror. The ministry collectively, and with few exceptions individually, implicated in these proceedings, seemed petrified with amazement and consternation; and being wholly uncertain what measures to pursue, dispatched express after express to the King at Hanover, to inform him of the extraordinary situation of public affairs; and his Majesty thereupon hastening his return, arrived in England the beginning of November. The Parliament having met (December 8, 1720.) his Majesty earnestly recommended them to consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit. The House of Commons immediately entered into a severe investigation of this business, which was stiled, in the report of the secret committee, "a train of the deepest villany and fraud hell ever contrived for the ruin of any nation." The result of the enquiry was, that transfers of the company's stock to a very great amount had been made to persons very high in office to facilitate the passing of the bill; and that the scandalous artifices practised by the company, and their shameless abuse of the public confidence, had received not only the connivance, but the encouragement of several, at least, of the ministers. Lord Sunderland and Mr. Aislabie were in consequence compelled to a precipitate and disgraceful resignation of their offices; the latter was also expelled the House of Commons, and committed to the Tower; Mr. Craggs, Secretary of State, was exempted only by the stroke of death from a similar fate; and many other persons of figure and consequence, who were found on inquiry more or less culpable, were, by a very high and unusual exertion of Parliamentary authority, variously punished; though, in the opinion of the exasperated public, not with an adequate degree of severity. The House, however, acted with a spirit and unanimity on this great occasion which reflected on their proceedings the highest honor, sufficiently manifesting the indignation they felt at having been, under specious pretences, made the unintentional instruments of an injury so extensive, and a deception so dreadful.* The difficult business of restoring public credit, and of tranquillising the public mind, was committed chiefly to Mr. Walpole, who performed the task thus imposed upon him to the entire satisfaction of the nation.

The profit of the South-Sea company, in its corporate capacity, on the execution of the project, was found to amount to upwards of thirteen millions; thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds having been subscribed, and the stock allotted in exchange not exceeding twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds. This was now engrafted into different government securities, and the enormous surplus divided amongst the sufferers, in such modes and proportions as were deemed most equitable—retaining two millons only in lieu of the premium due by the original terms of agreement to the public: but this occasioning much murmur and discontent, was, in the sequel, relinquished. Heavy fines also were levied upon the estates of the leading directors, and others principally concerned in this nefarious business, but the subtility of some who were supposed most culpable eluded the severest vigilance of enquiry. Knight, cashier of the company, for the apprehending of whom a royal proclamation had been issued, had escaped at a critical moment to the Continent; carrying with him the famous green book, which was supposed to contain the entire secret of the transaction. Being arrested at Tirlemont, by the vigilance of the English resident at Brussels, application was made to the Marquis du Prie, governor of the Low Countries, to deliver him up to justice; but, answer was unexpectedly made by the imperial court, that this could not be done, consistently with the privileges of the States of Brabant—for, by an article of the Joyeuse Entrée, no person, against whom a criminal accusation is brought, can be removed for trial out of the province. Very pressing instances were made for the surrender of Knight; but, in the interim, he effected a second escape from the citadel of Antwerp, and ultimately received a free pardon. Vehement suspicions therefore arose, that Knight's evidence was too decisive to be produced; and that the late minister had still sufficient influence to screen himself from that punishment which the whole nation believed him to merit, and from which his superior adroitness of management only protected him. No fewer than 172 members of the House of Commons, however, divided against Sunderland, on the criminatory resolution, in opposition to 233, who joined in the vote of acquittal.†

By the death of Lord Stanhope, and the disgrace of the Earl of Sunderland, all political competition was at an end, and Townshend and Walpole were re-invested with the full powers of government. The former resumed his office of Secretary of State, and the latter was placed at the head of the Treasury. The ascendency of Lord Sunderland over the King remained, however, undiminished: by his influence, Lord Carleton, formerly Mr. Boyle, succeeded Lord Townshend as President of the Council, Lord Cadogan was placed at the head of the army, and Lord Carteret was advanced

* Mr. Waller, son-in-law to Aislabie, to whom South-Sea stock to an immense amount had been transferred, had preserved no minutes of his transactions; and pretended, on his examination, that he could not recollect for what persons or purposes he had accepted it. Sir John Blount, considered as the original projector, and one of the most guilty agents in this business, refused to answer certain interrogatories put to him in the House of Lords by the Duke of Wharton, and being supported somewhat too peremptorily in his refusal by Lord Stanhope, the Duke observed, "that the goverment of the best Princes was sometimes rendered intolerable to their subjects by bad ministers; thus Sejanus had made the reign of Tiberius, a prince originally of the greatest hopes, hateful to the Romans. That wicked minister first began by weaning the affections of the Emperor from his son, and next from his people, and so Rome was ruined." Conscious of the unsullied rectitude of his conduct, Lord Stanhope, in a transport of rage, rose to speak in his own vindication. He acknowledged "that the Roman history afforded striking examples. In return for that which had just been mentioned of a bad minister, he must remind the House of an instance of a great man and illustrious patriot, the elder Brutus, who had a son so profligate, that, to gratify his vices and passions, he hesitated not to sacrifice the liberties of his country." From the vehemence of his exertions, the Earl was seized, while in the act of speaking, with a sudden illness, which obliged him to retire; and, after a short interval of languishment and insensibility, he expired in the evening of the next day (February 5,) deeply regretted by his sovereign, and possessing the general esteem and regard of the nation.

† On the examination of Knight at the bar of the Lords, it was suggested to Lord Sunderland that it would be proper to move for his immediate commitment; but, availing himself of the authority of Lord Cowper, the minister professed, with much show of candour, his doubts as to the legality of this measure. Very slender credit, however, was allowed him for the purity of his motives, when it appeared, from the report of the secret committee, that fifty thousand pounds South Sea Stock had been accepted by Knight for the Earl of Sunderland, without any consideration paid or security given for the same. Knight left behind him a letter addressed to the South Sea Directors, in which he says, "that, although conscious of his own innocence, he had withdrawn himself to avoid the weight of an inquiry which he found too heavy for him." He acknowledges many indiscretions, and professes himself sensible, "that it would have been impossible for him to have avoided the appearance of prevarication and perjury, from the nature and largeness of the transactions." The most astonishing circumstance in this prodigious and complicated scene of knavery and credulity is, that at the moment in which the national delirium was at the height, France had scarcely recovered from the effect of a similar delusion, in the establishment and consequent failure of the Mississippi Company, projected by the famous Law.

to the office of Joint Secretary with Lord Townshend.*

The pernicious tendency of the continental connections of England had been the constant theme of Mr. Walpole's eloquence while in opposition to the court, yet one of the first measures of his administration was to move for a subsidy to Sweden, with whom an alliance offensive and defensive had been just concluded—a British squadron being also at this very time cruising in the Baltic for the protection of that kingdom against the designs of Russia. The vote of supply at length passed, not without much angry objection and difficulty—the voices on the division being 197 to 136. During the present session, application was also made to Parliament for the liquidation of a debt of 650,000*l.* on the civil list, incurred by the profusion of Sunderland; but in the royal message delivered upon this occasion by Mr. Methuen, the King declared his resolution:

Ist. To cause a retrenchment of his expences.

IIdly. He informed the House of Commons that he had ordered the accounts to be submitted to their inspection.

IIIdly. He proposed that the sum wanting should be raised by a deduction from the salaries and wages of all offices, pensions, and other payments from the crown.

A bill imposing a duty of sixpence in the pound for this purpose accordingly passed both Houses, and received the royal assent. Owing to the pressure of public business, the Parliament was not prorogued till the 10th of August (1721,) when the King gave his assent to the important bill for restoring public credit.

Early in the present year, M. Bestuchef, the Russian ambassador, in consequence of some offensive expressions, in a memorial presented by him at the court of London, was ordered to depart the kingdom in fourteen days. This affront was revenged by the czar in a manner worthy of a great monarch. In a declaration published at St. Petersburgh, he says, "It is notorious in what an unjust and injurious manner our resident was sent away from the court of England, which, having done us a great and sensible wrong, ought naturally to have engaged us to make reprisals according to what is practised every where else. But as we perceive that all this is done without any regard to the interest of England, and only in favour of the Hanoverian interest—for which the ministers of Great Britain not only neglect the friendship of foreign powers, but do not even spare their own country, which more nearly and more sensibly concerns them—we were unwilling that the English nation, which had no share in that piece of injustice, should suffer for it; and therefore we grant to them all manner of security, and free liberty to trade in all our dominions."

Although the czar had disdainfully refused the mediation of the King of England, he possessed too much sagacity not to perceive the impolicy of continuing the war against Sweden, now at peace with all other nations, and relying on the powerful protection of Great Britain. He therefore listened to overtures of reconciliation; and a definitive treaty was concluded between the two crowns, under the mediation of France, at Nystadt, August 1721, conformably to which the fertile and extensive provinces of Livonia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Carelia, were confirmed to Russia, and the barren deserts of Finland only, with the exception of Wyburg and its district, restored to Sweden. From this period, Sweden sunk into its original state of political insignificance.

On the 13th of June, (1721) a treaty of peace was signed at Madrid between Great Britain and Spain; by which restitution was to be made of all the effects taken on both sides; and, on the same day, another treaty of defensive alliance was, to the surprise of Europe, signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain. By a secret article of the first treaty Great Britain engaged not to oppose the views of Spain in Italy; and by a secret article of the second, France and Spain guaranteed the possession of Bremen and Verden to Hanover. All remaining differences between the courts of Vienna and Madrid were referred to the congress agreed to be held at Cambray.† Amongst the numerous treaties of alliance concluded in this reign must not be omitted the treaty signed about this period with the Emperor of Morocco, which indeed merits to be classed with the most rational and useful of them; the British commerce being secured by this treaty from the depredations of the barbarians, and a considerable number of British subjects also rescued by it from a state of slavery.‡

The Parliament met on the 19th of October. The King in his speech boasted of his success in restoring the tranquillity of Europe; but the immense amount of the navy debt, now estimated at 1,700,000*l.* being stated to the House of Commons, in order that a Parliamentary provision should be made for its discharge, a violent debate arose. It was urged by the members in opposition, that this enormous debt had accumulated by employing more seamen than were provided for by Parliament, particularly by sending large fleets to the Baltic and Mediterranean, and keeping the sailors in pay during the winter; that these extraordinary expences were not necessary for the service of Great Britain; and therefore it was proper to have all the papers relating to the northern transactions, and particularly Lord Carteret's private instructions, laid before the House, in order to have full satisfaction concerning the grounds of these expeditions. The motion brought forward to this effect was, however, overruled by a great majority; the court set all opposi-

* A vehement controversy having recently arisen on the subject of the Trinity, chiefly in consequence of the learned tracts published in opposition to the established doctrine, by the famous professor Whiston, the university of Oxford, in full convocation, resolved that the solemn thanks of that body should be returned to the Earl of Nottingham for his most noble defence of the Catholic Faith, contained in his answer to Mr. Whiston's letter, concerning the eternity of the Son of God, and on the Holy Ghost. On his Lordship's suggestion, a bill was afterwards introduced into the House of Peers for the suppression of blasphemy and profaneness; which enacted, that if any one spoke or wrote against the being of a God, the divinity of Jesus Christ or the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Trinity, the truth of the Christian religion, or the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, he should suffer imprisonment for an indefinite term, unless, in a certain form prescribed, he should publicly renounce and abjure his errors; and by a clause in this bill, the archbishops and bishops within their respective jurisdictions, and the justices of peace in their several counties at their quarter-sessions, were authorised to summon any dissenting teacher, and to require his subscription to a declaration of faith containing the articles above enumerated; and upon his refusal, it was enacted, that he should be ipso facto deprived of the benefit of the act of toleration. The lords being summoned on the second reading of this bill (May 1721), Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, moved to have it committed; upon which Lord Onslow rose, and declared, "that though he was himself zealously attached to the doctrines of the church of England, he would never consent to support even the truth itself by persecution; and he moved that the bill might be thrown out." He was seconded by the Duke of Wharton, who said, that, having been himself frequently accused of impiety and irreligion, he conceived that he could not more effectually vindicate his character from these imputations, than by opposing to the utmost a measure so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity. The Earl of Peterborough declared, that though he was for a Parliamentary King, he was not for a Parliamentary God or a Parliamentary Religion; and that if this bill were to pass, he should be ambitious of a seat in the conclave of cardinals, as more honourable than that which he occupied in the British House of Peers. Dr. Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, protested that he never would be concerned in the execution of such a law—and he earnestly hoped that his brethren on the bench would not concur in the establishment of a Protestant inquisition. The Lords Cowper and Townshend also spoke with much ability against this bill; which was on the other hand supported by the Earl of Nottingham, the Lords Bathurst and Trevor, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Litchfield, and Coventry, and various others; but, on a division, it was rejected by sixty voices against thirty-one.

† Previously to the war of Sicily, the King of England, to induce the King of Spain to desist from his hostile projects, had flattered him with the idea of the restitution of Gibraltar. The offer was evidently made merely to amuse; and a sort of national indignation being excited, when this secret proposal of the court was subsequently made public, the design was ultimately laid aside as wholly impracticable; not however without leaving an apparent stain, or at least casting a certain shade upon the honour of the British sovereign.

‡ About this time died Pope Clement XI. who had sat in the papal chair twenty-one years; a man haughty, but respectable for his talents; inflexible in the maintenance of the papal prerogative, and zealously devoted to the interests of the house of Stuart. He was succeeded by Innocent XIII. of the Italian family of Conti, who, after a short and tranquil reign of only three years, gave place to Benedict XIII. of the ancient and illustrious house of Orsini.

tion

tion at defiance; and the new minister soon proved himself superior to all his predecessors in the art of adroit and dextrous Parliamentary management.*

The introduction of what might well be regarded as a new commercial code, by the abrogation of a vast multiplicity of duties, payable on the importation of raw materials, and on the exportation of wrought goods, took place during the present session. On the 7th of March (1722,) the Parliament was prorogued, and on the 10th dissolved by proclamation.†

The King, in his concluding speech to the late Parliament, had given plain intimations that dangerous designs against his person were then in agitation; but he professed to entertain "so just a confidence in the affection of his subjects, and in their regard for their own welfare, that he was persuaded they would not suffer themselves to be imposed upon, and betrayed into their own destruction; and he declared the expectations of those to be very ill grounded who hoped to prevail with a Protestant free people to give up their religion and liberties into the hands of such as are enemies unto both." The fact was, in consequence of the discontents and clamours excited by the failure of the south sea project, the partisans of the Pretender had been encouraged to fabricate a plot against the government; of which the King, early in the present year, had received advice from the Regent Duke of Orleans; and about the month of May he obtained full information of the persons and designs of the conspirators. Orders were immediately given for an encampment near the metropolis, and Mr. Horace Walpole was sent to Holland to demand the troops which the States had stipulated to furnish by the barrier treaty. Alarming apprehensions prevailing of the magnitude of the public danger, the funds sunk prodigiously in value, and there followed a great run upon the Bank; but Lord Townshend having signified in a letter to the Lord Mayor, "that his Majesty was firmly assured the authors of the present wicked conspiracy neither would be supported nor even countenanced by any foreign power," the alarm in a considerable degree subsided. Loyal addresses were presented from the city of London and many other places; and the King, instead of repairing, as was his intention, to the continent, thought it expedient to make a tour through various parts of the kingdom; reviewed a large body of forces encamped near Salisbury, visited Portsmouth, and was every where received with great demonstrations of joy. About this time several persons were apprehended on a charge of high treason; amongst others, Kelly, and Carte, nonjuring clergymen; one Plucket, an officer of invalids at Plymouth; and some persons of more elevated rank.

Early in October, (1722,) the King opened the new Parliament with a speech from the throne, in which he expressed his concern in being obliged to inform them that a dangerous conspiracy had been for some time past formed, and was still carrying on, against his person and government, in favour of the Pretender. His Majesty declared that the discoveries made at home, the information obtained from his ministers abroad, and the intelligence received from the various powers in alliance with him in different parts of Europe, had afforded him ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked design. Some of the conspirators were already, he added, secured, and endeavours used for apprehending others; and he referred to the wisdom of Parliament the measures necessary to be taken for the safety of the kingdom: expressing at the same time his firm belief that the hopes and expectations of their common enemies were very ill founded, in supposing that the discontents occasioned by the losses and misfortunes of individuals, however industriously fomented, were turned into disaffection and a spirit of rebellion.‡

On the communication of this intelligence, a great and general alarm was excited in the nation; a considerable augmentation of the forces was immediately voted; and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, contrary to all precedent, for twelve months. On the requisition of the King, a body of troops was held by the States General in readiness to embark from Holland, and six regiments were also ordered from Ireland; and both Houses joined in expressing the strongest detestation and abhorrence of this "traitorous and unnatural conspiracy."

The plot seems to have been discovered while in embryo; and it is probable that no regular project of invasion or insurrection had been digested or matured; nor have the circumstances explanatory either of its nature or extent ever been clearly developed. Various persons, however, of high distinction, amongst whom were the Duke of Norfolk and the Lords Orrery, North, and Grey, were apprehended on strong presumption of their concurrence in this conspiracy. Pains and penalties were inflicted by act of Parliament on several of the conspirators;§ but only one suffered capital punishment—Christopher Layer, a barrister of the Temple, convicted of high treason in enlisting men for the service of the Pretender. He was repeatedly reprieved, and much endeavour was used to procure from him a full confession; but he persisted in a resolute refusal. The trial, however, which attracted most of the public attention, was that of the celebrated Atterbury Bishop, of Rochester, who was found to be a party in this conspiracy, or at least confidentially privy to it: and he was, by a bill which passed both Houses by great majorities, deprived of his episcopal dignity, and sentenced to perpetual banishment.

The declaration of the Pretender, dated from Lucca, was by both Houses voted to be a false, insolent, and traitorous libel, and ordered to be burnt at the Royal Exchange.‖

At

* In the course of this session a singular petition was presented to Parliament from the Quakers. It is a well known tenet of this sect, that oaths even judicially administered are in their own nature unlawful; and the legislature had long since passed an act to render their solemn affirmation, in all matters of civil concern, equivalent to an oath. The object of the present application was the omission of the words, "in the presence of Almighty God," in the legal form of that affirmation; it being alledged, that, while those words remained, the essence of an oath was preserved. To the penalties of perjury, should this affirmation be in any instance violated, they professed their willing and cheerful submission. The court countenanced and supported this application, and a bill for this purpose passed the House of Commons without difficulty; but in its passage through the Lords, Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, observed, that he knew not why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set a people who were hardly Christians; and a petition was presented by the Archbishop of York to the House, from the London clergy, expressing "a serious concern lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph, when they should see such condescension made by a Christian legislature to a set of men who renounce the divine institutions of Christianity, particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into this religion, and denominated Christians." This petition was rejected by the House; and the bill finally passed, though accompanied with a protest signed by several Lords.

† The Earl of Sunderland did not long survive his dismission from his high office, but died (April 1722;) and, nearly at the same time (June 16th) expired the celebrated John, Duke of Marlborough, to whom Sunderland was closely allied by marriage with his eldest daughter.

‡ "Had I," said his Majesty, "since my accession to the throne, ever attempted any innovation in our established religion, had I in any one instance invaded the liberty or property of my subjects, I should less wonder at any endeavour to alienate the affections of my people, and draw them into measures that can end in nothing but their own destruction. But to hope to persuade a free people, in full enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them, to exchange freedom for slavery, the Protestant religion for Popery, and to sacrifice at once the price of so much blood and treasure as have been spent in defence of our present establishment, seems an infatuation not to be accounted for. Your own interest and welfare call upon you to defend yourselves. I rely upon the Divine protection, the support of my Parliament, and the affection of my people, which I shall endeavour to preserve by continuing to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of all my actions."

§ Kelly was committed close prisoner to the Tower, under this act, on the 28th of October, 1722;—whence he made his escape, after a confinement of fourteen years, on the same day of the month, A. D. 1736; as it was supposed by the connivance of government.

‖ In this declaration, the Pretender, with singular modesty and all the appearance of gravity, proposed, that if King George would relinquish to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return consent to his retaining the title of King in his native dominions, and would invite all other states to confirm it: and he likewise most graciously engaged to leave to King George his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever, in due course, his natural right should

At this juncture the Regent of France offered twenty battalions of veteran troops to the King of Great Britain, in order to defend his person and government against the attempts of that family which Louis XIV. had employed the whole force of his kingdom to protect and restore. This offer, however, was declined.

The reversal at this period of the act of attainder passed against Lord Bolingbroke excited much attention. The Bishop of Rochester, on his arrival at Calais, hearing that Lord Bolingbroke was waiting there for a passage, exclaimed, with an emotion from which much was inferred, "Then we are exchanged!" This nobleman, however, though restored to his honours and paternal estate, was still excluded from a seat in the House of Peers, through the inflexible opposition of the minister, who dreaded the consequences which might result from his eloquence and talents, when exerted in their proper sphere. Fired with ambition to resume his former station in public life, he cherished a fixed and mortal resentment against Sir Robert Walpole; and, regardless of his recent obligations, in a short time joined with eagerness in opposition to his administration.

In the early part of the present session, a bill which occupied much of the attention of Parliament, and was kept long depending in the House, was introduced and supported by the minister, for levying the sum of one hundred thousand pounds on the estates of all Roman Catholics, upon pretext of "the constant endeavours of the Papists to subvert the present happy establishment."

The bill, however, finally passed by a majority of 217 against 168 voices, and received the royal assent.*

On the 27th of May (1723) the Parliamentary session was closed by a speech from the throne; in which his Majesty intimated that some "extraordinary affairs" demanded his attention abroad. Previously to his departure, he admitted to bail the principal conspirators still under confinement in the Tower.

On his Majesty's reaching Hanover, in the month of June, that city became the seat of European negotiation. Twelve foreign ministers, delegated from the different powers of the continent, waited his arrival; and the King of Prussia and his Queen, only daughter of the King of England, repairing to Herenhausen, added to the festivity and splendour of the court. His Britannic Majesty soon afterwards returned their visit, and was entertained at Berlin with unexampled magnificence.

The peace which had been concluded between Sweden and Russia, in 1721, was soon matured into an union of counsels and designs, which occasioned great uneasiness to the King of England, who, having ground to believe the immediate object of this coalition to be the restoration of the duchy of Sleswic to the Duke of Holstein, trembled for the safety of his favorite and contiguous acquisitions of Bremen and Verden; the security of which rested—until the guarantee of Great Britain was obtained—only on the tottering basis of the defensive alliance of Denmark and Hanover. The rising views of the house of Lunenburg had ever been displeasing to the court of Vienna; and there was little reason to hope that the Emperor would oppose, if he did not countenance this design; as, since the treaty of Madrid, he had considered himself as abandoned by the King of England, to whose solicitations he still refused the investitures of Bremen and Verden; without the payment of an enormous sum; and whose conduct in with-holding the accounts of the revenues of Mecklenburg, after repeated orders had been issued for their production, his imperial Majesty complained of as highly contumacious. An imperial East India company had also been recently established at Ostend; which was viewed both by England and Holland with great commercial jealousy. A vote, and ultimately an act, passed in the British Parliament, declaring it to be a high crime and misdemeanor for any subject of Great Britain in any manner to engage in or countenance this undertaking; and repeated remonstrances were made by the English ministry to induce the Emperor to abandon this scheme. The grand object of the Regent of France had, for some time, been to effect a cordial and permanent union with his Catholic Majesty who deeply resented the artifice practised upon him by the King of England relative to Gibraltar, and who had little reason to be grateful for the support he had of late received from that monarch during the long and tedious discussions at Cambray. The Duke of Orleans, too, had projected a marriage between the King of France and the infanta of Spain, then three years of age, and had actually contracted his two daughters to the Prince of Asturias, and Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip V. by his present Queen. At this period, however, the Regent of France died, unexpectedly, and in the meridian of his age.† The King of England, alarmed at the probable consequences of the death of the Regent, hastened his return to London; but, while detained by contrary winds in Holland, he received advice that the Duke of Bourbon, under the title of Prime Minister, had succeed to the office of Regent; and the most satisfactory assurances were given on the part of France of the good disposition which subsisted to cultivate and even improve the union so long established between the two states. The King arrived in London the 19th of December, (1723,) much chagrined at the ill success of his negotiation, and the precarious tenure by which he still held Bremen and Verden.

Parliament met on the 7th of January, 1724; and the speech delivered by the sovereign on the occasion was in all respects worthy of a British monarch addressing a great, a free, and a loyal people. Conformably to the King's recommendation, provision was made for the liquidation of a part of the national debt by means of the large and increasing surplus now arising from the sinking fund. Protections from foreign ministers, peers, and members of Parliament, having long been the subject of complaint, the names of the persons so protected were laid before the two Houses, and it was resolved, that all protections and written certificates be declared void in law. A meritorious attempt was made, during this session, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to introduce a grand reform into the collection of the revenue, by a partial conversion of the Custom-house duties, payable on tea, coffee, and chocolate, imported into inland duties of excise;

should take place. An address was presented to the throne by the two Houses, expressing their "astonishment at the extravagant presumption of this declaration, and repeating their assurances to support his Majesty against the impotent efforts of an attainted fugitive bred up in the maxims of tyranny and superstition."

* "People in general were so terrified with the apprehensions of not only forfeiting their estates in possession, if they did not take the oaths (i. e. the oaths required to be taken to ensure an exemption from the penalties of this bill,) but also what they had in reversion, limitations ever so remote, or the least relation to or expectation of any—nay, with regard to their money or effects of any sort—that the whole nation, almost men, women, and children, capable of taking an oath, flocked to the places where the quarter sessions were holden, that they might, by swearing to the government, free themselves and their families from the danger, as they thought, of losing their fortunes to it. I saw a great deal of it; and it was a strange as well as ridiculous sight to see people crowding to give a testimony of their allegiance to a government, and cursing it at the same time for giving them the trouble of so doing, and for the fright they were put into by it; and I am satisfied more real disaffection to the King and his family arose from it than from any thing which happened in that time. It made the government to appear tyrannical and suspicious, than which nothing can be more hurtful to a Prince, or lessen his safety."—Coxe's papers, Vol. II. p. 555.

† This Prince was possessed of shining talents, which were however greatly clouded and obscured by an extravagant propensity to pleasure, which he indulged without reserve or decorum. From the love of fame, he was anxious that his conduct should appear in a favourable light to posterity, and he had formed a serious resolution of convoking the estates-general of the kingdom, for the purpose of effecting a grand reformation in the state, from which he was with difficulty diverted by his confidential minister and favourite, the Cardinal Dubois. The Regent frequently expressed his indignation at the wretched state of political degradation to which France was reduced, declaring, that had he been born a commoner, he would have defended the cause of liberty against the oppression of the government; and the first act of his administration was, to restore to the Parliament of Paris the right of judicial remonstrance, of which that assembly had been arbitrarily divested by the late King. His voluptuous life, however, and the profligacy of his morals, were totally incompatible with the predominance of public virtue or public spirit in his counsels.

an alteration by which the interests of the public and the fair trader were equally promoted.

An addition to the army of 4000 men having been voted last year on account of the conspiracy, this addition the Commons thought it expedient to continue for the present year; but in the House of Peers it met with great opposition. The motion of disbandment, however, was rejected with the contempt it deserved; and the Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of April.

The Duke of Bolton had been succeeded in the vice-royalty of Ireland, A. D. 1720, by the Duke of Grafton, a nobleman possessing many of those accomplishments which fitted him to shine in courts. Returning, to his government, after a long absence, in the summer of 1723, he found the nation in a great ferment, in consequence of a patent granted by the King, previously to the resignation of Sunderland, to William Wood, a great proprietor and renter of iron and copper works in England, for coining farthings and half-pence for the kingdom of Ireland to the amount of 100,000*l.* sterling, in order to supply the acknowledged deficiency of copper coin for the purposes of commercial intercourse in that country. An extraordinary clamour was raised against the execution of this plan, chiefly through the factious artifices and machinations of the famous Dean Swift, who published a series of letters or tracts replete with sarcastic wit, affirming the coin to be of a base and inferior quality; that it was a scheme for impoverishing the nation in order to enrich a few rapacious and profligate individuals; the profits of the patent being in fact assigned to persons and purposes not the most honourable; and alarming the whole kingdom with confident predictions of the mischief which must ensue from the enormity of the abuse.* The two houses of Parliament, inflamed with the national enthusiasm, transmitted addresses to the King, accusing the patentee of "fraud and deceit; asserting the terms of the patent to be violated both in respect to the quantity and quality of the coin; that the circulation of it would be highly prejudicial to the revenue, destructive to the commerce, and of the most dangerous consequence to the rights and properties of the subject." To these addresses the King returned mild and conciliatory answers; and the investigation of this affair being referred to the Lords of the council, an assay was ordered to be made of the fineness, value, and weight, of Wood's coinage; and a satisfactory report was subsequently framed by Sir Isaac Newton, then master of the mint, assisted by Mr. Southwell and Mr. Scroope, certifying that the copper was equal to that used in the English coinage, and far superior to the copper money coined for Ireland in the reigns of Charles II. James II. and William. The popular rage continued, however, to increase: and many persons of great respectability were drawn into the vortex of opposition. The conduct of the Lord Lieutenant, in this critical situation, was not thought to display any striking manifestations of the wisdom and discretion of an experienced statesman. He was superseded in the spring of 1724 by Lord Carteret, who, with ability and address, failing equally in his attempts to introduce this obnoxious coinage, a resolution was adopted in the succeeding year, voluntarily to announce, from the throne, the total surrender of the patent; Mr. Walpole declaring himself adverse to the policy of urging any measure, however innocent or even laudable, contrary to the general sense of a whole nation.

By the promotion of Lord Carteret to the government of Ireland, (an honour forced upon his acceptance, and considered by him as a fall from power,) Townshend and Walpole were relieved from the competition of a man, whose personal interest with the King was very great, whose rivalship was open and avowed, and whom they regarded in the light of a determined and dangerous enemy. The seals of Secretary were delivered to the Duke of Newcastle, who was content to act in entire subserviency to those who had been instrumental to his promotion; and the Duke of Grafton was appointed to the office of Lord Chamberlain of the household of which he retained possession, many years.

Early in the year (1724,) Philip V. King of Spain, yielding himself up without reserve to vain and superstitious fervors of devotion, retired to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, whence he made a solemn renunciation of the crowns of Castile and Arragon in favour of his eldest son, Don Lewis, Prince of Asturias; so that he might be able—to use his own words—"disengaged from all other cares, to meditate on death, and to seek out his salvation—committing his successor and his people to the powerful protection of the holy virgin," under whose auspices the young Prince ventured to assume the reins of government, without the usual formality of assembling the Cortes. Lewis dying soon after his elevation to the throne, the abdicated monarch was reluctantly prevailed upon again to encounter the cares and burdens of royalty. Devoting himself, however, to monkish exercises, the task of government devolved upon the Queen, whose influence in the Spanish councils had been some years remarkable.

The alarm of the King of England was now at its height, by the certain intelligence that a treaty of alliance had taken place between Russia and Sweden, bearing date at Stockholm February 22, 1724.† The Emperor declined compliance with the solicitations of the contracting powers to accede to this treaty in form, the congress of Cambray not being yet dissolved; but the King of England well knew how strongly he was disposed to assist in accomplishing its object. At the same time the czar sent an ambassador to Copenhagen, formally to demand from his Danish Majesty the restitution of Sleswic. Sweden had not ceded, and indeed could not pretend any right to cede, this duchy to Denmark; but, in the treaty of Fredericstadt, concluded between these two powers, A. D. 1720, his Swedish Majesty had engaged not to oppose whatever stipulations had been made by the mediating powers (England and France) in favour of Denmark respecting Sleswic, and to give no assistance to the Duke of Holstein contrary to such stipulations;—so that the secret article of the treaty of Stockholm was a palpable violation of public faith; such as their Britannic and Danish Majesties were by no means prepared to expect; and were ill able at the present moment, either to counteract, or repel.

Parliament assembled on the 12th of November; but not the slightest intimation was given by the King in his opening speech of the critical state of his foreign and electoral concerns. On the contrary, he professed to feel "the highest satisfaction at the prosperous situation of affairs: peace with all powers abroad—at home perfect tranquillity." Notwithstanding this boasted tranquillity, the 4000 additional troops were, though not without some opposition, continued for another year.

During this session, the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord High Chancellor of England, was impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, on the ground of his having made unusual and exorbitant profits from the sale of places; and also from the abuse of his trust as general guardian of the persons and estates of orphans and lunatics. After a trial of twenty days, he was convicted by the Peers, and sentenced to pay a fine of 30,000*l.* and to imprisonment in the Tower till the fine was paid. The Earl was succeeded in the Chancellor-

* It appears that Sunderland had given the disposal of this patent to the Duchess of Kendal, the favourite mistress of the King, who sold it to Wood. This secret Lord Carteret disclosed to Alan Broderick, son of the Lord Chancellor Middleton, with a view to embarrass the measures of the new ministers, Townshend and Walpole, and to fix an odium upon their administration.

† By a separate article of this treaty, the high contracting parties obliged themselves, "in the most effectual manner, to use their good offices for the restoring the Duke of Holstein to the duchy of Sleswic; and, if these proved ineffectual, other methods should be thought of. In particular, application should be made to the powers who stood engaged with them to guarantee the said duchy to the said Duke—of whom England, by the treaty of Travendahl, was one; leaving it more immediately to his imperial Majesty to concert such measures as might, with the greatest security, for ever cut off this source of such infinite troubles to the North."

ship by Sir Peter King (created Baron King of Ockham in Surry,) who had acquired great and deserved reputation in his former station of Lord Chief Justice of England.

Early in the new year (1725) an extraordinary and unexpected application was made on the part of the crown, by a message delivered by Mr. Walpole, for the sum of 500,000*l.* to discharge the debts of the civil list, which had been incurred to that amount in the short space of three years, since they were before liquidated by Parliament.*

Mr. Pulteney, now cofferer of the household, on the usual motion for going into a committee of the whole House to consider of his Majesty's message, took occasion to observe, "that he wondered how so great a debt could be contracted in three year's time; but was not surprised some persons were so eager to have the deficiencies of the civil list made good, since they and their friends had so great a share in it; and desired to know whether this was all that was due, or whether they were to expect another reckoning." This speech had no other effect than to occasion the dismission of Mr. Pulteney, who from this time became the leader and oracle of the opposition. The money required was voted by a majority of 239 against 119 voices; being raised as before on the credit of a general tax or deduction of sixpence in the pound upon the civil-list revenues. The session ended on the 31st of May; his Majesty declaring, "that their time had been so well employed for the service and interest of the public, that he assured himself it would be to the general satisfaction of the nation,"†

Having settled his affairs in England, and appointed a council of Regency, his Majesty set out, accompanied by Lord Townshend, for Hanover, on the 3d of June, and arrived at Herenhausen on the 14th.

The King of France had, in February, been seized with a dangerous fever; and on his recovery, the nation, apprehensive of the consequences of a disputed succession, expressed the most eager impatience for the marriage of the King. It was therefore suddenly resolved in council to send back the infanta of Spain, affianced to his most Christian Majesty, and actually resident in Paris, a child of five years of age; to whose person, moreover, the young monarch had conceived a dislike approaching to aversion. On the notification of this resolution at the court of Madrid, the King and Queen of Spain manifested the most extravagant marks of resentment; and ordered the ambassador to quit the capital in nine-and-twenty hours. A determination was also taken to send back Mademoiselle de Beaujolois, daughter of the late Regent, and betrothed to Don Carlos, second son of his Catholic Majesty; and the King of Spain publicly and passionately protested, that Spain could never shed blood enough to avenge so gross an insult. In an audience which he gave to the British ambassador, Colonel Stanhope, he avowed his determination of separating himself from France for ever; declaring also, that he should order his plenipotentiaries at Cambray to reject the mediation of France, and to submit the final settlement of the points in dispute between him and the Emperor to the sole mediation of England. This following proposition the King of England was ultimately compelled to decline—conscious that its acceptance could be regarded in no other light by France than as an abandonment of her alliance and friendship. So apprehensive, notwithstanding was France of a change in the politics of the English court, that she not only expressed her readiness to enter into fresh engagements with England, but a flattering demand was made of one of the English Princesses, grand-daughter to the King of England, as a consort to the young monarch of France. To this proposition King George listened with a delighted ear; and though, by the united advice of his ministers, he was compelled reluctantly to decline this offer, it sensibly contributed to confirm his prepossessions in favour of France. His most Christian Majesty was soon after married, July 1725, to the Princess Maria, daughter of Stanislaus, titular King of Poland. Previously to this event, the Duke of Bourbon had been unexpectedly removed from the helm of government; and the Bishop of Frejus, preceptor to the King, and now invested with the purple, under the title of Cardinal Fleury, appointed prime minister at the age of seventy years. He discovered, however, at this advanced period of life, no decay of powers corporeal or mental. Though of unbounded ambition, his temper was naturally mild and benignant. His views were pacific, and he aimed to maintain the ascendency of France, and to humble the pride of the house of Austria,—rather by political address and refinement, than by a declared and open enmity. He adopted the sentiments of his predecessors, the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, relative to England, with which kingdom he ardently wished to maintain perpetual harmony.‡ The foreign policy of France sustained, therefore, no alteration in consequence of this revolution in the court.§

The King of England having refused to accept the sole

---

*. The message stated:—

1st. "That his Majesty had found it impracticable to make any considerable retrenchments.

IIdly. That the necessities of his government had engaged him in some extraordinary expences, which he was pursuaded his loyal commons would believe had been employed not only for the honour and dignity of the crown, but for the interest and prosperity of his people."

† It was about this period that the King revived the ancient order of Knights of the Bath. Mr. Walpole was decorated with the red ribband of the order; and, soon after, was made a Knight of the Garter—an honour to which no commoner had from time immemorial been admitted. His eldest son also was created a Peer by the title of Lord Walpole.

‡ By the influence of this ecclesiastical statesman, a barbarous edict had been recently promulgated respecting the Huguenots, against which the court of London remonstrated in vain. No other answer could be obtained, than that this was a matter which pertained to the internal government of the kingdom, and the King's edicts must be obeyed. The Protestants of Alsatia alone, whose religious privileges were founded on the basis of the treaty of Westphalia, and whose political defection was probably the subject of apprehension, were exempted from their operation.

§ Early in the present year (January 28,) died suddenly, in the 53d year of his age, Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy. Previously to his accession to the throne, Russia was scarcely known as a European power, except by her occasional wars with Poland, and by the commercial intercourse which she maintained with England, through the medium of the remote port of Archangel, situated at the extremity of the Frozen Ocean. Peter, who by a rare conjunction of qualities joined a most daring and ardent spirit of enterprise to a clear and solid judgment, early entertained the vast design of civilising his immense dominions; and after surmounting, by the incessant labour of thirty years, difficulties insuperable to any other man, he lived to see himself in possession of all which had engaged his wishes and his hopes. By his conquests he had subjected various rich and populous provinces to his dominion: and in the midst of them he had built a magnificent city, bearing the name of its founder. He introduced discipline into his armies; he created a powerful navy; and, in the room of Asiatic ignorance, prejudice, and barbarism, he substituted the arts, the learning, the customs, and manners of Europe. His system of improvement and aggrandisement has been eagerly and invariably pursued by his successors in the empire; especially by Catherine II. and by the present Emperor Alexander. He was succeeded by his consort the Empress Catherine, who from a low and nameless origin had reached the highest point of human elevation. She was endowed with extraordinary talents, and seconded all the projects of aggrandisement formed by the czar, her husband, with a kindred and congenial spirit. This high-minded Princess soon manifested her determination to maintain inviolate all the articles of the treaty of Stockholm. She demanded anew of the King of Denmark the restitution of the Duchy of Sleswic, or an equivalent for the same; plainly alluding to the contiguous provinces of Bremen and Verden. When exhorted by the senate to suspend the great naval and military equipments then preparing, and previously to try the mode of negotiation with Denmark, this imperial heroine with indignant warmth replied: "Let not any one of you that would be reckoned an honest subject, or hope to enjoy the least share of my favour, dare to offer me such mean-spirited advice. The Duke of Holstein, stripped unjustly of his hereditary dominions, took sanctuary in our country, and threw himself into the arms of my deceased Lord for protection; he is since contracted to my daughter, and is himself as dear to me as my own child. I am bound by all the rules of honour, as well as the ties of blood, to see justice done to that unfortunate Prince, in whose cause I would not scruple to forego the weakness of my sex, and even to draw a sword or to put myself at the head of an army. It is for my interest and glory, as well as yours, to convince the world that I have power to see justice done to my family, and that I am resolved to make use of it." At the conclusion of these words, she gave orders in their presence to Prince

sole mediation at Cambray, the resentment of the King of Spain was excited against him to an extraordinary degree: orders were immediately sent from Madrid to break up the congress; and full powers were granted to conclude an accommodation with the Emperor at Vienna. Such was the ardour of the two courts to terminate their long and deeply rooted animosity, that in a few weeks the celebrated treaty, known by the name of the treaty of Vienna, was framed, perfected, and signed April 30, 1725. It consisted of three parts or distinct instruments. By the first of these the two sovereigns confirmed all the articles of the quadruple alliance, one of which guarantied the rich successions of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, to the infant Don Carlos. Charles VI. renounced his pretensions to the crown of Spain; Philip acknowledged the Emperor's right to Naples and Sicily, the Milanese, and the Netherlands, and became guarantee of the Austrian succession according to the pragmatic sanction*—the appellation given to the imperial edict, confirmed and ratified by the diet of the empire, by which the vast dominions of that house were declared to be a perpetual and indivisible feoffment, limited to the heirs general of the present Emperor. The second was a regulation of commerce, conferring great mutual privileges, and recognising the validity of the charter of the Ostend company; and the third was an engagement of mutual defence. These stipulations were in themselves sufficiently obnoxious: and, considering the actual disposition of Russia, there could be little doubt of her eventual accession to the treaty. The rumours, however, propagated concerning the separate and secret articles of the treaty of Vienna were far more alarming than the known tenor of the public articles. It was confidently reported that the Emperor had engaged:

1st. To give in marriage his daughters the two Archduchesses to the infanta Don Carlos and Don Philip.

IIdly. To concur in employing force for the restoring Gibraltar to Spain, in case it could not be amicably effected.

IIIdly. To concert measures with his Catholic Majesty for placing the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain.

Of the reality of these secret articles, and particularly the last of them, though time has fully demonstrated the futility and falsehood of the opinion, the court of London entertained a most serious belief; and measures were immediately taken by the King of England to ward off the invisible impending blow. Such was the activity inspired by the magnitude of the supposed danger, that on 3d of September, 1725, a treaty of defensive alliance and mutual guarantee, as respecting the rights both of dominion and commerce, in opposition to the treaty of Vienna, was signed at Hanover by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Prussia, to which Denmark and Holland soon after acceded, to continue in force for the term of fifteen years. In proportion as alarm was excited by the treaty of Vienna, did it seem, by a sort of political re-action, to be communicated to the original contracting parties. Great sums of money were remitted from the King of Spain to the Emperor, and great military preparations were made on both sides. The original object of the imperial and Spanish courts extended however, in all probability, no farther than to obtain, by the most effectual means in their power short of actual violence, the restitution of Gibraltar, and the guarantee of England to the pragmatic sanction, the firm establishment of which the Emperor had greatly at heart. For this purpose they scrupled not to use high and haughty language. The Austrian minister publicly boasted that the Emperor would now give laws to Europe; and at Madrid open encouragement was afforded to the partisans of the Pretender. The British ambassador was treated with studied indignity; a plan of invasion was delivered in by the Dukes of Ormond and Liria, who were frequently in conference with the Imperial, Russian, and Spanish ministers; and by way of insult was at this time publicly played at court the famous Jacobite air, "The King shall enjoy his own again."

On New-year's day, (1726) King George embarked at Helvoet-Sluys for Harwich; but, a violent storm arising, the Carolina yacht, with his Majesty on board, parted from her convoy, who after being tempest-tost for two days, with great difficult landed at Rye on the coast of Sussex; and the ground being covered with snow to a great depth, he did not arrive at St. James's till the 9th of January. On the 20th, the Parliament was opened by a speech in which he declared "that the distressed condition of some of our Protestant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements entered into by some foreign powers, which seemed to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of our trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers such measures as might give a check to those ambitious views." The treaty of Hanover was soon afterwards presented to the House of Commons by Sir R. Walpole; Mr. Horace Walpole, brother to the minister, undertaking in an elaborate speech to obviate all the objections to which it seemed liable.† The leaders of the opposition, however, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Shippen, &c. strongly urged,

---

Prince Menzikoff and Admiral Apraxin, to have the fleet and troops in readiness by the middle of May at their peril. Hostilities were, notwithstanding this warlike declaration, suspended, and negotiations set on foot between the courts of London, Copenhagen, and Petersburg, which continued during the whole of the summer of 1725, but without effect—the czarina professing herself willing to concede in all other points, but still insisting upon the unconditional restitution of Sleswic, or the substitution of a real and solid equivalent.

* This is a term of the civil law, meaning a public and weighty sanction.

† He assured the House, "that the constant care and endeavour of his Majesty, since his happy accession to the throne, had been to secure the tranquillity of Christendom, to promote the honour and interest of his kingdoms, and settle the balance of power in Europe on a solid foundation. With these great and laudable views (he said) his Majesty had assumed the character both of mediator and guarantee of the barrier treaty concluded in 1715, and of the convention by which it was subsequently confirmed between the Emperor and the states. Actuated by the same motives, he had in 1716 signed a defensive alliance with the Emperor, and in 1717 another with the most Christian King and the States General. In order to fortify these treaties, and more effectually to secure the repose of Europe, the King had in 1718 made a convention with his most Christian Majesty for proposing ultimate conditions of peace between the Emperor and Spain, and also between his imperial Majesty and the then King of Sicily. That this treaty was followed, after a very short interval, by a treaty of alliance between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, his most Christian Majesty, and the republic of Holland; whence this treaty derived its popular appellation of The Quadruple Alliance. That within a few months the King of Sicily was admitted as a party to this treaty; and at length the King of Spain himself was compelled to accede to the terms of it; which was mainly owing to the generous assistance his Britannic Majesty gave to the Emperor in the Mediterranean. That the remaining points in dispute between their Imperial and Catholic Majesties were referred to the decision of a congress opened at Cambray. After an unsuccessful negotiation of three years, the congress was suddenly dissolved, upon advice that the Emperor and King of Spain had adjusted their differences by a separate treaty concluded at Vienna. That this unexpected event had occasioned no little surmise and alarm; and had raised jealousies which a more perfect knowledge of this transaction had fully justified. That this treaty of peace was followed by a treaty of commerce, the principal object of which was the establishment of an India company at Ostend, in violation of our rights, and to the ruin of our trade. That the remonstrances made by his Majesty's ministers at the courts of Vienna and Madrid had been received by the ministers of his Catholic Majesty with coldness, and by those of his Imperial Majesty with the utmost haughtiness; insomuch that they scrupled not to insinuate, that if his Britannic Majesty persisted in adopting resolutions hostile to the treaty of Vienna, his Imperial Majesty would think himself disengaged from the guarantee of the Protestant succession to the crown of Great Britain. And they had even gone so far as to affirm, that such members might be attended with disagreeable consequences in relation to his Majesty's dominions in Germany. Such however was the firmness of his Majesty, that no impression could be made on him by these menaces; nor was he by any suggestions to be deterred from concerting with other powers the means of counteracting the ambitious views of this formidable alliance. And this was the more necessary, because there were just grounds to believe that this extraordinary and unexpected reconciliation was owing to the fixed and favourite purpose of the house of Austria, of rendering the imperial dignity hereditary in their family. In order to that, it might be supposed that the treaty of Vienna was to be cemented by a marriage between the Emperor's eldest daughter and the infant Don Carlos. Who did not foresee the fatal consequences of this conjunction?

urged, "that in consequence of this treaty, represented as so wise, so just, and good, the British nation would be eventually engaged in a war for the defence of the King's German dominions, contrary to an express provision made in the act of settlement, which, as the basis the present family rested their title to the crown upon, ought to be held sacred and inviolable." These considerations appeared to have no weight with those to whom they were addressed; and the House of Commons voted by a majority of 285 against 107, an address to the King, declaratory of the highest approbation of the treaty of Hanover, &c. The Parliament after granting large and liberal supplies, was prorogued on the 24th of May.

Early in the spring, Sir Charles Wager had sailed with a powerful fleet to the Baltic. During the whole of the preceding year, intrigues had been carried on in Sweden by the English cabinet, with a view to detach that kingdom from the Russian alliance, but the opposite interest continued to predominate, and in the month of April in the present year the Emperor acceded in form to the treaty of Stockholm. Sir Charles Wager having been joined by a Danish squadron, the united fleet proceeded to the gulf of Finland, and on the 29th of May cast anchor before the port of Revel. The English Admiral had positive instructions not to suffer the Russian fleets to leave their harbours, till the Empress had obviated all ground of suspicion by an explicit declaration of her pacific intentions: for which purpose he deputed an officer to Cronslot with a letter to the Czarina, written with his Britannic Majesty's own hand, in which he observed, "that as her imperial Majesty's great preparations, both by sea and land, could not fail of giving him, as well as his allies in those parts, great and just cause to be alarmed, she would not be surprised that he had sent a strong squadron into the Baltic to obviate any danger that might ensue; and he professed his astonishment, that while he was carrying on amicable negotiations, and had not given the least provocation on his part, measures were taken at her court in favour of the Pretender; and concluding with an exhortation, that rather than plunge Russia into a war, and the whole north into confusion, her Majesty would please to give her people and all mankind convincing proofs of her inclination for peace, and of her good disposition to live in quiet with her neighbours."

The Empress, notwithstanding her high and undaunted spirit, seeing her ports blockaded by a superior force, and even her maritime towns in danger of attack, was compelled to temporise. She, therefore, in guarded terms, expressed her surprise "at not receiving the King's letters till the very instant his fleet appeared on her coasts, and had actually cast anchor before Revel: since it had been more agreeable to the custom established among Sovereigns, and more consistent with the amity subsisting between the two countries, had his Majesty thought fit to expostulate with her concerning any umbrage he might have conceived, and to expect her answer thereupon before he had taken so offensive a step;—that then his Majesty might have been assured by her, that it was so far from her thoughts to disturb the repose in the north, that, on the contrary, all her cares and attention were wholly bent on the security and preservation of it;—that the charge brought against her in relation to the Pretender was a frivolous accusation, serving merely as a pretence for the unkind steps taken against her." This formal disavowal by the Empress of any hostile designs, did not prevent Sir Charles Wager from remaining in his station near Revel till October, when the season was too far advanced to admit of any farther naval operations. The Czarina, took her revenge, by acceding in form (August 1726,) to the treaty of Vienna.

Mr. Poyntz, Ambassador at the court of Stockholm, had presented (in June) a memorial to that court, declaring "that his Britannic Majesty, always attentive to the peace of the north, had no sooner concluded the treaty of Hanover, but he had communicated it to Sweden, and desired its accession thereto; that it was with great concern he saw this negotiation lengthened out to above six months, and that in the mean time Sweden had entered into engagements with other powers; notwithstanding which, his Majesty, fearing these delays should endanger Sweden, to shew his exactness in fulfilling his engagements, and his attention to the succour of Sweden, was willing to put that crown in possession of the good fruits of its accession, even before it had acceded, by sending a powerful squadron into the Baltic without any requisition thereof;—that the British Admiral had been presented to his Swedish Majesty, to assure him, that if he thought himself in any immediate danger from the armament of his neighbours, he was in that case to concert measures with his Majesty for the defence of Sweden; but that while the said Admiral continued at Stockholm, his Swedish Majesty had graciously answered in writing, 'that having a defensive alliance with Russia, he thought himself in no danger from thence.' If after the departure of the English fleet any misfortune should happen to Sweden for want of timely precautions, it is hoped such misfortune will not be imputed to his Britannic Majesty. And the Ambassador concludes with saying, that his Majesty cannot imagine that the fear of danger ought not to be a sufficient inducement to guard against those dangers; nor that the loose and uncertain hopes of future advantages from Russia can afford a reasonable motive to reject the friendship of those powers which have ever been the support of Sweden—nor that those imaginary and insidious promises can be balanced against a clear and net subsidy of 100,000 ducats per month, to commence from your Majesty's accession to the treaty of Hanover, and with a prospect of more considerable assistance in case of need." —The English interest gradually gained ground; and the government of Sweden perceiving Russia unable to cope with the naval power of Great Britain, and feeling sensibly the operative influence of those golden flowers which now diffused themselves in rich profusion over that barren land, acceded (March 1727) to the treaty of Hanover. Prussia, on the other hand, notwithstanding the near affinity of its sovereign to the King of England, about the same time withdrew from this alliance, and acceded to the treaty of Vienna.*

When

junction? The issue of such a marriage might in time inherit not only the vast hereditary dominions of the Austrian family, but the entire monarchy of Spain with its appendages; which would entirely overthrow the balance of power, and render the liberties of Europe wholly precarious. If this were not within the contemplation of those two monarchs, how would any one undertake to account for the extensive privileges bestowed by the King of Spain, in contravention of his most solemn treaties with Great Britain, upon the Emperor's subjects in the Netherlands; or for the Emperor's so far forgetting his obligations to England and Holland, as to persist in supporting the Ostend Company, established with no other view than to distress the maritime powers; or for his engaging to assist the King of Spain in the recovery of Minorca and Gibraltar? In order to put a timely stop to the progress of such alarming and dangerous designs, his Majesty had, in his great wisdom, entered into a defensive alliance with his Most Christian Majesty and the King of Prussia, to which several other powers, and particularly the States General, were invited to accede. That the grand design of this alliance was to maintain the tranquillity of Christendom and the balance of power, and the respective rights and immunities of all nations, particularly those relating to Commerce: and that his Majesty, ever attentive to the support and protection of the Protestant interest, had engaged, by a separate article of this treaty, the Most Christian King and the King of Prussia, who, together with his Majesty, were guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, concluded between the crowns of Poland and Sweden, A. D. 1660, to interpose in behalf of our distressed Protestant brethren in Poland; and to cause reparation to be made for what may have been done at Thorne, contrary to the stipulations of that treaty. And he concluded with passing very lavish encomiums on the wisdom, vigilance, steadiness, and resolution of his Majesty, in the conduct of all these weighty and important affairs."

* For many years past a strict amity had subsisted between the two Houses of Hanover and Brandenburg, wholly founded indeed, upon motives of interest. They were embarked in the same cause, as members of the grand confederacy against Sweden, and were alike jealous of the designs of the Czar, who had sent a large body of troops into Germany under pretence of assisting at the siege of Wismar; after the reduction of which place they remained as auxiliaries to the Duke of Mecklenburg, over whose territories the Czar, eager to gain a permanent footing in Germany, flattered himself that

When Sir Charles Wager sailed for the Baltic, two other powerful squadrons were also fitted out at an immense expense. One of them, under the command of Sir John Jennings, with a body of land forces on board, cruised for a considerable time off the coasts of Spain, to the great consternation of the inhabitants, but attempted no act of hostility. Another fleet under Rear-Admiral Hosier sailed for the West Indies, with orders to block up the galleons in the Spanish harbours; or to capture them, in case they should presume to venture out. His instructions, however, authorizing no farther or more direct act of hostility, and the Spaniards having reconveyed, on the first intelligence of this armament, their treasures from Porto Bello to Panama, this officer was compelled to remain inactive on his station till the greater part of his men, and at length the Admiral himself, perished deplorably by the diseases of that destructive climate. This fleet, which had at first excited universal terror, continued in those seas till it became the jest and sport of the Spaniards, who, perceiving the restrictions they laboured under, ventured, in open defiance of the English, to seize on the effects of the South-Sea Company at La Vera Cruz; and the Commander is indeed said to have fallen a sacrifice, less to epidemical sickness than to chagrin and disappointment. The ships also were said to be ruined by the worms; and loud and general complaints were made in England of the improvident and wanton waste of lives and money in this disastrous expedition.

Parliament having assembled in the month of January, 1727, the King informed the two Houses, "that the alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded between Spain and the Emperor, had laid the foundation of a most exorbitant and formidable power—a power levelled against the dearest interests and privileges of the English nation, which must either surrender Gibraltar to Spain, and acquiesce in the Emperor's usurped exercise of commerce, or resolve vigorously to defend their undoubted rights. He assured them that it was a secret article of this alliance to place the Pretender upon the throne of Great Britain; and that Russia was actuated by the same views, which she had however been prevented from taking any steps to accomplish by the recent operations of the British fleet in the Baltic. Two other squadrons (he said) had been also equipped, the advantage and glory accruing to the nation from which sufficiently spoke their praise. And he concluded with informing them, that the King of Spain had actually ordered his Ambassador to quit the kingdom, leaving a memorial containing a formal demand for the restitution of Gibraltar." The Commons in reply, voted a loyal and zealous address, expressing "their determination to stand by and support his Majesty with their lives and fortunes against all his enemies." In the House of Peers the opposition of Lord Bathurst was peculiarly eloquent and spirited;* and seventeen Peers entered their protest against the resolution of the majority, that the measures his Majesty had thought fit to take were honourable, just, and necessary.

So serious was the umbrage given by the King's speech to the court of Vienna, that M. de Palm, the imperial resident at London, was ordered by the Emperor to present a remonstrance to the British court, charging the King with "calumnious misrepresentations, and with hazarding assertions void of all foundation. He declared that there was no offensive alliance subsisting between the Imperial and Spanish crowns; that the article relating to the Pretender was an absolute nullity; and that the restitution of Gibraltar, however just the claim of the King of Spain, was foreign to the purpose of the treaty." Both Houses expressed, in formal addresses to the throne, their indignation at the insolence of this memorial, which they stiled an extravagant insult upon his Majesty, and a presumptuous and vain attempt to instil into the minds of his faithful subjects a distrust of his royal word.†

With the memorial was transmitted from Vienna a letter

---

the Duke would at length be induced to assign to him his rights of sovereignty. But when this project was, by a firm resistance, rendered abortive, and peace concluded between Prussia and Sweden, the jealousy of the Prussian monarch was transferred from the Czar to the King of England, who had obtained a protectorial commission from the Emperor, vesting in him the administration of Mecklenburg, and who evidently entertained still farther views of ambition on that inviting contiguous duchy. By a pactum long established between the houses of Mecklenburg and Brandenburg, the reversion of this inheritance, in failure of male heirs, was settled upon the King of Prussia; and though the Prussian monarch could not venture to break with England till an eclaircissement had taken place with the Emperor, no sooner was the renewal of the ancient compact proposed under the guarantee of his imperial Majesty, than Prussia entered without hesitation into all the engagements required of him by the court of Vienna.

* His Lordship asserted "the probability, notwithstanding the alliances recently formed, that England would eventually have a war to support against two of the greatest potentates of Europe; that the indiscreet or violent expressions of the duc de Ripperda were surely no just ground of war, when they had been solemnly disavowed by his Catholic Majesty; that the nation was loaded with a debt of fifty millions, and that a war must soon inevitably exhaust its remaining resources. He said that he was neither in the French, nor Spanish, nor German interests—but a true Englishman; and so long as he had the honour to sit in that House, he would speak and act for the good of his country. What (said he) my Lords, can we get by a war if it be a successful one? I will say it in one word: nothing. What can we lose if it be unprosperous? I will say it in one word, in a syllable: All."

† The following is the above-mentioned memorial of Count Palm to the King of Great Britain, which, at the time, excited so much attention:—

"MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING,

"As soon as the speech made by your Majesty to the Parliament of Great Britain, now assembled, came to the knowledge of his imperial and Catholic Majesty, my most gracious master, he was struck with the utmost astonishment, that your Majesty could suffer yourself to be prevailed upon to declare, from the royal throne, to that most renowned nation, in a manner hitherto unheard of, as undoubted facts, several things, some of which are strained in that speech to a wrong sense, some are entirely distant from the intentions of his imperial and Catholic Majesty; and, lastly, which affect much more sensibly than all the rest, some absolutely void of all foundation.

"For as to what regards the peace concluded at Vienna with the most serene King of Spain, who can forbear being astonished that this very peace, which is built on the quadruple alliance signed at London, and other treaties contracted with your Majesty, as its solid and sole foundation. And for the obtaining of which peace your Majesty, together with your allies, waged so bloody, so long, and so glorious a war, and took yourself so much pains to procure, should now be alledged by your Majesty as a just ground of complaint, and should be made use of as a pretence for these things which hitherto your ministers have been doing in all parts, to the great detriment of the Emperor and the empire and the public tranquillity, and should be represented by your Majesty to the British nation, with so much animosity against the Emperor and the King of Spain, as a violation of treaties.

"After complaining of the peace made at Vienna, complaint is likewise made of the treaty of commerce entered into with Spain, which is calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the subjects of both parties, which is agreeable to the law of nations, and to the customs of all people in amity with each other: which can in no respect be of any prejudice to the British nation, whether we regard the situation of the countries, or the particular nature of the trade, and which is not in the least repugnant to the treaties made with Great Britain. So that if this treaty be considered with a mind free from prejudice, and from all design of inflaming the nation, there will remain no pretence to say that this treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a nation for which his imperial Majesty has the greatest affection and esteem, and whose glorious exploits, and important succours, no time will efface out of his memory.

"The other head of complaint, which contains such things as are void of all foundation, relates principally to that imaginary alliance, which in the speech is called offensive, and is there supposed to have been made against your Majesty between the Emperor and King of Spain. But it will not only appear how groundless and frivolous this supposition is, from the offer lately made by his imperial and Catholic Majesty, of entering into a convention de se mutuo non offendendo, but will be entirely refuted by the consideration of the tenor of the treaty of alliance and friendship itself, made with the crown of Spain, and communicated in its whole extent to your Majesty when it is proper: from the words of which, whether the least shadow or appearance of an offensive alliance can be drawn, is submitted to the judgment of the whole world.

"Another part of the complaint relates to the secret articles made in favour of the Pretender, whereof your Majesty asserts that you have certain and undoubted informations, by which articles it should have been agreed to set the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain. With what view, on what motive, and to what purpose, these informations, founded on the falsest reports, were represented to the people of Great Britain, is not only easy to be understood by his imperial and Catholic Majesty, but is obvious to the meanest capacity. But since the inviolable dignity and honour of such great Princes cannot suffer that assertions of this nature, entirely unsupported by truth, should be advanced from the royal throne to the whole nation, and to all mankind, his sacred imperial and Catholic Majesty has expressly commanded me, that I should declare to your Majesty, and

to

letter from the Chancellor Count Zinzendorf to Count Palm, expressly commanding him, in the name of his imperial Majesty, after presenting the memorial to the King of Great Britain, to publish it, together with the letter annexed, for the information of the British nation. The Chancellor Zinzendorf affirms in this letter, "That it is easy to see that the speech was made for no other purpose but to excite the nation to a rupture and open war with the Emperor and Spain, and to make the Parliament approve the precipitate and burdensome measure 'which the government has taken for private ends too well known.' That on the first report of these false suppositions, the Emperor and the King of Spain, in order to silence them, proposed a formal act de non offendendo, into which all the contracting parties of the treaties of Vienna and Hanover might enter, till such time as a definitive agreement might have taken place; but that this proposition was rejected." He observes, "that the articles of the quadruple alliance are expressly and publicly laid down as the unalterable basis of the treaty of Vienna; and to affirm that, by a secret pact concluded at the same time, engagements have been entered into by their Imperial and Catholic Majesties repugnant to the same, is an outrageous insult to the Majesty of the two contracting powers, who have a right to demand a reparation proportioned to the enormity of the affront; and that the high contracting parties had no other view than that of making peace between themselves, without injuring any one else." The intemperate language of these papers gave high and just offence: and all the leaders of opposition warmly concurred in the address to the throne on this occasion, which passed the House without a dissentient vote. An order was sent to M. de Palm, signifying "that the said Palm having delivered into the hands of his Majesty, at his late audience, a memorial highly injurious to the honour and dignity of his crown, and having also publicly dispersed the same with a letter from the Count de Zinzendorf to him the said Palm, still more insolent than the memorial, his Majesty looked upon him no longer as a public minister, and required him forthwith to depart out of this kingdom."

Serious preparations were now made on both sides for war; before the end of the session the King informed the Parliament that the fortress of Gibraltar was actually besieged; the forces of Great Britain were augmented by sea and land; thirty thousand Swedes, Danes, and Hessians, were taken into British pay; and so seriously did France at this period enter into the views of England, or rather Hanover, for the abasement of the house of Austria, that, exclusively of her stipulated quota of troops, she had actually engaged for the payment of an annual subsidy to Denmark of 350,000 rix-dollars for four years, and of 50,000 ducats monthly to Sweden, to commence from the period of her accession to the treaty of Hanover.

Amongst other more usual ways and means of providing the supplies on this occasion, the King was empowered, by a clause of appropriation in one of the revenue bills of the year, "to apply such sums as should be necessary for making good the expences and engagements which had been or should be made before the 25th of September next, for the purposes of establishing the security of commerce, and restoring the tranquillity of Europe."

The sum of 370,000*l.* issued in Exchequer bills, was also charged on the surplus produce of certain duties appertaining to the sinking fund, towards the expences of the war.* The sum of 125,000*l.* being charged in general terms, as issued for engagements and expences above and beyond such as were specified, the House addressed the King for a particular account of the disposition of that money; but they received for answer, that the money was disbursed for services requiring the greatest secrecy. A motion by Lord Morpeth, for copies of all such memorials or representations to his Majesty from the crowns of Sweden and Denmark as did induce him to send the squadron of the last year into the Baltic, was opposed with great strength; and Mr. Horace Walpole in a long speech justified all the steps taken since his Majesty's accession to preserve the balance of power, the peace of Europe, and the tranquillity of the north.—The Parliament was at length prorogued on the 15th of May. The love of peace," said his Majesty, "has hitherto prevailed upon me, even under this high provocation (alluding to the actual siege of Gibraltar†) to suspend in some measure my resentments; and instead of having immediate recourse to arms, and demanding of my allies that assistance which they are engaged and ready to give me, I have concurred with the most Christian King and the States General in making such overtures of accommodation as must convince all the world of the uprightness of our intentions and of our sincere disposition to peace, and demonstrate to whose ambition and thirst of power the calamities of a war are to be imputed, if these just and reasonable propositions are rejected."

In the early part of the spring, a great fleet was sent to the Baltic under Sir John Norris. Great Britain being now in alliance with the Scandinavian crowns, Russia was reduced to a state of total inaction, and not a ship of war ventured from the ports of Cronstadt or Revel. Still the determined enmity of so formidable a power was the subject of just uneasiness, leagued as she now was with the courts of Vienna and Madrid; each of these three combined potentates having peculiar and distinct causes of resentment and provocation, and all of them founded upon incontestible grounds of reason and justice. The sudden death of the Czarina, however, at this critical juncture, entirely changed the face of affairs in the north, and the politics of the court of St. Petersburgh sustained another revolution, extremely favourable to the restoration of the general tranquillity. The throne of the czars was now filled

to the whole kingdom of Great Britain, how highly he thinks himself affronted thereby, solemnly affirming upon his imperial word, that there exists no secret article, nor convention whatsoever, which contains, or can tend to prove, the least tittle of what has been alledged. But that the secret designs, which lie concealed under a conduct till this time unheard of, may more manifestly appear, it must be observed, that the time is purposely taken for doing this, when a negotiation is on foot at Paris for composing the differences which have arisen, without any fault of his imperial and Catholic Majesty; which negotiation sufficiently shews how much his imperial and Catholic Majesty is at all times inclined to peace, and to the religious observation of his treaties.

"As to what is said of Gibraltar, and concerning the siege thereof, under which, in the speech, it is insinuated as if some other design was concealed, the hostilities notoriously committed in the Indies and elsewhere against the King of Spain, in violation of treaties, seem to have given a very just occasion to the King of Spain for attempting that siege. But as to the intentions and engagements of the Emperor upon that article, it is easy to see what they are by the treaty above-mentioned, which has been communicated.

"As to what is said in the last place, concerning the Ostend trade, which the goodness of the Catholic King induced him to favour, being bound by no treaty, after he had been apprized of the just reasons for the establishment of it, various expedients for a composition have been proposed, not only at the Hague, but even lately at Paris, lest this harmless method of providing for the security of the barrier, should prove an obstacle to the common friendship of the neighbouring powers.

"Which things being thus the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his sacred imperial and Catholic Majesty require that they should be exposed to your Majesty, to the kingdom of Great Britain, and to the whole world. And his sacred imperial Majesty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right, for the great injuries which have been done him by these many imputations."

* This alienation of a fund hitherto regarded as sacred was the more remarkable, as the House of Commons, in reply to the speech from the throne, expressly recommending to their attention the state of the sinking fund, had said—"And that all who wish well to the peace and quiet of your Majesty's government may have the satisfaction to see that our present necessities shall make no interruption in the progress of that desirable work of gradually reducing the national debt, we will consider of the most proper method for immediately applying the produce of the sinking fund to the uses for which it was so wisely contrived, and to which it stands now appropriated."

† The Conde de las Torres, General of the Spanish army, had opened the trenches before Gibraltar, February 11, 1727; but the garrison, consisting of six thousand men, under the command of a gallant veteran, Lord Portmore, being well supplied with provisions and stores, no perceptible progress was made in the space of four months, during which the siege was pertinaciously prolonged; while the loss sustained by the besiegers was immense.

by Peter II. a youth only fifteen years of age, son of the unfortunate Alexiowitz, who ended his days by a most tragical catastrophe during the life-time of his father Peter the Great.

Through the intervention of the court of Versailles, now acting under the auspices of the mild and equitable Fleury, preliminary articles of accommodation were signed at Paris, May the 20th, (1727,) by the ministers of the different belligerent powers; who, though much exasperated against each other, were actuated by no motives of sufficient weight to induce them to involve anew all Europe in the horrors of a general war.*

His Majesty, the King of England, seemed at length to have surmounted all his political difficulties; and he eagerly embraced this favourable opportunity of revisiting his electoral dominions. Embarking at Greenwich on the 3d of June, he landed in Holland on the 7th, and immediately set out on his journey to Hanover. On the road between Delden and Osnaburg he was seized with a kind of lethargic paralysis; and feeling himself attacked by the stroke of death, he said to the nobleman who accompanied him in the carriage, "C'est fait de moi"—"Tis over with me! He appeared, however, extremely anxious to reach the capital of his dominions; but on his arrival at the palace of his brother, the Bishop of Osnaburg, the King being now wholly devoid of sense and motion, it was found impossible to proceed; and on Sunday the 11th of June, 1727, he expired, in the 68th year of his age, and 13th of his reign†—leaving issue by his consort Sophia Dorothea, heiress of ‡ the house of Zell, George, successor to the crown, and a daughter, who had been married, previously to the accession of the Brunswick family to the royal dignity, to Frederic William, King of Prussia.§

* These articles imported that hostilities should immediately cease; that the charter of the Ostend company should be suspended for seven years; and that a congress should be opened in four months at Aix-la-Chapelle (afterwards transferred to Soissons) to settle the terms of a final pacification.

† It has been remarked, that if this Prince was not distinguished for shining talents or heroic virtues, much less did he evince remarkable deficiency of understanding or propensity to vice. Acceding to the crown, when far advanced in life, he seemed ever to consider himself rather as elector than as King; and the influence and power of Britain were of little estimation in his eyes, when directed to any other end than the aggrandisement of his native country. As far as concerned the internal government of his kingdoms, the rectitude and benevolence of his intentions were always apparent; but, from the nature of his situation, he was compelled to throw himself into the hands of a party; and from the easiness of his disposition he was too often persuaded to acquiesce in measures which a more perfect acquaintance with the real state of facts and opinions would have shown to be as contrary to his interests as there is reason to believe they frequently were to his inclination. In the view of Europe at large, he sustained the character of a prudent, able, and fortunate Prince; and if, in contemplating the history of his reign, we have cause to lament the weakness and defects of the external system of policy by which its counsels were influenced, we have reason, on the other hand, to express our wishes that the noble speculative principles of government, and of liberty, civil and religious, which this monarch was not only ready but anxious on all occasions to avow, and by which the general tenor of his conduct was regulated, may never cease to be the distinguishing and favourite characteristics of the royal house now seated on the throne.

The following passage, from a letter of Count Broglio to the King of France, written in July, 1724, appears to throw additional light upon the character of George I.

"The King has no predilection for the English nation, and never receives in private any English of either sex. None even of his principal officers are admitted to his chamber in a morning to dress him, nor in the evening to undress him. These offices are performed by the Turks who are his valets-de-chambre, and who give him every thing he wants in private. He rather considers England as a temporary possession, to be made the most of while it lasts, than as a perpetual inheritance to himself and family. He will have no disputes with the Parliament, but commits the entire transaction of that business to Walpole; chusing rather that the responsibility should fall on the minister's head than his own, and being well apprized that a King of Great Britain is obliged, when the Parliament requires it, to give an account of his conduct, as well with respect to the liberty of the subject as to the execution and formation of laws. I have even been assured that the King has expressed himself to this effect."

The Turks above alluded to, and known by the names of Mustapha and Mahomet, had been many years before captured, during the wars of Hungary, in which the King, then electoral Prince of Hanover, served under the imperial banners. As they discovered an extreme attachment to the Prince, he took them into his service, and distinguished them by many marks of his favour. Their portraits are on the great stair-case in Kensington palace. Pope has mentioned one of these Turks in terms of approbation in his Moral Essays.

> "From Peer or Bishop 'tis no easy thing,
> To draw the man who loves his God or King.
> Alas! I copy, or my draught would fail,
> From honest Mah'met, or plain parson Hale."

‡ Sophia Dorothea, consort of George I. died November 2, 1726. She was married to him when he was hereditary Prince of Hanover. A. D. 1682, at the age of sixteen. This match proved very unhappy. The heart of the Princess was said to be already engaged, and the affection of the Prince was soon alienated from her. Count Koningsmark, the favoured lover, arriving at the court of Hanover several years afterwards (the Prince being then with the imperial army in Hungary) the mutual passion of the unfortunate pair revived; and as it was discovered that the Count had been admitted secretly to the apartments of the Princess, he was assassinated by order of the reigning elector. The Princess was at the same time put under arrest, and confined in the castle of Alden, upon the banks of the river Aller, where she remained a close prisoner forty years. The process, in consequence of which a sentence of separation, not of divorce, was pronounced, after an interval of eight years, by the ecclesiastical consistory, December 28, 1694, has never been made public. Both King George II. and Queen Caroline are said to have believed her entirely free from crime. On the very morning after the intelligence arrived of the death of King George I. the picture of a lady in royal robes was seen for the first time in the new King's bed-chamber. This was the portrait of his mother, whom he purposed to acknowledge as Queen Dowager had she outlived the late monarch. This picture came afterwards into possession of the Princess Amelia, (sister to his Majesty George III.) who bequeathed it with her other immense property, to the Landgrave of Hesse. It has been asserted, that the Prince twice made proposals of reconciliation:—

1st. On the death of his father the Elector Ernest Augustus.

IIdly. On his accession to the throne of England; and that on both occasions she refused the offers made to her with the highest indignation.

"If I am guilty," said she, "I am not worthy of the Prince: if I am innocent, he is not worthy of me."—Vide Coxe's memoirs of Walpole, Vol. I. Lord Orford's Works, Vol. IV. and Wraxall's Memoirs of the court of Berlin, Vol. I.

§ Notwithstanding the total neglect of the court, and the violence of party rage, descriptive of this as well as of the former reign, literature and the arts continued to flourish in a high degree; and we view with surprise, amidst scenes of contention and turbulence, a constellation of geniuses shedding a peculiar lustre over this period of English history. Scarcely had Locke, Temple, and Dryden, the luminaries of the former age, disappeared, when Addison, Swift, Pope, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, &c. arose. The writings of Addison merit distinguished and honourable mention, as exhibiting an almost cloudless picture of urbanity, candour, good sense, and beneficence. The advantage which the community has reaped from the wide and almost boundless diffusion of them no power of calculation can ascertain; and, exclusively of their moral merit, his delineations of life and manners will charm as long as our nation and language exist. In poetry, Pope rose far superior to all his contemporaries; and if inferior to any in that mode of versification which he chose to adopt, he is inferior to Dryden alone. In wit, in harmony, and propriety, and (considering the Rape of the Lock) in imagination and fancy, his merit is of the highest class: in the epistle of Eloise to Abelard only, perhaps, has he spoken the genuine language of passion, or penetrated the inmost recesses of the heart. In architecture, Gibbs and Kent, with unequal steps, and at immeasurable distance, followed the celebrated Sir Christopher Wren; of whom the magnificent plan for rebuilding the city of London in 1666—an effort of genius which can never be contemplated without admiration and indignant regret—would have alone sufficed to perpetuate the memory. At this period the English school of painting could produce (a Thornhill excepted) no greater artist than Jervas, whose name is indeed immortalized—not by the "warmth divine" of his own performances, but of "the verse eternal which embalms the dead." During the course of this reign, Sir Isaac Newton terminated his long career of life; but that of his fame and glory will be coeval only with the world itself.

RAPIN'S

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

GEORGE THE SECOND.

BORN 1683.—DIED 1760

BOOK XXVIII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE II. COMPRISING A PERIOD OF THIRTY-THREE YEARS, FOUR MONTHS, AND FOURTEEN DAYS.

31. GEORGE II.

A. D. 1727.] NO sooner had the news of the King's death reached his successor, than the privy council was assembled, and sworn anew; his Majesty, George II. declaring to them his firm purpose to preserve inviolate the constitution in church and state; and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign Princes. The great officers of state were continued in their places; and it was evident that the political system was not about to suffer any radical change.* Sir Robert Walpole, upon whom the weight of business chiefly rested, seemed even to possess a higher and more exclusive share of confidence than ever; and Lord Townshend, Secretary of State for foreign affairs, was alone able to preserve some share of independent political consequence.† It was regarded as uncertain, by the public, whether the chief administration would remain with Walpole and Townshend. During their secession in the late reign, they had paid assiduous court, and been well received at Leicester house; and Walpole had been principally instrumental in effecting the external reconciliation which had taken place between the Prince of Wales and the King. After their re-admission to power, a civil intercourse was still kept up with the Prince: but his confidence was placed elsewhere; and amongst those whom he distinguished with marks of his favour, Sir Spencer Compton held the highest place. Walpole, however, had diligently cultivated the friendship of the Princess of Wales, a woman endowed with an excellent and well cultivated understanding. She saw the great superiority of Sir Robert Walpole, as a statesman, over all his rivals and contemporaries; and she gave him, to the latest period of her life, the fullest and firmest support. Sir Spencer Compton, on the suggestion of the King's gracious intentions in his favour, hesitated at the idea of assuming the lead in a new administration; and, either from timidity or generosity, acknowledged Walpole to be far more competent. Thus, all competition being at an end, the existing administration was continued; and Sir Spencer Compton was created a Peer, under the title of Earl of Wilmington;—being also, after no very long interval, appointed Lord Privy Seal, and then President of the council.

On the meeting of Parliament, the entire produce of the civil list revenues, estimated at 800,000*l.* was, on the motion of Sir Robert Walpole, settled on the King for life, instead of the clear annual revenue of 700,000*l.* granted to the late monarch—not however without some debate and opposition. A resolution, for settling the sum of 100,000*l.* per annum, as a jointure upon the Queen, passed without difficulty.

Parliament was dissolved in August, and a new one was convened in January 1728, of which Arthur Onslow, Esq. was chosen speaker; and which seemed to vie in all expressions of duty and loyalty with the most loyal of its predecessors. The King assured them, in his speech from the throne, of "the absolute necessity of continuing those preparations which had hitherto secured the nation; the execution of the preliminaries recently signed having been retarded by unexpected difficulties, raised chiefly by the obstinate opposition of Spain, although the ratifications had been actually exchanged with the Emperor." The court of Madrid had indeed so far acceded to the articles of pacification as to agree to suspend all further attacks upon Gibraltar; but this was more a measure of compulsion than of choice. The signing of the preliminaries having been delayed, under the idea that the court of Vienna might be induced to adopt more vigorous resolutions, Sir Charles Wager, with the British fleet, continued to cruise on the coasts of Spain till the final disappointment of these hopes incited her to ratify the preliminaries in form at Madrid, February 24, 1728 (O. S.) leaving the accommodation of the remaining difficulties to the future congress. As this was an event by no means previously certain, the Parliament voted the sum of 280,000*l.* for the maintenance of the Hessian and Swedish auxiliaries, and a subsidy of 100,000*l.* payable in four years to the Duke of Wolfenbuttle; who in return took upon him to guarantee by a formal treaty to his Britannic Majesty the possession of his three kingdoms, and to keep in readiness for his service a corps of 5000 men during the same term. This notable alliance occasioned however some severe animadversions; and the House was even prevailed upon, to address the King for a particular, and distinct account of the sum of 250,000*l.* charged in the general statement of national expenditure to have been issued "for preserving and restoring the peace of Europe." His Majesty declined to comply with their request; but informed them, in general terms, that part of the money had been disbursed by his late Majesty, conformably to the powers vested in him by Parliament, and the remainder by himself, for carrying on necessary and important services which required the greatest secresy. This answer the House, upon consideration, thought fit to approve—Sir Robert Walpole affirming it "to be impossible that public services

* A belief was prevalent amongst the courtiers, that had the late King lived to return from Hanover, Lord Bolingbroke would have been declared minister. This nobleman had been admitted to a private audience of the monarch previously to his departure, in which he delivered to him a memorial respecting the state of affairs, from which he had conceived the highest hopes, which were suddenly and totally frustrated by the death of his Majesty.

† The Duke of Newcastle, his colleague, was a man illustrious by his birth, affable and popular in his address, liberal in his sentiments, and magnificent in his expences; but his capacity was very inadequate to his elevated station. Mr. Pelham, secretary at war, and brother to the Duke, was esteemed for his probity, respected for his talents, and beloved for his candour. The Earl of Chesterfield, ambassador at the Hague, and soon afterwards appointed Lord Steward, was at once a man of wit, of pleasure, and of business. John, Duke of Argyle was distinguished beyond all his contemporaries by an uncommon union of civil and military talents. Lord Carteret was, however, the only man connected with this administration of whose abilities or designs the premier could entertain any reasonable jealousy or apprehension. Dignified, and even stately in his deportment, the habitual superiority which he appeared to assume was sustained by an extraordinary energy of genius and extent of knowledge.

should be carried on, considering the great complication of interests on the continent, if every shilling that was expended for the advancement of the common cause, and for maintaining the balance of Europe, was made known to the whole world."

A loan having been negotiated by the board of Treasury with the Bank of England for the sum of 1,700,000*l.* for which certain duties, by right appertaining to the sinking fund, were proposed to be mortgaged, a violent debate arose; and Mr. Pulteney declared, "That by charging new loans upon old and appropriated surpluses the public were grossly deceived; that by these expedients to put off the evil day, taxes would be perpetuated; and that, notwithstanding the great merit assumed by the inventors of this boasted scheme of redemption, the national debt had really increased since the setting up of that pompous project." This peremptory accusation gave rise to the appointment of a select committee; by whose report, it appeared that the sum of 6,480,000*l.* had been issued from Christmas 1716 to Lady-day 1728, towards the discharge of the national debt; and that the new debt contracted during the same interval amounted only to 3,927,000*l.* The surplus of the sinking fund had now increased by the diminution of interest, and the enlargement of commerce, to the sum of 1,200,000*l.* and the King declared his extreme satisfaction in the prospect of seeing the old debts discharged, without any necessity of incurring new ones. On the 28th of May, (1728) the session closed.*

On the 19th of June, the congress was opened at Soissons; where the ministers of the Emperor, France, Spain, Great Britain, Holland, and the northern courts, had assembled. The arts of Cardinal Fleury had by this time effected a reconciliation of the courts of Versailles and Madrid; the jealousy and resentment of the King and Queen of Spain were excited by the ambiguous conduct of the Emperor; and a categorical answer was demanded from his imperial Majesty on the subject of the marriages between Don Carlos and Don Philip with the Archduchesses. Illusory professions only being returned, Spain began in earnest to desire a renewal of her former connections with Great Britain. The differences between the Emperor and the King of England were far from being accommodated. The court of Vienna still espoused the interests of the ducal houses of Holstein and Mecklenburg; and the court of London, in revenge, refused to listen to any proposition of guarantee respecting the pragmatic sanction.†

The Parliament met, January 21, 1729; and the King, in his speech to the two Houses, acknowledged that the present prevailing uncertainty gave him great concern, but expressed his unwillingness precipitately to kindle a new war in Europe. Numerous petitions were presented to Parliament from the great mercantile towns, complaining of the losses and obstructions they had sustained in their trade, through the depredations of the Spaniards in the West Indies; and the House of Commons, in a grand committee, after an investigation of the subject, passed a resolution justificatory of the instructions given to Admiral Hosier to seize the flota and galleons; and another declaring that the Spaniards had violated the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. An address was consequently presented to the King, desiring "That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to use his utmost endeavours to procure just and reasonable satisfaction for these injuries, and for securing to his Majesty's subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America;" to which his Majesty expressed his assent. The House of Peers also resolving itself into a committee on the state of the nation, and the letter of the late King to the King of Spain, touching the restitution of Gibraltar, among other state papers being laid before them, a resolution was moved, "that for the honour of his Majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care should be taken in the present treaty that the King of Spain should renounce, in explicit terms, all claim and pretension to Minorca and Gibraltar." After a violent debate, the motion was negatived, but not without a strong protest; and a second motion, "That the House did entirely rely upon his Majesty, that he would, for maintaining the honour and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the present treaty to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca," passed in the affirmative. The Lower House concurring in this motion, a joint address was presented to the throne conformably to its purport.

In the course of the session the sum of 115,000*l.* was voted to the crown, under pretence of arrears due to the civil list; though not without great opposition—no deficiency in the produce of the civil list revenues being proved, or even unequivocally alledged; and a futile provision was made for the repayment of the money at the decease of the sovereign.‡ On the 14th of May, the King terminated the session; after which, he visited his German dominions, leaving the Queen sole Regent; and, during her mild and equitable, though firm and vigilant, administration no cause of discontent or disaffection arose.

At the accession of the present sovereign Lord Carteret had been confirmed in his vice-royalty of Ireland; and, under the administration of this nobleman, peace and order were restored and established; various excellent laws were enacted for the encouragement of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture; and many salutary regulations adopted in the civil departments of government.§

The congress of Soissons continued its sittings. The breach

* In the course of the year arrived in England Frederic Prince of Wales, who, though now in his 22d year, had hitherto resided at Hanover. About the same time died Ernest Augustus, Bishop of Osnaburg, only brother of the late King, and created by him Duke of York; but never resident in England.

† In the month of September, the King of England expresses, in his private correspondence with Lord Townshend, his anxiety "To obtain such a declaration as shall entirely secure the possession of Bremen, and free him from the obligation of an equivalent." In November he writes, "that as there is no likelihood of an accommodation with the Emperor, he thinks it right to be in as great a friendship and intimacy with France as possible."

‡ It is remarkable, that another address being presented to the King by the Commons, desiring to be informed in what manner a large sum, stated to have been expended for restoring the peace of Europe, was disposed of, an answer exactly similar to that returned to the address of the last year on the subject was again hazarded, in which the House had again the complaisance to acquiesce.

§ The following events occurred in the course of this year: Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, resigned his crown, after a reign of fifty years, to his son, Charles Emmanuel; and, retiring to the castle of Chamberri, espoused, at the advanced age of sixty-four, the Countess of St. Sebastian; who refused with disdain the title, as she could not participate in the power, of royalty.

In the month of October, died Peter II. czar of Muscovy, after a short reign of two years. He was succeeded by the Princess Anne Iwanowna, Duchess of Courland, second daughter to the czar Iwan, elder brother to Peter the Great. The nobility of the metropolis assembling, previously to her being proclaimed Empress, drew up an instrument of government which greatly limited the imperial power. This the Princess was compelled to sign: but no sooner was she firmly established on the throne than she commanded the paper she had subscribed to be torn in pieces, sending into banishment those who had been most active in promoting the design, and henceforth exercising over the boundless extent of that immense empire the same despotic authority under which Russia had for ages been condemned to suffer.

Early in the following year (1730) died Pope Benedict XIII. and was succeeded by Cardinal Corsini, already near fourscore years of age, who notwithstanding filled the papal chair ten years under the name of Clement XII.

About this time also, a sudden and surprising revolution took place at Constantinople, by the deposition of the grand seignior Achmet III. and the elevation of his nephew, Mahomet V. From the æra of the memorable victory obtained by the illustrious Sobieski under the walls of Vienna, the Ottoman power had suffered a great and rapid decline; and Mahomet IV. who had succeeded when an infant to the throne, on the deposition of his father the Sultan Ibrahim, A. D. 1648, was himself, in consequence of the general rage excited by the misfortunes of that disastrous war, compelled to submit to the same fate. During the short and feeble reigns of his brothers, Soliman II. and Achmet II. the triumphs of the imperialists continued. The reign of the succeeding Emperor, Mustapha II. son of Mahomet IV. was distinguished by the famous battle of Zenta, won by Prince Eugene, and the consequent treaty of Carlowitz. After a reign of seven years, the Sultan Mustapha was, by another revolution, hurled from

breach between the courts of London and Vienna seemed rather to increase than diminish. By the sole authority of his imperial Majesty, and the aulic council, the Duke of Mecklenburg had been suspended from the exercise of his government, and the administration of the country assigned to a Prince of the same family; but the King of England, into whose hands the revenues of the duchy had been sequestrated, refused to relinquish his commissorial power; and an imperial rescript was published, peremptorily requiring him to render up his accounts, and to desist from his claims. In June, Lord Townshend, and Count Kinski, the imperial ambassador, held a conference at Hanover, from which they separated with mutual dissatisfaction; and in October following Lord Townshend boasted to the King, "that his measures were so arranged as to facilitate any views his Majesty might have upon any part of the country of Mecklenburg." The courts of London and Madrid being now equally alienated from that of Vienna, it was found by no means a matter of insuperable difficulty for France, to effect an accommodation of differences between them. Colonel Stanhope who had retired from his embassy in Spain, returned thither at the latter end of the summer in order to negotiate this business; and on the 9th of November, a definitive treaty or convention was signed at Seville, consisting of fourteen articles, agreeably to the tenor of which peace and friendship were at length restored to the contending countries.*

This convention, was considered by the Emperor as a flagrant violation of justice; and he filled all Europe —Germany in particular, the diet being then sitting at Ratisbon—with rescripts and remonstrances against the indignity thereby offered to the imperial court and the Germanic body, by the forcible introduction of foreign troops into Italy.

Parliament assembling in January, 1730, the King, in his speech from the throne, declared the peace of Europe to be firmly established by the treaty of Seville, which was built, as he asserted, on the foundation of the quadruple alliance. He affirmed, that Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and reparation for all unlawful seizures and depredations; that the free and uninterrupted exercise of British commerce was fully secured; and that all rights, privileges, and possessions, belonging to him and his allies, were confirmed and solemnly guaranteed. Violent opposition was made to the terms of this treaty when submitted to the investigation of Parliament. Amongst other points, it was affirmed, that the article by which the British merchants were required to make proof of their losses at the court of Madrid was injurious to them, and dishonourable to the nation; and that there was little probability of obtaining that redress, by means of commissaries, which was refused to plenipotentiaries. The opponents complained, that the right of Britain to Gibraltar and Minorca was not formally and explicitly acknowledged; and they disliked the guarantee of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, to Don Carlos and his successors, as a concession which might involve Britain in future quarrels about a country with which we had no concern. By far the most serious objection, however, and that which constituted the chief ground of the high offence taken by the Emperor, was founded upon that article of the treaty by which England not only guaranteed the succession of these duchies to the infant, but engaged to convey a body of Spanish troops to Italy, in order to secure those possessions without waiting for the imperial investiture; which was not only an open and flagrant affront offered to the imperial dignity, but a palpable deviation from the letter of the quadruple alliance, by which neutral troops only were to be admitted till the investitures were granted. So much incensed was the court of Vienna at the insult, more perhaps than the injury, offered in the treaty of Seville, that his imperial Majesty issued an edict, prohibiting the subjects of Great Britain from trading in his dominion; and made great preparations of a warlike nature.

In the course of the session, a warm debate arose in consequence of a bill introduced by the minister to prevent any subjects of Great Britain from advancing money by way of loan to foreign Princes or states, without license first obtained from his Majesty under his privy seal. This bill was ably opposed by Sir John Bernard, one of the representatives of the city of London, as "a measure which would render Holland the mart of money to the nations of the continent. He said that by this general prohibition the English were disabled from assisting their best allies; that the King of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the English merchants residing within his dominions; that the licensing power was liable to dangerous abuse; and that the clause which empowered the Attorney General to compel the discovery on oath of such loans would convert the court of Exchequer into a court of inquisition." In consequence of these arguments the bill was so modified, as to render it much less exceptionable; and it was declared, "that the object of it was merely to prevent the subjects of the state from assisting the enemies of the state. It was well known that at this very time the Emperor was negotiating a loan in the metropolis, and it was manifestly impolitic and absurd to permit individuals to enrich themselves by any mode of traffic detrimental to the general interests of the kingdom."

The annual motion for continuing the Hessian and Wolfenbuttle subsidies, was strongly opposed; but it

---

from his throne, and his brother Achmet III. raised to the same high and dangerous pre-eminence. Involved in a war with the Emperor Charles VI. his armies were repeatedly defeated by Prince Eugene, and the war was terminated, greatly to the disadvantage of the Turks, by a treaty concluded under the mediation of Great Britain at Passarowitz, A. D. 1718. The avarice and oppression of his subsequent government, together with the war carried on negligently and unsuccessfully against the Persians, made the reign of Achmet odious to the people. Recourse being had to a very unusual and dangerous expedient in Turkey, the imposition of a new tax called the bedead, a species of excise very arbitrary in the collection, in order to defray the expence of this war, three janisaries, named Calil, Muslu, and Ali, very obscure men, feeling or fancying themselves particularly aggrieved by it, assembled, in the absence of the grand seignior and grand vizier, then at Scutari, a considerable number of their comrades, in the Atmeidan, where they presented to them a naked sword on which they had themselves sworn, and required of all who engaged with them to swear the death of the grand vizier, the caimacan, and the reis effendi. The aga of the janisaries repairing in haste to the Atmeidan, Calil demanded if he were come to join the brave Mussulmans who were resolved on a reformation in the state, and the punishment of the tyrants? The aga, destitute of force to suppress the revolters, retired in silence; and the sultan, attended by the vizier, returned with precipitation on the first intelligence of this insurrection to Constantinople, where they arrived at midnight. On the following morning, by order of the Emperor, the standard of Mahomet was displayed, but without effect; and the number of revolters continually increasing, the seraglio was on the next day formally invested. Measures being now in preparation to force the gates of the palace, their astonishment was great to see the dead bodies of the proscribed ministers brought out on litters, preceded by an officer of the bostangis, who announced the condescension of the Emperor, and commanded them in his name to separate. The three leaders of the revolt, aware of the danger of their situation, expressed their dissatisfaction at this concession, and, declaring the sultan Achmet unworthy of the throne, boldly exclaimed, that they would have sultan Mahmoud for their sovereign. The name of Mahmoud was repeated with loud acclamations, resounding even to the inmost recesses of the seraglio. Achmet hastily assembling a divan, asked, with a faltering voice, what the rebels had yet to desire; on which an iman replied, "My Lord, thy reign is at an end—thy revolted subjects will no longer have thee for a master—they demand with shouts thy nephew Mahmoud—it is in vain for thee to flatter thyself that they will return to their allegiance." At these words the sultan turned pale, but, soon recovering himself, said, "Why was I not informed of this sooner? Follow me." Immediately he went to the prison of Mahmoud, attended by all the members of the divan; and, having taken that Prince by the hand, "The wheel has turned for you as for me," said he to him, conducting him to the divan chamber: "I resign to you the throne which Mustapha my brother resigned to me:"—after which he returned to the apartment whence he had taken Mahmoud, there to end his life. Thus, in about eighty years four Emperors had been successively dethroned at Constantinople by lawless and popular violence.

* By this treaty, which imported the renewal of all former treaties, Spain virtually and silently relinquished her claim to Gibraltar; and, in return, Great Britain agreed that 6000 of his Catholic Majesty's troops should be immediately introduced into Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, in order to ensure the succession of those duchies to the infant Don Carlos. By the 6th article, commissaries were to be appointed in four months for the final adjustment of all commercial disputes.

was carried by a majority of seventy-one voices. A bill passed by the Commons in the course of this session "for making more effectual the laws in being for disabling persons from being chosen members of Parliament who enjoyed any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any office holden in trust for them," was rejected on the second reading by the Lords.

The East India Company's charter being on the point of expiring, a petition was presented by a number of persons of high mercantile consideration against the renewal of the monopoly. The petitioners offered to redeem the fund or capital stock of the present company, amounting to 3,200,000*l.* in two years, at five different payments; and they proposed not to trade with a joint stock, or in a corporate capacity, but to keep the trade open to all the subjects of Great Britain, upon licence from such proposed new company, upon certain terms and conditions. This important petition was supported by Sir James Bernard and other distinguished commercial characters in the House; notwithstanding which, the charter of the existing company was renewed, and prolonged to the year 1766, on condition of their paying into the Exchequer, by way of fine, the sum of 200,000*l.* and reducing the interest of the money advanced to the public from five to four per cent. which made an annual saving of 32,000*l.* On the 15th of May, the King closed the session with a speech in which very angry mention was made "of those incendiaries, who, by scandalous libels, laboured to alienate the affections of his people, to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonour of him and his government, and in defiance of the sense of both Houses of Parliament."*

As soon as the Parliament had risen, Lord Townshend resigned the seals of Secretary of State, which were immediately given to Colonel Stanhope, late ambassador at Madrid, now created Earl of Harrington.

Although the Emperor had the general guarantee of his succession much at heart, he would not say that he would agree to the execution of the treaty of Seville for the sake of that guarantee. On the contrary, rather elated by the inactivity of the allies than depressed by the consideration of their superior power, he had caused a large body of troops to enter the Italian duchies, in order to resist by force the introduction of Spanish garrisons; and a formidable army was stationed on the frontier of the Sardinian territory, with a view to prevent the accession of Savoy to the Bourbon confederacy. Notwithstanding therefore the desire of the Walpoles to effect an accommodation with the Emperor, the conduct of the imperial court made any separate negotiation on the part of the maritime powers extremely hazardous, as they might thereby lose the friendship of France, and even of Spain, without being by any means certain of obtaining that of the Emperor, or of ultimately securing the points in contest. In this situation the court of London, which secretly deprecated the depression of the Austrian power, indicated, and really felt, a disposition to adopt measures of vigorous hostility, in order to put an end to the contest, and force the Emperor into submission; while France, which aimed at the eventual subversion of the Austrian greatness, was slow and reluctant to enter into a war which, it was foreseen, must throw the Emperor into the arms of the maritime powers, who wished for nothing more ardently than a reconciliation with the court of Vienna upon their own terms. From this dilemma Sir Robert Walpole (contrary to the opinion of his brother, Mr. Walpole) determined to relieve himself by a direct and explicit application to the court of Vienna. A secret and important dispatch was sent from Lord Harrington to Mr. Robinson, resident at the imperial court, dated September 25, 1730; a plan or draft of a treaty between the King of Great Britain and the Emperor was in a short time transmitted to Mr. Robinson, conformably to the purport of Lord Harrington's letter; and, after considerable discussion, a treaty was signed, on the 16th of March, 1731. As the Emperor would not condescend to become a party in the convention of Seville, the article of the present treaty—commonly stiled the second treaty of Vienna, though in great measure copied from it—were declared to be merely an extension of the quadruple alliance; and the feudality of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, to the empire, was distinctly specified as the only just foundation of the claim of Don Carlos to those duchies. The faith and honour of Great Britain were indeed maintained, by avoiding to insert any condition into this treaty inconsistent with the engagements entered into at Seville; and especially by obtaining the consent of the Emperor to the introduction of the Spanish troops into Italy; but, at the same time, the King of England gave mortal offence to France by assenting to the guarantee of the Austrian succession; and to Spain, by exacting, as an article of the treaty, that no marriages should take place between the Archduchesses Maria Teresa and Marianne, daughters of the Emperor, and the infants Don Carlos and Don Philip, younger sons of his Catholic Majesty.

On the 21st of January, 1731, the Parliament was again convened; and (the new treaty with the court of Vienna not having then been signed) the session was opened by a remarkable speech from the throne, indicating a very extraordinary and alarming situation of affairs. Strong debates ensued; and an amendment to the address was offered, "That his Majesty should be desired not to concur in a war against the Emperor, either in Flanders or upon the Rhine." Another amendment was afterwards proposed, "That the House would support his Majesty's engagements so far as they related to the interest of Great Britain;" and it was urged by the mover of it, "that the act of settlement, by virtue of which his Majesty held the crown of these realms, expressly provided that this nation shall not be obliged to enter into a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and that the House could not therefore, agreeably to this act, go further than the amendment imported." Some explanations, however, being offered, the original address was ultimately carried, without a division.

Complaints were at this time renewed, from all parts, of the depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the West Indies: and the House of Commons, satisfied of their truth, presented an address to the King, desiring "That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his endeavour to prevent such depredations for the future; to procure full satisfaction for the damages already sustained; and to secure to the British subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation to and from the British colonies in America."

At this period, also, a judicious bill was introduced into Parliament, and passed into a law, for preventing delays of justice occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, and enacting that all those processes and pleadings should be entered in the English language.†

On the 7th of May, 1731, the session was terminated by a speech, in which his Majesty announced the signature of the treaty with the Emperor. By this treaty

* The allusion was supposed to be chiefly levelled at the periodical papers intituled "The Craftsman," supported by Lord Bolingbroke, Mr. Pulteney, &c. in which the measures of the administration were severely attacked.

† In the debate on the pension bill, now for the second time passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords, Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of Bangor, gave high offence, by declaring "that an independent House of Commons, or an independent House of Lords, is as inconsistent with our constitution as an independent, that is absolute King; and that a lover of his country will no more desire to see the one than the other." Lord Carteret, who had recently relinquished his government of Ireland to the Duke of Dorset, now openly joining the opposition, defended the principle, and practical operation of this bill, with great eloquence and energy. In consequence of the Bishop of Bangor's invidious opposition of it, a motion was made for leave to bring a bill into the House of Commons, to prevent the translation of Bishops; which—the utmost influence of the court being exerted against it—was negatived.

his imperial Majesty agreed that Spain should take possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia for the infant Don Carlos, in the mode prescribed by the treaty of Seville; and that the Ostend company, which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally dissolved, on condition that England and Holland should become guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction. The Duke of Parma dying at this juncture, an English fleet under Sir Charles Wager was fitted out, which, having joined the Spanish fleet at Barcelona, convoyed the Spanish troops destined for Italy to Leghorn, Don Carlos himself taking the route of France; when, the imperial forces which had marched into Parma being withdrawn, the infant took peaceable possession of his new territories. Thus was terminated the violent and acrimonious contest, which for the space of ten years had divided the house of Austria from Great Britain, its ancient and faithful ally; and nothing can be more evident, than that the quarrel originated solely in the connection formed by this nation, with the electorate of Hanover, whose interests stood almost constantly and diametrically opposed to those of England.

The treaty of Vienna being concluded without the participation of France, and wholly incompatible with the general tenor of her views, all real amity between the two courts of London and Versailles was now at an end; and a cold exterior civility succeeded to that confidence which had subsisted without interruption for the space of fifteen years. The treaty of Hanover was considered on both sides as virtually renounced by the late treaty of Vienna, to which the States General soon acceded, and which seemed to establish, by the guarantee of the maritime powers, the Pragmatic Sanction, so much the object of French jealousy and aversion, on a firm and solid basis.* The happy effects of the treaty of Vienna were every day more apparent. Cardinal Fleury was of a temper much too pacific to resent seriously the indignity offered to the Gallic nation. Spain was the power which, notwithstanding the accomplishment of her views respecting the Italian duchies, appeared most discontented. Reluctant, to a degree almost of infatuation, to relinquish the hope so long cherished of the advancement of Don Carlos to the eventual possession of the imperial throne, by marriage with the Archduchess Maria Theresa, their Catholic Majesties, previously to the late treaty of Vienna, had sent the Duke of Liria to that court with a view to renew, upon any terms, their former connection with the Emperor.

Sir Robert Walpole seems now to have attained the zenith of his influence, and reputation. The restoration of the ancient connection with the house of Austria was highly pleasing to the English nation; Britain was now on terms of professed and apparent amity with all the great European powers; the navigation and commerce of the kingdom were in a state of rapid and progressive increase; the public finances exhibited evident symptoms of returning vigour; and public credit was fully and firmly established. Under these auspicious circumstances the Parliament was convened (January 13, 1732,) when the King expressed himself in warm terms on the successful measures of his government, and the consequent prosperity of the country. However, when an address was moved by Lord Hervey, in the usual stile of adulation, the indignation of the patriots seemed uncommonly excited; and the whole political system of the court was ably and vigorously attacked. Mr. Shippen moved to leave out the complimentary paragraphs, "and to restrain the address to a general expression of thanks to his Majesty, and of the satisfaction at the establishment of general tranquillity." The most interesting and eloquent speech however, on this occasion, was made by Mr. Pulteney, who declared, "that if we were now right, he was certain that the time had long ago elapsed when we might have been as right with infinitely less expence and trouble." In reply to Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Horace Walpole undertook to demonstrate "the wisdom and rectitude of those measures of administration, so contemptuously derided, and so injuriously arraigned." His speech was no less favourably received by the majority of the House than the harangue formerly made by this minister in vindication of the treaty of Hanover; and the address, as originally moved, was presented to his Majesty, who declared in reply, "that he had no doubt of the continuance of the affection and confidence of the House, and that they should ever find his views tending to the honour, interest, and security, of his crown and people."

A grand effort was now thought adviseable by the opposition, or the country party, as they were generally stiled, to effect a reduction of the standing army. It was argued, "that a standing military force in time of peace had, previously to the æra of the revolution, always been accounted not only superfluous, but unconstitutional and dangerous; that the internal tranquillity of the country might be secured, as heretofore it had been, by the civil power aided by the militia, which, under proper regulation, was as capable of discipline, and as active in exertion, as a standing army; that the number of mal-contents was altogether contemptible; but that the most effectual means of increasing it, was the obstinate perseverance in measures odious and arbitrary; that, though they had all imaginable confidence in his Majesty's regard for the liberty of his subjects, should a standing army be ingrafted into the constitution, another Prince might arise of more dangerous talents and of deeper designs, and employ it for the worst purposes of ambition: that other nations had been enslaved by standing armies; and though the officers were at present men of honour and probity, these might be easily discarded, and the army new-modelled, in order to effect the subversion of the constitution. The expence of this great military force was also insisted upon as extremely burdensome and oppressive to the nation; and it was asserted, that the money raised for the subsistence of 18 or 20,000 men in England would maintain 60,000 French or Germans. Previously to the revolution, it was well known that the people of England did not raise above two millions for the whole of the public charge; but now the current expence far exceeded that sum, and the civil list, the interest due to the public creditors, and the sinking fund, added together, composed a burden of six millions yearly; and though at so recent a period as the accession of the late King the army did not exceed 6000 men, it was augmented, on various pretences to more than three times that number; and further pretences would never be wanting, were Parliament willing to listen to them, for further augmentation." These arguments, however, proved wholly fruitless and unavailing; and, such was the offence given by Mr. Pulteney, by the zealous part he took in this and other political questions at this period, that the King, calling for the council book, with his own hand struck out his name from the list of privy councillors.

At this period Sir Robert Walpole had formed a project, for effecting a radical alteration in the national system of taxation. The principal branches of the revenue might at this time be divided into port-duties or customs—duties of excise—and taxes levied on immoveable property, such as the duties on land, houses, hearths and windows. The latter description of duties the minister considered as of a nature highly oppressive, partial, and inequitable; the various taxes on consumable commodities, to which every citizen contributes in an exact proportion to his consumption; and which, being included in the price of the commodity, are easily and insensibly paid; constituting, in his opinion, the most eligible mode of raising the supplies necessary for the public service. He was also aware of the gross frauds daily practised in the collection of the customs; which, from their very nature,

* During the autumn, England was visited by the Duke of Lorraine, a young Prince of great merit and accomplishments, whom his imperial Majesty had secretly fixed upon as the future consort of the eldest Archduchess Maria Theresa, the sole heiress of his vast dominions. After being entertained with all possible demonstrations of regard, he returned to the continent in December.

and the extreme facility of committing them, he had no hope to remedy. He thought, therefore, that to convert the greater part of the customs into duties of excise would be equally advantageous to the government and to the fair trader; and that the laws of excise might be so meliorated, that, notwithstanding the odium generally attached to them, no just ground of complaint should remain. With a view, therefore, to an essential change in the first species of taxation, and to the eventual annihilation of the last, he brought into the House, in the month of February, 1732, a bill for the revival of the salt-duties, which had been repealed some years back, as a substitute for one shilling in the pound of the land tax; and if this proposal met the approbation of the House, he signified his intention—the land tax being at this time two shillings only in the pound—altogether to abolish that tax in the course of the ensuing session; in which he declared he should rejoice, as the annihilation of a most grievous and intolerable burden. "The duty on salt," he said, "affected, it was true, all classes of citizens, the poor as well as the rich; but the burden of this tax being so equally and generally diffused, the sum contributed by the lower classes of the people would be found, on computation, so trifling, as scarcely to deserve the mention. This tax, while it existed, was never the subject of complaint; and, when it was repealed, no one seemed to think himself benefitted. He knew," he said, "the reproaches he had to expect on this occasion; but he had been long accustomed to be affronted and insulted, both within the walls of that place and without: and while he knew his intentions to be upright, and his only aim to serve his country to the best of his knowledge and the utmost of his power, he should continue to disregard those reflections which he was conscious he did not deserve." After very obstinate debates, the bill passed by 207 voices against 135. During the present session, the pension bill was a third time passed by the Commons, and rejected by the Lords.

On the 1st of June, the King terminated the session, informing the Parliament of the formal accession of the States General to the treaty of Vienna; and declaring his intention of visiting his electoral dominions; and of leaving the Queen, as before, sole Regent during his absence. On his arrival in Germany, he had the satisfaction to receive the investitures of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, so long solicited, and so long delayed.*

A royal charter was at this time granted for the settlement of a new colony to the southward of the Carolinas, to which the name of Georgia was given; and General Oglethorpe, a man distinguished for the activity and ardour of his benevolence, was appointed governor. He embarked at Greenwich, with a number of families, who founded a town called Savannah, on the river of that name. This enterprise excited the jealousy and apprehension of the Spaniards; and as it was difficult, or rather impossible, to ascertain the precise limits of the English colony of Georgia and the Spanish settlement of Florida, a foundation of future dispute and contention between the two nations was unavoidably laid. Previously to the final decision of government respecting this measure, seven chiefs of the Cherokee and other southern Indian tribes were conveyed to England; and being introduced to the King, surrendered, by a formal deed, in the name of their countrymen, all right of property and dominion in the lands now about to be occupied by the new colonists; and in amazement at the riches and magnificence of the British court, they are said to have laid their crowns and ensigns of dignity at the King's feet, requesting to be received in the number of his subjects.

Whilst the King remained at Hanover, the decree of the Pragmatic Sanction was, chiefly through his influence, ratified and confirmed by the diet of the empire, assembled at Ratisbon, notwithstanding the opposition of the Electors of Saxony, Bavaria, and the Palatinate. His imperial Majesty, on the other hand, demonstrated his regard for the King of England by interposing, at his request, in behalf of the Protestant inhabitants of the Archbishopric of Saltzburg, where religious persecution raged in all its fury, and in direct contravention of the treaty of Westphalia. A great number of these wretched victims, abandoning their native homes, took refuge in England; and a Parliamentary provision being made for their subsistence, the greater part of them crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and joined the new settlers in Georgia.†

Parliament was convened at the commencement of the year 1733, when a motion was framed and approved for an address to the King, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the British merchants: to which the King replied, "that the meetings of the commissaries of the two crowns had been delayed by unforeseen accidents, and that a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be laid before the House of Commons."‡ No real progress, however, had been made towards the settlement of these disputes.§

Much attention was at this period excited by the revival of an important commercial bill, which had been introduced the preceding session, and passed by the House of Commons, though lost in its progress through that of the Lords. It was intituled "A bill for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America." The object of this bill was to annihilate the commercial intercourse which, since the treaty of Utrecht, had been carried on with great advantage between the northern colonies of America and the French West India islands: which, in return for the corn, timber, and cattle of New England, made large returns of their rums, sugars, and molasses, to the prejudice of the British islands. By

* During this summer Victor Amadeus, the abdicated monarch of Sardinia, was discovered to be deeply engaged, at the instigation of his wife the Marchioness of St. Sebastian, in intrigues for the resumption of the crown—upon which his person was seized, by order of his son the reigning King, and conveyed to Rivoli; and the Marchioness was committed close prisoner to the castle of Seva.

† At this time, Spain, having a considerable naval and military force ready for action, which had been originally raised in expectation of a war with the Emperor, conceived it to be a favourable opportunity to attempt the recovery of the city of Oran on the coast of Barbary; which, after having been possessed by that nation for 200 years, had been captured by the Moors during the war of the succession. They accordingly landed 25,000 men, under the command of the Count de Montemar, near the place, and both the city of Oran and the strong castle of Mazalquiver, in its vicinity, were, in consternation, evacuated by the infidels. Collecting in great force, however, they attacked the Spaniards in their turn with the utmost fury; but were finally repulsed with much slaughter. The Spanish General, after putting garrisons into the conquered fortresses, returned in triumph to Spain.

‡ Early in this year, died the celebrated Viscount Torrington, immortalised by his victory over the Spanish fleet off Messina. He had been for several years at the head of the Admiralty department, and was now succeeded by Sir Charles Wager, an officer of long experience and great professional ability.

§ On the 18th of January, 1732, a cedula was signed by the King of Spain at Seville, directed to the governors of the Spanish ports in the West Indies, in general and evasive terms "prohibiting all unjust seizures of English merchant ships navigating the American seas—so long as they keep in their proper distances, and are not concerned in any illicit trade; and commanding restitution to be made of vessels and cargoes unlawfully confiscated." Mr. Keene, on the 8th of February following, signed a declaration in the name of the King of Great Britain, engaging "that his Britannic Majesty's ships of war shall on no pretext whatever convoy or protect ships carrying on an unlawful trade with the states belonging to his Catholic Majesty." The general effect of these reciprocal declarations was to constitute Spain sole judge of the doubtful and difficult questions in dispute, through the medium of the decisions pronounced in her courts of Admiralty, to restrain and enervate the exertions of the British naval commanders in the West Indies, and to encourage the Spaniards in the continued practice of their bold and insolent depredations. A particular instance was produced by Mr. Pulteney, in the course of the debate which arose on the motion now made, in which a Spanish ship was seized by a Captain of a British man of war in the West Indies, in requital of an unjust seizure of a British trading vessel. Orders for reciprocal restitution being subsequently issued by the two courts, the Spanish ship was accordingly delivered up; but, notwithstanding the peremptory orders of the court of Madrid, the Spanish governor, on various futile pretences, as the minister himself acknowledged, refused compliance. From the general tenor and spirit of the negotiation, the court of Spain could not fail to perceive how little the court and ministry of Great Britain were in earnest in this business.

the

the proposed bill, which at length passed into an act, heavy duties were imposed on all foreign rums, sugars, and molasses, imported into the American colonies. This act was remarkable, as the first instance in which an actual and express taxation of America was attempted by the British Parliament.

On the motion relative to the army estimates, in the committee of supply, which differed not materially from those of the last year, a violent debate arose; and the arguments formerly urged were again repeated and anew enforced. Mr. Horace Walpole, in reply, hesitated not to assert, "That the number of troops then proposed was absolutely necessary to support his Majesty's government, and would be necessary so long as the nation enjoyed the happiness of having the present illustrious family on the throne."* On a division, the motion was carried by 239 votes against 171. In deliberating upon the supplies to be granted for the ensuing year, Sir Robert Walpole moved that the sum of 500,000*l.* should be issued out of the sinking fund for current services. Between the years 1727 and 1732, various new loans had been made, the interests of which were charged upon different surplusses originally appertaining to the sinking fund, the operations of which were in consequence proportionably weakened; but this being the first open and direct attack upon it, produced a very animated and indignant remonstrance from the patriotic party. Sir William Wyndham acknowledged, "that he had never been without apprehension that violence might be offered to this fund by an enterprising minister, in case of exigency, and in a time of war; but to see attempts made upon it in a season of perfect tranquillity was what he never expected." No impression, however, could be made upon the purpose of the minister; the measure received without difficulty the sanction of the House of Commons; and though, in the Lords, it was again attacked, it finally received the royal assent.†

In pursuance of his grand plan of revenue reform before mentioned, the minister now brought forward his famous bill for subjecting the duties on wine and tobacco to the laws of excise; but, on moving his primary resolution, "that the duties on tobacco do from the 24th of January 1733, cease and determine," 205 members divided against it—the majority, in a house of 471 members, being only 61. A prodigious clamour, instigated in a great degree by those persons whose fraudulent practices this plan was intended to counteract, was artfully and industriously raised against the bill; and Sir Robert Walpole persisting to urge this favourite project with unusual heat and passion—applying the contumelious expression of "sturdy beggars" to the merchants who attended in the lobby of the House of Commons with petitions against the bill—the public discontent was heightened into rage. The avenues to Westminster-hall were occupied by immense crowds of people; and the persons of those members who voted in favour of the bill were grossly insulted, and even their lives endangered. At length Sir Robert Walpole thought proper to move that the second reading of the bill might be postponed to a distant day. The defeat of the scheme was celebrated with general rejoicings; and the minister was burned in effigy and loaded with execrations.

The pension bill, passed for the fourth time, in four successive years, by the House of Commons, was for the fourth time thrown out by the House of Peers. On the 11th of June, the King closed the session with a speech, in which severe notice was taken of "the wicked endeavours that had been lately used to inflame the minds of the people, by the most unjust representations."‡

The

* Mr. Shippen remarked upon this assertion, "That the question seemed at length to have taken a new turn; for, in former debates, the continuance of the army for one year only had been contended for; but now the mask was thrown off, and the House was given to understand that it was intended to be perpetual. This he would not believe could come from his Majesty. His Majesty knew how much the nation was loaded with debts and taxes, and how 'inconsistent it was with our constitution to keep up a standing army in time of peace.'" Mr. Shippen, being called vehemently to order for these last words, declared himself "peculiarly unfortunate; for that, in a former Parliament, he had incurred the severe displeasure and censure of that House, for asserting that the late monarch was unacquainted with the constitution; and he now gave high offence, by declaring that his present Majesty was not unacquainted with the constitution."

† The practice of alienating the sinking fund having once been assented to by Parliament, was continued without intermission: in the succeeding year, 1,200,000*l.* or the whole produce of the fund for the year, was taken from it; and in 1735 and 1736 it was anticipated and mortgaged.

‡ Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, died in the month of January, this year. The candidates for the vacant crown were, Augustus son to the late King, and Stanislaus, whom Charles XII. had elevated to the throne, which, on the decline of that monarch's fortune, he had been compelled to relinquish. Louis XV. King of France, having married the daughter of Stanislaus, supported the pretensions of this Prince with all his power; and the Polish primate, and a majority of the diet, having been gained over by the intrigues of the French ambassador, proceeded to the election, and Stanislaus was unanimously chosen King at Warsaw, September, 1733, and proclaimed with loud acclamations. The imperial courts of Vienna and St. Petersburgh, however, espoused with warmth the interests of the house of Saxony; and protesting by their respective ministers against the election of Stanislaus as null and void, an army of Austrians was assembled on the frontier of Silesia; and 50,000 Russians under General Lasci actually entered Poland, on the side of Lithuania. Being quickly joined by a body of Saxons and Poles of the electoral party, the Elector of Saxony was proclaimed King of Poland by the Bishop of Cracow, and crowned on the 17th of January, 1734. Stanislaus, finding himself wholly unable to resist so great a force, abandoned Warsaw, to his rival, and retired to Dantzic, where he was pursued and closely besieged by the Russians and Saxons. This Prince, however, found means to escape, previously to the surrender of the city, which was followed by a general submission to the authority of Augustus, and a general amnesty was in return granted to the partisans of Stanislaus. Though the court of Versailles failed in their grand object in Poland—in order to be fully avenged upon the Emperor, who had been the principal obstacle to its accomplishment, and whose dominions lay much more open to attack than Russia—the Duke of Berwick received orders to pass the Rhine at the head of a numerous army in October, and Fort Kehl was in a short time compelled to capitulate. The winter months having passed over, he renewed his operations with great vigour. After the reduction of Traerbach, the Duke invested the important town of Philipsburg, and, visiting the trenches, was killed on the 12th of June, 1734, by a cannon ball, leaving behind him a high reputation for valour and military skill. The French General had been opposed, during the whole of this campaign, by the celebrated Prince Eugene, now far advanced in years, in a state of languishment and infirmity, and retaining little resemblance of the hero of Blenheim and Belgrade. Notwithstanding the loss sustained by the French in the death of their commander, Philipsburg was obliged, after a brave defence, to surrender, though upon the most honourable terms. During these transactions the French King had concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, in conformity to which those powers declared war against the Emperor; and the Marechal duc de Villars, the ancient rival of Marlborough and Eugene, was prevailed upon to take the command of the French army in Italy; which, being joined by the forces of Savoy, expelled the imperialists from the Milanese. He survived, however, but a short time the fatigues of the campaign, in which he fully sustained the glory of his name and nation, dying at Turin early in the ensuing spring, at the age of eighty. After the death of this great man, the command devolved upon the Marechal de Coigne; between whom and the imperial generals, the Count de Merci and Marechal Koningseg, various fierce and bloody but indecisive encounters took place. Whilst the Austrians were thus driven from the Milanese, and with difficulty maintained their ground in the Mantuan, the Neapolitan nobility, irritated and oppressed under the government of the Count de Visconti, the imperial viceroy, joined in an invitation to Don Carlos, the infant Duke of Parma, to attempt an invasion of that kingdom. He accordingly entered the Neapolitan territories at the head of a considerable army, and was received in the metropolis with loud acclamations, as the national deliverer. The Count de Visconti, having retreated into Apulia, was followed thither by the Spanish General, the Count de Montemar; who, attacking the Austrians at Bitonto, May 25, 1734, gained a most complete victory. Don Carlos, being now proclaimed and acknowledged King of Naples, immediately determined upon the reduction of Sicily; and the Count de Montemar, landing in that island in the month of August, proceeded with great rapidity in his conquests, the natives displaying every where a disposition rather to assist than to oppose the progress of his arms; and on the arrival of Don Carlos in person, the imperialists were compelled finally to evacuate the island. The Emperor, finding himself unable to cope with his adversaries, applied for succour to his powerful ally, the Czarina, who immediately ordered a body of thirty thousand men to march to his assistance. Before they could arrive at the scene of action, however, a general armistice, both in Italy and upon the Rhine, took place, which was soon followed by a defensive treaty of peace, concluded early in the year 1736, on the terms proposed by the maritime powers; agreeably to which, Naples and Sicily were yielded to the infant Don Carlos; and Parma and Placentia, the patrimonial possessions of the infant, were ceded to the house of Austria, to whom also the other conquests of the allies in Italy and Germany were restored, and France acceded to the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. The reversion of the grand duchy

The session of 1734 was distinguished by a vigorous effort to repeal the act for septennial Parliaments—as a flagrant encroachment upon the rights of the people—as having a dangerous tendency to increase the influence of the crown—and as being actually productive of very pernicious effects.* The motion, however, was negatived on a division, by 247 against 184.

About this time, the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham having been arbitrarily divested of their military commissions, on account of their Parliamentary opposition to the measures of the court, a very dangerous motion was made by Lord Morpeth, eldest son of the Earl of Carlisle, for leave to bring in a bill for securing the constitution, by preventing the removal of officers not above the rank of Colonel, otherwise than by judgment of a court-martial, or by an address of either House of Parliament. The court, alarmed in the highest degree by this motion, exerted the whole force of ministerial ability and eloquence in the House of Commons, in order to defeat it;† and, the question, being put, it was negatived, without a division.—A more moderate motion was then made by Mr. Sandys, "for presenting an humble address to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to inform the House by whose advice it was that his Majesty was pleased to discharge his Grace Charles Duke of Bolton and the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Cobham from the regiments lately under their command, and what offences were alledged against them as the occasion of their dismission." On this occasion, the minister contented himself with calling for the question; and on a division the motion was negatived by 252 against 193.‡

A very important bill, which had several times been proposed and rejected, was now revived by Mr. Sandys, intituled, "A Bill for securing the freedom of Parliament, by limiting the number of officers, civil and military, in the House of Commons." The motion, however plausible, was negatived by 257 against 169.§

A large addition to the naval force of the nation had, in the early part of the session, been unanimously voted; yet, on the 28th of March, a prorogation being almost daily expected, a message was delivered by Sir Robert Walpole from the crown, acknowledging "the zeal and affection shown by the Parliament, and desiring that his Majesty might be enabled, during the recess or interval of Parliaments, to make good such engagements with foreign powers as honour, justice, and prudence, may call upon him to fulfil or contract, and such augmentation of his forces by sea and land as might be necessary for the honour and defence of his kingdoms, and as the exigency of affairs may require, the war on the continent still unhappily continuing." On this occasion, strong opposition was again evinced; and the debate was unusually prolonged by a succession of very able speeches; but the motion for the address was ultimately carried by 248 voices against 147. —On the 16th of April the King put an end to the session by a speech, in which he declared, that "he should think himself inexcusable if he parted with this Parliament without doing them the justice to acknowledge the many signal proofs they had given, through the

---

duchy of Tuscany, now formally relinquished by Spain, was conferred as a fief of the empire, at the demise of the grand Duke, last of the illustrious house of Medicis, upon the Duke of Lorraine, who was destined for the future husband of the eldest Archduchess Maria Theresa, a Princess distinguished for her personal and mental accomplishments, and sole heiress, under the Pragmatic Sanction, of the vast dominions of the house of Austria. The Elector of Saxony was acknowledged as King of Poland, and the duchy of Lorraine was ceded to Stanislaus—who was permitted to retain the title of King,—and, after the death of the titular monarch, to be for ever united to the crown of France, which thus made, under the unambitious and pacific administration of Cardinal Fleury, an acquisition of superior importance and value than any which had resulted from the most splendid successes of Richelieu, Mazarine, or Louvois. The King of Sardinia was gratified by the cession of some small districts of the Milanese; which is said to have been compared, by one of the ancestors of this monarch, to an artichoke, which, from its magnitude not being digestible at once, must be devoured leaf by leaf.

* The opposition being challenged to adduce a single instance in which the interests of the nation had been injured by the operation of this bill, or by any undue exercise of the royal prerogative as connected with it, Sir William Wyndham observed, "that it was reasonable and just to argue against the continuance of a bill of this nature, not merely from what had happened, but from what might happen. Let us suppose then (said he) a man of mean fortune and obscure origin, abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, and pursuing no object but his own aggrandisement, raised by the caprice of fortune to the station of first minister: let us suppose him palpably deficient in the knowledge of the interest of his country; and employing, in all transactions with foreign powers, men still more ignorant than himself: let us suppose the honour of the nation tarnished, her political consequence lost, her commerce insulted, her merchants plundered, her seamen perishing in the depths of dungeons—and all these circumstances palliated or overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered: suppose him possessed of immense wealth, the spoils of an impoverished nation; and suppose this wealth employed to purchase seats in the national senate for his confidential friends and favourites:—In such a Parliament, suppose all attempts to inquire into his conduct constantly over-ruled by a corrupt majority, who are rewarded for their treachery to the public by a profuse distribution of pensions, posts, and places under the minister: let us suppose this minister insolently domineering over all men of sense, figure, and fortune, in the nation; and, having no virtuous principle of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or contaminate it in all:—With such a minister, and such a Parliament, let us suppose a Prince upon the throne—uninformed, and unacquainted either with the interests or inclinations of his people—weak, capricious, and actuated at once by the passions of ambition and avarice:—should such a case ever occur, could any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a Prince, advised by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a Parliament? The existence of such a Prince, and such a minister, no human laws may indeed be adequate to prevent; but the existence of such a Parliament may and ought to be prevented; and the repeal of the law in question I conceive to be a most obvious, necessary, and indispensable means for the accomplishment of that purpose."

† It was urged, "That the great danger to be guarded against in all armies is the raising them to a state of independency. The most important of all restraints on the military in this country is the prerogative vested in the crown, of displacing officers on suspicion, or even at pleasure: but should this power once be transferred to the army, a time may come, nor may the period be far distant, when the whole of our constitution shall be at its mercy. At present, the army itself depends upon the King and Parliament for its very duration and existence. But, give the officers a permanent interest in their commissions, by the adoption of a measure which would convert them as it were into freeholds, and the King and Parliament would soon find themselves dependent upon the army. By this bill a door would be opened for the uncontrolled and uncontrollable commission of every species of military licence and oppression. And should a reduction of the army at any future period be determined upon, is it to be imagined that these military chieftains, with swords in their hands, would contentedly lay them down, and retire to their respective homes, at the requisition of the civil power? No: they would exclaim, where are our accusers? We are by law amenable to our own courts martial only, and to them alone we will submit." The minister remarked, "that the two noblemen lately removed were succeeded by others—the Duke of Argyle and Lord Pembroke—in no respect inferior. And should the motion pass into a law, the government of England would have an irresistible tendency to a stratocracy, or a military constitution. Supposing," said he, "the charges so often urged by the zealous partisans of this motion against a late celebrated general to be well founded—that he cherished views of ambition, contrary to the spirit of the constitution—that he aspired to perpetuate his authority, and to rise above all controuling, by obtaining a commission constituting him general for life—how would the existence of a law such as is now recommended have facilitated the success of those daring projects! And how would such a motion have been received by the gentlemen who now urge it as equitable and wise, had it been brought forward under the auspices of the Duke of Marlborough? And what should induce us to believe that measure to be now beneficial which would then have been universally reprobated as pernicious and unconstitutional?"

‡ The same day on which Lord Morpeth made his motion, in the House of Commons, the Duke of Marlborough presented a bill of similar import to the House of Lords. The debate which ensued was rendered memorable by the eloquent speeches of the Lords Chesterfield and Scarborough, the former—who had recently resigned his post of Lord Steward—in support of, the latter in opposition to the bill. These two noblemen, who ranked amongst the most distinguished ornaments of the English court, had long maintained a mutual and inviolable friendship. Lord Scarborough, thinking it necessary to take a decided part in opposition to the bill, previously resigned his place of Master of the Horse, lest, by an injurious imputation, he should be supposed actuated by any interested motive. Not satisfied with the negative put upon the motion for the second reading of the bill, he urged the rejection of it by the House, which was agreed to without a division.

§ The minister contended, "That the constitution was already sufficiently secured, by the provision which orders a re-election when a member accepts of a place; that to disable any gentleman or citizen from sitting in Parliament merely because he has the honour to serve the crown, was really taking from the people their inherent right of choosing such representatives as they deemed best qualified to exercise the functions of their delegation; and that the state would be divided by it into factions, those acting under the executive power not coalescing with, but constituting a formidable phalanx against, those who composed the legislative; and that it argued an hostile distrust of the crown not compatible with the genius of the constitution."

course of seven years, of their duty, fidelity, and attachment to his person and government, and their constant regard to the true interest of their country." The Parliament, having now sat nearly the full term prescribed by the septennial act, was dissolved on April 18, 1734.*

The new Parliament, which assembled in January, 1735, soon discovered a disposition to support the measures of the administration. The King, in his speech, expressed "his concern at the present commotions on the Continent; and though he had hitherto resisted the pressing solicitations of the court of Vienna for aid in this war, he hoped that his good subjects would not repine at the necessary means of placing him in a situation to act that part which might eventually be incumbent upon him." The House, in a grand committee of supply, voted, in consequence of this suggestion, near 60,000 men for the sea and land-service of the year; though not without vehement opposition. A clause being inserted in the address, assuring his Majesty "that this House will cheerfully and effectually raise such supplies as shall be necessary for the honor and security of his Majesty and these kingdoms"—it was moved that the following words be added, "so soon as the proper information of the state of public affairs should be communicated to this House, and in proportion to such efforts as shall be made by such of the allies who are under the same engagements as this nation, and who are not involved in the war." On the division the amendment was rejected, by 265 votes against 185. Mr. Horace Walpole, however, was not discouraged, from almost immediately moving for a subsidy to Denmark, pursuant to a treaty entered into by his Majesty, with the King of Denmark for that purpose; and which originated, according to the allegations of the mover, in a just and proper regard to the preservation of the balance of power in Europe,† an expression so incessantly in the mouth of this minister, that he was commonly known under the ludicrous appellation of Balance-master. The leaders of opposition treated the motion with indignant contempt; and, though it was carried, 178 members gave their voices against it. The session closing in May, the King thanked his faithful Commons for the supplies they had granted with such cheerfulness and dispatch; and immediately after the prorogation he embarked for the Continent, leaving the Queen sole Regent.‡

The Parliament again met, January 15, 1736. The King mentioned the unhappy turn which the affairs of Europe had taken, observing that a plan of pacification had been proposed by England in conjunction with the States-General, and that the Emperor and France had separately concerted the preliminaries for obtaining that end. On this occasion the addresses in both Houses were carried without a division; the wisdom of the measures adopted by the ministry, and the beneficial result of them, being such as to silence all opposition.§

This session was distinguished chiefly by a motion made in the House of Commons, (March) for the repeal of those clauses in the test act which barred or obstructed the admission of the Protestant Dissenters to civil employments. This motion, though ably supported, seems to have been somewhat unadvised and unseasonable—as being brought forward not merely without the concurrence, but contrary to the inclination of the court, and at a juncture in no respect favourable to its success. It was, consequently, rejected by a great majority. The motion was, by injudicious perseverance, revived in a subsequent session of the Parliament, when it was again negatived. It is remarkable, however, that no considerable or lasting resentment appears to have been excited in the breasts of the dissenters‖ in consequence of this disappointment, so well was it understood

* In the spring of this year the marriage of the Princess Royal with the Prince of Orange was celebrated with great magnificence and public rejoicings; and the Parliament, as a testimony of their entire approbation of this alliance, voted the sum of 80,000l. as a portion to the Princess, and an annuity for life of 5000l. payable out of the civil list. His serene highness the Prince is thus described, in a letter to Lord Townshend, Secretary of State, from the Earl of Chesterfield, ambassador at the Hague.—"The Prince of Orange has extreme good parts; is perfectly well-bred; with an ease and freedom that is seldom acquired but by a long knowledge of the world. The acclamations of the people are loud and universal. He assumes not the least dignity, but has all the affability and insinuation that is necessary for a person who would raise himself in a popular government."

† By this treaty, eighty crowns were allowed for each horseman, and thirty for every foot soldier; and one half to be paid immediately on signing the treaty, and the remainder when the troops shall be delivered. Besides this, his Majesty the King of Great Britain engages to pay to his Majesty the King of Denmark the annual sum of 250,000 crowns banco, till such time as the said troops shall be taken into full pay, and the sum of 150,000 crowns yearly afterwards.

‡ A strict amity had some time subsisted between the two courts of Madrid and Lisbon, which was, in the year 1728, cemented by a double marriage of the royal families—the Prince of Asturias espousing the eldest Princess of Portugal, and the Prince of Brazil the Infanta of Spain, formerly affianced to Lewis XV. King of France. In the course of this year, however, the good understanding between them was interrupted by a frivolous dispute, originating in a real or pretended violation of the privileges of the ambassador of Portugal resident at Madrid. The quarrel ran so high, that the ministers of the two crowns were recalled, and warlike preparations made on each side. The King of Portugal, conscious of his inability to encounter the power of Spain, nominated an ambassador extraordinary to the court of London, to solicit the aid and protection of his ally the King of England. By the efficacious assistance of England, the independency of Portugal and the rights of the ducal and royal house of Braganza had been ultimately established, after a contest of twenty-eight years; and as a just compensation for this great service, very important commercial privileges were conceded to the English nation by the crown of Portugal. Thus the interests of that kingdom became inseparably connected with those of Great Britain. Don Pedro, who succeeded to the throne on the deposition of his brother Alphonso, died A. D. 1706, after a reign of thirty years. His son, Don Juan, faithfully adhered to the political engagements entered into by his father as a party in the grand alliance against the House of Bourbon: but after the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht, the court of Lisbon had cautiously avoided involving herself in the various contentions of the European powers. Upon the present occasion, the court of London adopted, without hesitation, measures the most vigorous and decisive. A powerful fleet, under the command of Sir John Norris, sailed for the Tagus (June 1735,) in order to protect the coasts and the commerce of Portugal; and particularly to convoy the Brazil fleet, then shortly expected richly laden, in safety to Lisbon. The British envoy at Madrid, was expressly commanded to communicate to his Catholic Majesty the resolution of the King of England to grant effectual succours to his ally. Notwithstanding some angry complaints on the part of Spain, this interposition completely answered the purpose intended by it; and an accommodation took place between the courts of Spain and Portugal before the conclusion of the year.

§ In August 1735, the English ambassador at Paris, Lord Waldegrave, held a secret and confidential conference with Cardinal Fleury on the subject of peace; and Tuscany being mentioned, the Cardinal declared, peremptorily, that the Emperor could not have it. Lord Waldegrave then proposed the ultimatum of the maritime powers; viz. the exchange of that duchy for Lorraine. His eminence immediately owned it was the only thing that could satisfy the French nation. A good understanding being thus established between the courts of London and Versailles, and the court of Vienna having now had time to cool, Mr. Robinson was ordered to propose to the imperial ministers the alternative of this plan, or that of the marriage of Don Carlos with an archduchess. To the latter they manifested a fixed and insuperable aversion; but to the former they hastened with secret complacency. The Emperor condescended to intimate to Mr. Robinson the possibility of his acceding to this proposition; but, still irritated at the failure of his lofty expectations, he determined that England should not have the honour of mediating the peace. A direct negotiation was therefore set on foot with the court of Versailles; and in November Mr. Robinson received from Prince Eugene a project of articles, as agreed upon by the two courts, to which the assent of the maritime powers was requested. The court of London, little solicitous as to the mode of reconciliation, signifying her concurrence in the plan, preliminaries of peace were signed by all the belligerent powers early in the following year, 1736—not however without extreme reluctance and chagrin on the part of Spain. His Sardinian Majesty conformably to the policy of the house of Savoy, although his forces were acting in concert with those of France and Spain hesitated not in a letter to the King of England, to avow his purpose of joining the maritime powers in any measures of hostility necessary to prevent the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon from effecting the expulsion of the Emperor from Lombardy; knowing, as he said, that he himself should be the next sacrifice.

‖ About this time a new sect of religionists arose, distinguished by the appellation of Methodists, who soon appeared to be divided into two distinct classes under their respective leaders, Whitfield and Wesley—priests of the English church, regularly educated and ordained—the first of them adopting the Calvinistic, the latter the Arminian dogmas in theology; corresponding in this respect to the sects of Jansenists and Molinists in the Gallican church. Professing still to adhere to the communion of the church of England, of which they boasted themselves to be the only true and genuine members, they preached in the fields to vast multitudes—suffered with patience every insult and outrage—and persisted at the extreme peril of their lives, in

derstood that the King was himself strongly disposed to favour the repeal, and that the minister was actuated by motives, not of animosity, but of an urgent and over-ruling political necessity.

In this session, the Parliament repealed the ancient statutes against conjuration and witchcraft, thereby relieving the English judicial code from a portion of that absurdity, and oppression, by which, in the darkness of past ages, it had been so dreadfully disgraced.

Whilst the King was in Germany, the quiet and tranquillity which prevailed throughout the kingdom was unhappily interrupted by a tumult of a singular nature, which took place in the city of Edinburgh. It happened that at the execution of a man, convicted, under circumstances of peculiar hardship, as a smuggler, the military guard which attended were grossly insulted by the populace; in revenge of which, captain Porteous, the commandant, ordered the soldiers to fire upon the people, without the previous sanction of the magistrate. In consequence of this rash and precipitate order, several innocent persons suffering the loss of their lives, Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received sentence of death; but the Queen, as Regent, was prevailed on to grant him a reprieve. The populace of Edinburgh, however, exasperated in the highest degree at the conduct of this officer, who, is said to have been a man of abandoned morals, determined that he should not escape punishment; and on the evening of the day on which, according to his sentence, he was destined to suffer, the prison of the Tolbooth was forced with such order and deliberate resolution, as afforded a strong presumption that it was the result of a plot formed by persons far above the rank of those usually concerned in similar outrages. Leaving the delinquent suspended by the neck from a dyer's pole, they quickly and quietly dispersed; nor, though a high reward was offered, was it ever discovered who were the perpetrators of this daring act of violence.

During the session, (which commenced Feb. 1, 1737) the government, inflamed with resentment at this atrocious violation of the laws, instituted a Parliamentary inquiry into the circumstances of this affair; in the course of which three Scottish Judges in their robes were examined as witnesses at the bar of the House of Lords. And though it did not appear that the magistrates had been anywise deficient in their duty upon this occasion, a bill was brought in for disabling Alexander Wilson, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, from holding any office of magistracy in Great Britain—for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson—for abolishing the guard of that city, and for taking away the gates of the Netherbow-port, which during this transaction had been shut in order to prevent the troops quartered in the suburbs from entering the city. This bill was opposed by almost all the Scotch representatives, and many other respectable members of both Houses, and the Duke of Argyle, in particular, said, "that he could not think of a measure more harsh or unprecedented than the present bill; and he believed there was no instance of the whole weight of Parliamentary indignation falling upon any individual, and far less upon any community, for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior courts of justice: that should the present bill pass into a law, the Lord Provost and citizens of Edinburgh would suffer by a cruel, unjust, and fantastical proceeding—a proceeding of which the worst use might be made if ever the nation should have the misfortune to fall under a vindictive, arbitrary, and tyrannical administration." The opposition in the Commons was still more vehement than in that of the Lords; and when the bill came to be committed, the commitment of it was carried by a majority of no more than six votes—124 against 118. The most obnoxious clauses were at length rejected, and the whole reduced to an act, disabling the Provost from holding any office under government, and imposing a fine of two thousand pounds upon the corporation of Edinburgh for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. The bill in its altered state was returned to the Lords, who agreed to the amendments. A second bill, containing extraordinary provisions for the more effectual bringing to justice the murderers of captain Porteous, was passed, and ordered to be read for a stated time by the Scotch clergy from their pulpits. Both bills were received with inexpressible indignation by the whole of the Scotch nation.

In the spring of the preceding year (April 1736,) the marriage of the Prince of Wales, now considered as the head of the opposition, having been celebrated with Augusta Princess of Saxe Gotha, in the course of the present session a motion was made by Mr. Pulteney, and seconded by Sir John Barnard, for an address to the King, that he would be pleased to settle 100,000*l.* per annum out of the civil list revenues upon the Prince. This was violently opposed by the courtiers as an encroachment upon the King's prerogative; and it was finally negatived by 234 to 204, though not without producing an entire alienation between the two courts of St. James's and Leicester-House. The Prince of Wales was highly offended, that, out of a civil list of 800,000*l.* per annum, a revenue of 50,000*l.* per annum only should be allotted to him, although his father, when Prince, had 100,000*l.* per annum out of a civil list of 700,000*l.* As this resolution of the Prince to appeal to Parliament embarrassed many who held places under the government, and were at the same time desirous to to keep on fair terms with the successor, he was advised by Mr. Doddington (afterwards Lord Melcombe), whom he admitted into his confidence, to apply for an additional grant of 50,000*l.* per annum; but the Prince replied, "that the nation had done enough for his family already, and that he would rather beg his bread from door to door than be a further charge to them." Many of the Tories, regarded the motion as dangerously democratic, left the House in a body previously to the division, though Sir William Wyndham had taken upon him to answer to the Prince for their assent.

The London theatre having been recently, in various instances, abused to the purposes of personal and political satire, a bill was at this period introduced for the prevention of this great and growing evil: agreeably to the provisions of which, no new dramatic pieces could be exhibited without the express license first obtained of the Lord Chamberlain. This bill passed through both Houses with little opposition, excepting that which it met with from the Earl of Chesterfied, who combated the principle of it with much animation and eloquence.*

The House of Commons having resolved itself into a grand

in those spiritual labours to which they conceived themselves called by a supernatural impulse. Many respectable persons were of opinion, that the government ought in some mode to interfere in order to check these novel and dangerous ebullitions of enthusiasm; but not only was the idea of persecution in every form rejected with abhorrence, but the protection of the law was extended to them upon all occasions; and the wisdom of maintaining inviolate the grand principle of toleration has rarely appeared in a more striking point of view.

* His Lordship declared, "that he regarded this measure as of a very extraordinary and dangerous nature; as a restraint not on the licentiousness merely, but on the liberty of the stage; and as tending to a still more dangerous restraint on the liberty of the press, which was intimately and inseparably connected with the general liberty of the subject. He affirmed the laws, as they at present stood, to be sufficient for the purpose of punishing seditious or immoral performances. The best, and indeed the only mode of avoiding public ridicule and censure was, he said, to avoid ridiculous and vicious actions; for the people will neither ridicule those they love and esteem, nor suffer them to be ridiculed. An administration destitute of esteem or respect among the people will be censured and ridiculed, nor will the severest edicts be found of force to prevent it. If we agree to the bill now before us, what shadow of excuse can be suggested for refusing to proceed a step further, and to extend the prohibition to printing and publishing those dramas which are deemed unfit for public exhibition? Still political satires will appear under the title of Novels, Secret History, Dialogues, &c.; but will you allow, my Lords, a libel to be printed and dispersed only because it does not bear the title of a play? Thus, from the precedent before us, we shall be gradually prevailed upon to revive a general Imprimatur, and then adieu to the liberties of Great Britain! I admit, my Lords, that the stage ought not to meddle with politics; but for this very reason, among others, I object to the bill before us! for I fear it will be the occasion of its meddling with nothing else—it will be made subservient to the politics of the court only. This we know was actually the case in King Charles the Second's days; we know that Dryden

grand committee to take into consideration the state of the national debt, Sir John Barnard moved for a bill to enable his Majesty to raise money either by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent, which sum so raised should be applied towards the redemption of the South-Sea annuities, allowing the preference of subscription to the annuitants.* By this motion, the minister seemed much embarrassed; and it was evident that the executive government entertained no real wish or intention that the public debt, which so materially added both to its influence and its security, should ever be liquidated. Mr. Winnington, therefore, a zealous partisan of the minister, moved that all the public creditors, as well as the South-Sea annuitants, should be comprehended. To this Sir John Barnard objected, that it might be easy for the government to borrow money at three per cent. sufficient for the redemption of a certain proportion of the public debt, though it might be extremely difficult, or even impracticable, to borrow money enough at once to liquidate the whole, amounting at this time to almost forty-eight millions." A bill was, however, ordered in upon the basis of Winnington's proposition, which being warmly attacked, and faintly defended, was finally lost on the motion of commitment.†

Hostilities had scarcely ceased on the Continent between the houses of Austria and Bourbon before a new war broke out between the Russian and Ottoman empires, occasioned, as was pretended, by certain incursions of the Tartar chiefs and tribes into the Russian territories, but in reality by the ambitious and eager desire of the court of St. Petersburgh to regain possession of the maritime city of Asoph—one of the earliest acquisitions of Peter the Great, which he was afterwards compelled to sacrifice, to extricate himself from the extremity to which, in his last war with Turkey, he found himself reduced on the banks of the Pruth. Asoph was accordingly besieged and taken; and, when satisfaction and reparation were offered by the Porte for the injuries sustained by Russia, the Czarina declared her resolution not to relinquish her conquest. The Emperor of Germany, strictly connected with Russia, and impatient to obtain an indemnification for his recent losses, became in a short time a principal in the war; but the imperial armies, no longer led by Prince Eugene, were repeatedly defeated: and a peace was at length purchased at the expense of Orsova, Belgrade, and the entire province or kingdom of Servia, which were ceded to the Turks. The Russians, who had, under the conduct of the famous Marechal Munich, made great and rapid progress in the reduction of the provinces north of the Danube, on their part restored Oczakow, Choczim, and Bender, with the surrounding territory; and the possession of Asoph, the key of the Euxine, was confirmed to them by the Porte. In a short time, the mediation of England was solicited, which, had it been offered prematurely, would probably have been refused: and by the treaty of Belgrade the Emperor was once more rescued from ruin.

Some differences arising respecting the eventual succession of the Duchies of Berg and Juliers between the houses of Brandenburg and Sultzbach, the King of England displayed much eagerness to convert this contest to his own advantage, by endeavouring to secure the reversion of East Friesland, to which he had some obscure pretensions, as a consideration of granting his guarantee of Juliers to the King of Prussia. From this project he was with difficulty dissuaded by the arguments of his minister.

The chief uneasiness of the English ministry at this time arose from the state of domestic politics. Several circumstances concurred to impair the credit and weaken the influence of the administration. One of the most obvious was the decided part now taken by the Prince Wales in opposition to the court, by which he had long conceived himself ill-treated. An improper occasion was unexpectedly seized by the Prince to display his indignation and resentment, by suddenly, and without any previous notice, removing the Princess, (July 31,) when actually in labour, from the palace of Hampton-Court, at which the royal family then resided, to St. James's, where she was that night delivered of a Princess.‡ This produced a message from the King, ordering his Royal Highness to leave St. James's, with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the Princess. Another cause of the decline of the minister's influence was the succession of political tracts and pamphlets continually issuing against him from the press, and for the most part composed with great art and ability. The depredations of the Spaniards in the West Indies also still continued, and even the friends of the minister were compelled to admit, that the long and unexampled forbearance manifested in this instance approached the limits of tameness and pusillanimity.

By far the greatest and heaviest blow, however, which the interest of ministers at this period received, was the death of the Queen, who expired, after a short illness, November 20, 1737. "This accomplished Princess," observes a contemporary writer, was a model of virtuous and exemplary conduct from her earliest years to the maturity of age. Though the Prince of Wales was not permitted during the closing scene to enter her presence, she sent him her blessing, and a message of forgiveness; and she told Sir Robert Walpole that she would have seen him with pleasure, but prudence forbade the interview. At the approach of death she discovered no symptoms of fear, but maintained to the last moment her accustomed fortitude and serenity of temper. She declared, "that she had

---

Dryden, the poet-laureat of that reign, made his wit and genius thus subservient to the designs of the court. When the second Dutch war was in contemplation, he wrote his 'Amboyna,' in which he represents the people of Holland as avaricious, cruel, and ungrateful. When the exclusion bill was moved for, he wrote his 'Duke of Guise,' in which those who were zealous for preserving and securing the liberties and religion of their country were exposed as a faction, leagued together for the purpose of excluding a virtuous and heroic prince from that throne which was his lawful right, on account of his adopting a faith different from their own. The peculiar province of the stage, my Lords, is, to expose those vices and follies which the laws cannot lay hold of; but, under the restraint of an arbitrary court license, it will be entirely perverted from its proper use. To a man bred in the habits of a court, that may appear to be a libel against the court which is only a just and salutary satire upon its vices and follies. Courtiers, my Lords, are too polite to reprove one another; the only place where they can meet with any just rebuke is a free though not licentious stage. But by this bill, instead of leaving it what it now is, and always ought to be—a scourge for fashionable vices—it will be converted into a channel for propagating them throughout the kingdom. Let us consider, my Lords, that arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country but by slow degrees, step by step, lest the people should perceive its approach. When the preparatory steps are made, the people may then indeed see slavery and arbitrary power making huge and hideous strides over the land, when it is too late to avert the impending ruin. The bill before us I consider as a step very necessary to this purpose; and should such design ever be formed by any ambitious King, or guilty minister, he would have reason to thank us for having so far facilitated his attempt; though such thanks, I am convinced, every one of your Lordships would blush to receive, and scorn to deserve."

* Sir John Barnard remarked, that even those public securities which bore an interest of three per cent, only were now considerably above par; therefore there could be no room to doubt that the subscription would immediately fill, were it a condition of the contract that the principal should be made irredeemable for the term of fourteen years. When the South-Sea annuities were thus reduced, the same plan might be adopted for redeeming the capital of the other trading companies, and in time of the whole public debt, without any violation of the public faith; that, by this means, the sinking fund would be so much increased, that in a few years the Parliament would be able to annihilate those taxes which lay heaviest upon the labouring and manufacturing poor; and that the remaining part of it, if faithfully applied, would, in a short time, free the nation from all incumbrances."

† In January this year died Dr. William Wake, who had filled the metropolitan see of Canterbury twenty-one years. Previously to his elevation to that high dignity, he had distinguished himself by the liberality of his sentiments, and the vigour of his exertions, both in convocation and in Parliament; particularly in his contest with Atterbury on the nature and extent of ecclesiastical authority; and in a conspicuous manner at the memorable trial of Sacheverel. He was advanced, on the death of Dr. Tennison, A. D. 1716, to the archiepiscopal chair. On his death, he was succeeded by Dr. Potter, translated from the see of Oxford—a man morose in disposition, and in deportment haughty, but of extensive learning and exemplary morals.

‡ Augusta, the late Duchess of Brunswick, and mother to her Royal Highness, the present Princess of Wales.

made

made it the business of her life to discharge her religious and social duties. She hoped God would pardon her infirmities, and accept the sincerity of her endeavours to promote the King's honour and the prosperity of the nation. She protested that she was an hearty well-wisher to the liberties of the people; and that, if she had erred in any part of her public conduct, it arose from want of judgment, not from intention." When drawing near her end, she repeated a collect of her own composing, fraught with devout and touching eloquence. Then desiring those around her, to join aloud in prayer, that she might hear: as the Lord's prayer was concluded she waved her hand and silently expired. Words cannot express the sensibility and affection of the King during her illness, and his regret for her loss. When the first passionate burst of grief had subsided, he soothed his emotions by talking of her in terms of endearment, and recounting her virtues. He continued the salaries of all the officers of her household, and commanded a list of her numerous benefactions to be laid before him, saying it was his intention that nobody, as far as possible, should be a sufferer besides himself. On her death-bed the Queen had testified to the King the high opinion she entertained of the capacity and rectitude of the minister Sir Robert Walpole. Turning to him, who was also standing by her bed-side, she said, 'I hope you will never desert the King:' and, after a little pause, 'I recommend his Majesty to you.'

Parliament was opened the 24th of January, 1738, with a short speech, recommending the dispatch of public business with prudence and unanimity. Warm and dutiful addresses of condolence were presented by the two Houses on the death of the Queen; but the spirit of opposition acquired from this event fresh animation and vigour; and, a motion having been made for the continuance of the same number of land forces as had been voted the preceding year, a vehement debate arose. In vindication of the motion the ministry scrupled not to affirm, "that, if the army were disbanded, the Tory interest would quickly predominate: that the kingdom was filled with clamour and discontent, which a standing military force only could effectually repress: that the support of the Whig interest demanded the maintainance of this force; and it was hoped and presumed that the House would vote triple the number, if adjudged necessary for this purpose." The opposition replied, that the vindication contained in it a sentence of self-condemnation; for to what cause could the spirit of clamour and discontent be ascribed but to the misconduct of the ministry? In the Lords the same question was debated, the Lords Carteret and Chesterfield taking the lead in the opposition; but the ministry triumphed, and the same number of forces was continued.

Notwithstanding the treaty of Seville, concluded so long since as the year 1729, the Spaniards had never desisted from the commission of those insults and depredations for the prevention of which it was chiefly and professedly made. They now even disputed the right of the English traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and to gather salt in the island of Tortoga, though of ancient and established practice, and never before called in question. On pretence of the illicit commerce carried on by the British West India islands with the Spanish main, armed vessels, known by the name of Guarda-costas, were stationed in the usual track of commercial intercourse; which, on the plea of searching for contraband goods, seized, plundered, and insolently detained a great number of British merchant ships at their discretion; and, without regarding the faith of nations, imprisoning the crews, and confiscating the cargoes. The repeated memorials presented by the British ambassador at the court of Madrid produced no effect. Evasive answers, vague promises of inquiry, and cedulas of instructions sent to the Spanish governors in America, intended merely to amuse, were all the advances which were made towards reparation and redress. The gross and flagrant injustice with which British vessels and their cargoes were seized and condemned by the Spaniards was strongly stated in a memorial presented by Mr. Keene to Don Sebastian de la Quadra, December 7, 1737;* and, in the same dispatch, Mr. Keene urges the absurdity of obliging the English ships, when forced to make the Spanish land, to prove, before a Spanish court of justice, the particular reasons which obliged them to come near the shore.†

Petitions were at length presented to the Parliament, from the mercantile towns and cities, stating the violences to which they had been exposed, and imploring relief and protection. The Commons, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counsel for the merchants, and to examine evidence; in the course of which it appeared that the most horrid and wanton acts of cruelty had, in various instances, been perpetrated by the Spaniards on the subjects of Great Britain. One Jenkins, who appeared on this occasion at the bar of the House, gave a simple and affecting narrative of the savage treatment he had met with from the captain of a Spanish guarda-costa, who, after exhausting his invention in various modes of torture, tore off one of his ears, and bade him carry it to his King; adding, withal, many contumelious and opprobrious expressions. Despairing to escape alive from the hands of this barbarian, he recommended, he said, his soul to God, and the revenge of his wrongs to his country.‡ The House, scarcely less inflamed than the populace with this recital, voted an unanimous address to the King, "beseeching his Majesty to use his endeavours to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects; to convince the court of Spain that his Majesty could no longer suffer such constant and repeated insults and injuries to be carried on to the dishonour of his crown, and to the ruin of his subjects—and in case his applications proved fruitless, assuring him, that the House would effectually support his Majesty in taking such measures as honour and justice should make it necessary for him to pursue." To this address the King returned a gracious and favourable answer; and on the 20th of May, the Parliament was prorogued.

Desirous, however, of avoiding the calamities of war, the minister concluded, during the recess, a convention with Spain; by which his Catholic Majesty obliged himself to make reparation to the British subjects for their losses within a certain period; and commissioners were appointed "for regulating all those grievances and abuses which had interrupted the commerce of Great Britain in the American seas; and for settling all other matters in dispute, in such a manner as might for the future prevent and remove all new causes and pretences of complaint." When the terms of the convention were communicated to the Parliament (which met February 1, 1739,) it was treated with the most poignant contempt and ridicule. It was asserted by the opposition, that Spain, so far from giving up her groundless and unjustifiable claim of visiting and searching British ships sailing to and from British

* "I have orders, Sir," says he, "to tell you that the British subjects complain in the strongest manner of the oblique ways and unjust means which the Spanish officers in the West Indies make use of for condemning and confiscating their ships; viz. the master and crew are detained prisoners on board their ships until judgment is given; but, to save appearances, the governor appoints a Spaniard as party, in room of the proprietors of the ship, who, without ever consulting the master or the crew, makes properly a sham defence, on which the vessel is condemned; and after the sentence there lies an appeal to the council of the Indies in Spain; upon which appeal we conceive no defence is admitted, nor any testimony received or read, but what was admitted before the courts of judicature in America. If this be true, no wonder his Majesty's subjects have not obtained any manner of justice, either in the first instance or on the appeal, where the same party is at the same time both plaintiff and defendant."

† "That pretension," said the ambassador, "could not be sustained should we even suppose that the crown of Spain has solely and exclusively the dominion and sovereignty of the American seas; but such a dominion or sovereignty is what the Kings—predecessors of the King my master—never knew, and what his Majesty will never admit."

‡ The veracity of Jenkins—we know not how justly—has frequently been questioned; and it has been said, that, even when he gave his evidence, his ears were both in their proper places!

plantations, openly insisted upon it as a matter of right; for it was merely the differences which had arisen in the exercise of this pretended right, and not the right itself which they had submitted to discussion. It was observed, "that if the ministry had made the resolutions taken by Parliament in the last session the foundation of their demands, a decisive answer must have been obtained; but this convention, styled a treaty, was evidently no more than a preliminary to a treaty; and a most injurious and disgraceful preliminary. It was an expedient illusory and ignominious, insecure though abject:" and an assertion was risqued, which proved indeed strictly true, that the expense of the commission would exceed the sum ultimately granted by Spain as an indemnification to the mercantile sufferers. It was also objected, "that the regulation of the limits of Carolina and Florida was referred to the determination of these plenipotentiaries; so that the territorial right of the infant colony of Georgia, which indubitably belonged to the crown of Great Britain, was left open to dispute, to the great and manifest discouragement of the settlers, who must deem themselves placed in a most precarious and dangerous situation." The minister at length arose, and vindicated his own conduct, and the terms of this convention, by arguments which perhaps merited a much more impartial and dispassionate attention than at this period of national delirium they could hope to obtain. At length, the question for an address of approbation to the King, was carried by 262 against 234. The numbers being declared, Sir William Wyndham remarked, "that the address was intended to convince mankind that the treaty under consideration was a just and honourable treaty—but if the people refused implicity to resign their reason to a vote of that House, and a vote so circumstanced, will not Parliament lose its authority and influence with the public? Will it not be thought that the kingdom is governed by a faction, determined at all events to support the measures of the minister? I shall perhaps, said he, trouble you no more; but my earnest petition to Almighty God is, that he will preserve this people, whom he has so often wonderfully protected, from the impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewise from that still greater danger which threatens the constitution from within."* In the House of Lords, the Prince of Wales divided in person against the address, and his example was followed by seventy-three Peers—thirty-nine of whom afterwards signed a protest against it. Towards the conclusion of the session the House of Commons voted the sum of 500,000*l.* for augmenting the forces of Great Britain in case of emergency. A motion being made in the House of Peers, by Lord Bathurst, for an address to know whether Spain had paid the money stipulated by the convention, the time limitted for the payment being now expired; the Duke of Newcastle acquainted the House, that he was commanded by his Majesty to inform them that it was not paid; and that Spain had as yet given no reason for the non-payment—Upon which Lord Carteret moved, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach of the convention, a high indignity to his Majesty, and an injustice to the nation. After a vehement debate, the motion was evaded by the previous question.

A violent misunderstanding had arisen during the preceding year between the Regency of Hanover, and the King of Denmark, respecting the petty Lordship of Steinhorst, the revenue of which scarcely exceeded 1000*l.* per annum. The castle of Steinhorst, garrisoned by a slight detachment of Danish dragoons, was carried by assault; and the King of Denmark made great warlike preparations, in order to revenge this affront; which most probably would never have been offered, had not Hanover depended on the protection of England. The King of Denmark, reflecting on his inability to cope with Hanover and her ally, had the address to convert this incident to his own advantage, by concluding a convention with the King of England; agreeably to which he engaged to hold in readiness a body of six thousand men for the service of Great Britain. In return, Denmark, in addition to the stated pay of these troops, was to receive a subsidy of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns per annum, and the Lordship of Steinhorst was ceded to Hanover. When the Duke of Newcastle produced this conventional treaty for Parliamentary ratification, Lord Carteret earnestly requested to be informed what use was intended to be made of the troops; as it was expressly stipulated by the articles of the treaty, that they should neither be employed on board the fleet, nor be transported in whole or in part beyond sea, nor serve against France or Spain, except in Germany or Flanders. The subsidy, however, was granted, without explanation; at the same time, in consequence of a message from the throne stating the exigency of public affairs, a vote of credit, conformable to a similar resolution of the Commons, passed the House; and, on the 14th of June, the session was closed by a speech from the throne, in which the King assured the two Houses, "that he would not be wanting in his endeavours to vindicate and maintain the undoubted rights of the nation, and to answer the just expectations of his people."

Immediately afterwards letters of marque and reprisal were issued against the Spaniards; but the minister, still indulging a hope of averting war, transmitted instructions to Mr. Keene, the British Envoy at Madrid, to declare that the King of Great Britain did not intend to be thereby understood to break the peace, or to deviate from the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; and that he had it expressly in charge to assure the court of Spain, that, as soon as the Catholic King should be disposed to make the just satisfaction demanded of him, reprisals should cease, and give way to an accommodation. The Marquis de Villarias, the Spanish minister, replied, in the name of his Sovereign, "that the King of Spain neither acknowledged the right of the King of England to make reprisals, or to authorise others to make them; that his Catholic Majesty would regard these reprisals as a declaration of war, and that on the first intelligence of such act of hostility Mr. Keene should have notice to leave the kingdom." Lord Waldegrave, the British Ambassador at Paris, having communicated to the court of Versailles the resolution of the King of England, Cardinal Fleury appeared much moved; and, styling it a terrible resolution, told the Ambassador that he sincerely deprecated the consequences which there was too much reason to believe would be found to result from it. The Cardinal, however, offered, through the medium of the French Ambassador in London, the mediation of France; at the same time intimating that his most Christian Majesty, in case of a refusal of his good offices, would be obliged to fulfil his engagements with Spain. The English court replied, that the union subsisting between France and Spain was too strong to permit his most Christian Majesty to act with perfect impartiality in such a mediation, and that this must be considered as a sufficient reason for declining the acceptance of the offer.

England now made the most vigorous preparations; in the month of October, war was formally declared against Spain; and Rear-Admiral Vernon, a rough and resolute seaman, having been previously appointed to the command of the British naval force on the West-India station, universal joy was excited by the important intelligence, which arrived early in the year 1740, that he had taken the city of Portobello, on the isthmus of Darien, with six ships only. The talents of this officer were, in consequence of the glory acquired by

* Sir Robert Walpole upon this occasion, recalled to the recollection of the House, that the gentleman who was now the mouth of his opponents, was twenty-five years before deeply engaged with those traitors who had conspired the destruction of their country: that the only use he had made of the clemency of government then extended to him, was to endeavour its subversion; and he expressed his hope and confidence, that such treachery and ingratitude would produce a union of all true friends to our present happy establishment." Agreeably to the intimation previously given, a great secession of the members in opposition took place during the remainder of this session, and the succeeding year Sir William Windham died, deeply regretted by those who had forgotten his early political attachments, as one of the chief ornaments of the British senate and nation.

this brilliant coup-de-main, thought equal to any undertaking: and one of the most formidable armaments which ever sailed from the harbours of Great Britain, destined for the attack of Carthagena on the Spanish main, was entrusted to his care and conduct.* The command of the land forces, on the death of Lord Cathcart, devolved upon General Wentworth; and it soon appeared that the leaders of this expedition were grossly deficient in the essential requisites of their respective stations. Ignorance, rashness, and dissention characterized all their operations: and after sustaining immense loss, not so much from the ill-concerted attacks made upon the town and its adjoining forts, as from the tropical diseases which raged among the troops, they were finally compelled to a precipitate and disgraceful retreat. After reinforcements had been received from England, and the health of the men restored, nothing was attempted by the Admiral to retrieve his own reputation, or the honour of the British arms; and the nation began to be sensible that they had formed much too high an idea of his character.

This year, a squadron under the command of commodore Anson was detached into the South Seas, to annoy the Spanish settlements in that quarter; but from the injury sustained by storms and tempests, rather than by the opposition of the enemy, the primary design of the expedition proved abortive. The Commodore made however a great number of rich prizes off the coasts of Chili and Peru; and, landing with a detachment of seamen and marines, he took and plundered the town of Paita. The consternation excited by this enterprise extended even to the city of Lima; but his force was too inconsiderable to attempt any permanent conquest. In crossing the Pacific Ocean, he met with and captured a Spanish galleon, bound from Acapulco to the Philippines, of immense value; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope to England, after a complete circumnavigation of the globe, he was received with unbounded joy.†

The session which commenced November 1739, closed April 29, 1740, without producing any remarkable event. The pension bill was, according to almost annual

* Previously to the sailing of the great armament for Carthagena, the court of Versailles again offered its mediation, declaring its willingness for this purpose to act in concert with the courts of Vienna and Lisbon—but this offer was rejected.

† October 20, in this year, died the Emperor Charles VI, the last heir male of the house of Austria Hapsburgh; and, a few days subsequently, expired Anne Iwanowna, Empress of Russia, who bequeathed her crown to Iwan, the infant grandson of her eldest sister the Duchess of Mecklenburgh. This disposition not being agreeable to the Russians, a revolution soon took place in favour of Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Peter the Great by the late Empress Catharine who adopted the same general system of policy with her predecessors, and governed that vast empire with the same uninterrupted success and reputation.—Notwithstanding the famous Pragmatic Sanction, by virtue of which almost all the powers of Europe had guarantied the possessions of the house of Austria to the Archduchess Maria Theresa, now assuming the title of Queen of Hungary, the death of the Emperor seemed as a signal to set the world in arms. Frederic, King of Prussia—who had a few months only before this event succeded to the throne of his father—to the astonishment of the court of Vienna advanced a dormant and antiquated claim to certain districts of the duchy of Silesia; and, to supply all deficiency of argument, he marched a formidable army into that province, and after a rapid succession of conquests made his public entry into Breslau the capital—the Queen of Hungary having rejected with disdain the offer he made to advance a large sum for her immediate accommodation, and assist her with all his forces against whatever enemies might arise, to obtain her consent to the cession of the territory in question. Previously to this period, Prussia had scarcely been numbered among the powers of Europe; and had never been deemed of sufficient consequence to take any other than a subordinate or secondary part in the contentions of the continent. It was not without long and urgent solicitation that the Emperor Leopold had consented to confer the title of King upon the Marquises of Brandenburg; and, as it is said, expressly against the advice and remonstrance of Prince Eugene, who warned the Emperor that he was raising up a rival to himself; and that the acquisition of the royal title would probably incite to future dangerous schemes and projects of aggrandisement. The late King of Prussia was a man capricious, ignorant, and brutal. The relentless despotism which he exercised over his subjects led him to increase the number, and pay the closest attention to the discipline, of his troops; and his insatiable avarice prompted him to the constant accumulation of treasure, gradually arising in a long succession of years to an immense amount, and procured by every species of rapine and extortion. Thus the new monarch now found himself in a condition to undertake the boldest designs which interest or ambition could suggest. The Elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge the title of the Queen of Hungary, alledging that the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia belonged to him, in virtue of an ancient compact, as the rightful heir of the Emperor Ferdinand I. The King of Poland, as Elector of Saxony, unmindful of his obligations to the late Emperor, claimed the whole Austrian succession in right of his mother, daughter of the Emperor Joseph. France, resolving to embrace the favourable moment to abase the pride and annihilate the power of her ancient rival, entered into engagements with the Elector of Bavaria, with a view to elevate this Prince to the imperial throne, and to enable him, in concert with the houses of Brandenburg and Saxony, to seize and divide the Germanic dominions of the house of Austria; the object of the confederacy being to confine the power of the Queen of Hungary within the narrow limits of that remote kingdom. Spain, also desirous of a share of the spoils, advanced her pretentions to the Italian dominions of Austria: and the Queen of Spain, heiress of the house of Farnese, a woman of daring ambition, who gloried, like Catharine of Medicis, in styling herself the "mother of Kings," entertained the project of erecting these dominions into a monarchy, under the title of the kingdom of Lombardy, in favour of her youngest son the infant Don Philip, brother to Don Carlos King of the Sicilies, who also became a willing party in this formidable confederacy against the imperial house; in the general wreck of which, the Austrian Netherlands were alloted to France. The treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded in the spring of 1741 between France and Bavaria—a powerful army under Mareschal Maillebois marching at the same time into Westphalia, in order to overawe the electorate of Hanover: and the King of England, then at Hanover, thought proper to countermand the march of the Danes and Hessians in the pay of Great Britain, who had received orders to advance to the relief of the Queen of Hungary, and to sign a treaty of neutrality for that electorate, as the purchase of which he engaged to vote for the Elector of Bavaria at the ensuing election of an Emperor; although this great concession, by which the imperial diadem was in appearance and probability for ever transferred from the house of Austria to that of Bavaria, was obviously and utterly irreconcileable with the general policy of England, which had for a long series of years considered the power of the Austrian family as the only effectual counterbalance to that of the house of Bourbon. In July 1741, the Elector of Bavaria, having been joined by the French forces under Mareschal Broglio, entered the Archduchy of Austria at the head of 70,000 men, and captured the important cities of Lintz and Passau; but understanding that Vienna was strongly fortified and garrisoned, he determined to direct his march to Bohemia; and Prague surrendering after a short resistance, the Elector made his public entry into that capital, where he was proclaimed and inaugurated King of Bohemia. The diet of the empire being convened at Francfort on the Main, the Elector was unanimously chosen Emperor of the Romans, Feb. 1742, by the name of Charles VII.; and a subsidy of fifty Roman months granted him to defray the expenses of the war. Reduced to the lowest ebb of misfortune, Maria Theresa retired into the mountainous recesses of Hungary, and, assembling the states of that kingdom at Presburg, made in person an eloquent and affecting speech; in which she declared "that she placed her sole reliance upon their courage, fidelity, and attachment; and, holding up to their view the infant Prince whom she bore in her arms, conjured them to protect and defend the sacred deposit which she entrusted to their care; and to show in this crisis of danger, by the generous ardor of their loyalty, the affection and reverence which they entertained for the blood of their ancient monarchs." Moved by this uncommon spectacle of imperial beauty in distress, and fired by the charms of her person no less than the energy of her supplication, this rude but gallant people, drawing suddenly their sabres, replied with loud acclamations, "Moriamur pro Rege nostro Maria Theresa!"—In consequence of the powerful aid she derived from the zeal of her Hungarian subjects, affairs soon began to wear a more favourable aspect. Early in the spring of 1742, the Austrian General Count Khevenhuller, forcing the passes of Scardingen, marched into the electorate of Bavaria, ravaged the whole country, and made himself master of Munich the capital. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had married the Archduchess Marianne, sister to the Queen of Hungary, entered Silesia at the head of 50,000 men, in order to oppose the progress of the Prussian arms. After two fierce encounters at Molwitz and Czaslaw, in both of which the Prussians had the advantage, a peace was concluded through the mediation of England at Breslau (June 1742); by which the entire province of Silesia, the most fertile, rich, and populous, in the whole extent of the Austrian Dominions, was ceded to Prussia. Such was the exultation of his Prussian Majesty at the conclusion of this treaty—the advantages of which so far exceeded his most sanguine hopes and utmost demands at the commencement of the war—that he is said to have declared himself willing to sacrifice his right hand, to insure the perpetual and faithful observance of it. In September following an accommodation took place with Saxony, at the expense of some inconsiderable districts ceded to the King of Poland. The Prince of Lorraine, now advancing into Bohemia, found that the French forces, under the Mareschals Broglio and Belleisle, had abandoned their conquests on being themselves abandoned by their allies, and had now retired under the cannon of Prague, which was immediately invested by the Austrians; and the seige being prolonged for many months, the French garrison was reduced to difficulties which the most invincible resolution only could have sustained. The Austrians, supposing that they must finally surrender at discretion, refused to listen to terms of capitulation; but, by an extraordinary effort of military skill and courage, the French General forced a passage through the Austrian army, and in the depth of winter made their retreat good to Alsace; eluding, by the secresy and rapidity of their marches, all attempts to intercept them. The Emperor, reduced in his turn to the extremity

annual custom, passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords; but the place bill, which was again introduced, with many judicious modifications and numerous exceptions, was thrown out in the Commons, by 222 against 206.

The great popularity of the war tended to heighten the unpopularity of the minister. After the capture of Portobello, and the ill-conducted attempt on Carthagena, the spirit of enterprise subsided: the fleets of Spain sailed unmolested from their harbours, though British squadrons were stationed off the Spanish coasts for the professed purpose of intercepting them; commerce was interrupted by the numbers of seamen pressed into the service of government, and still more by the incredible number of prizes taken by the Spanish privateers; and the discontents of the merchants were unnecessarily inflamed by the rash and passionate answer of Sir Charles Wager, who, when a memorial was presented to him, as First Lord of the Admiralty, for protection and redress, replied, "it is your own war, and you must take it for your pains." The harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk were repaired, by order of the French King, in open violation of the treaty of Utrecht; a French fleet had sailed in company with the Spaniards to the West Indies, for the avowed purpose of protecting the Spanish commerce; and serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Jamaica.

The Parliament was convened in November, 1740; and the nation, throughout all ranks, exhibited alarming symptoms of discontent. Mr. Sandys, one of the leaders of opposition, soon after the commencement of the session notified to Sir Robert Walpole, in the House of Commons, his intention on the Friday following to bring forward a charge against him. At this unexpected intimation, the Minister seemed at first somewhat disconcerted and surprised; but, recovering himself, after a short pause, he replied, "that as he was conscious of no crime, he had no doubt of being able to make a proper defence." On the day appointed, Mr. Sandys accordingly moved "that an humble address should be presented to the King, beseeching his Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to remove the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, First Commissioner of the Treasury, &c. from his Majesty's presence and councils for ever." The motion was ably sustained by the members in opposition, particularly by Mr. Pulteney, who took a severe retrospective view of the conduct of the Minister, from the commencement of his administration. On this trying occasion, Sir Robert Walpole defended himself with such vigour and ability, that

---

extremity of distress, retired to Francfort, where he chiefly resided during the short and wretched remainder of his life, in a state of exile and indigence. In this destitute and forlorn situation, however, this Prince thought fit to issue a commissorial decree against the Queen of Hungary, which was couched in the most lofty terms. On the side of Italy, the Spaniards, to carry their magnificent projects into effect, had assembled, in conjunction with the Neapolitans, an army of 60,000 men at Rimini, A. D. 1742, under the command of the Duc de Montemar, afterwards succeeded by Count de Gages, who attempted in vain to penetrate into Tuscany. And the King of Sardinia, who dreaded with reason the aggrandisement of the house of Bourbon in Lombardy, having declared in favour of the house of Austria, and joined Count Traun the Austrian General in the Parmesan; another Spanish army, under the infant Don Philip in person, entered Savoy, and took possession of Chamberri; and though his Sardinian Majesty returned to the defence of his own dominions at the first notice of this attack, he could not prevent the Spaniards from taking up their winter quarters in Savoy. In the course of this campaign, the army under Count Gages was extremely weakened by the defection of the Neapolitan troops, who were recalled by a mandate of the King of Naples, issued in consequence of the unexpected and unwelcome appearance of an English squadron in the bay of Naples, detached by Admiral Matthews, the British Commander in the Mediterranean, with the peremptory denunciation of an immediate bombardment of the city of Naples, if his Neapolitan Majesty refused to sign an explicit declaration of neutrality. The ensuing campaign in Italy did not at all advance the progress of the Spaniards. Count Gages having, contrary to his better judgment, attacked the combined army of Austrians and Piedmontese under the command of the brave and experienced Mareschal Traun at Campo-Santo, was obliged to retreat with considerable loss, after an engagement which commenced at sunrise, and continued till seven at night by the light of the moon. The Mareschal, being destined to yet more urgent and important services in Germany, resigned his command in September 1743 to Prince Lobkowitz. In Savoy, the infant Don Philip, reinforced by 20,000 French auxiliaries, attacked the Piedmontese lines at Château Dauphine—but was repulsed in repeated attacks with much damage; upon which the French retired into Dauphine, and the Spaniards took refuge in their winter quarters.

Renouncing his compulsory profession of neutrality, the King of Naples reassembled his army in the summer of 1744, and openly joined Count de Gages. Prince Lobkowitz the Austrian General, marching through the papal territories, advanced to the frontiers of Naples; and published, though with little effect, a manifesto, to exhort the Neapolitans to shake off the Spanish yoke, and return to the dominion of the house of Austria. Count Brown being secretly detached by the Austrian commander to attack the town of Velletri, where the King of Naples had established his quarters in a state of perfect apparent security, so successfully executed his commission, that his Neapolitan Majesty escaped in the darkness of the night, through a postern, with great difficulty. But Count de Gages, repairing to the post in person, with great presence of mind rallied the troops, and at length compelled the Austrian General to sound a retreat. The imperial army having suffered much from the excessive heats of the summer, and the consequent epidemical diseases of an unaccustomed climate, decamped in November, in order to take up their winter quarters in Parma. Scarcely had the Austrian commander passed the Tiber, and lost sight of the walls of Rome, but his antagonist Count de Gages, accompanied by his Neapolitan Majesty, entered that city; but finding the bridges broken down, they desisted from the pursuit, and the holy fathes received both these contending powers with the same external demonstrations of joy and affection. In Savoy the infant don Philip, being joined by his allies the French, attacked the King of Sardinia, though strongly entrenched amidst the mountains of Villa Franca; and after an obstinate engagement, this monarch, being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to abandon his posts, and to embark on board the British squadron, then cruising off the coast, which transported him and his troops to Vado. Don Philip now prepared to penetrate through the territories of Genoa to the Milanese; but the British commander, Admiral Matthews, declared that the King of England would consider the permission of the republic as a violation of their neutrality. The Spaniards therefore defiled towards Piedmont, and forced the strong posts of Château Dauphiné, defended by the King of Sardinia in person, who now retreated to Saluces in order to cover his capital, while the combined army invested the strong and important fortress of Coni. Had this enterprise succeeded, the Sardinian monarch would have been reduced to a very critical situation: but Baron Leutrum the Governor, made so gallant a defence, that the infant and the Prince of Conti, who commanded the French army, were compelled to raise the siege at the approach of winter, and to retire with great precipitation to the frontier of France. The campaign of 1745 proved still more disastrous and alarming; for Count de Gages, at the head of the Spanish and Neopolitan forces, passed the Appennines, and directing his march through the territories of Genoa, which—in consequence of provocations no patience could endure—had now joined the confederacy, accomplished a junction with the army of the infant don Philip; and the Austrians retiring before them, the Milanese, Parma, and Placentia, submitted to the dominion of Spain. All Piedmont on both sides the Po was likewise reduced, and Turin itself menaced with a siege; yet the King of Sardinia adhered with unshaken fidelity to his engagements, and rejected with heroic firmness all proposals of a separate accommodation. In the memorable march of Count Gages, whose passage over the Appennines was compared by the Italians to that of Hannibal over the Alps, nothing, as the historian Buonamical informs us, appeared so surprising as the plenty which the army of that General found, when sinking under the pressure of distress, at their entrance into the territories of the republic of Lucca, though in point of natural fertility far inferior to the countries they had traversed. The roads from all the surrounding villages were crowded with carriages, conveying forage and provisions into the camp, at a season of the year when it might have been imagined that the public stores were exhausted. And it was seen and felt with irresistible conviction, that the misery or happiness of the subject, arises not from the nature of the soil, but of the government. In the ensuing year (1746) fortune began once more to smile upon this Prince, when apparently reduced to the verge of ruin. The court of Vienna, no longer pressed on the side of Germany, sent powerful reinforcements into Italy; and the coffers of his Sardinian Majesty being amply replenished with British subsidies, he was enabled to take the field with redoubled force. Early in the spring, Baron Leutrum, the Piedmontese General, recovered Aste, Allesandria, and Casal; Mareschal Maillebois, who now commanded the French armies, retiring into the Genoese territories. On the other side, Count de Gages and Don Philip were compelled to abandon Milan, Pavia, and Parma, and retreat to Placentia, where, in the month of June, they were joined by Mareschal Maillebois. In consequence of this junction, the infant, finding himself at the head of fifty thousand men, determined to attack the Austrians in their camp at San Lazaro, but met with a most severe repulse; and the Austrians, pursuing their victory, in their turn attacked the enemy (August 10) near the town of Tortona, on the southern banks of the Po, the passage of which the combined armies of French and Spaniards effected, not without great difficulty and loss. The infant was in consequence of this second defeat compelled to abandon the city of Placentia, containing immense magazines of ammunition and military stores; and, retreating towards Genoa, after a short interval quitted the territories of the republic, and took the route of Provence. Genoa was now compelled to surrender to the Austrians, who exercised the rights of conquest with such merciless rigour, that the Genoese flew to arms, and in a short time, with a courage worthy of their ancient fame, totally expelled their oppressors. Whilst the imperial Generals kept possession of Genoa, the bank of St. George was exhausted by

that the motion of Mr. Sandys was finally rejected by a great majority.*—After a short interval, a motion to the same purport with that of Mr. Sandys, was made in the Peers by Lord Carteret, and supported by the Duke of Argyle, and the Lords Gower, Bathurst, and Chesterfield. It was negatived, but thirty Peers entered their protest.

In April 1741, the King delivered in person a speech to both Houses of Parliament, informing them that "the Queen of Hungary had made a requisition of assistance from England, agreeably to the tenor of the subsisting treaties—that he had ordered the Danish and Hessian auxiliaries to be in readiness to march for that purpose—that in this complicated and uncertain state of affairs, it might become necessary for him to incur extraordinary expenses for maintaining inviolate the Pragmatic Sanction, for which he trusted they would provide." The Commons assured the King, "that they entirely approved of the measures already pursued, and that they would enable him effectually to support his engagements with the Queen of Hungary." Two hundred thousand pounds were accordingly voted upon the motion of the minister, as a Parliamentary grant or gratuity to that Princess, and 300,000*l.* more to his Majesty, to be employed at his discretion in the manner most conducive to her service; seventy thousand men had been before voted for the army and navy, and the accustomed subsidies granted to Denmark and Hesse Cassel. On the 25th of April, the session closed; and, in the month of December, the new Parliament was convened. The King in his speech expressed his hope and expectation that the two Houses would confirm their resolutions formed by their predecessors for the support of the Pragmatic Sanction, the preservation of the balance ef power, the liberties of Europe, and the security of his dominions. An address of thanks and approbation being moved as usual, a clause was proposed to entreat his Majesty not to engage these kingdoms in a war for the preservation of foreign dominions. Mr. Shippen declared, "that he was neither afraid nor ashamed to affirm that thirty years had made no change in any of his political opinions. He said that he was grown old in the House of Commons, and had lived to see his conjectures and predictions ripened into knowledge."—"I may," said he, "perhaps fall under the censure of the House, and be once more treated as a criminal, for asserting what they who punish me cannot deny—that Hanoverian maxims are inconsistent with the interest and happiness of the nation—that the wise policy of the Act of Settlement ought to be adhered to—and that England ought not to be endangered, in order that the King's foreign dominions may be secured."—The address, as it was originally moved, was however carried and presented to the King. A petition from the electors of Westminster soon coming under the cognisance of the House, the election of the sitting members, who were the court candidates, was declared void by a majority of four voices; and the high bailiff was committed to custody. Other controverted elections having been also decided to the disadvantage of the court, Sir Robert Walpole became sensible that his political career hastened to its termination. Anxious however, to make one effert more to retain that authority which he had so long exercised almost without controul, he caused a royal message to be sent to the Prince of Wales, importing, that, if his royal highness would accede to terms with his Majesty, his revenue should be immediately raised to 100,000*l.* per annum; 200,000*l.* should be advanced for the payment of his debts; he and his friends should be taken into favour, and a suitable provision made for all his followers. In answer to this proposal, the Prince positively declared, "that he would accept of no such conditions, or of any conditions, while public affairs continued under the direction of Sir Robert Walpole—whom he regarded as the bar which separated his Majesty from the affections of his people—as the grand author of the national losses, disgraces, and grievances, at home and abroad." Repulsed in this attempt, the Minister, now in imminent danger of an impeachment, endeavoured in vain to detach from their political connexion some of the leaders of the opposite party: and finding himself on the next division again left in a minority, he declared he would never more enter the walls of that house. On the ensuing day (February 3, 1742), the King adjourned both Houses of Parliament to the 18th; and immediately upon this adjournment Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

Numerous intrigues and negotiations were carried on during this recess; and it soon appeared that a fatal division had taken place amongst the opposition, and that several of them, who had made the loudest professions of honour and virtue, who had repeatedly menaced the Minister with clamours of inquiry and denunciations of vengeance, and who had boasted that no art could dissolve the cement by which they were united, had

---

by the enormous contributions levied by the Austrians, who boasted that the wealth of this proud city was theirs, and that Genoa would in a short time be deluged in blood. And General Botta, the Austrian Commander, is said to have told the Genoese deputies, who pathetically pleaded for the mitigation of their sufferings, that he would leave them nothing except their eyes, to behold the destruction of their country and to weep over its ruins. The Duc de Boufflers, Ambassador from his Most Christian Majesty to the Republic, in his congratulatory address to the doge and senate of Genoa on the recent and glorious expulsion of the Austrians, seemed inspired by all the enthusiasm of liberty:—"What confidence, Serene Prince and most potent Lords," said the Ambassador, "can you place in a court which has attempted to reduce you to the vilest slavery? By the mouth even of its general it has threatened your citizens with the most infamous punishments. But it has not yet been in its power to rob you either of your honour or your liberty. These inestimable things, a thousand times more precious than life itself, you are still possessed of. It is to yourselves you owe this happy revolution, which has been effected without, and even prevented, the succour of your allies. It is your present actions, illustrious republic! which render you the emulators of that ancient Rome, of that senate, the courage of whom the presence of Hannibal and a victorious army then under the walls of that city could not abate."—"The republic," said the doge in reply, "rejoices in having fulfilled her engagements with invincible steadiness. The distresses she has laboured under have only served to augment her courage and redouble her constancy. Intrepid in the most fatal extremities, she has been, and still is, ready to sacrifice all for the preservation of her liberty." In April 1747 the French, under Mareschal Belleisle, once more crossed the Var, and took possession of Nice, Montalban, Villa-Franca, and Ventmiglia, almost without resistance; the Austrians and Piedmontese being employed in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. On summoning the citizens to surrender, they replied, "that they would defend their liberty with the last drop of their blood, and would rather be buried in the ruins of their capital, than submit to the clemency of the court of Vienna." Count Schuylenburg, the Austrian Commander, who conducted the operations of the siege with great skill and vigour, was at length reduced reluctantly to listen to the remonstrances of the King of Sardinia, who represented to him the necessity of abandoning his enterprise in order to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the efforts of the Mareschal de Belleisle. But the Chevalier de Belleisle, brother to the Mareschal, attempting to force the important pass of Exiles, was repulsed with prodigious slaughter; and seizing a pair of colours, with a resolution, on the renewal of the attack, to plant them with his own hand upon the ramparts, he was shot dead with a musquet ball. The troops immediately gave way in the utmost confusion, and the Mareschal, informed of this disaster, retreated back to the Var; and his Sardinian Majesty menaced Dauphine with an invasion in his turn; but excessive rains prevented the execution of his design. The succeeding campaign (A. D. 1748,) which was the last of the war, was distinguished by no very material transaction; the near prospect of peace rendering it equally unadviseable on both sides to risque any hazardous enterprise; and the infant Don Philip was by one of the articles of the treaty put into possession of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla—the King of Sardinia receiving, in conformity to a previous agreement with the Queen of Hungary, and as a just remuneration for the fidelity and attachment he had discovered to the interests, and the courage he had displayed in the defence, of the house of Austria, some contiguous districts of Novara and the Milanese. As soon as certain intelligence had arrived, that the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, the British Admiral acquainted the Senate of Genoa of that event, in a message delivered by one of his captains, who had at the same time express orders to assure the republic how great was the admiration he entertained of the fortitude and valour displayed by them in the defence of their liberties. "Such," says the Italian historian, "is the magnanimity of the British nation!"

* In the course of his speech the Minister animadverted with great spirit upon the indiscriminate use of the term patriotism. "A patriot, Sir!" said he, addressing the chair—"I venerate the name. But then it is the real and not the pretended patriot who is the object of my reverence. In these times, Sir, patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise twenty of them in a night. A minister has nothing more to do than to refuse compliance with an unjust or unreasonable demand, and up starts a patriot. But, Sir, the unprincipled efforts of such patriots I alike disdain and detest."

secretly acceded to an insidious and disgraceful accommodation with the court.*

The new ministry had scarcely entered upon their functions, when the pension bill, formerly the darling object of the patriots, was revived and passed by the Commons, but once more received sentence of condemnation from the Lords; Lord Carteret himself giving his vote against it. A motion made for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the septennial act was vehemently opposed by Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys, and the question was negatived. The place bill, brought forward by Mr. Lyttelton, met with the same fate. The motion for an inquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford, during the twenty years of his administration, was also rejected; but the motion being renewed, and limited to the last ten years, it was with great difficulty carried against the court; a subsidy bill, however, for indemnifying those who should be summoned to give evidence against that nobleman, was rejected, after it had passed the Commons; so that the inquiry proved finally abortive.†

Affairs now reverting to their regular and accustomed channels, the House of Commons was moved, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to resolve itself into a committee of supply; and, conformably to the estimates and resolutions brought forward, upwards of a hundred thousand seamen and landmen were voted for the service of the current year; the sum of five hundred thousand pounds was granted to the Queen of Hungary, and the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse Cassel continued. This, however, was deemed by the court a very inadequate aid; and it soon appeared that the new minister, Lord Carteret, had formed vast and dangerous projects, calculated for the sole purpose of recommending himself to the favour of the King, who was ambitious to signalise his talents, at the head of a grand continental army. With this view, therefore, sixteen thousand regular troops, afterwards increased to a much larger number, were, in the month of April, embarked for Flanders, and were shortly after joined by sixteen thousand Hanoverians and six thousand Hessians, in British pay, and a numerous body of Austrians. The Earl of Stair, created, on the recent resignation of the Duke of Argyle, Field Marshal of Great Britain, was appointed generalissimo of this new army. Invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary to the States General, he exerted in vain the whole force of his eloquence to prevail upon their high mightinesses to concur in the projects of the King of Great Britain. Although the States had previously come to a resolution considerably to augment their forces, they declared their determination to adhere to their neutrality. The English General, finding himself unable, without their assistance, to engage in those offensive operations he had in contemplation, which were said to be the siege of Dunkirk, to be followed, if successful, by a rapid march to the Somme, distributed his army into cantonments in the countries of Flanders, Liege, and Luxemburg. Lord Stair's negotiation proving ineffectual, Lord Carteret was himself delegated with new propositions for the consideration and choice of their high mightinesses:—

I. That the republic should declare war against France in concert with England, &c.

II. That they should garrison the fortified towns in Flanders belonging to the Queen of Hungary, to enable her to employ her troops in the field.

III. That Great Britain should take thirty thousand of the troops of Holland into British pay.

Lastly, To enter into a new treaty of commerce, very advantageous to the republic.

The States General, in reply, declared their reluctance, by entering into the war, to make it more bloody; and they asserted, that the troops of the republic were raised only for the defence of the republic, and they had never hired them out. As to the last proposition, it was acknowledged to be very acceptable, but too dearly purchased at the expence of a war. These answers gave little satisfaction to the English minister, who returned to London much chagrined.

When the Parliament met, in November, the conduct of the new ministry was bitterly arraigned. The motion, however, for an address to the throne, "beseeching and advising his Majesty to exonerate his subjects of the charge and burden of those mercenaries who were taken into the service last year without the knowledge or consent of Parliament," was rejected. In the course of the session, the place bill was again brought forward, and again rejected by the Commons. A motion for reviving the inquiry into the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole for the last ten years, was also negatived.

The Earl of Stair assembled the confederate forces early in the spring (1743,) with a view, as was believed, of penetrating the frontier of France on the side of the Moselle; but being opposed by the Austrian and Hanoverian Generals intrusted with the secret resolves of the English court, the whole army directed its course towards the Maine. On their near approach to Francfort, the Emperor, alarmed with the apprehension of falling as a captive into the hands of the King of England, prepared to fly for refuge, though he seemed scarcely to know whither; but the English commander deputed, without delay, an officer of distinction with a message to his imperial Majesty, assuring him, in the name of the King his master, that the respect due to the imperial dignity should not be violated, nor the city he had chosen for his personal residence molested. The Emperor, notwithstanding, retired first to Munich, and, on the re-approach of the Austrians, to Augsburg, whence he returned, at the termination of the campaign, to his former residence at Francfort. The court of Versailles, which had in vain made advances of accommodation to the court of Vienna, now apprehending the junction of the allies commanded by Lord Stair with the Austrians under Prince Charles of Lorraine, directed the Mareschal de Noailles to assemble an army of 60,000 men on the Maine, while the Mareschal de Coigne was placed at the head of a yet superior army in Alsace, to oppose any attempt of the Austrian commander to penetrate into France by forcing the passage of the Rhine. The King of England, accompanied by his younger son the Duke of Cumberland—now, for the first time, appearing in the field—arrived in June at the camp of Aschaffenburg. Here, however, the monarch soon found himself and his whole army reduced to a very critical situation, by the superior skill and conduct of the Mareschal de Noailles. This General had, early in the summer, taken possession of the cities of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, and, passing the Rhine, had encamped on the east side of the river, above Francfort, in a position which commanded the navigation of the Upper Maine; at the same time occupying all the adjacent posts on the Rhine and Maine,

* The Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham, with their adherents, were allowed to retain their places. The Earl of Wilmington succeeded Sir Robert Walpole as First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and Mr. Sandys was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Carteret took the seals, as Secretary of State for the foreign department, and was regarded as chief minister; and Mr. Pulteney, who refused to accept any office of responsibility, was sworn anew of the Privy Council, and was soon afterwards created Earl of Bath:—but though he had flattered himself with the idea of guiding unseen the reins of government, he was never admitted to the least share of royal confidence.

† Two reports, however, were actually presented by the committee of inquiry to the House, by which it appeared that, exclusive of all the open and avowed means of influence, the enormous sum of one million four hundred and fifty-three thousand pounds had been expended during the last ten years for secret service. Paxton, solicitor to the Treasury, refusing to answer interrogatories put to him by the committee, was committed to close custody, but still persisted in his contumacy; and Scroope, Secretary to the Treasury, through whose hands vast sums had passed, declared, that he could not in conscience, after consulting the ablest lawyers and divines, and laying his case before his Majesty, to whom alone he thought himself responsible, discover in what manner this money had been expended, or to what purposes appropriated. The committee state in their reports, as a subject of serious complaint, that the very magnitude and extent of the evil are become the means of screening it from detection and punishment. Among those whose eloquence enforced a reluctant adoption of the motion of inquiry, no one more distinguished himself than Mr. Pitt, a young man of extraordinary talents, who had risen during the few years he had sat in the House of Commons into high reputation.

so as effectually to bar all access with the surrounding country, and to intercept all convoys of provision or supply. The King of England, therefore, found himself under the necessity of decamping from Aschaffenburg, and directed his march to Hanau, where he expected to meet large re-inforcements. But the Mareschal, foreseeing that the allies would not long be able to maintain their position, had taken his measures accordingly; and on approaching the village of Dettingen, the King of England found the French army drawn up in battle array, with a view to oppose his further progress. No event more favourable could be expected than that the whole army must surrender themselves prisoners of war; but the rash and inexperienced valour of the Duc de Grammont blasted the brilliant hopes of the French; advancing through the defiles, contrary to the express orders of the Mareschal de Noailles, who was compelled to move with the whole army in order to sustain this unseasonable attack, he offered the enemy battle upon equal terms in the enclosed plain. The French charged with their usual impetuosity, but were received by the English with cool and determined intrepidity. The King himself displayed great courage. The French were repulsed with slaughter, and compelled to repass the Maine with the loss of six thousand men. They suffered, however, no molestation in their retreat, the King of England pursuing his march to Hanau, impatient to receive his expected supplies and re-inforcements. The Duke of Cumberland, who fought with great gallantry, was wounded in the action.—At Hanau the King was visited by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Count Khevenhuller. No operations of consequence took place during the remainder of this campaign.

About the latter end of the summer, the allied army passed the Rhine at Mentz, and his Britannic Majesty fixed his head quarters at Worms. Here, the advances of the diet (who, solicitous to restore the peace of the empire, had written letters to the King of England and the States General, requesting, in concert with themselves, the mediation of the maritime powers,) being previously rejected, a treaty was signed with the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia, who engaged to maintain forty thousand infantry and a proportionable corps of cavalry for the service of the Queen of Hungary in Italy.*

In the month of September, the allies, now encamped at Spire, were joined by twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries,—the States General, notwithstanding the solicitations and menaces of France, having been prevailed upon to declare in favour of the Queen of Hungary.† Mareschal Noailles having retired into Alsace, the allies made various incursions, and demolished the entrenchments abandoned by the French on the banks of the Queich: after which they separated into winter quarters. Prince Charles of Lorraine also, foiled in his attempts to penetrate into France on the side of Alsace, by the Mareschal de Coigne, marched back to the Palatinate; and the campaign closed with no decisive advantage on either side. Lord Stair, the English commander-in-chief, threw up his commission in disgust.

Early in the spring (March 1744,) war was formally declared by France against England; and, soon after, by England against France.‡

Great preparations were immediately made by the court of Versailles for the ensuing campaign in Flanders, where an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men was assembled, under the command of the famous Marechal Comte de Saxe, who invested and reduced the towns of Menin, Ypres, and Furnes. The allied army, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, was unable to impede the progress of his arms; which, however, received a sudden and unexpected check from the success of Prince Charles of Lorraine, who, having found means to elude the vigilance of Marechal Coigné, had crossed the Rhine at the head of a numerous army, had secured the passes of Lorraine, and laid the whole country under contribution. Forty thousand men being detached to reinforce the army in Alsace, the allies ventured to approach the French commander, now acting on the defensive; but found no favourable opportunity of attack; and, after various inexplicable and inconsistent movements, they at length retired into winter quarters, without hazarding either siege or battle. In the mean time, all France was in consternation at the progress of the Austrians under the Prince of Lorraine, accompanied by Mareschal Traun. Their schemes of conquest, however, were entirely frustrated by the intelligence that the King of Prussia had a second time entered the dominions of the Queen of Hungary; that the city of Prague and all Bohemia had submitted almost without resistance, being entirely unsuspicious of danger, and consequently destitute of the proper means of defence.

Prince Charles immediately prepared to march to the relief of Bohemia, and repassed, by the light of the full moon, the Rhine, in the face of the French army, commanded by the Mareschals de Coigné, Noailles, and Belleisle, who perhaps had still less inclination than ability to prevent his departure.§ The Prince of Lorraine, under the direction of Mareschal Traun, proceeded from the banks of the Rhine, with

* The allurements held out to his Sardinian Majesty were, an English subsidy of 280,000*l.* per annum, the transfer of certain districts of the Milanese, and the prospect of gaining the marquisate of Finale; her pretensions to which, by an article of this treaty, her Hungarian Majesty most generously assigned over to this monarch; although an actual and unconditional cession of that territory to the republic of Genoa (to which it had anciently belonged, though wrested from her by the violence of the house of Austria) had been made by the late Emperor Charles VI. for the sum of 400,000 golden crowns, for which it had been previously mortgaged; and which sum, it is true, her Hungarian Majesty now condescended to grant her royal permission to the republic to receive from any power willing and able to repay it. The republic remonstrated in the strongest manner against a treaty so injurious to her right; protesting also, in a memorial presented to the imperial diet, against this transaction, and claiming the protection of that august body,—Finale being an ancient and acknowledged fief of the empire. Lord Carteret, however, who had accompanied King George to Germany, and negotiated this affair in person, treated the embassy of the republic with marked contempt, though the Queen of Hungary herself hesitated to insist upon the validity of her claim. In consequence of this injustice the senate of Genoa concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Spain, at Aranjuez, the following year—provoking, by this means, the implacable resentment of the house of Austria, which appeared to deem the absolute annihilation of the republic scarcely an adequate atonement for such an act of presumption. Her Hungarian Majesty had, in the course of the negotiation, remonstrated strongly against the policy of forcing the Genoese to become her enemies: but the necessity of her affairs, the impotence of the republic, and the superior importance of the Sardinian alliance, were urged by the British minister as sufficiently obviating all objections. The terms insisted on by his Sardinian Majesty were, the being put in possession of the Vigevanesco, with that part of the duchy of Pavia lying between the Po and the Thessin, with the privilege of navigating on the Thessin; together with the towns of Placentia and Bobbio, and their dependencies; and all the tract of land from the source of the Nura to the lake Maggiore and the frontiers of the Swiss cantons.

† So anxious was the court of Versailles to prevent the accession of their high mightinesses to the confederacy against them, that M. de Fenelon, ambassador at the Hague, offered to put Dunkirk into their hands during the war, as a proof and pledge of the sincerity and good faith of the French monarch. But the influence of England, supported by the efforts of the house of Orange and its partisans, predominated.

‡ In the declaration of France, the King of England was accused of a violation of his neutrality, and of having dissuaded the court of Vienna from acceding to any terms of accommodation. "The war," says the King of Prussia, "had changed its object. The original idea of self-preservation on the part of the house of Austria had given place to projects of conquest. The success of the court of Vienna had excited its ambition; and there was no longer room to doubt that the dethronement of the Emperor was in contemplation, and that the King of England secretly laboured to effect the same purpose." The pacific Fleury was now no more; and, in consequence of his demise, the court of Versailles appeared far less solicitous to terminate the subsisting differences: and formal reciprocal declarations of war were now published by the courts of Versailles and Vienna.

§ The King of Prussia acknowledges, that the real motive of this invasion was his apprehension that the French would be compelled to conclude such a peace as the Austrian arrogance should prescribe; and that the whole force of the Queen of Hungary would afterwards be employed in the recovery of Silesia; relying, as he tells us, little on the guarantee of England; and knowing that the King of England, in a letter written in his own hand to the Queen of Hungary, had, in allusion to the conquest of Silesia, made use of this remarkable expression—"Madame, ce qui est bon à prendre est bon à rendre."

rapid

rapid marches, into Bohemia, where the Austrians were re-inforced by twenty thousand Saxons; the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, having signed with her Hungarian Majesty a convention for the mutual guarantee of their dominions. This sudden return of the Austrian army entirely disconcerted the projects of the Prussian monarch, who, having advanced with some indiscretion towards the frontiers of the Archduchy, was himself in imminent danger of having his retreat intercepted by the manœuvres of Mareschal Traun. Finding this cautious veteran constantly encamped in inaccessible situations, he had no other resource than to abandon his conquests in Bohemia, and to gain the passes of Silesia, which he effected not without great difficulty and loss, leaving his heavy artillery and magazines in the hands of the enemy.

Count Seckendorf, the imperial general, having been liberally supplied with subsidies from France, had found means to assemble an army, with which he made an irruption into Bavaria, and the Emperor once more took possession of Munich, his capital. This gleam of prosperity, however, was of short duration: knowing that the Austrians, now triumphant in Bohemia, were once more preparing to expel him from his hereditary dominions, destitute of resource, and overwhelmed with a succession of misfortunes, he expired at Munich, January 18, 1745, of a broken heart.

The Grand Seignor, Mahmout V. had observed with inviolable fidelity, during the troubles of the Queen of Hungary, the treaty recently concluded with the Emperor Charles VI. and at this period, from the spontaneous impulse of generosity, he offered his mediation, in order to effect a general accommodation among the contending potentates of Christendom. This offer, however, proved wholly unavailable: in a short time after the death of the Emperor, the Austrian armies entered the electorate of Bavaria; the young Elector, unable to contend against such superior force, was compelled to abandon his capital, and retire to Augsburg; and a treaty was soon afterwards concluded at Fuessen between him and the Queen of Hungary, by which an entire restitution of her conquests was made by that Princess, in consequence of a relinquishment of all claims on the Austrian succession on the part of the Elector, whose voice was also secured in favour of the grand Duke of Tuscany at the ensuing election of an Emperor of the Romans, and his acknowledgment of the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the person of the Queen. The court of Vienna having now secured all the voices of the electoral college, those of Brandenburg and the Palatinate excepted, the grand Duke was, on the 2d of September 1745, declared Emperor of the Romans at Francfort, by the name of Francis I.*

Towards the close of the summer, the French court, desirous of causing an effectual diversion to the English army in Flanders, incited the son of the chevalier de St. George, usually stiled the Pretender, a young man of a sanguine and adventurous disposition, to risk an invasion of England, then almost destitute of troops, and in a state of apparent internal dissatisfaction.

Prince Charles landed in the western islands of Scotland in the month of August, the King of England being then at Hanover. The Lords of the Regency treated the first intelligence of his arrival as an idle tale; but, on receiving undoubted information that he had collected a considerable force, and was advancing southward, they issued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds for his apprehension, and dispatched a messenger to the continent to hasten the return of his Majesty, making, also, a requisition of six thousand auxiliaries, which the Dutch were by treaty under obligation to furnish; and several British regiments were likewise recalled from the Netherlands. Instructions were sent to the Lords Lieutenants throughout the kingdom to array the militia in their several counties; commissions were issued to levy new regiments for the speedy and effectual suppression of this rebellion; many different corps of volunteers were incorporated; addresses were presented from all parts, testifying the utmost abhorrence of this attempt to subvert the government; and, notwithstanding the previous symptoms of discontent, the whole kingdom seemed united as one man in the moment of danger, in support of the national religion, laws, and constitution. Sir John Cope, commander-in-chief of the forces in North Britain, advanced at the head of what troops he could collect to Inverness, in order to oppose the further progress of this adventurer, who, in the mean time, marched by another route to the capital; which surrendering to him without resistance (September 16) he caused his father to be proclaimed King of Great Britain at the high cross of Edinburgh, declaring himself, at the same time, Regent of his dominions, and

* The campaign of 1744 had redounded little to the reputation of the Prussian arms, but the political views of the King were in a great measure answered by it. The French regained the ascendant on the Rhine, where they captured, after an obstinate resistance, the imperial city of Fribourg; and they were enabled to take the field in Flanders with redoubled force and vigour. The King of Prussia opened the campaign of 1745 in Silesia at the head of seventy thousand men; and the Austrians and Saxons having penetrated into that province through the defiles of Landshut, the two armies joined battle at Friedburg, and after a furious conflict, maintained from the early dawn of morning till noon, the Austrians were defeated with great loss; and, retiring into Bohemia, were followed thither by the King. The Prussian monarch however, conceiving himself abandoned by France, whose conquests on the Maese or the Scheld were, as he affirmed to his most Christian Majesty, of no more advantage to Prussia than victories on the Scamander, would willingly have accommodated his differences with the Empress Queen, as her Hungarian Majesty was now termed; but that Princess haughtily rejected his advances: and the Prince of Lorraine received positive orders from the court of Vienna to risk another engagement. An opportunity offering itself of attacking the Prussians to advantage in their camp of Sohr, near Staudentz, a second pitched battle took place on the 30th of September; and though the Austrians seemed at first to have a fair prospect of success, forcing their way into the interior of the Prussian camp, and even carrying off the military chest and the King's own cabinet, they were finally repulsed. In this battle, the brother Princes Ferdinand and Louis of Brunswick were personally opposed to each other, and fought with an emulation of valour. Notwithstanding this victory, his Prussian Majesty thought proper to retire from Bohemia, which he always considered as an ineligible and hazardous scene of military operation, and entered the rich and fertile country of Lusatia; and the Saxons being defeated, (December 15,) by the Prince of Anhalt at Kesseldorf, his Polish Majesty was obliged to abandon the city of Dresden, of which his Prussian Majesty took immediate possession: and, in consequence of the continued successes of that monarch, the Empress Queen was at length induced to sign a treaty of peace at Dresden, January 1746, by which the King of Prussia acknowledged the grand Duke of Tuscany as Emperor; the electorate of Saxony, in consideration of the payment of one million of German crowns, was restored to his Polish Majesty, and Silesia once more guaranteed to Prussia. Vehement remonstrances were made by France against this treaty, which she affected to resent as a violation of the most solemn engagements; but it is evident, that France and Prussia, from the commencement to the termination of their political connection, were actuated entirely by the same motives; and that neither observed any faith with the other further than it happened to be conformable to their own separate interest,—France was in reality too deeply engaged in her favourite projects of conquests in the Low Countries, to entertain any serious intention of granting efficacious assistance to the King of Prussia. Early in 1745, Mareschal Saxe, accompanied by the King and the Dauphin, took the field at the head of an immense army, and invested the important city of Tournay. The allies, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, assisted by Mareschal Conigseg and the Prince of Waldeck, though far inferior in number, determined to make an effort for the relief of the place. On the 11th of May they advanced with great resolution to the attack of the French army, encamped under cover of the village of Fontenoy, and protected by a prodigious fire from the batteries they had planted on all sides. The enterprise was considered as a singular instance of military rashness; but such was the intrepidity displayed by the English and Hanoverian infantry, that the French were driven beyond their lines, and in imminent danger of a defeat: the Dutch failing in their attempt on the village of Fontenoy, and the English General not making, as it is said, the proper use of his first success, by dividing the column of attack after he had broken the centre of the French, Mareschal Saxe had time to bring up his corps de reserve, and the English found themselves enclosed as it were within a circle of fire, from the redoubts which they had already passed, the masked batteries planted on each side, and the artillery, which, under the direction of Mareschal Saxe himself, played upon them with dreadful execution in front. In this situation, the most heroic efforts were totally unavailing, and the allies were compelled to retreat with the loss of more than ten thousand men, to which that of the French was supposed nearly equal. The extent of the misfortune, however, could be known only by the consequences: Tournay surrendered, after a gallant defence, by an honourable capitulation; Ghent and Bruges were captured by a coup de main; Ostend, Dendermond, Nieuport, and Aeth, were successively reduced; and the allies retired for safety beyond the canal of Antwerp: and, at the end of the campaign, the King of France made a triumphal entry into his capital.

fixing his head quarters at the palace of Holyrood-house, the royal residence of his ancestors. On receiving this intelligence, Sir John Cope hastened back to Edinburgh, and on the 20th of September encamped with his army, consisting of about three thousand regular troops, near the village of Preston-pans, in the environs of the capital. Early in the next morning, he was attacked, sword in hand, by the Prince Regent, at the head of about an equal number of Highlanders, who, in less than ten minutes, entirely broke the King's troops, un-accustomed to their ferocious and terrific mode of fighting. Sir John Cope was heavily censured for his presumption and ignorance on this occasion. Colonel Gardiner, an officer of distinguished merit, and himself a native of Scotland, remonstrating with him on the impropriety of the disposition he had made, was treated with neglect and rudeness, and predicted a total defeat; which, however, he disdained to survive, falling gloriously, covered with wounds, in the midst of the enemy, and in sight of his own mansion. In consequence of this victory, the pretended Prince Regent saw himself absolute master of Scotland, a few fortresses excepted. He received large supplies from France, and was joined by the Lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty, Balmerino, and many other persons of rank and distinction; and the enterprise, romantic as it originally appeared, began to wear a serious aspect. The Campbells, the Monroes, the Macdonalds, and other loyal clans, assembled, however, in arms, in defence of the government, under the Earl of Loudon; and an army was collected in England under General Wade, who received orders to march to the north, and proceeded as far as Newcastle. The Pretender, however, resolving to try his fortune in the south, took the route of Carlisle, which surrendered to him in November. Another army, under Sir John Ligonier, was now forming in Staffordshire; notwithstanding which, the Prince determined to proceed, hoping for a co-operation from a body of French forces on the southern coast, and not doubting but he should be joined by great numbers of the English malcontents in his progress through the kingdom. In this expectation, however he was grievously disappointed: at Manchester, only, was he received with any demonstrations of joy. Crossing the Mersey at Stockport, he advanced through Macclesfield and Congleton to Derby, which was the extreme point of his progress; for, understanding that the King had determined to take the field in person, and to set up the standard of England on Finchley Common,—he took a sudden resolution, though he had actually advanced within a few days' march of the metropolis, to provide for his safety by a retreat. This amounted to a virtual relinquishment of his object. No sooner was the resolution formed for retreating to the north, than it was carried into effect with almost incredible celerity. Abandoning Derby December 6, their vanguard entered Manchester on the 9th, and on the 19th they reached Carlisle; and, after re-inforcing the garrison at that place, the rebel army crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, with all their artillery and military stores, eluding the attempts of both the adverse armies to intercept them on this memorable march, in which no violence was offered, no outrage or rapine committed, in a country abounding with plunder, and presenting every temptation to the unrestrained indulgence of military rapacity. On the 21st of December Carlisle was invested by the Duke of Cumberland, and it surrendered on the 30th at discretion. In the mean time, the Prince Regent proceeded to Glasgow, from which place he exacted heavy contributions, in revenge for the loyalty they had displayed in the course of the rebellion; after which he invested the castle of Stirling.

General Hawley, at the head of the royal forces in Scotland, now marched to Falkirk, to relieve that fortress by an attack upon the rebels. On the 17th of January (1746,) however, the General was himself unexpectedly attacked by them, and after sustaining for some time a disorderly and irregular fight, was compelled to a precipitate retreat; though it had been customary with him to boast, that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other. The Duke of Cumberland having arrived at Edinburgh with large re-inforcements, now took upon him the command, and moving towards Linlithgow, the rebels not only abandoned the siege of Stirling castle, but passed the Forth with evident symptoms of consternation; and the Prince Pretender still continuing to advance northward, the Duke, after securing the important passes of Stirling and Perth, advanced to Aberdeen. Early in April, the Duke commenced his march from Aberdeen, and on the 12th he passed the deep and rapid river Spey, in sight of the advanced posts of the enemy, without opposition. At Nairne, his royal highness received intelligence that Prince Charles had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, in order to give him battle. On the 16th, the Duke left Nairne early in the morning, and, after a march of nine miles, perceived the rebel army drawn up in thirteen divisions. About one in the afternoon the engagement began, and the Highlanders attempted, as at Preston-pans, to break the royal troops, by rushing down with their broad swords and Lochaber axes; but being now prepared for this mode of fighting, they received the enemy with fixed bayonets, and kept up a continual firing by platoons, which did prodigious execution. Being thrown into visible disorder, the cavalry of the royal army attacked them in flank; in less than half an hour, the battle was converted into a general rout; and, orders having been issued to give no quarter, vast numbers were slain in the pursuit.*

The Pretender escaped with great difficulty from the field of battle; and after wandering for the space of many months a wretched and solitary fugitive among woods and lakes and mountains, and passing through a series of the most extraordinary and romantic adventures, he found means, on the 20th of September, to embark on board a small vessel, which conveyed him to Morlaix, in Bretagne. Thus ended the last effort of the Stuart family to re-ascend their forfeited throne. The executions which ensued on the suppression of this rebellion seemed much more numerous than the necessity of the case required; and the Lords Balmerino, Lovat, and Kilmarnock, suffered the sentence of decapitation on Tower-hill; as did also the Earl of Derwentwater, without any form of trial, being arraigned on the sentence passed against him in 1716. Only the Earl of Cromarty received a pardon. Both Houses of Parliament presented addresses of congratulation to his Majesty, and of thanks to his royal highness the Duke on this auspicious occasion; and the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds per annum was added, by the House of Commons, to the revenue of the Duke.

On the Continent, the triumphs of Mareschal Saxe in Flanders still continued. The King of France, again taking the field in person, invested the city of Antwerp, which surrendered after a very slight resistance. Mons made a better defence, but was compelled to capitulate before the end of June: and St. Guislain and Charleroy shared the fate of Mons and Antwerp. On the 2d of December the trenches were opened before Namur, and on the 23d that strong and important fortress surrendered to the arms of France. On the 30th of September Mareschal Saxe crossed the Jaar, behind which river the allies were posted, near the village of Roucoux, in order to force them to a battle; and after an obstinate conflict, in which the Prince of Waldeck displayed heroic bravery, the allies

* It has been affirmed, that unnecessary and wanton barbarities were committed on the persons and families of the rebels long after the cessation of resistance; and that the Duke of Cumberland sullied the glory of his victory, by displaying a savage thirst of revenge, and a courage untinctured with the feelings of humanity. As, however, the temper and conduct of this Prince were upon no other occasion tainted with this imputation, it seems candid to believe, either that he was transported into these temporary excesses by that rage which is so frequent and horrid a concomitant and characteristic of civil discord; or that he really conceived these severities to be necessary for the prevention of further resistance on the part of the rebels.

were

were obliged to abandon their posts with the loss of five thousand men and thirty pieces of artillery, and retire to Maestricht: this action terminated the campaign.

The States of Holland began now to be seriously alarmed at the progress of the French, and declared themselves determined to carry on the war with increased energy. In March 1747, the allied forces took the field under the command of the Duke of Cumberland; the Prince of Waldeck and the Mareschal Bathiani conducting the Dutch and Austrian troops under him. The whole army amounted to more than one hundred thousand men; but, on account of the unusual inclemency of the weather, Mareschal Saxe remained in his cantonments, contenting himself with obstructing the supplies of the allied army, and publicly declaring he would teach the Duke of Cumberland, when his forces were sufficiently diminished by hunger and sickness, that it is the first duty of a General to provide for the health and preservation of his troops. In April, the French commander detached Count Lowendahl, at the head of thirty thousand men, to invade Dutch Flanders; and Sluys, Sas-van-Ghent, and Hulst, were quickly reduced. The French General now prepared for a descent on Zealand; and the whole Dutch nation being seized with extreme consternation, violent popular commotions took place throughout all the provinces. The people at large insisted upon the Prince of Orange's being immediately invested with the dignity of Stadtholder; the States-General not choosing, or not daring, to oppose the general sense of the nation, the Prince was on the second of May (1747) declared stadtholder, and Captain-General and Admiral of the United Provinces; and, in the course of the ensuing year, the dignity was made hereditary in the house of Orange. Upon this change in affairs, many spirited resolutions passed in the assembly of the States: an augmentation of the army was decreed, the peasants were armed and exercised, inquiries were instituted into the conduct of the governors who had surrendered the towns on the frontier, and hostilities were denounced against France both by sea and land. Mareschal Saxe, however, advanced with the grand army to Louvaine; and the Duke of Cumberland took post at Laffeldt, near Val, to cover the city of Maestricht. The Mareschal determined upon a general attack, in order to dislodge the enemy, and open the way to Maestricht. The allies defended themselves with great resolution and perseverance; the French were repeatedly broken and dispersed; but fresh brigades continually succeeded those which retired, and the village was three times lost and recovered. At length, the line being dangerously disordered by an impetuous assault of the French cavalry, the Duke ordered a retreat, which was effected with inconsiderable loss, chiefly through the extraordinary intrepidity and presence of mind of Sir John Ligonier, who, at the head of a few British regiments of dragoons and squadrons of imperial horse, arrested the pursuit of the whole French army. He was himself, his horse being killed under him, made prisoner; but the regiments he commanded retired unbroken from the field. The allies, however, notwithstanding their defeat, were able to cover Maestricht from attack; and Mareschal Saxe, perceiving his original project disconcerted, detached Count Lowendahl, with about fifty thousand men, to lay siege to Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, and accounted almost impregnable. The enemy appeared before the walls on the 12th of July, and from this time to the middle of September a tremendous scene of carnage was exhibited. Baron Cronstrom being appointed to the command of the fortress, repeated and desperate sallies were made by the garrison, and mines sprung with horrible success. It was generally believed that Count Lowendahl would be obliged to abandon his enterprise; but some inconsiderable breaches being made in a ravelin and two adjoining bastions, the Count determined upon an assault. The governor, not imagining the breaches practicable, had taken no precautions to guard against the attack, which was made with astonishing intrepidity on the night of the 16th of September. The success of the attempt justified its apparent rashness. The French gained the ramparts, and formed, before the garrison could assemble. The Baron, awakened from his sleep, was informed that the French were in possession of the town, and with difficulty effected his own escape. Thus the enemy became entire masters of the navigation of the Scheldt. Lowendahl was promoted, in consequence of this success, to the rank of Mareschal of France, and the King of France returned once more in triumph to his capital.

The French, however, began to feel the continuation of the war extremely burdensome. They had suffered great losses at sea; their navy had sustained repeated shocks; their commerce was ruined; their finances exhausted; the war in Italy had proved disastrous; the views of the French monarch in Germany were entirely frustrated; the election of a Stadtholder had armed against him the whole power of Holland; and he knew that the courts of London and Vienna were in treaty with the Czarina, who had actually issued orders for the march of forty thousand Russians from the banks of the Wolga to the borders of the Rhine. His most Christian Majesty, therefore, made direct and repeated advances of accommodation to the courts of London and of the Hague; and though they were at first received with coldness, it was finally agreed that a congress should be opened at Aix la Chapelle, which accordingly met early in the ensuing spring, (March 1748;) the Earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson acting as ambassadors plenipotentiary from the King of Great Britain. Mareschal Saxe, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the allies, invested the city of Maestricht; but the preliminaries of peace being signed in the space of a few weeks, hostilities were suspended, and the city, which had been defended by the governor, Baron d'Alva, with such skill and gallantry that the besiegers had made little progress, was happily preserved.

A. D. 1743.] It is now proper to return to the domestic and political transactions of Britain. After the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Carteret succeeded to all the plenitude of ministerial power, and he even seemed to enjoy the favour and confidence of the sovereign in a degree superior to his predecessor. The nation, however, heavily complained that the war with Spain was become a secondary object, or rather was wholly neglected, while the affairs of the Continent only engrossed the attention of the court, and of the minister. An address having been moved in the House of Peers, (December 1743,) in reply to the King's speech from the throne, recommending "measures of vigour," and demanding supplies to enable him to enter into such engagements with other powers as might be necessary for the support of his allies, and the restoration of the balance of Europe; the Earl of Chesterfield rose, and expressed his hope that by "vigorous measures" were not intended such wild attempts and romantic expeditions as might hazard the national honour and safety, without the possibility of advantage; that we were not called upon to squander millions, and stain the fields of the Continent with the blood of our countrymen, without being fully informed concerning the end and object of the war; that we were not to stand alone against the united power of the house of Bourbon, and sacrifice our lives and fortunes for those who will not endeavour to defend themselves. The minister, however, in a speech of great ability and eloquence, attempted to defend the measures of his administration, and the address was carried.—A motion having been made in the House of Commons for the discharge of the Hanoverian mercenaries, Mr. Pitt contended, that there existed no necessity of hiring auxiliary troops, since it had never been shown that either justice or policy required us to engage in the quarrels of the Continent. He declared, in animadverting on that paragraph of the King's speech which called the attention of Parliament to the late change of affairs in Europe, that we had indeed felt a very remarkable change; from one extreme we had run to the utmost

verge of another. Our former minister betrayed the interest of his country by his pusillanimity; our present minister sacrificed it by his Quixotism. Instead of acceding to every, treaty however dishonourable, we now refuse to listen to any, however reasonable. In other respects the nation had experienced no change, notwithstanding the change of a few individuals in the administration; for the same prodigal, corrupt, adulatory spirit still pervaded all the departments of government.

The same question which had been agitated with equal or greater warmth in the House of Peers, was, in the course of the session, renewed with a slight variation in point of form. The Earl of Halifax expressed, in warm and eloquent language, his indignation that England should be condemned to waste the treasure and the lives of its inhabitants in quarrels which either did not at all regard its interests, or regarded them only remotely and consequentially. Lord Carteret, who entered into an elaborate defence of his ministerial conduct, declared, "That a proposition to withdraw all our forces from the Continent, and, instead of courting danger in foreign countries, to sleep in security till we are awakened by an alarm upon our own coasts, would be far less unreasonable than the motion actually before the House; for, doubtless, it is better to enjoy peace, however precarious, than to carry on a war with certainty of defeat, and to rush into the field of battle only to be overborne by the number of our enemies."—"It is evident, upon the whole, then, my Lords," observed the minister, at the close of his speech, "that the war has been conducted with wisdom and success—that the troops of Hanover were not retained but by the counsel and authority of the legislature—that they have been eminently useful in contributing to the expulsion of the armies of France—that, though objections more worthy of notice could be produced, those troops cannot, at this juncture, be dismissed, because other troops cannot be obtained so soon as the exigencies of the war require." The question was at length put, and the motion rejected by a majority of eighty-six Peers against forty-six: but a strong protest was signed by the minority.

During this session, the House of Commons sent up to the Lords a bill making it high treason to correspond with the sons of the Pretender. On the commitment of this bill, the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke moved that the committee be instructed to receive a clause for continuing the penalties and forfeitures legally incurred by the descendants of traitors, to the death of the sons of the Pretender, and which, by the operation of an act passed in the reign of Queen Anne, expired with the Pretender himself. The Duke of Bedford, in a very able manner, stated his reasons for refusing his assent to the motion.* The clause was also vigorously and eloquently opposed by the Lords Talbot, Chesterfield, and others—and defended by the Lords Carteret and Hardwicke, and Secker, Bishop of Oxford, though a measure flagrantly incompatible with the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity. The clause was carried; but, against it, a strong and animated protest was entered.

When returned to the Commons, with this new and unexpected clause, the bill excited great dissatisfaction and opposition. Mr. Fazakerley, its original mover, expressed, indignantly, his detestation of the clause added by the Lords. The House, however, agreed to the amendment, by a majority of eighty voices.†

Admiral

* His Grace "declared his zeal for the security of the constitution, and of the settlement of the crown in the present family, to be in no degree inferior to that of any of their Lordships; and he expressed his conviction that a Prince forced upon us by the armies and fleets of France would be only the viceroy of the monarch to whom he owes his exaltation. Nevertheless," said this nobleman, "Your Lordships will not be surprised that I am alarmed at the prospect of a law like this. I, whose family has suffered so lately the deprivation of its rank and fortune by the tyranny of a court—whose grandfather was cut off by an unjust prosecution—and whose father was condemned for many years to see himself divested of the rights of his birth, which were at length restored to him by more equitable judges;—it is surely reasonable, my Lords, that I should oppose the extension of penalties to the descendants of offenders, who have scarcely myself escaped the blast of an attainder. Whatever may be the malice of our enemies, the ill success of past attempts is a convincing proof that government can have no just cause of fear; that recourse, therefore, need not be had to new degrees of severity, or the enacting penal laws of an extraordinary kind, to prevent that which experience has shown impossible to be accomplished. On the present occasion, my Lords, the people have demonstrated their loyalty by innumerable addresses from all parts, drawn up in terms expressive of the firmest fidelity and the warmest affection—professions which surely deserve far other return than the severity of a penal law, by which one person is condemned to suffer for the crime of another. If it be necessary, my Lords, that subjects should obey their governors, it is no less necessary that governors should not harass their subjects by causeless suspicion; for this will certainly tend to weaken their affections—it may incite them to violate their duties. The multiplicity of penal laws, the establishment of armies, the distribution of pensions, are transitory and uncertain supports of government, which the first blasts of discontent may drive before it, and which have a tendency to produce that rage which they cannot furnish the means of resisting. Ten thousand penal laws cannot so much contribute to the establishment of the present royal family as one act of confidence, condescension, or bounty, by which the affections of the people may be conciliated. We are not, my Lords, to appease the suspicions of the throne by sacrificing the safety or happiness of the people: we are, indeed, to support our sovereign, but not by such means as to destroy the ends for which sovereignty was established—the public welfare and common security. How, then, can we assent to a measure which may involve thousands in undeserved misery, by punishing them for crimes which they did not commit, and which it was not in their power to prevent—and inflicting penalties in order to enrich by forfeitures the minions of a court? But exclusive of these considerations, and to advert to an objection of a different nature, what evidence exists by which it can be ascertained that there never will come a time, in which a superstitious, ambitious, or tyrannical Prince may once more attempt the subversion of the rights and liberties of the kingdom? If then a time so fatal shall ever arrive, and another revolution be necessary, how must a law like this damp the ardour of that patriotism by which all revolutions have been accomplished! Who will be found hardy enough to oppose the crown, when not only himself but his whole posterity are involved in the danger and ruin of a failure? We are to reflect, that the King may not only be in danger from his people, but that the people may be in danger from their King: and as, on the one hand, no privilege should be conferred tending to the encouragement of popular sedition; on the other, no prerogative ought to be endured which may incite to acts of royal oppression. The dependance of the monarch and the subject ought to be on reciprocal affection and mutual assistance; and if I am desirous of securing the throne, it is not by disarming the people, but by placing them as guards before it."

† This year (1743) the Swedes terminated an unsuccessful war with Russia, by a peace signed at Abo, by which they were totally detached from their political connection with France. At the death of the last monarch of Sweden, the celebrated Charles XII. (A. D. 1718,) who had governed with a sway the most arbitrary and imperious, and whose rash and romantic enterprises had reduced his country to the verge of ruin, Sweden found herself in a situation the most favourable for finally abolishing despotism, and establishing a free and equal government on a solid and permanent basis. A diet being immediately convoked, the throne of Sweden was declared vacant—Charles having died without issue, and the claim of his sisters to the succession being barred, conformably to a fundamental law of the kingdom, by their previous marriage. The states, therefore, determined to make an offer of the crown to Ulrica Eleanora, consort of Frederic hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, subsequently associated in the government, to the exclusion of the Duke of Holstein, son of the elder sister, on the express condition that this Princess should declare her readiness to hold the crown in virtue of a free election; and should take an oath to adhere to the new formula or model of government, now, by the authority of the nation, solemnly instituted. "The counsellors and states of the kingdom assembled, having (as they express themselves) experienced the sad consequences of that arbitrary power which has so much weakened and injured the kingdom to the almost irreparable ruin of us all, have seriously and unanimously resolved to abolish entirely a power which has proved so prejudicial." The diet or states-general of the kingdom of Sweden consists of four distinct chambers or houses—the nobles, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants. These, agreeably to the constitution now established, were to be convoked every three years, or more frequently if occasion required; should the King, or Senate in his absence, neglect to assemble them at the expiration of this term, or even should they not convoke them on the very day the states had, the last time they were assembled, chosen to appoint for their next meeting, these should then have a right to assemble of themselves; and, whatever the King or senate should have done in the mean time, was to be considered as void: The time specified for the shortest legal duration of the diet was three months; but the power of dissolution was vested in themselves alone. While the states were assembled, they were in fact possessed of the whole supreme power; the authority of the King and senate was then suspended—they became mere ciphers, having little or no share in the public transactions but what consisted simply in affixing their seals and signatures to whatever the diet should think proper to resolve. The legislative power the States reserved at all times wholly to themselves, the King and the senate not even possessing a negative on those resolutions which directly attacked the regal and senatorial rights. The following powers were also vested in the States alone: those of declaring war or making peace—that of altering the standard of the coin—whenever a vacancy happened in the senate, that of presenting to the King three persons, one

Admiral Matthews, at this time, commanded the British naval force in the Mediterranean. The Corsicans having revolted from the dominion of Genoa, and elected a German adventurer as their sovereign, by the name of King Theodore, were supported and encouraged by this commander, in revenge for the partiality shown by the Genoese to the French and Spanish arms in Italy. Stores having been landed at Civita Vecchia for the use of the Spanish army under the Count de Gages, the British Admiral declared it to be a violation of the neutrality professed by his holiness the Pope, and threatened a bombardment of that city; but desisted in consequence of the interposition of his Sardinian Majesty. The commerce of France and Spain was interrupted, many prizes made, their coasts kept in continual alarm, and the combined squadrons of the two powers were blocked up for several successive months in the harbour of Toulon. On the 9th of February, 1744, they were at last perceived standing out of the road, to the number of thirty-four sail of the line. The English Admiral immediately weighed, and an engagement ensued, which, notwithstanding the great superiority of the British fleet, proved indecisive; and it was afterwards the subject of much discussion. It is admitted that Matthews behaved with heroic gallantry; but he was very ill seconded by some of his officers, particularly by Admiral Lestock, who, with his whole division, remained at a great distance astern. It is not pretended that this officer was really deficient in courage; but he had long been upon very ill terms with his commander, whom he affected to despise, and whose signals on the day of battle he affirmed to be unintelligible and inconsistent. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, suspended Lestock for disobedience, and sent him as a prisoner to England, where he in return accused and recriminated upon his superior. These proceedings became the subject of Parliamentary investigation; and a court martial was appointed to try the delinquents. It appears that the object of de Court, the French commander, whose ships greatly out-sailed those of the British squadron, being to avoid an engagement, the English commander was compelled to commence the attack before the line was completely formed: and he directed his principal effort against the Spanish division, which, sailing in the rear of the French, and at some distance, he endeavoured to cut off—being himself, in the Namur, closely engaged with the Spanish Admiral don Navarro, in the Royal Philip, an immense ship of one hundred and fourteen guns. Admiral Lestock was at this time five miles astern, suffering, by an obstinate adherence to the signal for the line of battle, then flying at the same time with the signal for a close engagement, the rearmost ships of the Spanish squadron to pass him: on which Admiral Matthews, though bravely seconded by Captain Cornewall, in the Marlborough, who gloriously fell in the action, and other ships of his own division, was obliged to relinquish his prey at a moment when he flattered himself that she could not have escaped him, being, according to his public letter, "within musket shot of the Royal Philip, then lying a mere wreck, when the sternmost ships of the enemy came up and tore him to pieces." In the result, Admiral Lestock, to the general surprise and indignation, was honourably acquitted, and Admiral Matthews declared incapable of serving for the future in his Majesty's navy. The King is said to have expressed in warm terms his disapprobation of this decision; and, when an elaborate technical vindication of the sentence of the court-martial was offered, he indignantly replied, "that he knew but

---

one of whom his Majesty was bound to make choice of to fill the vacant office—lastly, that of dismissing any member of the senate whose conduct they disapproved. During the session of the diet, a standing secret committee was chosen, selected from the three orders of nobles, clergy, and burghers, of which one half were nobles—the order of peasants being too mean and insignificant to be associated in this commission—by which the ordinary functions of the senate were almost entirely superseded, and the executive powers of the government exclusively exercised. With regard to the judicial power, the States assumed to themselves a right of exercising that also, whenever they thought proper, by taking at pleasure causes out of the high courts of justice established by law, to try them before a temporary tribunal erected by themselves, and composed of their own members. Nothing, therefore, could be more formidable than the power of this assembly, or more subversive of liberty; as, in reality, it united within itself the legislative, judicial, and executive powers—and as the province and jurisdiction of the occasional tribunal comprehended all cases of treason, sedition, and public libel, it was evidently, at the same time, both judge and party. Even during the intervals of the diets, the King was little more than a cipher of state, and was distinguished from the other senators, consisting of fourteen in number, only by the privilege of a double voice in the first instance, and of a casting vote in case of an equality of voices. The senate were empowered to assemble themselves whenever they thought proper, and to transact the national business whether the King were present or not; and to their resolutions his Majesty was obliged to affix his signature. The great employments of the state were conferred by a majority of voices in the senate; and to others of inferior importance three persons were nominated by the senate, one of whom the King was obliged to appoint. Thus the outward pomp and decorations of Majesty were almost all that remained of a prerogative lately so formidable. The fixed policy of the leading men originally concerned in framing the new form of government, who were persons of virtue and probity, and, in all probability, far from being sensible of its imperfections, was, to renounce all ambition of foreign conquests, and assiduously to cultivate the friendship of Russia, the superiority of whose power they had so fatally experienced. The influence of Russia continued, with little interruption, to predominate in their councils till the meeting of the diet in 1738; when, through the profusion of French gold previously distributed among its members, a great majority appeared determined to abandon the alliance of Russia, and to enter into a strict connection with the court of Versailles; which flattered them with the chimerical hope of recovering, by a rupture with the court of St. Petersburgh, their long lost provinces. At the instance of the French minister, war was actually declared by Sweden against Russia, without any just reasons or even plausible pretences; the real motive on the part of France being, to prevent the Czarina from interposing in the affairs of the empire. This war was undertaken by Sweden at a time when the armies of Russia were returning triumphant from the Turkish campaigns; and the success was such as might be reasonably expected: the Swedish army in Finland was destroyed, and the whole of that country lost. The Generals Lewenhaupt and Buddenbroek were sacrificed to the fury of a faction. The government of Sweden, alarmed at the rapid progress of the Russians, were compelled to solicit a peace, which was granted upon very moderate terms; Russia restoring the whole of her conquests, a small district to the eastward of the Kymen only excepted; and, in return, the Swedes renewed their alliance with Russia, and agreed to appoint Adolphus Frederic, Bishop of Lubec, a Prince of the house of Holstein, nearly related to the Empress Elizabeth, successor to the present King; the young Duke of Holstein, grandson of the elder sister of Ulrica, being destined to the succession of Russia, as nephew to the Empress, on his previous and formal renunciation of all claim to the crown of Sweden. Though France had thus lost one useful ally, she made vigorous efforts to indemnify herself by the acquisition of another—the contiguous kingdom of Denmark. From the memorable æra in which the Danes made a voluntary surrender of their ancient liberties to the monarch, the Kings of Denmark had been possessed of authority not inferior to that of any sovereigns in Christendom; and the want of ability, rather than of inclination, had since prevented them from making a more conspicuous figure in the general history of Europe; as they never appeared reluctant or scrupulous in embracing any favourable opportunity of aggrandisement. Christiern V. who succeeded to the throne A. D. 1670, waged unsuccessful war with the Swedes, in the vain hope of recovering the beautiful provinces of Halland, Schonen, and Bleking, lost by his father Frederic III. and ceded to Sweden by the treaty of Roschild, 1658. Christiern dying in 1699 was succeeded by his son Frederic IV. who, joining the confederacy against Charles XII. was besieged by that monarch in his capital, and compelled to submit to the terms dictated by Sweden, under the mediation of England and Holland, at the treaty of Travendahl. After the decline of that monarch's fortunes, Frederic renewed the war, and seized upon the duchies of Bremen, Verden, and Sleswic; the latter of which was guaranteed to Denmark by King George I. in return for the cession of the two former to Hanover. This monarch dying A. D. 1730 was succeeded by Christiern VI. a sagacious and pacific Prince, who aspired, nevertheless, when the succession to the throne of Sweden was vacant, to revive the ancient and celebrated union of Calmar; and to combine, by an indissoluble federation, the three Scandinavian kingdoms into one empire, under one head, in the person of his son. Flattered with the aid and assistance of France in the accomplishment of this great object of his ambition, he relinquished, at this period, the alliance, and refused the subsidies, of Great Britain, in order to connect himself with that rival power. But, though the idea of this union was very popular in Sweden, and was supported by a very strong party in the diet, the opposing politics of Russia proved finally successful; and the King of Denmark desisted from the further prosecution of a project which it was become too hazardous to attempt to enforce. The Czarina declared, that, if the Swedes were attacked, she would assist them with the whole force of her empire. The good understanding between Denmark and Great Britain was, immediately on the relinquishment of this visionary scheme, restored and cemented by the marriage of Frederic, Prince Royal of Denmark, with Louisa, youngest daughter of his Britannic Majesty, which took place towards the conclusion of the year 1743. The King of Denmark survived this alliance, which was productive of general satisfaction to the inhabitants of both kingdoms,

but little of naval phraseology; but this," said he, "I know, that Matthews did fight, and that Lestock did not."*

Lord Carteret, now Earl of Granville, had insinuated himself so far into the good graces of his sovereign as to excite, in a high degree, the apprehension and dislike of the Duke of Newcastle and his brother, Mr. Pelham, who secretly intrigued with the popular leaders in Parliament to effect the downfal of this minister. The Earl, comprehending the nature and extent of the combination against him, and sensible of his own unpopularity, heightened by the ill success of the war, avoided the conflict by a voluntary resignation (in November) of his employments; in which he was followed by Mr. Sandys, created Lord Sandys, and various others. Mr. Pelham, who on the death of Lord Wilmington had succeeded to the direction of the board of Treasury, was now nominated Chancellor of the Exchequer, and may be considered from this period as first minister. The Earl of Chesterfield was appointed to the government of Ireland, the Duke of Bedford placed at the head of the Admiralty, the Lords Gower and Cobham re-instated in their former posts, and, after an interval of delay and reluctance on the part of the court, Mr. Pitt constituted paymaster of the forces, and sworn a member of the privy council. Several of the Tories were admitted to offices in consequence of this coalition of parties; and Sir John Hynde Cotton and Sir John Phelps, were—for a time of short duration indeed, "a little month"—transformed into courtiers and placemen.

Parliament met in December; and it soon appeared that the result of the late changes was by no means unfavourable to the views of the court. However, the House was moved, (January 1745,) that an act made in the fourth year of Edward III. intituled "A Parliament shall be holden once every year," and also that an act made in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of King Edward III. intituled "A Parliament shall be holden once every year," shall be read; and the acts being read accordingly, Mr. Carew arose, and declared his determination to bring to a decisive test the sincerity of those professions which the ministers of the crown recently appointed to their offices had, for so many successive years, accustomed themselves to repeat within the walls of that House; and, from the fate of the question he was about to propose, a judgment might be formed whether the present ministers themselves merited those severe appellations which they had so lavishly bestowed upon their predecessors. It was not enough, he said, for the satisfaction of the impartial and intelligent public, that the new ministers should give a simple assent to the motion he had in contemplation; for, if they had coalesced with persons whose influence was, upon trial, found sufficiently powerful to defeat all efforts of political reform, it was incumbent upon them immediately to relinquish those offices which they had so precipitately accepted without any stipulations in favour of the public, and unreservedly to declare against those with whom they had so rashly united. After he had entered into the subject at great length, Mr. Carew concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to enforce the calling of a new Parliament every year after the expiration of this present Parliament. This motion was very ably seconded by Mr. Sydenham, and opposed by Sir William Yonge, Secretary at War; but the principal ministers of the crown observed a profound silence; and, on the division, the question was negatived by a majority of thirty-two voices only, in a House of two hundred and sixty-three members. No attempt at Parliamentary reform, in any shape, after this, was made for thirteen years, when a motion for shortening the duration of Parliaments was negatived almost without a discussion.

The Earl of Chesterfield, before his departure for the government of Ireland, was invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the States-General, to endeavour to prevail upon their high mightinesses to take a more active and decisive part in the war. Incessantly urged and incited by the whole power and influence of the Orange faction, the States at length acceded to the substance of the ambassador's proposals, and engaged to maintain an army of fifty thousand men in the field, exclusive of garrisons; but, torn by intestine division and animosity, the terms of the treaty were, after the conclusion of it, little attended to; and though the proportion of expence to be borne by Holland was mitigated from two-fifths to one-third, the danger to which the republic was exposed was neither sufficiently urgent nor obvious to excite a spirit of national ardour or unanimity. On the Earl of Chesterfield's return from this embassy, he repaired to his government; and, during his continuance in that high office, he executed the duties of it with a vigilance, attention, and fidelity, which gave the most perfect satisfaction to the Irish nation.†

In the course of this summer, a great number of rich prizes were captured from the enemy both in the East and West Indies; but the principal achievement was the conquest of the island of Cape Breton, in North America. This enterprise originated with the inhabitants of the province of New England; and the plan proposed by them having been approved by the government, Admiral Warren, commanding the British fleet in those seas, was commanded to co-operate with them. Six thousand colonial troops were embarked from Boston, which, with eight hundred marines from on board the fleet, constituted the whole of the land force. With such courage and vigour, however, did these raw and undisciplined troops, under the conduct of the British engineers, carry on their approaches, and with such skill and judgment were their operations seconded by the Admiral, that, in about eight weeks after the commencement of the siege, the fortress and city of Louisburg, and the whole island of Cape Breton, surrendered. The Americans, who were freed by this conquest from a dangerous neighbour, acquired great and deserved applause on the occasion.

When Parliament met, in the month of January, 1746, his Majesty declared his regret at being obliged to have recourse to his people for further aids; and at the same time, his confidence in their zeal and unanimity in support of the public credit and safety. A new convulsion in the ministry, however, for some time, retarded the progress of the supplies;‡ but, afterwards, they were granted with more than usual profusion. About one hundred and twenty thousand men, land forces, seamen, and marines, were provided for; three hundred thousand pounds were voted to the King of Sardinia; and four hundred thousand pounds to the Queen of Hungary, though she had fully surmounted her political embarrassments. Subsidies also were granted to the Dutch, Hessians, Saxons, Hanoverians, the electors of Mentz and Cologne; and the whole was crowned with a vote of credit and confidence for the

doms, little more than two years. The Princess Mary, third daughter to the King of England, had, at a period somewhat anterior to the events now related, been married to Frederic, Prince of Hesse Cassel, nephew to the King of Sweden, and presumptive heir to the Landgraviate.

* In July, Sir John Balchen, an officer of great merit, sailed from Spithead with a strong squadron, in quest of a French fleet expected to depart about this time from the harbour of Brest. In the bay of Biscay he encountered a violent storm, by which the fleet was entirely scattered, and the Admiral's own ship, the Victory, a new and beautiful first rate, with eleven hundred men on board, foundered at sea, near the rocks of Alderney; and the whole crew, with all the officers and their commander, most unfortunately perished.

† In the month of March, this year, died Robert Earl of Orford, in circumstances by no means affluent. His death was occasioned by the violent operation of a medicine which he took as a solvent for the stone; and he declared that he died a victim to the neglect of his own maxim—not to disturb that which is at rest.

‡ A recent effort to introduce once more the Earl of Granville into the administration, had been made by the King, over whom that nobleman had acquired a surprising ascendency: but the Duke of Newcastle, and all who adhered to the connections of the Pelhams, immediately on learning his Majesty's determination, delivered in their resignations. Lord Granville, however, was actually appointed to the office of principal Secretary of State; but, after a short trial, he was compelled reluctantly to render back the seals. The Pelhams resumed their stations; and Lord Granville was made President of the Council, which station he occupied many years.

sum of five hundred thousand pounds to his Majesty. Notwithstanding this liberal expenditure, no sensible effect was produced in the general system of affairs. —An unsuccessful attempt was made, in the course of the year, by Admiral Lestock and General St. Clair, on Port L'Orient, the grand depositary of the vessels and stores belonging to the French East India company. The fleet, with six battalions of regular forces on board, arrived on the 20th of September, in Quimperly Bay, ten miles distant from the city, which was immediately summoned to surrender. In the first emotions of surprise and consternation, a capitulation was agreed to, on condition that the magazines of the company, upon the payment of forty thousand pounds by way of ransom, should remain untouched, and the inhabitants be protected from pillage. These terms the British commanders haughtily and rashly rejected; and the inhabitants, driven to extremity, prepared to defend themselves. The invaders were destitute of every thing necessary for a siege. A single battery, raised with difficulty and mounted only with a few field-pieces, played upon the fortifications without any effect. At length the troops stationed in the environs, with the militia of the province, collecting in great force, the General was compelled to abandon his enterprise, embarking his troops September 29; and, after some useless bravadoes on the French coast, the whole armament returned to Portsmouth.*

In the month of November following, the Parliament was again convened, and the supplies again voted with profusion—four hundred and thirty thousand pounds to the Queen of Hungary; three hundred thousand pounds to the King of Sardinia; five hundred and seventy thousand pounds for the maintenance of the Hanoverian and Hessian auxiliaries; subsidies to the electors of Saxony, Mentz, Cologne, and Bavaria; five hundred thousand pounds as a vote of credit; the aggregate of the supplies exceeding by two millions and a half the greatest annual sum raised during the reign of Queen Anne.†

In the month of April, 1747, a squadron sailed from Brest Water, commanded by M. de la Jonquiere, bound for America, but had made little progress in its voyage when it was encountered by a superior English fleet under the Admirals Anson and Warren. The enemy fought with courage, but were compelled to yield to superior force, and towards evening six ships of the line struck their colours; and a great part of their convoy, with several frigates, were also taken. For this service Admiral Anson was ennobled, and Admiral Warren created a Knight of the Bath. In the month of October, Admiral Hawke, with a force much superior, fell in with a fleet of nine line-of-battle ships, seven of which, after an obstinate engagement, were captured by the English.‡

Parliament having been dissolved in June, a new one was convened in November, highly favourable to the interest of the ministry. The King, whose popularity had very sensibly increased since the suppression of the late rebellion, signified, in his opening speech, that a congress would be speedily opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for concerting the means of a general pacification. As the event, however, was uncertain, the former supplies and subsidies were renewed, and a new demand made for an additional subsidy to the Empress of Russia. Previously, however, to the termination of the session, in May, 1748, the King informed the two Houses that preliminaries of peace had been actually signed, on the basis of a general restitution of conquests.§

A. D. 1749.] Notwithstanding the satisfaction occasioned by the peace, the opposition retained some degree of importance, from the countenance and patronage of the Prince of Wales, who, from recent causes, had become more than ever alienated from the court. At this period, too, his royal highness distinguished by peculiar marks of his favour and confidence the famous Viscount Bolingbroke, who having many years since received a full pardon from government, now resided at Dawley, in Middlesex, where he was visited by all the distinguished votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition. The hopes of the nation were, however, blasted by the untimely death of the Prince, who, after a short illness, expired, March 20, 1751.‖

Two of the most distinguished personages at this period in the British Parliament were Mr. Murray, Solicitor General, and Mr. Pitt, paymaster of the forces—both possessing an extent of genius and of eloquence superior to Mr. Pelham, who, founding his power on public esteem and public virtue, suffered no political jealousies to enter his breast. Mr. Murray, promoted, in the course of time, to the chief justiceship of England, and the title of Earl of Mansfield, was educated in sentiments by no means favourable to his political advancement; but, from his first entrance into public life, he suffered no symptoms of his original attachments to appear, excepting a certain bias in favour of prerogative. His person was graceful, the tones of his voice exquisitely melodious, and his style of oratory clear, dignified, calm, and persuasive. Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, was introduced early in life into the House of Commons, where he soon distinguished himself by the animation of his eloquence and the superiority of his talents. His reply to Horace Walpole, who had affected to mention him with contempt, as an unpractised and youthful orator, was eminently forcible: "Whether youth could be justly imputed to any man as a reproach, Mr. Pitt said he should not determine; but he would affirm, that the wretch who, after having seen the consequences of repeated errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, deserves not that his grey hairs should secure him from insult; and much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and who deliberately devotes the remnant of his life to the ruin of his country." As a public speaker, Mr. Pitt possessed such commanding force and energy of language, as struck his hearers with astonishment and admiration. The power and effect of his oratory have been compared to "the lightning which flashed from heaven, blasting where it smote, and withering the nerves of opposition." His ambition was open and undisguised;

* This year died Philip V. King of Spain, to whom succeeded, without any visible or immediate effect upon the general political system, Don Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias.

† An important act passed this session, for the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions in Scotland—that distinguishing feature of the feudal system; since which period the peculiarities which seemed to stamp upon the Highland clans the cast and character of a separate nation have been gradually dying away.

‡ It was remarked, that, in both these instances, the English fleet bore down upon the enemy, regardless of the preservation of the line of battle; while Admiral Matthews still continued in a state of disgraceful suspension for the same contempt of the established punctilios of discipline.

§ Taking into consideration the relative situation of the belligerent powers, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle must, upon the whole, be considered as very favourable and advantageous to the allies. The King of France was now in actual possession of almost the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, and had even penetrated into Dutch Brabant and Flanders. Except the fortune of the war had, contrary to all reasonable expectation, entirely changed, the allies must soon have been driven beyond the Rhine, and the United States might have once more seen the French flag displayed at the gates of Amsterdam. By this treaty England was compelled reluctantly to resign her favourite conquest of Cape Breton, to obtain the restitution of Madras. With Spain, England had little occasion to negotiate. In the course of a war which had continued nine years, nothing had been lost, and nothing gained, Porto Bello excepted, which had been immediately evacuated. The original cause of the war seemed, in its progress, to be entirely forgotten; and, at the conclusion of the peace, not a syllable was mentioned respecting the pretended right of search, which had formerly occasioned such loud and indignant clamours. The settlement of the boundaries of the French and British empires in America, was referred to the decision of commissaries; and France retained no mark of superiority in this treaty, with relation to England, excepting the requisition of hostages to reside in France till the reciprocal restitution of conquests should be actually made. This afforded the patriots a pretence to exclaim against the peace as disgraceful to the nation. But the nation, who were with reason wearied with the expences and disasters of the war, were well satisfied with the terms of the peace, and it was celebrated with great and universal joy.

‖ Soon after the death of his royal highness, his eldest son, Prince George, was committed to the care of the Earl of Harcourt as governor, and the Bishop of Norwich as preceptor; but it was soon discovered that the Earl of Bute, who had been introduced into the Prince's household as a Lord of the bedchamber, had acquired so high a degree of influence at the court of Leicester house, as to make the situation of those who possessed responsible offices very uneasy.

undisguised; but he disdained to seek the gratification of it by any mean or degrading compliance: on the contrary, he was pertinacious in his opinions, impetrious in his deportment, fearless and resolute in his conduct. All attention to pecuniary considerations he seemed to think beneath the dignity of his character, ever maintaining an inviolable integrity in the midst of temptation. And in that theatre of political corruption in which it was the shameless boast of the minister that every man had his price, the public virtue of Mr. Pitt was universally acknowledged to be "pure as the icicle pendent from Diana's temple."*

The chief controversy which took place in the House of Commons, during the session succeeding the conclusion of the peace, was occasioned by some innovations in the annual mutiny bill, particularly the final clause, by which martial law was extended to all officers on half pay, and which, by extending in the same proportion the influence of the crown, might in its consequences, as the opposition affirmed, prove very dangerous to the constitution. Mr. Pitt defended the clause, which was ultimately carried by a considerable majority, as a necessary extension of military discipline—urging, in order to obviate the alarm of danger, "That the very existence of English liberty must, and did, actually depend upon the moderation of the sovereign, and the virtue of the army."†

A. D. 1750.] As a consequence of the firm establishment of peace, the extension of commerce, and the accumulation of wealth, the public funds, all or the greater part of which bore the same interest of four per cent. now rose so much above par, as to make it practicable for the minister to bring forward a grand measure of finance. This was no other than an improvement of the scheme formerly offered to Parliament by Sir John Bernard, to liquidate all the redeemable annuities, comprehending nearly the whole of the public debts, by an immediate payment of the principal. This proposal was, however, attended with an alternative which the minister well knew it was the interest of the stockholder to accept. An option was allowed by the act, either to receive the entire amount of the debt at par, *i. e.* at a discount of more than thirty per cent. below the actual transfer price, or to consent to a reduction of the interest from four to three and a half per cent. for seven years, and afterwards to remain at three per cent. This had all the effect and operation of a tax of twenty-five per cent. upon the public funds, and it was a blow severely felt by many families in the middle classes of life, whose property was confided to the faith of government. Yet no violation of the public faith could be pretended; as, in conformity to the original terms of the agreement, the perpetual annuities were at all times redeemable by the government at par. A great proportion, therefore, of the public creditors assented, however reluctantly, to the terms of the minister. The three great chartered companies, however, and various individual proprietors of stock, to the amount of eight or ten millions, refused to subscribe. Mr. Pelham, encouraged by the general success of his project, assumed a higher tone; and declared, that, as they had suffered the time prescribed by the act to elapse, they should no longer be admitted to take advantage of the terms originally offered; but, that their obstinacy and ignorance might not be too rigorously punished, he would now propose a second subscription, in which the reduction of the interest from three and a half to three per cent. should take place at the end of five years. On reconsideration, the Bank, the East India company, and South Sea company, and the individual proprietors who had concurred with them, unanimously thought proper to accept of the favour and indulgence now offered; and the plan of the minister was triumphantly carried into complete execution.‡

Philip V. of Spain being dead, and his son and successor Ferdinand cherishing a sincere desire to maintain a perfect amity with Great Britain, a treaty or convention was this year concluded at Madrid, between Don Joseph de Carvajal, the Spanish minister, and Mr. Keene, the English envoy, by which the points referred to the decision of commissaries, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, were finally terminated, and the commercial privileges of the English nation fully restored. No mention, however, and much less any direct renunciation, was made of the right of search claimed by the Spaniards; and, when this omission was strongly urged by the opposition, as inconsistent with the positive declaration of the two Houses at the commencement of the war, that no treaty of peace with Spain should be admitted, unless such renunciation should be first obtained as a preliminary; Mr. Pitt "acknowledged that he had contended strongly for the address alluded to, because, at that time, being young and sanguine, he thought it right and reasonable; but he was now ten years older, had considered matters more coolly, and was convinced that the privilege of no search, with respect to British vessels sailing near the American shore, would never be obtained unless Spain should be brought so low as to acquiesce in any terms which we, as victors, might propose."§

In consequence of the death of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, a bill was presented by the Duke of Newcastle to the House of Peers (May 1751,) to provide for the administration of government, in case the crown should descend to a minor; and the Princess Dowager of Wales was appointed Regent of Great Britain and Ireland, assisted by a council composed of the great officers of state, the Duke of Cumberland presiding. Happily, however, the King lived till his successor attained to the age of majority; and the Regency bill, which was strongly opposed in Parliament, sunk unnoticed.

The most remarkable bill of the present session was that introduced by the Earl of Chesterfield for the reformation of the calendar, notwithstanding the previous and avowed disapprobation of the Duke of Newcastle, who declared himself "averse to disturb that which was at rest;" adding, "that he did not love new-fangled things."

---

* In the foremost rank of statesmen at this period, should also be classed the secretary at war, Mr. Fox, afterwards Lord Holland. His talents appear, indeed, less brilliant than solid. Long and intimately attached to the connection of the Pelhams, he had on all occasions distinguished himself as a most able advocate of the measures of the present administration. In common with the other adherents of that powerful party, he zealously espoused the ancient principles of whiggism. His understanding was vigorous, and his knowledge extensive; and he commanded the attention of the House less by the splendour of his eloquence, than by the superior weight and force of his observations. Though far from harbouring the idea of a political competition with Mr. Pelham, whom he supported with the cordiality rather of friendship than of interest, he regarded himself, and was universally regarded, as second only in political importance to the minister.

† A plan was about this time formed and carried into execution, chiefly under the patronage and direction of the Earl of Halifax, first Lord of trade and plantations, for the establishment of a colony on the peninsula of Acadie. By the treaty of Utrecht this peninsula, originally settled by the French, was ceded, with the entire province of Nova Scotia, to the English; but, the small town and fortress of Annapolis, situated in the midst of the French settlers, excepted, no trace appeared of its being an English possession. By the plan now adopted, it was determined to found a city on the opposite or eastern side of the Peninsula, to which the name of Halifax was given, on a spot commodiously situated, and with the advantage of a secure and excellent harbour. This colony, though viewed by the French with jealous eyes, being primarily designed for a military station, and subjected to a military and despotic form of government, did not answer the high expectations excited by it; but of late years, in consequence of many judicious regulations and unexpected changes, it has risen rapidly in commercial and political importance.

‡ An act of Parliament passed about this time for the encouragement of the British fisheries, by which a company was incorporated, in order to carry into effect the purposes of the act. As the vessels, however, designed to rendezvous at the Sound of Brassa were, according to this project, to be fitted out at the port of London, it was clearly foreseen, and peremptorily foretold, that the scheme would prove abortive.

§ In the course of the present summer, died Don Juan V. King of Portugal,—a Prince not destitute of ability, but tainted with a wretched spirit of bigotry and persecution. He was succeeded by his son Don Joseph, at whose accession the infanta Isabella became heiress of the crown; and, in order to preserve the sceptre of Portugal in the house of Braganza, this Princess, by virtue of a papal dispensation, was married to her uncle, the infant Don Pedro, brother to the King; the first issue of which nuptials, Joseph Xavier, Prince of Brazil, while of an age yet immature, was, by a similar alliance married to his aunt, Donna Maria, sister to Isabella, the present Queen.

things. The bill, however, was received with general applause, and was supported in the House of Peers by the Earl of Macclesfield, with a display of profound and scientific knowledge which reflected upon that nobleman the highest honor, as the successor to the chair of Newton, and president of the most learned society in Europe.* By the bill now introduced, it was decreed that the new year should begin, in conformity to the Gregorian reform, on the 1st of January, and that eleven intermediate nominal days, between the second and fourteenth of September 1752, should be omitted, so that the day succeeding the second should be denominated the fourteenth of that month.†

When the Parliament met (in November), his Majesty informed them that he had, in conjunction with the States-General—whose intimate union and friendship with England had in no degree been impaired by the recent unfortunate death of the Stadtholder—concluded treaties with the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, in addition to those subsisting with the electors of Mentz and Cologne; another was soon afterwards adjusted with the Elector Palatine; and the vast sums which these Princes demanded as the purchase of their friendship were cheerfully and loyally voted. The immediate object of these alliances was to secure a majority of voices of the electoral college, in the view of an approaching election of a King of the Romans in the person of the Archduke Joseph, eldest son of the Emperor; for, this Prince having yet scarcely passed the years of infancy, it was reasonably to be apprehended, that this favourite project might, in the execution, be attended with embarrassment and difficulty. A vigorous resistance was, however, made in the House of Commons to the ratification of these treaties. The system of policy adopted by the English court was not, however, to be shaken; and after a tissue of negociations and intrigues, carried on with the different German Princes, the Elector of Mentz, Chancellor of the Empire, at length convoked an Electorial diet. But the King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburgh, who had, on the first indication of this design, manifested his dislike and disapprobation, now publicly opposed it with the utmost vehemence and pertinacity; and, in his spirited remonstrances, several of the electors seemed to waver in their opinion; the King of France solemnly protesting, "that although for the sake of peace he would not oppose this election, contrary as it was to the golden bull, provided it should be confirmed by the unanimous consent of the electoral college; yet should any one of the members signify his dissent, and claim the protection of France, he could not refuse granting his assistance, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia." Attempts having been in vain made to soften the King of Prussia, the courts of Vienna and London were at length compelled to desist from the prosecution of their design.‡

Tranquillity at this time prevailing throughout the kingdom, the attention of the ministers seemed to be wholly engrossed in devising and bringing forward, for the discussion and approbation of Parliament, plans and proposals for the public good.§ A bill was introduced and passed in the session of 1753, permitting the naturalisation, under certain restrictions, of persons born out of the realm, professing the Jewish religion; as it was supposed, or at least hoped, that such a measure would operate as an inducement to opulent foreigners of that persuasion to remove with their effects to Great Britain, to the increase of the national commerce, credit, and prosperity. A most absurd and unexpected alarm, however, was taken by the public at this measure; and the clamour continuing, and even increasing, the bill was repealed next session. This was one of the last acts of Mr. Pelham's administration—that minister dying, (March 1754,) in the meridian of his life, reputation, and usefulness.‖

Mr. Legge, after a short interval, succeeded Mr. Pelham as Chancellor of the Exchequer; the seals were consigned to Sir Thomas Robinson, formerly ambassa-

* The Julian computation of time, composing a complete solar revolution to be effected in the precise period of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, made no provision for the apparently trifling deficiency of eleven minutes, which, however, in the lapse of eighteen centuries, amounted to a difference of eleven days. A Reformation of the Calendar had been accomplished in the sixteenth century, under the auspices of Pope Gregory XIII.; but the authority of the Roman pontiff extending over the Catholic countries only, the ancient computation still continued in use in England and the other northern kingdoms.

† Frederic, King of Sweden, and landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, dying about this period, was succeeded, agreeably to the Convention formerly made with Russia, by Adolphus Frederic, Duke of Holstein Eutin, Bishop of Lubec—married to the sister of his Prussian Majesty. On his accession to the throne, he took a voluntary oath, in full senate, that he would never attempt to introduce a despotic authority, but would maintain their liberties with his blood, and govern his subjects in all respects according to the laws and form of government established in Sweden. This declaration was peculiarly acceptable to the court of St. Petersburgh, which had entertained apprehensions that the intrigues of the French and Prussian factions, for changing the form of government, were countenanced and supported by the successor—and had actually assembled an army on the frontiers of Finland, which menaced Sweden with invasion; declaring, at the same time, her firm resolution to maintain inviolate that constitution of which she was the guarantee. By this conduct, the harmony between the two countries appeared consolidated. The political depression of Sweden, the necessary consequence of the radical defects of her government, was in the highest degree favourable to the ambitious designs of Russia; and, in conformity to the same policy, the court of St. Petersburgh would suffer no improvement of the anarchic constitution of Poland. A violent misunderstanding between Russia and Prussia was the result of their opposing politics relative to the affairs of Sweden—his Prussian Majesty declaring his determination to defend that kingdom with his whole force, in case of an attack from Russia; and the ambassadors on each side were recalled. The misunderstanding, after an interval of some years, terminated in open rupture; and the King of Prussia was taught to repent of the provocations by which he had excited the resentment of the Czarina. The subsidies received, during the course of his reign, from England, by the late King of Sweden in the mere capacity of landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, on an accurate computation, amounted to the astonishing sum of one million two hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred and ninety-nine pounds sterling. Soon after the death of the King of Sweden, Prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel, who had, in 1740, espoused the Princess Mary, third daughter of the King of England, renounced his religion, and declared himself a Roman-Catholic, to the great injury of the Protestant interest in the empire, and the general regret of the English nation and the Protestants throughout Europe. In the course of this year also died Louisa, Queen of Denmark, youngest daughter of his Britannic Majesty, a Princess endowed with every graceful and amiable accomplishment, and deservedly dear to the Danish monarch and nation. Nearly at the same time the United Provinces sustained a public loss by the death of the Prince of Orange, who leaving only an infant son, the administration of the government devolved upon the Princess of Orange, as gouvernante, during the minority, in which station she conducted affairs with considerable ability and prudence.

‡ The resolute opposition of the King of Prussia to this measure, which he passes over, in his History of the Times, in mysterious silence, seems best accounted for by the prevalent suspicion, that, in case of the demise of the Emperor, he harboured a secret design of offering himself as a candidate for the imperial throne. It is also probable, that a knowledge or persuasion of the aspiring views of the Prussian monarch principally incited the court of Vienna to urge with such persevering ardor a project so irregular and invidious. At this period, the courts of Berlin and London were scarcely less at variance than those of Vienna and Berlin; and the King of Prussia openly expressed his resentment of the conduct of the King of England, "who had, by the influence of English subsidies, embarrassed and embroiled the affairs of Germany, in which he had no right to interfere."

§ The following acts were passed in this and the preceding sessions. The acts for applying the rents and profits of the forfeited estates in Scotland, for the better civilising and improving the Highlands—the act for allowing the importation of wool and woolen yarn from Ireland—the act for the more effectual performance of quarantine—the act for repressing the barbarous practice of plundering ships wrecked on the British coast—the act for laying open the trade to Turkey—the act for establishing the British Museum by the Parliamentary purchase of the famous collection of Sir Hans Sloane, joined to the Harleian collection of MSS. and the Cottonian and Westminster libraries. A plan for regulating and rendering efficient the militia of the kingdom was, however, rejected through the influence of the crown. The whole expense of the naval, military, and civil establishment of the year 1753, under the administration of Mr. Pelham, amounted to less than three millions; and although the land-tax was reduced to two shilling in the pound, the excess of the supplies left a sum of 300,000*l.* in the exchequer.

‖ Rectitude of understanding and disposition seems to have constituted this Minister's leading characteristic. The many excellent acts passed under his influence and patronage plainly indicate an unremitted attention to the interest, and a sincere and earnest desire to promote the happiness, of his country. His genius was not of an enterprising cast; and, when occasionally urged to adopt more bold and vigorous measures of political Reform, he was accustomed to answer, "that things would last his time." The general tenor of his conduct showed, that he was less anxious to avoid the censure of timidity than of rashness. He lived and died esteemed and lamented by all.

dor

dor at the court of Vienna, a minister of moderate political attainments and little conversant in Parliamentary intrigues and conflicts; and the post of First Lord of the Treasury was occupied by the Duke of Newcastle. But it soon appeared how unequal were the talents of this nobleman to the task of government, when deprived of the assistance of the counsellor and coadjutor with whom he had been ever united in the strictest bands of political and fraternal amity.*

The political contentions which arose at this time between the kingdoms of Great Britain and France, terminated in a long and bloody war.—After the cession of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Utrecht, the British colonies in North America extended along the western shore of the Atlantic nearly a thousand miles, and, according to the tenor of the charters granted to the original settlers, the dominion of the soil was bounded only by the Pacific Ocean on the opposite side of the continent. Spain, in whom were vested the rights attached to the first discovery, advanced claims no less extravagant, and regarded as unwarrantable usurpations the successive settlements of the English nation. France, which held in contempt the pretensions both of England and Spain, established, at a more recent period, colonies on the river St. Laurence to the north, and on the Missisippi to the south, of the English settlements: and a systematic and artfully concerted plan was formed to connect these widely-distant establishments by the gradual erection of a chain of fortresses from the lakes Erie and Ontario, along and beyond the Ohio, to the embouchure of the Missisippi. To the rich and immense plains extending on both sides of that vast river they gave the appellation of Louisiana; and they contended, that the English colonies were of right bounded by the range of high lands which run parallel to the coast, at the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles, under the different names of the Apalachian, Alleghany, or Blue Mountains. The province of Nova Scotia having been ceded to England, according to the "ancient limits" of that territory, fruitless and endless altercations arose, as to the import of this expression, between the commissaries of the two nations, to whom the right of fixing the boundaries of the rival empires was assigned; the English claiming the whole territory as far as the southern bank of the river St. Laurence, and the French admitting their right only to the peninsula of Acadie. Another serious cause of dispute originated in a royal charter inconsiderately and injuriously granted to certain merchants and adventurers of the city of London, who assumed the title of the Ohio Company, of a large tract of ground situated on the banks of the Ohio, with an exclusive privilege of commerce with the Indian tribes inhabiting those regions. This extraordinary grant excited extreme disgust in the minds of the Virginian and Pennsylvanian traders, who saw themselves deprived of a lucrative branch of traffic, and the highest alarm among the Indian nations, who perceived with astonishment their lands measured and parcelled out by English surveyors, as though they, who were the actual occupants, had neither interest nor property in them. M. du Quesne, governor of Canada, declared that he would suffer no encroachments or depredations to be made on the Indian tribes under the protection of the crown of France. Towards the latter end of the year 1753, Major Washington, afterwards so famous as General Washington, was deputed by the government of Virginia to the French commandant on the Ohio, to demand by what authority fortresses were erected, and settlements made, on the territories of the King of Great Britain; and to require him immediately to desist from the prosecution of designs carried on in open violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and totally subversive of the harmony and good understanding which his Britannic Majesty was desirous to maintain and cultivate with the most Christian King. To this peremptory requisition, which almost assumed the air and tone of a menace, the French officer replied with equal spirit, that it was not his province to specify the evidence, and demonstrate the right of the King his sovereign to the lands situated on the river Ohio; but that he would transmit his message to the Marquis du Quesne, his immediate superior. In the interim, he declared his total disregard of the summons of the English governor, and, holding his command by virtue of a commission from his General, he was prepared and determined to maintain the right, and to fulfil the duties, of his station. A more serious remonstrance was, about the same time, presented by the Earl of Albemarle, the English ambassador at Paris, to the court of Versailles, in which the various causes of complaint

* A remarkable event occurred at this time. Dr. Cameron, brother to the celebrated Cameron of Lochiel, had been engaged in the rebellion of 1745, and, after the decisive victory of Culloden, had effected his escape to the continent. Notwithstanding his being attainted by act of Parliament, he ventured, after an interval of nine years, to return incognito to Scotland, to transact certain affairs of consequence, private and personal—relying in case of exigence, with fatal indiscretion, on the mildness and equity of the British government; on the temper of the times; and on the general respectability of his own character. He was, however, discovered, apprehended, and brought to his trial at the Old Bailey; and his person being identified, he was convicted, and suffered the death of a traitor with admirable firmness and resignation. Even the populace were melted into tears at the melancholy spectacle of his execution; generously lamenting the excessive rigour of his fate. Under what colours the King was prevailed upon to give his sanction to this proceeding cannot be ascertained; but he is said to have signed the fatal warrant with much reluctance, observing, "Surely there has been too much blood spilt upon this account already!"

A far more striking proof, however, of the incapacity of the new administration appeared in their conduct respecting the Parliament of Ireland, in an affair of great delicacy and importance. In the year 1749, a considerable surplus remaining in the Irish exchequer, the House of Commons in that country, conceiving that they had an undoubted right to appropriate such surplus to national purposes, prepared heads of a bill with that design, with the following preamble: "Whereas, on the 25th of March last, a considerable balance remained in the hands of the Vice-Treasurers, or Receivers-General, of the kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, unapplied; and it will be for your Majesty's service, and for the ease of your faithful subjects in this kingdom, that so much thereof as can be conveniently spared should be paid, agreeably to your Majesty's most gracious intention, in discharge of part of the national debt," &c. &c. On the transmission of this bill to England, it was affirmed, by the partisans of prerogative in the council, that the Commons of Ireland had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take into consideration the propriety of such appropriation, without the previous consent of the crown, formally and explicitly declared. In the ensuing session of Parliament, therefore, (1751) the Duke of Dorset, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, informed the two Houses of Parliament, that he was commanded by the King to acquaint them, that his Majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of his subjects, would graciously "consent," and recommend it to them, that such a part of the money then remaining in his treasury as should be thought consistent with the public services, be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt. The Commons of Ireland, astonished at this procedure of the court, and tremblingly alive in a case which so nearly concerned their privileges, omitted, in their address of thanks, all mention of his Majesty's "consent," and only acknowledged his gracious attention to their ease and happiness, in "recommending" to them the application of the surplus; and in the subsequent bill framed for this purpose, in which one hundred and twenty thousand pounds were appropriated to the discharge of the public debt, the same omission was observable. The ministers in England, highly offended, returned the bill with an alteration in the preamble, signifying his Majesty's "consent" as well as "approbation;" and the Irish House of Commons, unwilling to risk the consequences of a serious rupture, passed the bill without further notice. So far had the misunderstanding between the crown and Parliament of Ireland proceeded previously to the death of Mr. Pelham, and thus might it have for ever rested, had not the present minister suggested the necessity of supporting the honour of government, by positive directions to the Duke of Dorset, in opening the session of the present year, to repeat the expression of his Majesty's gracious "consent," in mentioning the surplus of the public money. The House, in their address, not only again omitted the obnoxious word "consent," but the former expressions of grateful acknowledgment: and the bill of appropriation was transmitted to England, entirely divested of the usual complimentary preamble, which the ministers of the crown in England thought fit thus to supply—"And your Majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify that you would 'consent,' and to recommend it to us, that so much of the money remaining in your Majesty's treasury as should be necessary, be applied to the discharge of the national debt, or such part thereof as should be thought expedient by Parliament." On the return of the bill, the whole nation seemed animated by the spirit of resistance, and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the court, the bill, thus amended, was thrown out by a majority of five voices, and the victory of the opposition was celebrated by universal rejoicings. In revenge, all those who voted against the bill holding public employments were immediately dismissed. The rejection of the bill, however, occasioned a great stagnation in the usual course of circulation, and the clamour of the public rising high against the government, it was thought proper and necessary, by a concession, to devote the surplus to the discharge of the debt in virtue of a royal letter.

on the part of England were stated in very strong language. It was declared, that, while the commissaries of the two nations were engaged in adjusting the limits of the two empires, the French had taken actual possession of the territories in dispute; that they had incited the Indians of Nova Scotia and the French inhabitants of Acadie to rise in arms against the English government, and had assisted them with vessels and military stores; that acts of violence had been repeatedly exercised by the authority or countenance of the French government against the subjects of Great Britain; and numerous fortresses erected with a view to defend their continual and manifest encroachments on the territories of his Britannic Majesty: and his excellency concluded with demanding the erasure of the forts, the restitution of the persons and properties of all those who had been captured, and an unequivocal assurance that effectual care should be taken, by the most positive instructions to the French commandants in America, to prevent any similar causes of complaint in future. The French court not being yet prepared, or not having resolved to risk any open rupture with Great Britain, replied to this memorial in terms civilly evasive, and engaged that inquiries should be made, and instructions transmitted to America to obviate all misunderstanding; and several British subjects, traders and others, seized by the French on various pretences, were actually dismissed. The court of London, confiding little in the specious and artful professions of the court of Versailles, issued orders to the English governors in America to repel force by force, and to take effectual measures to dislodge the French from their settlements on the Ohio, where they still continued their hostilities and encroachments. A congress being appointed at Albany, consisting of commissioners from the different colonies, to which the chieftains of the Indian nations bordering on the Ohio were invited, it soon appeared, though they refused not to accept the offered and customary presents, that they were entirely attached to the French interests. At this meeting, it was determined that Major Washington, who had already distinguished himself, should be detached with a corps of four hundred men, to occupy a post on the Ohio, where he threw up works, and began the erection of a fort, in expectation of speedy and effectual reinforcements; but before the intended succours could arrive, the officer was suddenly attacked by a much superior force of French and Indians, commanded by M. Villier, who, after in vain summoning Major Washington to surrender, marched to the attack of the fort, yet incomplete, and ill prepared for an assault, which was nevertheless sustained with great vigour. The English garrison, however, were at length compelled to a capitulation, and they were allowed to retreat to the province of Virginia. This event, as soon as the intelligence arrived in Europe, was stated, in a memorial of the Earl of Albemarle, as an open violation of the peace; but the court of Versailles, no longer solicitous to keep measures with England, treated all remonstrances with disregard; and sent large reinforcements of men, and supplies of military stores, to Quebec, with a manifest determination to pursue and defend their ambitious projects.

The new Parliament, which had met in May, and, after sitting a few days, had been prorogued, again assembled in November (1754); but a profound silence respecting the present critical situation of affairs was observed on the part of the crown, till, in the month of March following, (a) a message was delivered from the King to the Parliament by Sir Thomas Robinson, Secretary of State, importing that "his Majesty having, at the commencement of the session, declared it to be the principal object of his solicitude to preserve the public tranquillity, and to protect those possessions which constitute a primary source of the public prosperity, now found it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons, that the present state of affairs made it requisite to augment his forces by sea and land, and to take such other measures as might best tend to preserve the peace of Europe, and to secure the just rights of his crown in America." This message produced a warm and affectionate address, and the sum of one million was instantly voted for the requisite purposes.

At the time that M. de Mirepoix, the French Ambassador in London, continued to amuse the British ministry with professions of peace and amity, certain intelligence was received that a powerful armament was preparing in the forts of Rochefort and Brest, destined for America; and Admiral Boscawen was immediately appointed to the command of an equal force, fitted out for the avowed purpose of intercepting them. M. de Mirepoix then declared, that the King his master would consider the first gun fired at sea as a declaration of war. Admiral Boscawen, hoping to obstruct the passage of the French fleet into the gulf of St. Laurence, took his station off the banks of Newfoundland; but, under cover of the thick fogs, so frequent in those northern latitudes, the French commander eluded his vigilance; two ships of the line only, the Alcide and Lys, being by some accident separated from the rest, fell into the hands of the English. On the arrival of this news at Paris, M. de Mirepoix was immediately recalled from London, and M. de Bussy from Hanover—the King of England being now resident in that city. Letters of general reprisal were issued by the English court, as well in Europe as America, and three hundred merchant ships, mostly unsuspicious of danger, fell, in the course of the year, into the hands of the English, with not less than eight thousand sailors on board. The French vehemently exclaimed against the conduct of the English government as inconsistent with the law of nations, war not having been formally declared; but the English insisted that, the French themselves having been the aggressors, it was just and lawful to repel force by force, and that the omission of a form was wholly unimportant.

General Braddock had sailed from Cork early in the year 1755, with a considerable body of regular troops; and, on his arrival in Virginia, he took upon him the command of the forces destined to act against the French on the Ohio. This officer was a man of approved bravery, completely versed in all points of military discipline, but dogmatical in his temper, and austere and imperious in his deportment. Unacquainted with the country in which he was appointed to the chief command, and entertaining a sovereign contempt for the colonial militia, of whom his army was in a great measure composed, he heard with silent disdain all that information which the provincial officers were desirous to offer respecting the mode of conducting an American expedition through woods, deserts, and morasses, and the precautions which were necessary to guard against surprise, particularly as the Indian nations were chiefly in alliance with France. Having advanced within ten miles of Fort Du Quesne, without condescending to employ the irregulars in the service as an advanced guard, or to send out any parties to reconnoitre the country, about noon on the ninth of July, in his march through a pathless swamp, entangled amid brakes and rushes, he was suddenly saluted with the horrid sound of the Indian war-whoop, accompanied by a general fire both on his front and flank from a concealed and invisible enemy. The vanguard immediately fell back, and terror and confusion soon spread throughout all the ranks of the army. The general, far from making any efforts to discover and disperse this dangerous ambuscade, exerted himself only to re-form and rally his troops, as though engaged with a regular army in an open plain. Discipline was, in this situation, of little avail; for, though no enemy appeared, the havoc and slaughter continued; and the General himself being at length killed by a musket shot, the regular troops fled with precipitation—the provincials, so much despised, forming in the rear, and covering their retreat; Major Washington, their Commander, acquiring on this occasion, amidst ruin and defeat, the honours and laurels

(a) A. D. 1755.

of victory. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left in the hands of the enemy, and even the General's cabinet with all his letters and instructions. The chief command now devolved upon General Shirley, who formed a plan for the reduction of the important fortresses of Crown Point and Niagara, erected by the French on the banks of the lakes Champlain and Ontario. The expedition against the former was conducted by General, afterwards Sir William, Johnson, a native of Ireland, but long resident in America, where he had acquired great and deserved popularity.

The troops destined for this service arrived at the place of rendezvous late in the summer; and were, soon after the commencement of their march, attacked in their camp by Baron Dieskau, the French commander, with great bravery, who was, notwithstanding, repulsed with great loss—the Baron himself being made prisoner. General Johnson, however, found himself, after this bloody encounter, too much weakened to proceed in his expedition; and, after some deliberation, he determined upon a retreat to Albany. General Shirley undertook the conduct of the enterprise against Niagara, which, from its position, commands the communication between the lakes Erie and Ontario. But on his arrival at Oswego, a fort belonging to the English on the south-eastern shore of lake Ontario, he deemed it necessary to leave a very large proportion of the troops under his command for the defence of this post; and, after waiting till the end of September for his expected reinforcements and supplies of provisions and stores, he was informed that it would be attended with danger to cross the lake at this advanced season of the year. He therefore determined to defer the siege of Niagara to the next campaign; and set out in October on his return to Albany. The Earl of Loudon, an officer of considerable merit, was now appointed commander-in-chief, and vested with extensive powers. This nobleman, however, from causes not easy to develope, did not embark from England till the latter end of May; and, on reaching the head quarters at Albany, (June 29, 1756,) he found all military operations in a manner suspended, in the expectation of his arrival. A considerable time then elapsed in debates and consultations respecting the plan most proper to be adopted, and whether the efforts of the army now assembled should be directed against Crown Point and Ticonderago, situated at the southern extremity of lake Champlain; whether a second attempt should be made against Niagara; or whether an expedition should be undertaken against Fort Du Quesne on the Ohio. Intelligence at length arrived, that the French, under M. de Montcalm, had made themselves masters of Oswego, although strongly garrisoned, plentifully provided with all kinds of warlike stores, and defended by one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery. Disconcerted by this unfortunate event, it was determined not to risk any offensive operation during the remainder of the season, but to employ the autumnal and winter months in making preparations for an early and vigorous campaign the ensuing year.

Sanguine hopes were entertained from the great military force collected in the spring of 1757. Admiral Holbourne arrived at Halifax with a powerful squadron, and large reinforcements of troops, in the beginning of July; and the Earl of Loudon directing his march northward, an invasion of Canada with their united forces was expected. At length, however, Louisburg, in the island of Cape Breton, was declared to be the object in contemplation—a scheme very favorable to the views and interests of France at this period, as it left M. de Montcalm entirely at liberty to prosecute his plans of conquest, and Louisburg was so strongly defended, that little apprehension was entertained for its safety. The British commanders receiving certain intelligence, after the whole of the military and naval force destined for this expedition had rendezvoused at Halifax, that the garrison of Louisburg consisted of six thousand regular troops, exclusive of provincials, and that seventeen line-of-battle ships were moored in the harbour; it was resolved, to postpone the expedition. In the interim, the Marquis of Montcalm had taken advantage of the absence of the Earl of Loudon to lay siege, with an army of ten thousand men, to the important post of Fort William-Henry, situated on the southern shore of lake George. The garrison consisted of three thousand men; the fortifications were strong and in good condition; and General Webb, with about four thousand men, was posted in the vicinity, in order to maintain a communication with it. So vigorously, however, were the approaches of the French commander urged, that articles of capitulation were signed in six days, not only importing the entire surrender of the fort, artillery, and stores, but restraining the garrison from serving against France or her allies, for eighteen months. By this conquest, the French acquired the entire command of the extensive and magnificent chain of lakes which connects the two great rivers St. Laurence and Missisippi, and which forms a grand line both of communication and division between the northern and southern parts of this vast continent. Thus disgracefully terminated the third campaign of the American war, in which the French, with an inferior force, had maintained a uniform superiority, and in the course of which no advantage had been gained by the English, excepting, indeed, the expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia, by the vigorous exertions of Colonel Monckton, assisted by a body of provincials, expressly voted and detached by the assembly of Massachusetts for this important purpose.

The French court, finding a rupture with England inevitable, had employed earnest solicitations with the court of Madrid to take an active part in her favour. Her efforts, however, were in vain, though supported by all the influence of the Queen-mother and the Marquis de la Ensenada, the prime minister. The King of Spain himself was not disposed to interrupt the harmony which subsisted between Spain and Britain; and Don Ricardo Wall, a Spaniard, of British extraction, and formerly resident at the British court, who possessed great credit with the King, took all imaginable pains to confirm his Majesty in these favourable sentiments. The intrigues of the minister with the court of Versailles being discovered, he was divested of his offices, which were immediately conferred upon his competitor Don Ricardo. The court of Madrid, however, offered her mediation to compose the differences between England and France; but France insisting upon a suspension of arms in America as the preliminary condition of a negotiation, and England refusing to assent to any such preliminary, nothing could be effected. The courts of London and Versailles, foreseeing a violent and long protracted conflict, were busily engaged in forming and cultivating alliances in the different courts of Europe; and, at length, a treaty was signed by the King of England, when at Hanover, (June 25, 1755,) with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, by which his serene highness engaged to hold in readiness for his Majesty's service, a body of twelve thousand men. Saxony and Bavaria, notwithstanding the subsidies which they had regularly received during the years of peace, in contemplation and as the earnest of future services, now entered into opposite connections. In September, a treaty was signed at the palace of Kensington between his Britannic Majesty and the Empress of Russia, by which that Princess stipulated to maintain, on the frontiers of Livonia, an army of forty thousand infantry, fifteen thousand cavalry, and a naval force of fifty galleys, to be in immediate readiness to act at the requisition of the King of England, should the electoral dominions of that monarch be invaded in consequence of the connection of Hanover with Britain; for which an annual subsidy of five hundred thousand pounds was to be advanced to the Czarina. The Prussian court was, at this crisis, strongly assailed by the courts of London and Versailles, each flattering itself with a decision in its favour. But the King of Prussia, aware of the engagements contracted between England and Russia, and the strict amity subsisting between the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburgh, would not venture to draw

draw upon himself the resentment of these powers, by a renewal of the alliance with France; and, in January 1756, a treaty was signed at London between the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, by which they engaged to oppose the introduction of any foreign troops into the empire. This article, though immediately pointed against France, amounted to a virtual renunciation of the alliance with Russia; and the Czarina, resenting the conduct of the King of England, and exasperated, from causes of a personal as well as political nature, against the King of Prussia, began to listen with attention to the overtures of France, hitherto so much the object of her jealousy and aversion. France, astonished and alarmed at the defection of Prussia, now directed her attention to the court of Vienna; which since the termination of the late war had given clear and repeated intimations of a desire to enter into bonds of permanent amity; and, to the amazement of Europe, a treaty of mutual guarantee and support was concluded and signed at Versailles, May 1756, by these two great rival powers. Thus the inveterate hereditary animosity, which had subsisted for ages between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, appeared to be for ever terminated. The general conduct of France left scarcely a doubt of her intention to take advantage of the political relation of Hanover to Great Britain, by the invasion of that electorate; though it must be acknowledged, that terms of neutrality were offered to the King of England as Elector of Hanover, which he did not deem it consistent with his honour and dignity to accept.

Great preparations being made by the French court, with the avowed design of forming a powerful army in Westphalia, an army of observation, consisting of about forty thousand Hessians, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, was assembled for the protection of the electorate: and requisitions were made by the court of London, both at Vienna and the Hague, for the assistance stipulated by treaties. The Empress Queen, after some prevarication, declared in plain terms, that, having been abandoned by England, she was reduced to the necessity of securing herself by an alliance with France. The French court, moreover, declared, that, "should the States grant the succours in question, the King of France would consider their compliance as an act of hostility against himself." The application of the English court, therefore, being perceived, from the operation of these causes, to be unavailing, Colonel Yorke, the English ambassador, was directed to inform their high mightinesses, that the King of England would not insist on the requisition; and the States expressed, in grateful terms, their acknowledgments to his Britannic Majesty for thus generously relieving them from the dilemma in which they had been placed.

Parliament assembled in November, 1755; and, in the opening speech, the King informed them, "that he had adopted what appeared to him the most proper and effectual measures for the protection of the national possessions in America, no reasonable terms of accommodation having been proposed by France; and also to disappoint such designs as, from various appearances and preparations, there was ground to believe had been formed against his kingdoms and dominions; that he had greatly augmented his forces by land and sea; and that he had concluded treaties with Russia and Hesse-Cassel, copies of which should be laid before them." In the consequent address moved in both Houses, were the following words: "That they looked upon themselves as obliged by the strongest ties of duty, gratitude, and honour, to stand by and support his Majesty in all such wise and necessary measures and engagements, as his Majesty might have taken in vindication of the rights of his crown, or to defeat any attempts which might be made by France in resentment for such measures, and to assist his Majesty in disappointing or repelling all such enterprises as might be formed not only against his kingdoms, but also against any other of his dominions though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain, in case the King should be attacked on account of the part which his Majesty had taken for maintaining the essential interests of his kingdoms." The declaration contained in this clause met with a formidable opposition in the Commons, not from the party usually voting in opposition, but from Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, the most popular members of administration, and a considerable number of other gentlemen possessing posts under the government.*

The clause was, however, carried on a division; and the dismission of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge from their respective employments immediately followed.

Three days before the meeting of Parliament, Sir Thomas Robinson, Secretary of State, from consciousness of incapacity, had resigned the seals, which were directly transferred to Mr. Fox, Secretary at War, who, in political ability, had no rival in the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt excepted. Though engaged for several years past in the support of the same administration, they were actuated by a visible jealousy on almost all occasions; and it was observed, that they agreed in nothing so well as in those sentiments of contempt for the late minister. It may easily be supposed, therefore, that Mr. Pitt, who could endure no superior, was very little delighted with the advancement of his competitor, who seemed as firmly resolved to admit no equal; and Mr. Legge entering entirely into the views of Mr. Pitt, it was imagined that the new minister would not long be able to maintain his ground against an opposition strengthened by so powerful a secession, founded on professions so popular and patriotic. Mr. Fox, however, supported by the favour of the King, the patronage of the Duke of Cumberland, and the undivided interest of the Pelhams, was able to secure a triumphant majority; and the treaties with Russia and Hesse-Cassel, though strongly and obstinately opposed, were ratified in a House consisting of four hundred and forty-eight members, by three hundred and twenty against one hundred and twenty-eight. This majority could not, however, disguise the impolicy of the premier's conduct, who had neither dared, at the decease of Mr. Pelham, to enter into a confidential connection with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, the only men in the House of Commons by whom he could be effectually supported, nor entirely to break with them.†

Early in 1756, Mr. Fox received a letter from M. Rouille,

* Mr. Pitt declared "The whole system and scheme of politics now adopted to be flagrantly absurd and desperate. It was no other than to gather and combine the powers of the Continent into an alliance of magnitude sufficient to withstand the efforts of France and her adherents against the electorate of Hanover, at the single expence of Great Britain. The three last wars with France had cost Britain above one hundred and twenty millions of money; the present exhibited a prospect of an effusion of treasure still more enormous; and, when we considered that such immense issues of money were to be supplied by new loans, heaped upon a debt of eighty millions, who would answer for the consequence, or venture to ensure us from a national bankruptcy? Mr. Pitt contended, that a naval war we could and ought to support, but a continental war, upon this system, we could not. We had suffered ourselves to be deceived by names and sounds; the general cause, the balance of power, the liberty of Europe; and had exhausted our wealth without any rational object. Should Hanover be actually attacked on account of her connection with England, he acknowledged that we ought not to make peace without procuring for its inhabitants ample satisfaction and indemnity; but the idea of defending Hanover by an army of mercenaries he ridiculed as preposterous and impracticable. This system, he said, would, in a few years, cost us more money than the fee-simple of the electorate was worth; for it was a place so inconsiderable, that its name was scarcely to be found in the map. He ardently wished to break those fetters which chained us, like Prometheus, to that barren rock."

† About this time, intelligence arrived of a disaster which excited the most vivid emotions of grief and compassion among all ranks and orders of persons throughout the nation. This was the almost total destruction of the city of Lisbon by a tremendous earthquake, on the 1st of November (1755.) The two principal shocks lasted nearly a quarter of an hour, and they were immediately followed by a most extraordinary rise and inundation of the Tagus. A great number of churches, monasteries, and other public buildings, and many thousand private houses, were, in the space of a few minutes, thrown down—the earth heaving, rocking, and in many parts rending asunder, with incredible noise and violence—immense volumes of mingled smoke and flame issuing from the apertures. After the final cessation of the concussions, this superb city presented to the view of the astonished spectator only a heap of ruins. The royal family were compelled

Rouille, Secretary of State for foreign affairs in France, expostulating, in the name of his sovereign, "Upon the hostile instructions given by the King of England to General Braddock and Admiral Boscawen, in direct contradiction to the amicable professions of the British court. He complained of the insult offered to the French flag in the capture of two ships of war, and of the depredations on the French commerce, without any previous declaration of war, in contempt of the law of nations. He demanded therefore, in the name of the King his master, full and entire satisfaction for this atrocious violation of the dignity of his crown, as well as a complete reparation for the injuries sustained by his people." Mr. Fox replied, "that the King of England would willingly consent to an equitable accommodation of differences, but would not comply with the demand of restitution as a preliminary condition; his Britannic Majesty having taken no steps but such as the hostilities previously committed by the French, and a regard to his own honour and the rights of his crown and people, rendered just and indispensible."

War being now considered as virtually declared, the French court issued an order to seize all British vessels in the French harbours, and began with great assiduity to repair the fortifications of Dunkirk. The naval preparations at Brest were prosecuted with unremitting diligence; a vast number of transports were collected in the different ports in the Channel; and numerous bodies of land forces were seen moving from all parts towards the coasts of Normandy, Picardy, and Bretagne. Towards the close of March the King sent a message to Parliament, stating, "that he had received repeated and authentic advices that a design was actually formed by the French court for the invasion of Great Britain; that he had taken the proper precautions for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence; that, in order further to strengthen himself, he had made a requisition of the Hessian troops which the landgrave had by the late treaty agreed to furnish." An address was immediately presented, thanking his Majesty for this seasonable and prudent requisition; and, in a few days, Mr. Fox, encouraged by the prevailing unanimity of the House, moved a second address, "beseeching his Majesty, that, for the more effectual defence of his kingdoms, and for the better security of the religion and liberties of his subjects, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops to be forthwith embarked for England." This also was carried by a great majority; and in the course of the ensuing month these troops actually arrived. Such was the consternation excited throughout the kingdom by the idea of an invasion, that these measures of the minister were received with great and general applause; though it appeared, in the view of Europe at large, not less unaccountable than disgraceful that England should, at the commencement of a foreign war, deem herself unequal to provide for her own internal safety.*

Whether the French actually meditated a descent upon the English coast, remains doubtful, and it appears highly probable that the preparations which occasioned this universal alarm were designed chiefly, or solely, as a veil to disguise their real design of an attack upon the island of Minorca. While the attention of the English ministry and nation was occupied with the armaments of Brest and Dunkirk, it seemed entirely to escape their notice that a formidable fleet was equipping at Toulon; till, at length, its destination becoming notorious, a squadron very incompetent to the purposes of the expedition was detached to the Mediterranean, under Admiral Byng, an officer of whom the public knew little more than that he was the son of the gallant and heroic Viscount Torrington. This armament, consisting of ten ships of the line, afterwards joined by two or three others, sailed from Spithead April 7, 1756; and on the 2d of May the Admiral arrived at Gibraltar, where he was informed that the French fleet, under M. de la Galissoniere, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, and transports, on board of which were embarked fifteen thousand land forces, had sailed from Toulon on the 10th of April, with a view to a descent on the island of Minorca, and were now actually engaged in the siege of Fort St. Philip. On this intelligence the Admiral transmitted dispatches to England, "Lamenting that he was not sent out in time to prevent the landing of the French; complaining of the bad condition of the ships, and of the total deficiency which he found at Gibraltar of all the necessary requisites for careening and refitting. He signified his opinion of the impracticability of throwing any supply of troops into the fortress, and of the impolicy of attempting it if feasible, as the siege could not be raised without the co-operation of a land force, and any reinforcement of men would consequently only increase the number of prisoners which must ultimately fall into the hands of the enemy." This extraordinary letter being considered by the ministry as a virtual accusation of their negligence or incapacity, and as ominous of the loss of the place, they determined to convince the Admiral that such language was not to be held with impunity. On approaching Minorca (May 18,) Admiral Byng descried the British colours still flying at the castle of St. Philip: at the same time the French fleet appearing to the south east, he formed the line of battle; and about two o'clock he threw out signals to bear away two points from the wind and engage. Admiral West, who commanded the van division, perceiving the inconsistency of the two orders, chose to comply with the last, and bore away with his division seven points from the wind, as absolutely necessary to bring the enemy to a close and regular engagement. Not finding himself, however, sustained by his commander, he could not pursue the advantage he had gained without imminent danger of having his communication with the remainder of the fleet entirely cut off. When urged by his Captain to bear down upon the enemy, in order to support the ships of the van, Admiral Byng coolly replied, that it was his determination to keep the line of battle entire; and that he would avoid the error of Admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the combined fleets of France

compelled to leave the palace with precipitation, and to retire into the neighbouring fields for safety; and ten thousand of the inhabitants, as it was computed, were killed by the fall of the buildings, or swallowed up in the chasms formed by the numerous and horrid dispartings of the earth. A message from the throne informed Parliament of this dreadful calamity; and, by an act of generosity and humanity which conferred the highest honour on the nation, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds was instantly and unanimously voted for the use of the distressed inhabitants of that metropolis; and supplies to this amount in corn, flour, rice, and other necessaries, were shipped without delay for Portugal, which proved a most welcome and seasonable relief.

* At the close of the session (May 27) the Speaker, on presenting the money bills for the royal assent, addressed the King in a speech replete with sentiments so just and constitutional, expressed in language so bold and animated, as to merit distinguished regard. After specifying the extent, and remarking the liberality, of the grants, exceeding those of any former period, he declared, "That the Commons of England hoped the sword, so bravely drawn and so effectually supported, would be instrusted only in capable and honest hands; and that the naval strength of Great Britain will do service as much greater as it is exalted higher than ever before. His Majesty's faithful Commons apprehended that the present critical juncture convinces that alliances on the Continent, as they are unnatural, so they must ever be prejudicial to the true interest of England: that there is no gratitude to be expected from, no dependence to be placed on, such allies; who, supported as they have been by the blood and treasure of this kingdom, have taken the opportunity of the first prospect of present profit to break through every tie. Not discouraged, however, by the ingratitude of allies or the ambition of enemies, they have with pleasure beheld the sword drawn to vindicate the national honour and interest—proud to let all the world see that England is able to fight her own battles, and to stand by her own natural strength. Though ever attached to his Majesty's person, he declared, nevertheless, that there were circumstances existing at which nothing but their confidence in his Majesty's justice, and love to his people, could hinder them from being most seriously alarmed. Subsidies to foreign Princes, when already burdened with a debt scarcely to be borne, cannot but be severely felt—an army of foreign troops, a thing unprecedented, unheard of, unknown, brought into England, cannot but alarm. Still they had reliance upon his Majesty, and hoped that their burdens might be lightened, their fears removed, as soon as possible; and, in the mean time, that the sword of these foreigners should not be intrusted a moment out of his own hand to any other person whatsoever."

and Spain off Toulon, had broken the line by his precipitation, and had exposed himself by his rashness to a fire which he could not sustain. Under colour, therefore, of preserving the line of battle entire, in order to fight with the more advantage, it could scarcely be affirmed that he fought at all—the distance at which he engaged being so great that he received only some few shots in his hull: and not a single man was killed or wounded on board the Admiral's own ship, a noble second rate of ninety guns. M. de la Galissoniere was well pleased to perceive the British commander so little in earnest; and, having no urgent reasons on his part to wish for a continuance of the fight, towards evening he bore away under an easy sail; and, though the British Admiral made the signal for chasing, it so happened that the French were not overtaken, and the next morning they were entirely out of sight. On enquiry into the condition of the fleet after this engagement, it was found that three of the principal ships were so much damaged in their masts that they could not keep the sea with safety; that about two hundred men had been killed and wounded in the engagement, and many others disabled by sickness. Admiral Byng represented to a council of war held on the occasion, that his squadron was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men; and that they had also the advantage of sending their sick and wounded to Minorca, whence they received continual supplies and reinforcements: that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve the castle of St. Philip; and that they ought, therefore, to make the best of their way back to Gibraltar, to refit and wait for further orders from England. The council concurred unanimously in these sentiments; and the fleet immediately set sail for Gibraltar,—the French returning to their former station off Mahon.

When Admiral Byng's dispatches arrived in England, the ministry, prepared for such intelligence, commissioned, without delay, Admirals Hawke and Saunders to take the command in the Mediterranean; and at the same time orders were given to send home Admiral Byng in arrest; and on his arrival in England he was committed close prisoner to Greenwich Hospital.

Although the garrison of St. Philip had reason to consider themselves as abandoned to their fate, a gallant defence was made by General Blakeney, the governor, from the middle of April to the beginning of July; when, no prospect of relief being discernible, the works and even the body of the castle being much shattered, the embrasures and parapets demolished, many cannon dismounted, and a lodgement actually made by the enemy on one of the principal redoubts—the garrison also being exhausted with hard and incessant duty—it was resolved to surrender; and a very favourable capitulation was granted by the Duc de Richelieu, the French commander,—the garrison being permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and with the liberty of a free and unmolested conveyance to Gibraltar. A few days afterwards, Admiral Hawke appeared in view, with a fleet much superior to that of the French; but M. de la Galissoniere had seasonably retired; and the English Admiral, seeing the French colours flying on the castle of St. Philip, found every effort precluded. Indeed, had he arrived before the surrender, there was little probability of his being able, even by an absolute defeat of the French squadron, to accomplish the desired object.

This conquest, which was celebrated in France with great triumph and rejoicings, in England produced a degree of depression far more than proportionate to the magnitude and importance of the loss sustained. This depression was accompanied by a feeling of resentment, and even of rage, against the unfortunate Admiral, which could scarcely have been exceeded had he, by criminal misconduct, sacrificed half the navy of Britain.

In the ensuing session of Parliament, an inquiry was instituted into the causes of the loss of the island of Minorca; and the House of Commons having addressed his Majesty for copies of all letters and instructions relative to this subject, so prodigious a mass of papers was produced as seemed rather calculated to confuse and overwhelm, than to explain and elucidate, the object of investigation. However, after a loose and cursory examination of these documents, the House resolved:—

"I. That, from the intelligence repeatedly received by his Majesty's ministers, there was just reason to believe that an invasion of Great Britain or Ireland was actually intended by the French King.

"II. That no greater number of ships of war could, with safety to his Majesty's dominions and the interest of his subjects, be sent to the Mediterranean than were actually sent thither under the command of Admiral Byng."

It is evident that these resolutions were constructed solely for the exculpation of the ministers: though it still seemed incomprehensible to all impartial observers, how, with more than one hundred and fifty ships of war in commission, so small a force only could be spared for so great a service. Mr. Fox is known to have been desirous to detach a strong squadron to the Mediterranean the first week in March; but he could not prevail over the fears of the Duke of Newcastle: Lord Anson also assured him, that Byng's squadron would beat any thing that the French had or could have in the Mediterranean.

The public clamour for justice continuing, the trial of Admiral Byng commenced December 28, before a court martial held on board the ship St. George, in the harbour of Portsmouth; and, after a long investigation, the court determined that the Admiral, during the engagement on the 20th of May last, did not do his utmost endeavour to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French King; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of the castle of St. Philip—they, therefore, unanimously agreed, "That he fell under the letter of the twelfth article of the naval code, which, for this offence, positively prescribes death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court. But, believing his misconduct to arise neither from cowardice nor disaffection, they earnestly recommended him as a proper object of mercy."* The Admiral heard his doom without the least alteration of countenance; and, with a low obeisance to the court, retired in dignified silence.

At the same time that the court martial transmitted a copy of their proceedings to the board of Admiralty, they sent their Lordships a letter, which concluded in these terms:—"We cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your Lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under a necessity of condemning a man to death, from the great severity of the 12th article of war, part of which he falls under, and which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment; and therefore for our own consciences' sake, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your Lordships, in the most earnest manner, to recommend him to his Majesty's clemency."—The Lords of the Admiralty, instead of complying with the request of the court martial, transmitted their letter to the King, with copies of their proceedings; and a letter from themselves to his Majesty, specifying a doubt with regard to the legality of the sentence, as the crime of negligence, for which the Admiral had been condemned, was not expressed in any part of them: at the same time copies of two petitions from George Lord Viscount Torrington, in behalf of his kinsman, Admiral Byng, were submitted to his Majesty's royal wisdom and determination. All the friends of this unhappy man employed and exerted their influence and

* The XIIth article of war is as follows:—"Every person in the fleet, who, through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall, in time of action, withdraw, or keep back, or not come into the fight, or engagement, or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage, and to assist and relieve all and every one of his Majesty's ships, or those of his allies, which it shall be his duty to assist or relieve, every such person so offending, and being convicted thereof, by the sentence of a court-martial, shall suffer death."

interest for his pardon; and, as circumstances had appeared so strong in his favour, it was supposed that the royal mercy would be extended for his preservation. "But," observes Charnock,* "infamous arts were used to whet the savage appetite of the populace for blood. The cry of vengeance was loud throughout the land. Sullen clouds of cruel malevolence interposing were said to obstruct the genial beams of the best virtue that adorns the throne; and the sovereign was given to understand, that the execution of Admiral Byng was a measure absolutely necessary to appease the fury of the people. His Majesty, in consequence of the representation made by the Lords of the Admiralty, referred the sentence to the consideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion that the sentence was legal. This report being transmitted from the privy council to the Admiralty, their Lordships issued a warrant for executing the sentence of death on the 14th of March." Admiral Forbes alone refused to sign the warrant, from the most honourable and conscientious motives.

During this interval Admiral Byng remained on board the Monarque, in custody of the Marshal of the Admiralty; and he was at no time perceived to lose his composure or cheerfulness. About noon on the day appointed, having taken the last farewel of his friends, he advanced with a firm step and serene aspect from the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where a guard of marines awaited to execute the sentence: kneeling, without any pause or delay, on a cushion provided for the purpose, he tied with his own hands a white handkerchief over his eyes, immediately dropped another as a signal for the executioners, and five balls instantly passed through his body—the whole of this awful and impressive scene, from his leaving the cabin, being over, and the Admiral deposited on his bier, in the space of about three minutes.

Reviewing the whole of this transaction, we can scarcely avoid considering Admiral Byng as a victim to the mistakes of others, bestowing on them the lightest term. In whatever respect he might be really deficient as a commander, the blame certainly attaches, in a much stronger degree, to those who sent him on such service, than to himself, who was, if at all, naturally incompetent to the task imposed on him. But if it be admitted that the failure primarily, if not entirely, arose from a real deficiency of force, or its being inadequate to the service on account of its ill-equipment, then the malice of his enemies is completely manifest, and the innocence of the Admiral becomes too apparent even for cavil or doubt. Of his pardon this unfortunate man appears to have entertained a hope amounting almost to certainty, for at the moment of his condemnation he had made every preparation to leave Portsmouth with that degree of triumph, which a man might be supposed to display when delivered honourably from the malice and vengeance of his enemies.†

The sacrifice of this victim had not appeased the nation, which still exhibited symptoms of the highest dissatisfaction at the conduct of the men, under whose administration nothing but disgraces and disasters had occurred. The idea of a German war, for the protection of Hanover, was odious to the majority of the people; the defeat of Braddock, and the subsequent losses in America, were the subject of equal astonishment and indignation; and the recent capture of Minorca threw the kingdom into a paroxysm of rage, as the apprehension of an invasion had before done into that of terror. Though the ministry, in calling in the assistance of the Hessian and Hanoverian auxiliaries, had acted with general approbation, their conduct was now stigmatised as the effect of a ridiculous timidity, if not of treachery. It was suggested that the kingdom had been left purposely unprovided, and that the natives of South Britain had been formerly subdued by auxiliaries of the same country, hired like these, for their defence and protection. Indeed, the public suspicion and hatred of these foreigners attained such a height, that the modest, orderly, and inoffensive behaviour only, by which they were distinguished, could have secured them from acts of outrage.

War having been declared in form by England against France, in May 1756, and in June by France against England, much pains were taken, in the manifesto published by the French King, to contrast the moderation and equity of the court of Versailles with the intemperate violence of the court of London, and particularly stigmatising the seizures of the French ships of war and commerce, before a declaration of war, as piracy and perfidy. The Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox, finding the tide of popularity strongly against them, dreaded the approaching meeting of Parliament, and determined, by resignation, to avert the disgrace and danger of dismission. In November 1756, Mr. Pitt was appointed principal Secretary of State; Mr. Legge reinstated in his post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which had been occupied during his secession by Sir George, afterwards Lord, Lyttleton; and the Duke of Devonshire, late Marquis of Hartington, was nominated to the high office of Lord Commissioner of the Treasury. On the second of December the session was opened by a spirited speech from the throne, in which the King expressed his confidence "that the union, fortitude, and affection of the people would, under the guidance of Divine Providence, enable him to surmount every difficulty, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of Great Britain. He declared, that the recent losses in America demanded resolutions of vigour and dispatch; and that he had nothing so much at heart as to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction from the people: for this end, he had remanded the foreign troops which had been brought hither at the desire of Parliament; and recommended the framing of a national militia, relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of his people in defence of his person and realm. He took notice of the unnatural union of counsels abroad, threatening the subversion of the empire, and the Protestant interest on the continent; concluding with professions of unwearied care and unceasing endeavours to promote the glory and happiness of his people."

Mr. Pitt, now regarded as first minister, soon afterwards delivered a message from the King, importing, "that, as the formidable preparations and vindictive designs of France were evidently bent against his Majesty's electoral dominions, and the territories of his good ally the King of Prussia, his Majesty confided in the zeal and affection of his faithful Commons to assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation for the just and necessary defence of the same, and to enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Prussian Majesty, for the security of the Empire, and the support of their common interests." This message, though censured by some, was received by the House with loyal approbation, and the supplies were granted to the utmost required extent. It was, however, strongly suspected that the measure had been previously objected against in the cabinet; and, in a short time, it became apparent, that the new administration was agitated by internal convulsion; and that the favourite project of the King, for strengthening the army in Germany with large reinforcements of troops from England, was not assented

* Biographia Navalis, Vol. IV. p. 171.

† Admiral Byng was interred at the family burying place, at Southill, Bedfordshire, an estate which was purchased of Lord Torrington by the late Mr. Whitbread, in the year 1795. The following inscription to his memory is in the family columbarium:

"To
the perpetual disgrace of
Public Justice;
The Honourable John Byng,
Vice-Admiral of the Blue, fell a martyr to
Political Persecution,
On March 14, in the year 1757,
When Bravery and Loyalty
Were insufficient securities
For the life and honour
Of a naval officer."

to

to by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge. Irritated by the pertinacity of their opposition, and urged by the Duke of Cumberland, who refused to take upon him the command of the army while Mr. Pitt remained in power, the King at length resolved upon an effort to relieve himself from this unwelcome and imperious control; and in April 1757, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were suddenly dismissed from their offices; the Chancellorship of the Exchequer being consigned, pro tempore, to the chief justice of England. Mr. Fox, again destined to take the lead in affairs, and invested with full powers, had made proposals to the Duke of Newcastle to resume his station at the head of the Treasury; but his Grace, doubting the stability of the new arrangement, thought it expedient to demur. In the interim, he commenced a secret negociation with the ex-ministers, and after a lapse of some week, he joined them openly with all his powerful adherents.

The consternation of the country at the dismission of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge is scarcely conceivable. Addresses from all parts were presented to his Majesty, beseeching him to reinstate those ministers in their employments; the principal cities and corporations in the kingdom presented them with the freedom of their respective guilds in gold boxes; and all voices, without one dissonant murmur, were now united in their praise. Mr. Fox, perceiving it impossible to stem the torrent, wisely counselled the monarch to yield, without resistance, to the wishes of the people; and, in June, Mr. Pitt resumed the seals of Secretary of State; Mr. Legge and the Duke of Newcastle their former stations at the board of Treasury; Lord Anson was placed at the head of the Admiralty; Sir Robert Henley appointed Keeper of the Great Seal in the room of Lord Hardwicke; and Mr. Fox himself, acceding to the new order of things, and renouncing his projects of ambition, was gratified with the lucrative office of Paymaster-General of the army. In consequence of this coalition of parties, all opposition in Parliament seemed annihilated; and Mr. Pitt had scope to exert his utmost ability. The events, however, which marked the commencement of his administration were by no means fortunate. A formidable armament, equipped with incredible diligence, sailed from the harbour of Portsmouth early in September, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, and a large body of land forces, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt. When Mr. Pitt ordered the fleet to be equipped, and appointed the period for its being at the place of rendezvous, Lord Anson said it was impossible to comply with the requisition: Mr. Pitt, with great warmth, replied, "That it might be done; and, if the ships were not ready at the time specified, he should signify his neglect to the King, and impeach his Lordship in the House of Commons." The menace produced its effect; and, on the twenty-third of the same month, the fleet anchored off the river Charente with a view to attempt the reduction of the city of Rochefort. Several days passed in sounding the river, in reconnoitring the coasts, in removing the troops from the transports to the boats, and the boats to the transports; and in deliberations upon the intent and practicability of the instructions under which they were to act. At length it was concluded to attack the isle of Aix, situated in the mouth of the Charente, and defended by a small fort and garrison. This service having been performed, and the works demolished, a council of war was held, in which it was resolved, to return without delay.

Considerable expectations having been entertained from this expedition, the nation was proportionably disappointed and enraged at its failure; and the public censure was directed chiefly, if not solely, against the General, it being admitted that the Minister had left nothing undone to insure the success of it, and that the Admiral had acted in no respect inconsistently with his high character for judgment and spirit.*

Early in the spring, the Duke of Cumberland had embarked for Hanover, to take upon him the command of the confederate troops, now, in consequence of the recent junction of the Prussians, amounting to about fifty thousand men. Mareschal d'Etrées, the French commander, advancing from the banks of the Rhine, the passage of which the King of Prussia in vain urged the Duke to defend, the confederate army was compelled to retire beyond the Weser. The French General, having passed this river also without opposition, attacked the Duke in his camp at Hastenbeck, July 25; and, while the battle was yet doubtful, the English commander, from a defect, not of courage, but of military skill and judgment, is charged with giving orders for sounding a retreat. A redoubt in centre of the allied army having been carried by the French, it was instantly retaken, sword in hand, at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttle and another of Hanoverian guards, by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who by this coup d'essai evinced, that nature had destined him for a hero. The Duke, still pressed by the French army, retreated first to Nienburg, then to Verden, and at length to Stade. The Mareschal d'Etrées, regarding with a watchful and penetrating eye the motions of the Duke, when urged to embrace a favourable moment of attack, replied that there was no occasion for fighting. In fact, his Royal Highness was quickly reduced, as the Mareschal foresaw, to a distressing dilemma. In front his further march was arrested by the German Ocean; on the right and left he was inclosed by the rivers Elbe and Weser; and the French having taken possession of the passes as the confederate army receded, the Duke had, or thought he had, no option but to submit to terms of capitulation, which were signed, under the mediation of Denmark, in the month of September, at Cloister-Seven, by which the Electorate of Hanover was left in the hands of the French, now commanded by the Duc de Richelieu; and the whole confederate army, amounting to about forty thousand Hessians, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers were dispersed into different and distant quarters of cantonment—the King of Prussia having previously withdrawn his troops, from the apprehension of this catastrophe.

On his return to England, the Duke of Cumberland was received with manifest tokens of the royal displeasure; and, in consequence, he resigned all his military employments in high disgust, and henceforth took no further public part in any civil or military transaction.†

Subsequently to the unsuccessful campaign of 1757, in America, the Earl of Loudon returned to England, leaving the chief command in the hands of General Abercrombie, from whom it quickly devolved to Major-General, afterwards Lord, Amherst, who, on the arrival of Admiral Boscawen from England, early in 1758, with very powerful reinforcements, concerted with General Abercrombie a plan of spirited and active operations for the ensuing campaign. The troops now assembled, both regulars and provincials, amounted to fifty thousand men; a military force to which the new world had seen nothing comparable. The garrison of Louisburgh having been greatly reduced, in conse-

* It was said that the inactivity and timidity of Sir John Mordaunt were less pardonable than the rashness and presumption of General Braddock, who, if he failed to attain his object, had at least sustained the national reputation by his courage; and so high did the clamour arise, that it was thought necessary to institute a court-martial for the trial of this commander, by which he was, to the amazement of the public, unanimously acquitted: and the sentence was universally contrasted with that of the former court, which had condemned an Admiral to death for not doing his utmost; whereas a General was now acquitted, though it was universally acknowleged that he had done nothing.

† The court of London, in a manifesto subsequently published, affected to consider the convention in the light of a mere suspension of arms—a military regulation; to continue in force only till the issue of the negotiation then depending with the courts of Vienna and Versailles, respecting the neutrality of the electorate, could be ascertained. This, however, was a sense which the words of the convention could not be made to bear; though the force of the observation in the manifesto cannot well be controverted,—"that it is impossible to suppose the Generals of the two armies had power to make a treaty by which, without the ratification of the sovereigns, the King's dominions should be delivered up into the hands of foreigners till a general peace, of which there was not the least appearance. It is a thing unheard-of to give the General of an army so extensive an authority."

quence

quence of the perfect security it was supposed to enjoy after the abandonment of the expedition of the last summer, it was resolved to renew the attempt; and General Amherst, with twelve thousand men, being convoyed by the fleet under Admiral Boscawen, anchored, June 2, in sight of the fortress, which in a few days was formally invested. The approaches were made with great skill and circumspection; and the Chevalier Drucourt, the Governor, seeing no prospect of relief, assented to a capitulation on the 27th of July. Exclusively of the city of Louisburgh and the whole island of Cape Breton, six ships of the line and five frigates, which were stationed in the harbour for the protection of the place, were either destroyed or taken by the English. General Abercrombie himself undertook, at the head of a still greater force, to reduce the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain. The first attempted was Ticonderago; a fortress which commands the communication between the two lakes, surrounded on three sides with water, and in front secured by a morass, and further defended, upon this emergency, with a breast-work, entrenchments, and abbatis. The General determined upon an assault; but he met with a severe repulse, and was compelled to retreat with the loss of eighteen hundred men; with which disaster he was so much dispirited, that he immediately reimbarked his troops, though still much superior in force to the enemy, and returned to the camp at lake George.—A considerable corps, however, detached by General Abercrombie, under Colonel Bradstreet, against Fort Frontenac, situated on the northern bank of the river St. Laurence, at the precise point of its departure from lake Ontario, reduced this important post with little loss; and Brigadier Forbes, who was destined to command the expedition against Fort Du Quesne, on the Ohio, finding it, on his arrival, dismantled and abandoned, immediately repaired and garrisoned the fort, changing its name, in compliment to the minister, to Pittsburg.

In the month of October, peace was established by a formal treaty between Great Britain and the Indian nations inhabiting the rich and fertile plains between the lakes and the Ohio.*

The fortune of the war having at length changed, the French, who had been hitherto the assailants, now saw the necessity of concentrating their force, in order to defend themselves from future attack and invasion. General Amherst, who possessed in a high degree the spirit of military enterprise, had, on assuming the chief command, formed a project, which would have appeared romantic and impracticable to his predecessors, for the entire conquest of Canada in one campaign. For the accomplishment of this grand scheme, Brigadier-General Wolfe, an officer who, though yet in early life, had distinguished himself in a very remarkable manner at the late siege of Louisburgh, was directed, as soon as the navigation of the St. Laurence should be clear of ice, to proceed with a strong squadron of ships of war, and a large body of land forces, to undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of French America. General Amherst, in person, proposed with the principal army to reduce the forts of Ticonderago and Crown Point; to cross the lake Champlain, and, marching along the river Richelieu and the southern banks of the St. Laurence, to join general Wolfe under the walls of Quebec. Brigadier-General Prideaux, with another separate corps, reinforced by a numerous body of Indians, assembled and conducted by the influence and authority of Sir William Johnson, was destined to invest the important post and fortress of Niagara, which commanded the navigation of the lakes, and the communications of the rivers St. Laurence and Mississippi. After the fall of the Niagara, the forces were ordered to be embarked on the lake Ontario, and, proceeding down the river St. Laurence, to undertake the siege of Montreal, the second city of Canada, and then to join the grand army before Quebec.

In the month of July, General Amherst arrived at Ticonderago, which at first the enemy seemed preparing resolutely to defend; but in the night of the 27th they suddenly and unaccountably abandoned this strong and hitherto impregnable post, and retired to Crown Point. After giving the necessary orders for the security of the fortress, the General embarked with the army, and reached Crown Point on the 4th of August; but by this time Crown Point also had been evacuated, and the English commander was informed that the French had retired to the Isle aux Noix, at the northern extremity of the lake Champlain, where they were reported to be encamped in force. The General, after making the most vigorous and indefatigable exertions to secure a naval superiority on the lake, again embarked his troops, in order to proceed to the attack of Isle aux Noix; but a continued succession of storms and tempests compelled him to desist from the prosecution of his design, and he returned to Crown Point, in the vicinity of which he took up his winter-quarters, in order to facilitate the early commencement of the ensuing campaign. Here he had the satisfaction to learn that the expedition against Niagara had terminated happily; for though General Prideaux was unfortunately slain by the bursting of a shell in visiting the trenches, General Johnson, who succeeded to the command, after defeating a body of forces which attempted the relief of the fort, had become master of it by capitulation, July 25; the projected design against Montreal, in consequence of various combining obstacles, however, remaining for the present suspended.

The most difficult and dangerous branch of the plan had been allotted to General Wolfe. On the 26th of June the armament destined for the invasion of Canada arrived at the island of Orleans, formed by the branches of the river St. Laurence, and extending to the basin of Quebec. On the left bank of the river St. Charles, the French army, amounting to about 10,000 men, under the command of M. de Montcalm, were posted; the encampment extending to the river of Montmorenci to the east, and their rear was covered with impenetrable woods.

General Wolfe, perfectly sensible that, unless the enemy could be brought to a decisive engagement, his enterprise must prove abortive, resolved, after some ineffectual feints to induce his antagonist to relinquish this advantageous post, to attack the French in their intrenchments, near the falls of Montmorenci. On the last day of July, dispositions having been made for a general assault, the troops were landed under cover of the cannon of the ships of war; but, notwithstanding the express orders given, not to march forward till the whole of the army was formed, the English grenadiers, rushing to the attack with irregular impetuosity, were soon thrown into confusion by the enemy's fire, and suffered very severely in the retreat. The General advancing in person with the remaining brigades, the fugitives formed again in the rear of the army; but the plan of attack was effectually disconcerted; and the

* At the grand conference which preceded this treaty, the following oration was addressed to the English commissioners by one of the sachems, appointed to conduct this negociation on the part of the Indians: "Brethren—I have raised my voice, and all the Indians have heard me as far as the Twightwees, and have regarded my voice, and are now come to this place. Brethren, the cause why the Indians of Ohio left you was owing to yourselves. The Governor of Virginia settled in our lands, and disregarded our messages: but when the French came to us, they traded with our people, used them kindly, and gained their affections. Our cousins the Menisinks tell us, they were wronged of a great deal of land, and pushed back by the English settling so fast upon them as not to know whether they have any lands remaining in surety. You deal hardly with us; you kill all the wild animals of the forests, and will not let us come on your lands so much as to hunt after them; you will not let us peel the bark of a single tree to cover our cabins—surely this is hard! Our fathers, when they sold the land, did not purpose to deprive themselves of hunting the wild deer, or using a branch of wood. Brethren, we have already acquainted you with our grievances; and we have referred our cause to the great King. I desire to know if King George has yet decided this matter, and whether justice will be done to the Menisinks?" Governor Bernard, in return, assured them that full satisfaction should be given to the Menisinks; and Governor Denny, delivering to the chief a belt and string of wampum, declared "the ancient union of the British and Indian nations to be renewed and confirmed, and that fresh earth was put to the roots of the tree of peace, in order that it may bear up against every storm, and flourish as long as the sun shines, and the rivers continue to flow."

RAPIN'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE

English commander was compelled to give orders for repassing the river to the island of Orleans, which was effected, though not without considerable loss. At this period the General transmitted dispatches to England penned with remarkable perspicuity and elegance, but in a tone of depression which demonstrated a perfect sense of the embarrassments of his situation. The disaster of Montmorenci made a deep impression on his lofty and susceptible mind. He was often observed to sigh; and, to his intimate friends, he declared his determination to die rather than endure the censure and reproach which invariably attend the want of success. An effort transcendently bold, and approaching in other circumstances to rashness and desperation, yet remained to be tried. A plan was formed, in concert with the naval commander, Admiral Saunders, for landing the troops on the northern bank of the river, above the city, and, by scaling the heights hitherto supposed inaccessible, to gain possession of the grounds at the back of the town, where it was but slightly fortified. The Admiral, in order to deceive the enemy, moved up the river several leagues beyond the spot fixed upon for the landing; but, during the night, he fell down with the stream, in order to protect the debarkation of the troops, which was happily accomplished in secrecy and silence. The precipice now remained to be ascended; and, with infinite labour and difficulty, the troops sustaining themselves by the rugged projections of the rock, and the branches of the trees and plants which sprang from the innumerable clefts into which it was every where broken, they at last attained the summit, and immediately formed in order of battle. The intelligence being quickly conveyed to M. de Montcalm, that the English army was in actual possession of the heights of Abraham, that commander declared himself unable to express his astonishment, and immediately comprehended the necessity of risking an engagement, in order to save the city. Abandoning, therefore, his strong camp of Montmorenci, he passed the river St. Charles, and advanced to the attack of the English army with great intrepidity. A very warm engagement ensued; and General Wolfe, who stood conspicuous in the front of the line, received a shot in the wrist, which, wrapping a handkerchief around it, he seemed not to notice, and continued giving orders without the least emotion. Advancing, however, at the head of the grenadiers, another ball pierced his breast, and compelled him to retire to a spot a little distant from the field of action, where he expressed the most eager anxiety to learn the fate of the battle. After an interval of suspense, he was told that the enemy were visibly broken: and reclining, from extreme faintness, his head on the arm of an officer standing near him, he was in a short time aroused by the distant sound of "They fly! they fly!"—"Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero—On being told "The French"—"Then," said he, "I depart content," and almost immediately expired in the arms of victory. It has been justly remarked, that "a death more glorious, and attended with circumstances more picturesque and interesting, is no where to be found in the annals of history."* The Generals Monckton and Townshend, after the loss of their commander, continued the fight with unabating ardour; and M. de Montcalm, the French commander, receiving a mortal wound, the French gave way on all sides, and a complete victory was gained, at a comparatively inconsiderable expense. The city of Quebec, struck with consternation at this event, almost immediately capitulated, though still provided with the means of a vigorous defence; and the shattered remains of the French army retired with precipitation to Montreal.

At home, this intelligence, which closely followed the former doubtful dispatches of the General, excited that delirium of joy which the return of national prosperity, after a long series of national disasters, is alone adequate to inspire. This was damped only by the death of the hero who had achieved the conquest.

General Murray, who had been appointed to the government of Quebec, took every precaution that prudence could suggest to secure and maintain this important possession. Nor were they found superfluous; for, early in the spring of 1760, the Chevalier de Levis, who had succeeded M. de Montcalm as commander of the French forces, assembled with great diligence, from all quarters, the troops remaining in Canada, and began his march from Montreal in the month of April, hoping to recapture Quebec before the garrison could receive the expected succours from England. General Murray, though much inferior in numbers, took possession of an advantageous post in the vicinity of Quebec, and determined to risk an engagement, which, if it proved unsuccessful, would not prevent his retiring within the walls of the city, which he determined to defend to the last extremity. The great disparity of force soon decided the conflict in favour of the French, and the General retreated to Quebec, which was immediately invested by the French army. On the intelligence, however, that an English fleet destined for its relief was already in the gulf of St. Laurence, they raised the siege with great precipitation, leaving their provisions, stores, and artillery, behind. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, now centred all his hopes in the defence of Montreal, which, in the expectation of an attack from General Amherst, he had strengthened with new fortifications, had recruited his army with new levies of troops, and had collected large magazines of military stores. The English Commander, after detaching Colonel Haviland with a strong force to besiege the post occupied by the French at Isle aux Noix, proceeded himself to the banks of the lake Ontario, where he embarked his troops, and, crossing the lakes, reduced the Isle Royale, commanding the entrance of the great river St. Laurence, the navigation of which, to the island of Montreal, is rendered extremely dangerous by the number of rapids and falls. The General, however, arrived with his army at Montreal, the beginning of September, with inconsiderable loss; and in a short time he was joined by general Murray, who had received orders to co-operate with him on the side of Quebec. Colonel Haviland, also, after the reduction of the Isle aux Noix, had advanced with the forces under his command to the south side of the river, opposite to Montreal. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, perceiving himself completely invested, and despairing of relief, demanded a capitulation, which was granted upon very favourable terms; and thus the important conquest of the province of Canada was finally completed.

Early in the year 1758, a plan had been presented to the minister, by one Cumming, an African merchant, a quaker, for the reduction of Fort Louis, on the river Senegal. The scheme having been approved, a small squadron was equipped, under the command of Captain Marsh, hoisting a broad pendant; Mr. Cumming, embarking also on board the commodore's ship, as a promoter and director of the expedition. After dispersing some armed vessels, which opposed their entrance into the river, the fort and adjoining factory surrendered without a blow; and Mr. Cumming defended his recommendation as perfectly consonant to his religious principles, affirming himself to have been previously persuaded that it would prove a bloodless conquest.

In the latter end of this year (1758), a successful attempt was made, under the conduct of Commodore Keppel, with a more considerable force, upon the island of Goree, to the south of the Senegal. The island was defended by two small forts, and several batteries, mounted with more than one hundred pieces of cannon; but they were soon silenced by a furious cannonade from the ships of war. During the attack, the opposite shores were covered with multitudes of the natives, who expressed with loud clamour and uncouth gesticulations their astonishment at the terrible execution performed by the British squadron. Nearly at the same time, a powerful armament, with six regiments of infantry on

* There is a fine monument to Wolfe's memory in Westminster Abbey; and the circumstance is commemorated by a masterly painting by West, a copy from which we here present to our readers.

board under the command of Generals Hopson and Barrington, sailed from St. Helen's, and being joined on their arrival in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, by a considerable additional force under Commodore Moore, the united squadrons proceeded to Martinique. Finding this important island better prepared for its defence than was expected, they directed their course to Guadaloupe, of which, after a long and obstinate resistance, they made themselves masters—the neighbouring isles of Deseada and Marigalante surrendering also on capitulation.

The ill success of the expedition against Rochefort, did not deter the minister from another attempt of the same nature; the execution of which was entrusted to Commodore, afterwards Lord, Howe, an officer of approved judgment and gallantry, who disembarked the troops, agreeably to his instructions, on the coast of Normandy, and took possession of the town of Cherburg without opposition. After destroying the harbour and basin of that place, upon which much labour and much money had been expended, the fleet sailed for England; but, in a short time, it again weighed and stood to the southward; and the land forces, under General Bligh, disembarked under the cannon of the shipping, two leagues to the westward of St. Maloe's, which they found, however, too strongly fortified to be carried by a coup de main. The General, therefore, determined to penetrate into the open country, and imprudently advanced to a considerable distance beyond the possibility of protection from the fleet. The unimportant operations of this predatory war soon received an alarming interruption from the intelligence that the duc d'Aguillon, Governor of Bretagne, was in full march, at the head of eighteen regular battalions and squadrons, to intercept their retreat. The General immediately began his march for the Bay of St. Cas, where the English fleet lay at anchor; but, before he could complete the reimbarkation of his troops, the rear-guard, consisting of fifteen hundred men, was attacked by the French, and the far greater part of them killed or taken.

In the summer of 1759, Admiral Rodney was detached with a squadron, under pretext of impeding the rendezvous of the transports collecting in its vicinity, to bombard the town of Havre de Grace, which was, at the first alarm, deserted by the inhabitants in great consternation. In the month of August, M. de la Clue, endeavouring to pass the Straits of Gibraltar with a considerable squadron, was intercepted by Admiral Boscawen off Cape Lagos; and, after a fierce conflict, the French Admiral's own ship (the Ocean, of eighty guns) and three other capital ships, struck their colours to the English: a fifth (the Redoubtable, of seventy-four guns) was burnt, after having been abandoned by her crew.* This victory was soon succeeded by another of greater importance. Great preparations had been, for some time past, making in the French ports in the Channel, with a view, as was imagined, to a descent on some part of Britain or Ireland; and a powerful fleet was equipped in the harbour of Brest, which was long prevented from putting to sea by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who had blockaded that port during the greater part of the summer. Sir Edward being driven from this station by stress of weather, M. de Conflans, the French Admiral, embraced the opportunity of weighing anchor with twenty-one ships of the line. On the first intelligence of their departure, Sir Edward Hawke sailed in pursuit of them. As soon as the French Admiral perceived the English fleet off Quiberon Bay, he retired close in shore, to avoid an engagement. The English commander, however, followed and attacked the enemy with undaunted resolution; though the weather was uncommonly tempestuous, and the days much diminished in length, with the additional disadvantage of a lee shore. About three o'clock on the twentieth of November, the battle began, and continued till the fleets were enveloped in darkness, which seasonably intervened to save the French fleet from total destruction. Two capital ships, the Superbe and Thesée, were sunk during the action; the Hero struck her colours, but no boat could be sent with safety to take possession; the Soleil Royal, the flag ship of the French commander, was next day burnt by her own crew, to prevent her falling into the hands of the English; and two other ships of the line were also stranded and destroyed. The rest of the fleet, with much difficulty, sheltered themselves in the river Vilaine, where they were long blockaded, but at length found means to escape to Rochefort. This was a fatal blow to the French marine; and, for some time after, the French court attempted no further naval expedition of moment. Important advantages also were obtained in the latter years of the war by the British arms on the coast of India.†

It now becomes necessary, to take a retrospective glance

* A remarkable circumstance attended this engagement; which is, that M. de la Clue, unable to escape the pursuit of the English—who crowded all their sails to come up with him—and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to run his ships on shore; which he effected near the fort of Almadana, the Commander of which fired three shots at the English. The captains of the Temeraire and Modeste anchored under the guns of the forts Xavier and Lagres; and in that situation were attacked, and compelled to surrender. For this irregular proceeding a formal embassy was sent, with such an apology as the case admitted, to the court of Lisbon.

† When the house of Brunswick succeded to the throne, England was, on the western or Malabar coast, in possession of the island of Bombay and the factory of Surat: on the opposite, or Coromandel coast, of Fort St. David, and, further to the northward, of Fort St. George, usually styled Madras, from its contiguity to that city, which, with several villages in the vicinity, was purchased, by the East India Company, of the King of Golconda; still further to the north, at the mouth of the Ganges, was Fort William, closely adjoining the town of Calcutta, a vast and populous commercial mart, situated in the kingdom of Bengal. The commerce of the French chiefly centred in the city of Pondicherry, a large and beautiful town on the Coromandel coast, between the forts St. David and St. George. Chandernagore, on the Ganges, ranked next in importance to Pondicherry, and they had also established factories at Rajapore, Calicut, and Surat, on the western side of the continent. During the course of the war, which commenced in 1740, Fort St. George, or Madras, the residence of the Governor General, and the seat of the civil administration, extending over all the English settlements in India, was conquered by the French; but restored in exchange for Cape Breton, at the ensuing pacification of Aix-la-Chapelle. Some years previously to that period, M. Dupleix had been appointed to the Governor Generalship of the French settlements in India—a man of singular ability and daring ambition, who seized with avidity every opportunity to extend and establish the empire of France in Hindostan. Nizam-al-Muluc, the subah or viceroy of the Decan, in 1745, had constituted, in virtue of his office, Anaverdi-Khan, nabob of the province of Arcot, a dependency upon his government. The subah not long surviving this appointment, was succeeded by his son, Nazir-Zing, whose claim to the succession was strongly opposed by his own kinsman Muzapher-Zing. That personage had recourse to M. Dupleix, who readily granted him powerful succours, in consideration and prospect of great future advantages. Thus reinforced, and joined by Chunda-Saib, a man of high rank and influence in the subahdary, he took the field against Nazir-Zing, who was strongly supported by the English. In a short time Muzapher-Zing was reduced to absolute submission, and Nazir-Zing, in clemency, spared his life; but detained him as a state prisoner. Muzapher-Zing found means to carry on dark and dangerous intrigues with Dupleix and Chunda-Saib, who had taken refuge in Pondicherry, and even with the ministers of Nazir-Zing; and a deep and traitorous conspiracy was formed, in consequence of which Nazir-Zing was murdered in his camp, and Muzapher-Zing proclaimed subah of the Decan. Chunda-Saib was, in consequence of this revolution, appointed nabob of Arcot, Anaverdi-Khan, the late nabob, having been previously defeated and slain, and his son Mohammed-Ali-Khan reduced to the necessity of putting himself under the protection of the English government at Madras. Muzapher-Zing did not long enjoy the fruits of his crimes; for, by a conspiracy similar to that by which he had himself risen to the throne, he was suddenly hurled from it; and the chiefs of the conspiracy, after putting him to death, proclaimed Sallabat Zing, brother to Nazir-Zing, subah of the Decan. The Mogul on the other hand, by an imperial firmaan, appointed Gawzedi-Khan, the elder brother of Sallabat-Zing, to the vice-royalty; at the same time declaring Chunda-Saib a traitor, and confirming Mohammed-Ali-Khan in the government of Arcot. The mandate of the emperor, however, would have been of little avail without the support and assistance of the English company, who determined upon sending a considerable military force, at the head of which was placed captain (afterwards Lord) Clive, into the province of Arcot, who, conducting all his operations with a vigour and dispatch which at once established his reputation as a military commander, took possession of the city of Arcot in the summer of 1751. Chunda-Saib having assembled a considerable army, with the aid of M. Dupleix, invested the city of Arcot, but was compelled to raise the siege with great precipitation; and was afterwards, in repeated engagements, defeated and foiled by the English commander. Major General Lawrence, commander in chief of the Company's troops, took the field in person, in the spring of 1752, and attacking the grand army of the enemy, headed by the nabob Chunda-Saib, he gained

glance at the war in Germany. As soon as the alliance had been concluded between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, it was communicated to the court of St. Petersburgh, and the Empress of Russia acceded to it without hesitation. Sweden also became a party in the confederacy; though opposite to the views and inclinations of the monarch. The King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, was deterred from following the example of Sweden, only by his vicinity to Prussia, and the recollection of his former losses and sufferings. Great military preparations, however, being made in all parts of the Austrian dominions, and the King of Prussia having received undoubted intelligence of negociations which had been long secretly depending between the courts of Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Dresden, greatly to his prejudice, and of which the dismemberment of his dominions was understood to be the ultimate object, ordered M. Klingraffe, his minister at the imperial court, to demand of the Empress-Queen a positive and explicit declaration of her intentions. Count Kaunitz replied, in general terms, "That her imperial Majesty had found it necessary, in the present juncture, to arm for her own defence, and that of her allies; but that her armaments did not tend to the prejudice of any person or state whatever." On the receipt of this answer, M. Klingraffe received fresh orders to represent to the Empress, "That his Prussian Majesty was well acquainted with the secret hostile projects of the imperial courts; that he constituted the Empress arbiter of peace or war; that he would be satisfied with nothing less than an express assurance of peace; and that he would regard an ambiguous answer as a declaration of war." The Empress, expressed, in indignant terms, her astonishment at the memorial now presented. She said, that "she had, in common with all other sovereigns, a right to take such measures as she deemed necessary for her safety, and that it belonged to none but herself to estimate her own danger; that no treaty of offensive alliance did exist, or had ever existed, between her and the Empress of the Russias; and

gained a complete victory. Chunda Saib, being taken prisoner, had his head struck off by order of the rajah of Tanjore, who was in alliance with the Company. M. Dupleix now proclaimed Rajah-Saib, son of Chunda-Saib, nabob of Arcot; and Sallabat-Zing, in return for the powerful support he had received from the French in the Decan, and having devised means to rid himself of his competitor Gawzedi-Khan by poison, made a grant to M. Dupleix of all the English possessions to the northward of Pondicherry. The French Governor, however, being recalled before this grant could be carried into effect, and the sieur Godeheu, the new governor, professing the most pacific intentions, a provisional treaty was quickly agreed upon on the footing of actual possession at the time, till fresh instructions should arrive from Europe. No sooner was the inimical disposition of the two courts ascertained, than hostilities recommenced in the Carnatic, and were carried on with various success, but, upon the whole, with considerable advantage, by General Lawrence on the part of the English. His attention, however, was, by a series of events, diverted to another part of the continent, the peace of which had hitherto remained undisturbed by European ambition. Ali-Verdi-Khan, subah of Bengal, with the contiguous provinces of Bahar and Orissa, a Prince who had forced his way to the throne by great crimes, and had maintained possession of it by great talents, dying in April 1756, was succeeded by his adopted son Sou-Rajah Dowla, the grandson of his brother Hadjee Hamet, a young man immersed in debauchery, weak in his understanding, violent in his passions, and profligate in his morals. Ali Verdi Khan, notwithstanding his early and continued partiality for this unhappy youth, with reason dreaded the consequences of his elevation to the Musnud. In his last illness, he obliged Sou-Rajah-Dowla to swear upon the Koran never more to touch any intoxicating liquor, a vow which he observed with surprising and undeviating fidelity. The new subah viewed, with alarm and apprehension, the additional fortifications carrying on at Fort William, in consequence of the war now declared against France, and from the prosecution of which he repeatedly required the governor to desist; but his orders being neglected or evaded, he appeared suddenly before Calcutta, in the month of June, with a large body of troops, and summoned the fort and city to surrender. Mr. Holwell, who acted as governor, made a resolute defence, but was at length compelled to submit to superior force. The subah, notwithstanding his assurances of protection from personal injuries, instantly ordered the English garrison, amounting to one hundred and forty-six persons, into confinement; and as there was, at a small distance, a strong stone prison, forming within the walls a cube of about eighteen feet, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, they were conveyed for immediate security to this dungeon. Mr. Holwell, on entering the place, immediately anticipated all the horrors which must ensue, should they fail in obtaining a speedy release; and accosting the jemmautdaur or officer of the Indian guard, promised to gratify him with a thousand rupees if he would remove one half of them to a separate apartment. The jemmautdaur assured him he would use his utmost endeavour to procure for them this indulgence, and retired for that purpose; but returning in a short time, he told the governor that the subah, by whose order alone such a step could be taken, was asleep, and no person durst disturb his repose. Mr. Holwell, in his narration of this scene of distress, compares their situation, in this dark and sultry cell, to that of so many miserable animals in an exhausted receiver—no circulation of fresh air sufficient to continue life, and not enough divested of its vivifying particles to put a speedy period to it. A profuse perspiration, accompanied by a raging thirst, soon took place, which, becoming each moment more insupportable, gradually changed into phrensy and delirium. The prison now resounded with the ravings of despair, and, nature being at length reduced to extremity, with the groans and broken accents of the dying. In the morning twenty-three only were found alive, and in these scarcely were there any perceptible remains of sensation or sensibility. Their sufferings, however, appeared to make little impression upon the ferocious and obdurate heart of the subah, who exulted in the success of his enterprise—not having the least conception that the English would return in force to Calcutta; and contemptuously declaring, that he did not believe there were ten thousand fighting men in all the land of the Europeans.

The miserable remains of the factory were now embarked on board a few trading vessels lying at the mouth of the Ganges; and these the

subah did not offer to molest. He even expressed his wishes that the English merchants would return to Calcutta, if they could be satisfied to live under his government, without laws or fortifications of their own, and carry on their traffic like the Armenians and his own native subjects. No sooner, however, was the intelligence of this calamity conveyed to Madras, than vigorous preparations were made by the English government to revenge the injury, and obliterate the disgrace. A formidable armament under the command of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, to the great astonishment of the subah, anchored in the Ganges in December; and immediately commencing their operations, Calcutta was invested and reduced in the month of January (1757), and also the city of Hughley on the Ganges, where the principal magazines of the subah were deposited. Soon after which, the subah himself, who had assembled a vast army in order to repel the invaders, was attacked by Colonel Clive, and obliged to retreat in confusion, and with considerable loss. Intimidated by the successes of the English, he consented to sign articles of peace (February 9, 1757,) by which it was stipulated that the factories and possessions belonging to the English company should be restored, and full compensation made for their losses; and, in general, that whatever rights and privileges had been at any time granted to the Company by virtue of the firmaans of the emperor, should be confirmed and ratified. After the conclusion of the treaty, the English Commanders proceeded to the attack of the French fortress and factory of Chandernagore; the reduction of which filled the nabob with new apprehensions and alarms; and he remonstrated in strong terms to Admiral Watson against these acts of violence. The Admiral, regardless of his remonstrances, and jealous of his designs, declared to him, "that, if he protected the King's enemies, he would light up a flame in his country that all the waters of the Ganges would not be able to extinguish." The capricious and tyrannical conduct of Sou-Rajah-Dowla, was such, that those who were originally most attached to his interests began to be weary of his government. Among other men of high rank in the subahdary, of whom he entertained just suspicion, was Meer-Jaffier-Ali-Khan, nearly allied to the subah by his marriage with the sister of Ali-Verdi-Khan. He had been heard to declare that he would have the head of Meer-Jaffier; and Meer-Jaffier, sensible of the imminent dangers of his situation, made secret proposals to the English resident at the court of Moorshedabad, the capital of Bengal, which were eagerly embraced by the English council and commandants at Calcutta, for the deposition of Sou-Rajah-Dowla, and the advancement of Meer-Jaffier to the Musnud. The jealousies of the subah continuing to increase, Meer-Jaffier retired from court to his residence in the country; whence he transmitted dispatches to Colonel Clive, urging him to begin his march to Moorshedabad. The Colonel, seeing that the die was cast, and that they had already gone much too far unless they proceeded still further, immediately put the whole army in motion; and, with a just, though daring, reliance on his own talents and the valour of his troops, crossing the Ganges, he advanced to Plassey, within one day's march of the capital; where he found the subah encamped with a force of seventy thousand men, in all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of oriental magnificence. The subah, on the first intelligence of the march of the English army, had eagerly courted the support and assistance of Meer-Jaffier, whom he had beyond all possibility of forgiveness previously offended. A full and free pardon was granted to Meer-Jaffier; who, being introduced into the presence of the subah, took a solemn oath upon the Koran that he would be his faithful soldier; and, in return, the subah swore that he would never attempt the life of Meer-Jaffier. Though the army of the subah was advantageously posted upon an eminence, Colonel Clive advanced at the head of his troops, consisting of little more than three thousand men, with great intrepidity to the attack. On the other hand, the distrust and secret despondency prevailing throughout the Asiatic army were such, that resistance was scarcely attempted. With the slight loss of about seventy men, a decisive victory was gained—the camp, artillery, and stores of the enemy falling into the hands of the victors. Doubtful, perhaps, of the final event, and perplexed in the mazes of his own policy, Meer-Jaffier, who commanded the left wing of the subah's army, took no part whatever in the action; but the English commander, far from discovering any impolitic symptoms of resentment at his ambiguity of conduct, saluted him, with apparent complacency, subah of the three provinces, and exhorted him to pursue

his

and that the positive assurance required of her, in terms so unusually peremptory, could not be more binding than the solemn treaty actually subsisting, and which she had no intention to violate." The Prussian monarch, convinced by evidence transmitted through secret channels, of the insincerity of the court of Vienna, and that Saxony waited only a favourable opportunity to join the confederacy against him, entered that electorate with a numerous army, and took possession of the city of Dresden on the 8th of September 1756; declaring, however, that he did not mean to violate the neutrality professed by his Polish Majesty, and requiring only that monarch to separate his army into cantonments, as a proof and pledge of his amity and good faith. The King of Poland, astonished and exasperated at this unexpected intrusion, seemed neither to know how to comply or resist. Relying, however, upon the strength of the inaccessible camp of Pirna, romantically situated on the summit of a lofty range of rocks extending along the banks of the Elbe, to which the Saxon army had retreated, he ventured to declare his resolution to keep his troops assembled for the defence and protection of his person and dominions. This, with an antagonist such as the King of Prussia, was equivalent to a declaration of war; and the Prussian General, finding it impossible to attack the Saxons, took immediate possession, by order of the King, of all the passes leading to this impregnable post. Thus the whole Saxon army, reduced to extremity by famine, was on the 14th of October compelled to surrender prisoners of war. The King of Poland now retired for personal security to Warsaw; and the King of Prussia took possession of the whole electorate. During the blockade of Pirna, that monarch had made an attempt to penetrate into Bohemia; but finding the Austrian army, under Count Browne, strongly posted at Lowoschutz, on the Egrin, a bloody engagement ensued (October 1), which terminated with nearly equal loss: the advantages also were nearly equal, as the Austrians were prevented from advancing to the relief of the Saxons, and the King of Prussia was on his part compelled to measure back his steps to Saxony, where he took up his winter quarters. On re-entering Dresden, the King of Prussia commanded the royal cabinet to be forced, in defiance of the personal opposition of the Queen of Poland. In it was found deposited an authentic copy of a defensive treaty of alliance between the courts of Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Dresden, which had been some years concluded, and contained six secret articles. The fourth of these, for the sake of which the whole treaty seemed to have been formed, imported, that if the King of Prussia should depart from the peace of Dresden, which the contracting powers declared their intention religiously to observe, by attacking either of the contracting powers, or even the republic of Poland, the rights of the Empress-Queen to Silesia, &c. should again revive and be considered as in full force; and the eventual partition of the Prussian dominions should take place as stipulated in the treaty. In consequence of these daring acts of violence, the King was, at the subsequent meeting of the diet at Ratisbon, in his quality of Elector of Brandenburg, put under the Ban of the empire, divested of his privileges and prerogatives, his fiefs escheated, and the circle ordered to furnish their respective contingencies for carrying this sentence into execution. Not intimidated by this formidable denunciation, that monarch, early in the ensuing spring (1757), entered Bohemia at the head of a vast army, assisted by the Mareschals Keith and Schwerin, and, advancing towards Prague, found the Austrians, who were at least equally numerous, entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Count Browne, whom he attacked without hesitation or delay—forcing the entrenchments with resistless intre-

his march to Moorshedabad at the head of his troops—engaging, without delay, to follow and support him with his whole force.—Sou-Rajah-Dowla, who had fled with the foremost from the field of action, abandoned himself to despair; and on his arrival at Moorshedabad, after some tumultuous consultations and inconsistent resolutions, he disguised himself in the habit of a faquier, and left his palace in the dead of night, in order to seek for safety in obscurity. Meer-Jaffier, now seated, with all the accustomed ceremonies of state, upon the Musnud, was acknowledged subah of Bengal by all the rajahs and omrahs of the kingdom; and the unhappy Sou-Rajah-Dowla, being discovered in his flight, was put to death, imploring in vain for mercy, after a reign of fifteen months, by the express command of the son of the new subah. In conformity to the treaty, previously concluded with the English, this prince paid into the treasury of the company a crore of rupees,(a) as an indemnification for their losses at Calcutta, and ceded to them a considerable territory in the vicinity of that city. Thus was a revolution accomplished very marvellous in the eyes of the inhabitants of Bengal, who could not comprehend how the throne of Ali-Verdi-Khan could be subverted by a handful of foreign mercantile adventurers.

The attention of the supreme council and of the military commandants was now again turned to the coast of Coromandel, where the French had taken advantage of the temporary diminution of force on the part of the English, to make themselves masters of Ingeram, Vizagapatam, and other subordinate settlements in that quarter; and having been strengthened with large reinforcements from Europe, conducted by M. Lally, under convoy of a powerful squadron commanded by M. d'Ache, they threatened the entire conquest of all the English possessions on that coast. Fort St. David's was first invested, which surrendered after a very short and feeble defence. The rajah of Tanjore having distinguished himself as a zealous and faithful ally of the English, M. Lally marched into his dominions; and on the rajah's refusal to advance the enormous sum of seventy-two lacks of rupees, demanded by the French General, he invested the city of Tanjore; which was so resolutely defended by the native troops of the rajah, assisted by some European engineers, that M. Lally was compelled to raise the siege with considerable loss. He took possession, however, in his retreat from Tanjore, of the city of Arcot, the residence of the nabob Mohammed-Ali-Khan, without opposition; and, in the beginning of December 1758, he advanced with his whole force to Madras, to which he laid close siege. The place however, being strongly fortified and plentifully provided, the garrison made an obstinate defence; and on the arrival of a considerable reinforcement of troops and military stores, under the conduct of Captain Kempenfelt, in February (1759,) M. Lally abandoned the attempt, and retired with precipitation to Arcot, extremely chagrined at the ill success of this enterprise.

About this time, Vizagapatam and Masulipatam were recovered from the French by a detachment under Colonel Ford, and Salabat-Zing, subah of the Decan, perceiving the fortune of the war now visibly inclining to the English, made eager advances to the government of Madras. A treaty was accordingly concluded with the subah, by which he renounced his former alliance with France, and ceded the entire circar of Masulipatam to the company; the English, on their part, engaging not to assist or protect the enemies of the subah.

Colonel Coote, who now commanded in chief the company's forces in the Carnatic, gained several advantages over M. Lally, and captured, after a short siege, the important town of Wandewash, making the garrison prisoners of war. Passing rapidly to Carongoly, which also surrendered after a slight resistance, M. Lally took advantage of his absence to invest the town of Wandewash. Colonel Coote, marching with the utmost diligence to its relief, arrived at the critical time that the French had made a practicable breach. A general engagement ensued. It was long and obstinate; but it terminated in the total defeat of the French, who abandoned their camp, their cannon, and all the implements of the siege. The first news of the victory was brought to Madras at sunrise the next morning; and at noon came a note of two lines written by Colonel Coote on the field of battle. The joy which this success diffused was almost equal to that occasioned by the victory at Plassey. The English commander immediately undertook the siege and effected the reduction of Arcot. Several bloody, but indecisive, naval encounters intervened also, since the commencement of the preceding year, between M. d'Ache and Admiral Pococke, the successor of Admiral Watson, who had died soon after the recapture of Calcutta. After the defeat of Wandewash, M. Lally fled with his broken troops to Pondicherry; whither he was pursued with unremitting diligence by Colonel Coote, who, with the assistance of the British squadron, soon formed the blockade of that important city. As soon as the periodical rains abated, and the season for active operations recommenced, the blockade was converted into a regular siege: and the place, though defended with great vigour by M. Lally, was reduced to extremity before the end of January (1761;) not so much from the damage sustained from the assaults of the besiegers, as from the excessive scarcity of provisions, which the temporary but critical absence of M. d'Ache, now repairing and careening his ships at Mauritius, left M. Lally wholly destitute of the means to remedy. The English squadron, however, having been driven from their station by a violent tempest, he dispatched a letter to the French resident at Pulicat, fortunately intercepted by the English, urging him in the strongest terms to exert himself in the procurement of supplies. The English Admiral, however, soon resuming his station, he lost all hope, and demanded a capitulation; which Colonel Coote would grant upon no other terms than that of the garrison surrendering prisoners of war; to which M. Lally at length indignantly assented. Thus the capital of the French settlements in the east fell into the hands of the enemy, nearly at the same time that the conquest of Canada was completed in the west; and the genius of England triumphed over that of France, at this propitious period, in both hemispheres.

(a) A crore is a hundred lacks of rupees; and a lack of rupees is estimated at about 11,500*l.* sterling.

pidity

pidity and complete success, though with the loss of the gallant Mareschal Schwerin, who, after surviving the dangers of fifty campaigns, was slain, fighting at the head of his troops, covered with laurels, in the moment of victory. The shattered remains of the Austrian army took refuge in the city of Prague; where Mareschal Browne soon after died of the wounds which he received in the battle, or rather of the chagrin occasioned by its loss. The Prussians immediately formed the investment of that city, which, in consequence of the vast number enclosed within the walls, was soon reduced by famine to the last extremity. At this period, the famous Leopold Count Daun, originally a subaltern officer in the school of the great Khevenhuller, who with the penetrating eye of military sagacity had marked his extraordinary talents and predicted his future eminence, was appointed to the chief command of the imperial armies. This General immediately prepared for the relief of Prague, by collecting troops from all quarters; and reinforcing them by numerous levies, he encamped with this new army in an almost impregnable situation at Kolin, near Prague, in order to harass and retard the operations of the siege. The King of Prussia, impatient of molestation and elated with success, formed the rash resolution of attacking Mareschal Daun in his camp. The imperial general perceiving, from the eminence where he was stationed, the various evolutions of the Prussian army, and astonished at the presumption of the attempt, after long keeping silence, at length exclaimed, in French, "By my faith, it appears to me, that the King must lose himself to day!" After reiterated efforts, prompted by a species of heroism bordering on despair, the Prussians were finally repulsed with prodigious slaughter. The siege of Prague was immediately raised in consequence of this disaster, and Bohemia evacuated.—The King of Prussia now found his prospects darkened on every side. The French army, under the duc de Richelieu, who, with inferior merit had superseded Mareschal d'Estrees in the command, had penetrated into the electorate of Brandenburg, taken Halberstadt, and laid a great extent of territory under contribution. Mareschal Apraxin, at the head of 100,000 Russians, had entered Ducal Prussia, where they committed the utmost excesses. Pomerania was menaced with a powerful invasion from Sweden; the army of the empire, reinforced by a strong body of troops under the Prince of Soubize, had entered Lusatia; the victorious Austrians, after laying close siege to Schweidnitz, the key of Silesia, ravaged the whole country; General Haddick, at the head of a numerous detachment, carrying terror even to the gates of Berlin.*

After reducing Memel, and leaving the country behind them a perfect waste, the Russians reached the frontiers of Germany in August; but they were soon after unexpectedly attacked in their camp at Norkitten, by Mareschal Lehwald, who commanded on that side; and, though that General was finally obliged to desist, the Russians sustained immense loss, and were compelled to a precipitate retreat. In the interim, the King of Prussia, and Mareschal Keith, engaging the combined forces of France and the empire, at Rosbach (November 5, 1757,) commanded by Soubize, gained a complete victory, with inconsiderable loss. This victory, however, by no means extricated him from his difficulties; it merely left him at liberty to seek new dangers in other quarters. The Austrians, headed by Mareschal Daun, had taken Schweidnitz and laid siege to Breslau, and on the 22d of November forced, after an obstinate resistance, the entrenchments of the army under the Prince of Bevern, posted near that place. The brave General Kleist, after performing prodigies of valour, was left amongst the slain. Breslau immediately surrendered on capitulation. The King of Prussia, on the news of this misfortune, instantly marched to the relief of Silesia; and, coming up with the Austrians at Lissa (December 4,) the two armies joined battle with inconceivable fury. Fortunately for the Prussian monarch, Prince Charles of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial army, rejecting the advice of Count Daun, to remain as at Kolin within their entrenchments—which were almost inaccessible—advanced two miles in front of the Austrian camp to receive the enemy, who confidently marched to the attack. On this occasion, the military conduct and personal bravery of Count Daun, proved wholly insufficient to prevent the total confusion and consequent rout of the Austrians; who lost more than twenty thousand men either in the battle or in passing the defiles which separate Silesia from Bohemia, where vast numbers, wandering amidst the trackless wastes and snows, perished of cold, fatigue, and hunger. Breslau immediately opened its gates to the victors; and the whole province, excepting Schweidnitz, again fell into the hands of the Prussians. The sudden retreat of the Russians left Mareschal Lehwald at liberty to act against the Swedes, who had advanced into Prussian Pomerania, and were preparing to lay siege to Stetin; but on the appearance of the Prussian army, they not only evacuated the towns they had captured, but hastily retreated into Swedish Pomerania, whither they were followed by Lehwald, who drove them from one post to another, till nothing remained to them but the city of Stralsund. Such was the situation of the King of Prussia, when it was determined by the English minister, that the army of observation, scattered and dispersed by the convention of Cloister-Seven, should resume their arms.

The King of England, retaining his partiality for German politics, and yielding only to the necessity of the times, had Mr. Pitt continued inflexible, would probably have embraced the first favourable opportunity of again dismissing a minister, who might not be able to reinstate himself with the same eclat. A consideration, however, of still greater weight, it may be presumed, with Mr. Pitt, was, the visible change of sentiment in the nation on this subject. The King of Prussia, since the dissolution of his political connection with France, and his consequent alliance with England, had become a very popular character in the country; and this national predilection, after the victory of Rosbach, rose to enthusiasm. That monarch artfully affected to consider the union of the two great Catholic powers, as a combination to oppress and subvert the Protestant interest in the empire; and the people of England, to whom the name of Popery was still formidable, delighted to applaud and extol this "sceptred infidel" as "the Protestant hero." The national honour was also concerned to efface the stain of the disgraceful convention of Cloister-Seven.

It was impossible for Mr. Pitt to act with feebleness or indecision; and, if he resolved to engage in a Germanic war, he would also resolve to prosecute it with vigour and effect. This minister discerned also the advantage which might eventually arise to the distant and multifarious operations of Britain, from fixing the chief attention of France upon an object which, from local circumstances, must be at all times more interesting and important to that kingdom than to England; and he scrupled not, at a subsequent period, to hazard the assertion, that "America had been conquered in Germany."

The troops disbanded at Cloister-Seven having been re-assembled at Stade, in November 1757, the command was conferred upon Prince Ferdinand, brother to the reigning Duke of Brunswick. This General immediately put his troops in motion; and though the season was far advanced, he obtained several advantages. Two considerable detachments from the French army were entirely defeated by Generals Schuylenburg

*. It was at this period that the King of Prussia thus expressed himself, in a letter to his friend the celebrated Earl Mareschal: "What say you of this league, which has only the Marquis of Brandenburg for its object? The great elector would be surprised to see his grandson at war with the Russians, the Swedes, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and a hundred thousand French auxiliaries. I know not whether it will be disgrace in me to submit; but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me."

and Zastrow, the town and castle of Harburg reduced, and the cities of Lunenburg and Zell recovered; after which the two armies went into winter quarters.

In the spring of 1758, the famous subsidy treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Prussia, by which the King of England engaged to pay into the hands of his Prussian Majesty the annual sum of 670,000*l.* or four millions of German crowns, to be employed at his discretion for the good of the common cause. This great supply enabled that monarch to take the field with redoubled force. In the month of April, he opened the trenches before Schweidnitz, and kept a continual fire upon the town, with a prodigious train of artillery, consisting of three hundred pieces of cannon and eighty mortars. The garrison were obliged to surrender upon capitulation before the end of the month. The Austrian army, after the battle of Lissa, having retired into Bohemia, the King of Prussia levied immense contributions in Saxony, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, &c. About the middle of February, Prince Ferdinand had put himself at the head of the allies, and advancing towards the French army, which retired at his approach, took possession of Bremen without opposition. The Duc de Richelieu was now succeeded in the command by the Count de Clermont, who found his troops reduced by the accidents of war, and a variety of hardships, to a most deplorable condition. Under these circumstances he determined to march back to the Rhine; and, in consequence of this resolution, Hanover was evacuated, after having been in the possession of the French about six months. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, and so great were their confusion and embarrassment, that they were obliged to abandon their sick and wounded to the mercy of the allies, who also took many prisoners, with several entire magazines of provision and forage which they had not time to destroy. The Count de Clermont, having reached the further borders of the Rhine, was still closely pursued by Prince Ferdinand, who passed that river in the beginning of June; and, on the 23d of that month, he attacked the French army posted at Crevelt, the left wing of which, after a warm engagement, was defeated with the loss of six thousand men; but the right and centre made a skilful and regular retreat. Prince Ferdinand immediately invested Dusseldorp, which soon surrendered on capitulation. The Count de Clermont was now succeeded by Mareschal de Contades, who, being joined by powerful reinforcements, menaced an attack upon the Prince in his turn; and the Prince of Ysemburg, who commanded a separate corps on the other side of the Rhine, being about this time defeated by Mareschal Broglio, his serene highness thought it necessary to repass that river, as well in order to support the vanquished army, as to meet the reinforcements from England, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, which were now landed at Embden. Accordingly a bridge was thrown over the river at Griethuysen, and the allies passed it on the 10th of August without loss. The season was so far advanced before the junction with the British forces, that no military operations of importance ensued during the remainder of the campaign between the two grand armies on the Rhine. On the Weser, the Prince of Ysemburg was again worsted by Soubize and Broglio. Prince Ferdinand entered into winter quarters at Munster, and the French again established themselves in Westphalia. The King of Prussia had his hands fully employed in Saxony and Bohemia. After the reduction of Schweidnitz, he began his march at the head of fifty thousand men into Moravia, and laid siege to Olmutz, the capital of that marquisate. Mareschal Daun immediately advanced to its relief; and though he did not think proper to hazard a battle, he posted himself in so judicious a situation, that the Prussians found it extremely difficult to carry on their operations. The garrison also made several successful sallies; and the Austrian General Laudohn having at length intercepted a great convoy of provisions and ammunition, the King of Prussia found himself under the necessity of raising the siege, which he effected with such secrecy and expedition as to have penetrated far into Bohemia before it was known in the Austrian camp that he had lost sight of the walls of Olmutz. Mareschal Daun immediately followed, but found himself without an antagonist, his Majesty having evacuated Bohemia at the approach of the Russians, who had now entered Brandenburg in two large bodies, commanded by Generals Fermor and Browne, and spread terror and devastation wherever they appeared. In the course of this campaign, they plundered and destroyed fourteen large towns, and more than one hundred villages. The Prussians came up with them at Zorndorf, August 25, when a desperate engagement ensued. The battle began about noon, and lasted till night, when the Russians gave way in great confusion; and, as the Prussians gave no quarter, the slaughter was terrible. The Russians, however, continued extremely formidable. Upon the retreat of the King of Prussia from Bohemia, Mareschal Daun had advanced towards the Elbe, and, being joined by the Prince of Deux Ponts at the head of the army of the empire, threatened to surround Prince Henry of Prussia, who commanded, with much reputation and ability, for the King his brother in Saxony: but his force was too weak to stop the progress of the Austrians, who took Konigstein, and established themselves in the strong camp at Pirna. Immediately after the battle of Zorndorf, the King began his march to join the Prince; but, upon his arrival, found the imperialists—who had retreated as he approached—so strongly entrenched, that they could not be attacked with any prospect of success. However, he gained some trifling advantages, and dislodged a corps of troops posted in the village of Hochkirchen, which was immediately occupied by the Prussian army; but, in the middle of the night of the 14th of October, he was surprised in his camp by Mareschal Daun; and, after a most severe and bloody conflict, maintained amidst all the horrors of darkness and confusion, he was obliged to leave the Austrians in possession of the field and camp. Mareschal Keith gloriously fell in the action.*

On this misfortune, the King of Prussia retiring into Silesia, the Austrians invested Dresden. On their appearance, the Prussian governor Schmettau set fire to the suburbs of that city. The King of Prussia, after putting a stop to the progress of the Austrian arms in Silesia, and raising the sieges of Neisse and Cosel, returned to the relief of Dresden more formidable than ever, having been joined by a strong body of troops, under the Generals Dohna and Wedel, the former of whom had been engaged in observing the motions of the Russians, who, after attempting the siege of Colberg without success, had retired beyond the Vistula. The campaign in Pomerania greatly resembled that of the last year; for, the Prussian monarch being obliged to withdraw all his forces, excepting those in garrison, the enemy not only recovered every thing they had lost, but made bold incursions into the Prussian territories, and even levied contributions within twenty miles of Berlin. At the approach of General Wedel, however, they evacuated their conquests with great precipitation, The Prussian General being now at liberty to co-operate with the King, marched into Saxony, and raised the siege of Torgau. Being afterwards joined by General Dohna, he proceeded to the relief of Leipsic, which was closely invested by the army of the empire; and this design having been completed, they effected a junction with the King, and advanced towards Dresden. At their approach, however, Mareschal Daun thought proper to draw off his forces, and

* The corpse of this great man, with a cloak thrown carelessly over it, was carried into the church of Hockirchen, where M. Daun, General Lasci, and other officers of distinction, assembled after the battle. The question being accidentally asked, whose body it was? Lasci, viewing it with emotion, exclaimed, "'Tis my father's friend! 'tis Keith!"—Struck with the vicissitudes of fortune, and the disastrous termination of a life so celebrated in military history, universal silence ensued; and the Mareschal Daun himself was observed to shed tears of generous sympathy. General Keith was interred with military honours.

on the 20th of November his Prussian Majesty entered that city in triumph.

The French commenced the year 1759 with an act of singular perfidy, in seizing the imperial city of Francfort, which was productive of most important advantages, as it commanded the navigation both of the Maine and the Rhine; and here the Prince of Soubize established his head quarters. Early in the spring, several officers of rank in the allied army distinguished themselves by their activity and courage in beating up the enemy's quarters, destroying their magazines, and defeating various detached corps; particularly the hereditary Prince, who, in an action at Meiningen, made three entire battalions prisoners of war. The General of the allies, however, was disappointed in his grand design of driving the French army from Francfort before the arrival of their expected reinforcements. With this intention, he made, on the 13th of April, an attack on Mareschal Broglio at Bergen; but, having been repulsed in three successive assaults, he was obliged to retreat with loss. The brave but unfortunate Prince of Ysemburg fell in the action. In consequence of this check, Prince Ferdinand returning to his former cantonments in Munster, the French army, now under the command of Mareschal Contades, advanced northwards, and took possession of Cassel and Gottingen, Lipstadt, Munster, and Minden. The Regency of Hanover, alarmed at the rapidity of their progress, sent off the archives of the electorate, and the most valuable effects, to Stade, in order to be shipped for England; and his serene highness, finding himself unable to oppose them in the field, encamped with his troops in a strong situation near Minden, where, on the 1st of August, the French General resolved to attack them. This resolution produced the famous battle of Minden, at which the French charged with great impetuosity, but met with so warm a reception, that, after a conflict which lasted from dawn till noon, they were broken and routed on all sides, and gave way in extreme disorder and confusion. At this critical moment, the Prince sent orders to Lord George Sackville, who commanded the cavalry of the right wing, which formed a corps de reserve, to advance with all possible expedition to the attack; and, had these orders been properly executed, the disorderly retreat of the French army must have been converted into a precipitate flight; but his Lordship, unfortunately, not deeming his highness's orders sufficiently explicit, chose to apply to the Prince in person for an explanation; by which means, as well as by repeated orders to halt after the march was actually begun, so much time was lost that the cavalry did not arrive soon enough to be of the least service. The allied army, however, without his Lordship's assistance, obtained a glorious victory. The English infantry, in particular, commanded by Generals Waldegrave and Kingsley, acquired immortal honour. They not only sustained, with the utmost intrepidity, the repeated attacks made upon them, but, charging the enemy in their turn, totally broke and routed the gendarmerie, carabineers, and the choicest veterans of the French army. In this action M. Contades lost ten thousand men, with forty-three pieces of large cannon, a great number of colours and standards, and his own equipage and cabinet, containing papers of the utmost consequence. The garrison of Minden immediately surrendered at discretion. On the same day, a separate corps, under the Duc de Brissac, was totally defeated at Coveldt by the hereditary Prince. The French army now commenced its retreat to Cassel, which they soon abandoned, and fell back to Giessen, being exceedingly harassed during their march. The city of Munster was now the only place in Westphalia which remained in the hands of the French. After in vain attempting to reduce it by a bombardment and cannonade, the allies invested it in form about the beginning of November, when it surrendered upon terms.

M. Contades having been recalled, in disgrace, the Duc de Broglio had succeeded him in the command of the French army. He would, in all probability, have been driven beyond the Rhine, had not the exigency of the King of Prussia's situation made it necessary to detach the hereditary Prince into Saxony with a large body of troops to his assistance. That monarch had experienced the inconstancy of fortune in this campaign, though it had been opened with great eclat by Prince Henry, who, forcing a passage into Bohemia by way of Peterswald, destroyed the Austrian magazines at Leutmeritz, and thence penetrating into Franconia, drove the army of the empire before him to Nuremburg, laid the country under contribution, and captured upwards of fifteen hundred prisoners. General Wedel had, in the interim, been sent into Poland to oppose the progress of the Russians, who had begun their march from the banks of the Vistula; but, in an obstinate engagement which took place at Kaye, near Zullichau, the Prussians were defeated with great loss. The enemy immediately advanced into Brandenburg, and made themselves masters of the important city of Francfort upon the Oder. The King of Prussia, alarmed at their success, ordered a detachment of ten thousand men from the grand camp in Silesia to join the army under General Wedel, who had been also reinforced by about the same number under General Finck; and the King took upon himself the command of the whole, amounting to fifty thousand men. The Russians, to the number of eighty thousand, were strongly entrenched at Cunersdorf; but the King's affairs requiring a desperate effort, he determined to attack them in their camp; and, about eleven in the morning of the 12th of August, the action was begun with a heavy cannonade; after which the Prussians charged the left wing of the Russian army with so much vigour, that, after a furious contest of six hours, they forced the entrenchments with great slaughter, and seventy pieces of cannon fell into their hands. The battle was now looked upon as decided; and the King, in the first transports of his joy, dispatched the following billet to the Queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have driven the Russians from their entrenchments: in two hours more expect to hear of a glorious victory." But he soon found himself fatally mistaken. The Russian General Soltikoff, exerting all his powers, rallied his troops upon an eminence under cover of a redoubt; and his artillery, which was still greatly superior to that of the Prussians, was planted so judiciously as to render his situation almost impregnable. The King, however, was resolved to hazard a fresh attack, though against the advice of all his Generals. His infantry having been repulsed in repeated assaults, the cavalry were ordered to succeed to the charge; but with no better success. At length the Russian cavalry, and a body of twelve thousand Austrian horse, under M. Laudohn, who had joined Soltikoff just before the engagement, and had hitherto remained inactive, seeing the Prussians discouraged and exhausted, fell in among them sword in hand with such fury that in a short time the Prussians were totally routed and dispersed, notwithstanding the extraordinary efforts of the King, who exposed his life in the hottest parts of the engagement, had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shattered with musket balls. Nothing but the approach of night could have saved him from total ruin. On leaving the field of battle, he dispatched a second billet to the Queen, expressed in these terms: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potzdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy."*

Prince Henry had gained several advantages over the army of the empire, which, again entering Saxony,

* This was by far the most bloody action that had happened since the commencement of hostilities. Thirty thousand men were left dead on the field, of whom two thirds were Prussians; twelve Generals were killed or wounded in this engagement; and the King of Prussia left his whole train of artillery in the hands of the Russians. This, however, was soon replaced from the arsenal at Berlin; and, by his indefatigable diligence in recruiting his army, which was further strengthened by the recal of part of his forces from Pomerania, he soon regained his consequence.

had

had taken possession of the city of Dresden; and also over the Austrian army co-operating with them, under General Haddick. The Prince being at length joined by his Prussian Majesty, General Finck was detached with a strong body of forces to cut off the retreat of the Austrians into Bohemia. This measure, however, proved a most unfortunate one; for Mareschal Daun, receiving intelligence of General Finck's remote and isolated position, immediately resolved upon an assault; and, dividing his forces into four columns, he conducted his march with such secrecy and expedition that the Prussians found themselves entirely surrounded before they had entertained the least suspicion of being attacked. In this emergency they fought with great bravery; but at length, overpowered by numbers and destitute of the possibility of relief, they were compelled to surrender prisoners of war, to the amount of nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons. The King, however, refused with indignation to listen to the vindication of General Finck; who did not, indeed, appear to have been actuated by that spirit of heroism which the emergency required. The approach of winter at last freed the King from any further apprehensions from the Russians, who retired into their old quarters in Poland. The Swedes had, fortunately, been very inactive during the campaign.

A. D. 1760.] The French court had made great preparations for a vigorous campaign in Westphalia the ensuing summer. The grand army, under Mareschal Broglio, was reinforced to the number of 100,000 men; and the Count de St. Germaine commanded a separate corps of about 30,000. The hereditary Prince, who had rejoined the allied army early in the spring, met with a repulse at Corbach, in an assault upon the Count de St. Germaine; but he had soon an opportunity of retrieving his honour at Exdorf; where, on the 16th of July, he attacked a numerous body of the enemy under General Glaubitz, who were totally defeated after a very warm action,—five whole battalions being taken prisoners, including the commander, with their arms, baggage, and artillery.* This advantage was succeeded by another of greater consequence: the Chevalier Muy, who commanded the reserve of the French army, amounting to thirty-five thousand men, having been ordered to pass the Dymel, with a view to cut off the communication of the allied army (then posted near Cassel) with Westphalia, Prince Ferdinand immediately decamped and followed him; and, on the 31st of July, made so masterly a disposition of his forces that M. de Muy, who then lay encamped near the village of Warbourg, found himself at once attacked in flank, front, and rear. The French retreated so precipitately that the English infantry could not arrive in time to have any share in the action; but the cavalry, with the Marquis of Granby at their head, distinguished themselves in the most honorable manner.—The General of the allies, however, being obliged in consequence of this movement, to leave the landgraviate of Hesse exposed to the enemy's attack, Mareschal Broglio made himself master of Cassel, and even reduced Minden, Gottingen, and Elmbeck. Notwithstanding the capture of these towns, the superiority acquired by the late victory enabled the English General to detach the hereditary Prince on an expedition to the Lower Rhine; but this was by no means productive of the advantages expected. The city of Cleves, being weakly garrisoned, made little resistance; but at Wesel, which place he next invested, he met with a much warmer reception than he looked for; and his operations also being much retarded by heavy rains, he found it impracticable to carry the place before the arrival of a superior force, detached from the French army, under M. de Castries, for its relief. The siege having been raised, an engagement ensued near Campen, in which the Prince sustained considerable loss; notwithstanding which, he repassed the river in the face of the enemy without molestation, and rejoined the main army, which had been ineffectually employed in the blockade of Gottingen. Soon afterwards, Prince Ferdinand retired into winter quarters, leaving the enemy in possession of the whole country eastward of the Weser. The King of Prussia had made surprising exertions during the whole of this campaign. Whilst the two grand hostile armies remained strongly entrenched in the neighbourhood of Dresden, General Laudohn made great progress in the reduction of Silesia, by totally defeating (June 23) a strong body of troops under General Fouquet, who was himself wounded and taken prisoner, and capturing the important town of Glatz, which contained an immense magazine of military stores; after which he invested Breslau. However, Count Tavenstein, the governor, by making a resolute defence, enabled Prince Henry to march to its relief. Such was the expedition of the Prussian General, that he marched one hundred and thirty English miles in five days; and at his approach Laudohn abandoned his enterprise, after laying the city in ashes by a furious cannonade and bombardment, by which he hoped to intimidate the governor to a surrender. The King of Prussia, after besieging in vain the city of Dresden, marched into Silesia, whither he was followed by Count Daun; and advancing to Lignitz, with a view to effect a junction with the Prince, who still remained at Breslau, he found himself in imminent danger of being surrounded, Mareschal Daun being posted in front, General Laudohn on his left, and General Lascy on his right; the grand army of the Russians, under Mareschal Soltikoff, being also on their march to co-operate with the Austrians. In this dilemma, he determined rather to give battle than wait the attack; and, after taking the necessary precautions for the safety of his camp, he made a movement to the left with the greater part of his forces, in the evening of the 14th of August, with an intention of surprising General Laudohn, who, in consequence of a plan formed by Mareschal Daun, of which his Prussian Majesty had obtained previous intimation, was at the same time on his march to surprise the King. The two armies met about two o'clock in the morning, between the villages of Pfaffendorff and Lignitz, and after a sharp action, which lasted till six, the Austrians gave ground, and were pursued to a considerable distance. Mareschal Daun, who, in the execution of his part of the plan, had marched to the right of the Prussian camp, finding the tents apparently deserted, and hearing the remote reverberation of cannon, instantly conjectured the nature of the King's manœuvre, and hastened, but in vain, to the relief of Laudohn, the Austrians having been previously routed. By this victory the King opening himself a passage to Breslau, joined his brother Prince Henry at Neumarcke, and they immediately began their march to Schweidnitz, now closely blockaded by the Austrians, who retired at their approach to the mountains of Landshut. Whilst the King and Prince triumphed in Silesia, General Hulsen, who had been left in Saxony, found great difficulty in maintaining his ground against the imperial army under the Prince of Deux-Ponts. The Swedes who had surprised and killed General Manteuffle in the beginning of the year, now ravaged all Pomerania, without meeting any opposition. The sufferings of the Pomeranians, however, were inconsiderable in comparison of those which the electorate of Brandenburg, and even the city of Berlin itself, experienced; for a grand detachment of the Russian army, under Count Czernicheff, penetrating into the Marche on one side, and a numerous body of Austrians, under the Generals Lascy and Brentano, on the other, joined their forces in the neighbourhood of that capital, which being of great extent, and imperfectly fortified, could make but a very feeble resistance; the garrison, to the amount of 1,200 men, being compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The Russian and Austrian troops no sooner entered the place than they demanded the immediate payment of 800,000 guilders, and afterwards exacted a contribution of 1,900,000 German crowns.

* Elliot's regiment of light horse appeared for the first time in the field upon this occasion; and, to the astonishment of the veteran troops, charged five different times, and broke through the enemy at every charge.

crowns. These exorbitant levies the inhabitants were obliged to comply with, to save the city from destruction. However, neither their compliance, nor the united efforts of the Austrian and Russian Generals, could prevent the Cossacks, Croats, and other irregular troops, from being guilty of atrocious excesses.*

The King of Prussia was followed by Mareschal Daun, at the head of 100,000 men. The Prussian army, after the junction with General Hulsen, amounted to 80,000; but notwithstanding this inferiority, the King determined to risk a battle. On the 3d of November, the whole Prussian army advanced towards the Austrians, advantageously posted at Torgau, upon the banks of the Elbe, their front being fortified with two hundred pieces of cannon; but the King giving his troops to understand that they must conquer or die, they charged the enemy with the most desperate intrepidity. The victory, however, remained in suspense, till General Zeithen, who had taken a circuit with part of the right wing of the Prussians, fell upon the rear of the Austrian army, which then began to give way, in some disorder; but Mareschal Daun receiving a dangerous wound, which obliged him to quit the field, the confusion became general. The darkness of the night, however, favoured the retreat of the Austrians across the Elbe, over which they had previously thrown three bridges of boats, leaving the field of battle dearly purchased in the hands of the enemy. In consequence of this defeat, Mareschal Daun being under the necessity of recalling his detachments, General Laudohn abandoned Landshut, and his other acquisitions in Silesia. The Russians also, at the approach of winter, which the King stiled his best auxiliary, raised the siege of Colberg, and retired to their cantonments in Poland, the Swedes into their old quarters near Stralsund, and the imperialists into Franconia; so that the King of Prussia found himself nearly in the same situation as at the beginning of the campaign.

Prince Ferdinand opened the campaign of 1761, with the sieges of Ziegenhayn and Cassel, hoping to reduce them before Mareschal Broglio should receive his re-inforcements; but the garrisons making a vigorous resistance, and part of the allied army under the hereditary Prince being defeated near Heimbach, his serene highness found himself obliged to withdraw his troops and stand upon the defensive. The army under Mareschal Broglio having been recruited, Prince Ferdinand retired behind the Dymel, and established his head quarters at Paderborn. The Duc de Broglio, having passed that river in June, drove General Sporcken from the post he occupied on the left side, and made himself master of Warbourg and Paderborn, and compelled Prince Ferdinand to retire behind the Lippe. On the 15th of July, in the evening, the French army made a furious attack upon the left wing of the allies posted at Fellinghausen, commanded by the Marquis of Granby; and having been repulsed with considerable loss, they renewed the attack at break of day with redoubled vigour. Finding, however, that no impression could be made by their repeated efforts, their ardour began to abate; and, upon being charged by the Marquis, in his turn, they abandoned the field in confusion, leaving behind them four thousand dead.

The French Generals now divided their forces; the Prince de Soubize retreating to Dortmund, and Mareschal Broglio marching back to Cassel. In a short time the latter General passed the Weser, with an intention of penetrating into Hanover; but on the approach of Prince Ferdinand he repassed that river with the greater part of his army. A detachment, however, under the command of the Count de Broglio, his brother, by a forced march, took possession of Wolfenbuttle, and invested Brunswick; but the hereditary Prince, flying to the relief of his father's capital, obliged the besiegers to relinquish this enterprise. The remainder of the campaign Mareschal Broglio remained inactive in his camp; and Prince Ferdinand, unable to force him to a battle, retired into winter cantonments in the vicinity of Munster and Osnaburg. The spring was far advanced before hostilities commenced in Saxony and Silesia. The grand armies, on each side, were so strongly posted that neither chose to risk the attack. The imperialists, attempting to enter Saxony, were repulsed by General Seydlitz; but a numerous body of Russians, commanded by General Romanzoff, could not be prevented from penetrating into Pomerania, in July, and investing Colberg by land, whilst it was blocked up by a powerful squadron at sea. Their main army was soon after put in motion, and all the efforts of the King of Prussia could not prevent its junction with Laudohn, and the ruin of that sovereign was again confidently foretold. If any event could make his affairs apparently more desperate, it was the loss of Schweidnitz, which General Laudohn surprised about this time, by a brilliant coup de main. Prince Henry of Prussia, who commanded in Saxony, by great military skill, prevented Mareschal Daun, at the head of a superior army, from obtaining any advantage. That General was even obliged, in an attempt to storm the Prussian camp, to retreat with considerable loss, soon after which both armies were distributed into quarters of cantonment. The fatal consequences which had been apprehended from the so much dreaded junction of the Austrian and Russian armies did not, however, take place; and the Russian General soon perceived, or pretended to perceive, the necessity of separating, to cover his magazines in Poland, which were vigorously attacked by the Prussians, under General Platen. The siege of Colberg, however, still continued. General Romanzoff seemed even to set the winter at defiance: and, at length the place surrendered, (December 17, 1761.) This was a conquest of immense importance, as it enabled the court of St. Petersburgh, at all times, to send supplies and reinforcements to their armies in Germany by sea. Romanzoff established his head quarters in Pomerania, during the winter, with a view of taking the field early next year.

The court of Versailles, resolving to exert its utmost efforts in Westphalia, assembled an immense army upon the banks of the Weser (A. D. 1762,) under the Prince de Soubize and the Count d'Estrées. Prince Ferdinand lay encamped behind the Dymel, watching their motions. On the 24th of June, the enemy being posted at Grabenstein, a disposition was made for an attack; the Prince himself crossing the river to charge in front, and Generals Luckner and Sporcken being severally detached to fall upon them at the same time in flank and rear. This plan was executed with such success, that the French army was thrown into the utmost confusion; and the French Generals, after a short resistance, gave orders for striking the tents, and sounding a retreat. Such, however, was the impetuosity of the assailants, that in all probability a total defeat would have ensued, had not M. de Stainville, with the most heroic gallantry and presence of mind, collected some regiments, consisting of the flower of the French infantry, with which he made so resolute a stand at the pass of Wilhemsthal, that he effectually covered the retreat of the two Mareschals, who retired without much loss under the cannon of Cassel; but the corps under his command was either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners. In consequence of this defeat, the French Generals abandoned Gottingen, after demolishing the fortifications, which they had erected at an immense expence, and retired to Melsungen, in order to preserve the communication with Francfort; but on the approach of the Prince they thought proper to pass the Fulda rather than hazard another battle, and the post of Melsungen was occupied by the allies. In July, M. de Stainville, at the head of several regiments of dragoons, fell into an ambuscade at

* Not contented with demolishing the public magazines, arsenals founderies, and hospitals, many hundred private houses were broke into and plundered, during the few days they remained there; for, upon hearing that the King was in full march to the relief of his capital, they abandoned the city, and, taking different routes, laid the whole country desolate in their retreat. The rich and costly furniture of the royal castle of Charlottenburg was totally destroyed; and even the celebrated collection of paintings and statues made by the Cardinal de Polignac, and deposited there, was miserably despoiled.

Merschen, and his whole corps was totally routed. The joy, however, occasioned by these successes was somewhat damped by an unfortunate enterprise of the hereditary Prince, who, attacking with very inferior force the Prince of Conde on his march from the Lower Rhine to join Soubize, was defeated, and dangerously wounded.

The French Generals, perceiving the intentions of Prince Ferdinand, to lay siege to Cassel, made repeated efforts to throw supplies into the place; but were prevented by the vigilance of that able commander. The trenches were opened on the 16th of October, and the operations carried on with such vigor, that, notwithstanding the place was defended with great bravery, the governor found himself obliged to sign a capitulation on the 1st of November

The Prince intended to close the campaign with the siege of Ziegenhayn, the only fortress in Hesse now possessed by the French; but his preparations were interrupted by the cessation of arms which took place at this period, immediately on signing the preliminaries of peace between Britain and France.

On the 5th of January, 1762, died Elizabeth Empress of Russia, by which event the most formidable and inveterate of all the enemies of the Prussian monarch were converted into friends and allies. Her successor Peter III.—a Prince of the House of Holstein Gottorp, and a descendant of the eldest daughter of Peter the Great—entertained so strong an attachment to the King, that he not only concluded a treaty of peace, but sent express orders to the Russian commanders to co-operate with him; and a body of troops under Count Czernicheff actually joined the Prussian army. The Swedes also, by his example, were induced to listen to pacific terms.

Early in May, Prince Henry, unexpectedly passing the Muldaw, surprised the left wing of the Austrian camp; on which occasion General Zetzwitz was taken prisoner, with fifteen hundred men: after which the Prince made himself master of Freyburg; and in the beginning of June repulsed the Austrians, who made a sudden attack upon his camp.

The King of Prussia, now strengthened by the accession of the Russians, in Silesia, as well as by the troops he had withdrawn from Pomerania, advanced towards Count Daun, who retired at his approach, and left a free passage for the Prussians, who invested Schweidnitz on the 8th of August, notwithstanding the secession of the Russians; who, in consequence of a surprising revolution that had taken place at the court of St. Petersburgh, were no longer at liberty to co-operate with him. This was the deposition of the reigning Emperor, by his own consort, Catharine of Anhalt, a woman of great talents, courage, and ambition, whose resentment he had fatally provoked.*

The Empress, however, though she would not grant any assistance to the King of Prussia, was by no means inclined to recommence the war, and her armies immediately commenced their march back to Russia.

The siege of Schweidnitz was carried on with great vigour; and a mine having been sprung by the besiegers, on the 8th of October, in consequence of which great part of the wall was thrown into the fosse, and preparations made for a general assault, Count de Guasco, the governor, thought proper to surrender, and he and the whole garrison were made prisoners of war. The Imperial and Austrian armies in Saxony had, during the progress of the siege, defeated a body of troops under General Belling, and retaken Freyburg; but Prince Henry, receiving a strong reinforcement from Silesia, attacked the combined forces under the command of the Prince of Stolberg, at break of day, on the 29th of October. The action lasted till two o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy being entirely routed, abandoned the field of battle, and the town of Freyburg, with the loss of five thousand men. A suspension of arms between the courts of Vienna and Berlin taking place soon afterwards, this was the last service performed in the field by Prince Henry in the course of this war. The suspension of arms was quickly followed by the treaty of Hubertsburg, the most material article of which imported, that all conquests on each side should be evacuated, and peace re-established on the footing of former treaties.

Having thus sketched the progress and issue of a war, in which 250,000 lives were sacrificed, an immensity of treasure expended, and the fairest provinces of the empire reduced to a state of desolation and ruin, (a) we must now advert to the civil and political transactions by which the administration of Mr. Pitt was distinguished. Amongst the first and most remarkable of these, was the establishment of a national militia; a measure highly popular and patriotic; though the plan itself, which was calculated for the emergency of the occasion, was somewhat crude and imperfect. The number of men was originally fixed by the House of Commons at sixty-four thousand, but by the House of Lords reduced to thirty-two thousand.

The Empress Queen, in the summer of 1757, recalled her minister, Count Coloredo, from London; and at the same time notified to Mr. Keith, the English minister at Vienna, her determination to break off all correspondence with England, declaring that she could not see with indifference his Britannic Majesty enter into an alliance with her enemy the King of Prussia, instead of assisting her with the succours due by the most solemn treaties. The French interest in Holland prevailing at this time in an alarming degree, Sir Joseph Yorke, the English ambassador at the Hague, was ordered to represent to the States General the astonishment of the King of England at the permission given by their high mightinesses for the free passage of a large train of warlike implements and stores through Namur and Maestricht, for the use of the French army; and still more at their acquiescence in the surrender of Ostend and Nieuport, by the Empress Queen, to the French, in direct contravention of the barrier treaty, and of the treaty of Utrecht, which expressly declare, that no fortress, town, or territory of the Austrian Low-Countries shall be ceded or transferred to the crown of France, upon any pretext whatever. The States, however, were not inclined to deviate from their professed system of neutrality; and they alledged, without reserve or hesitation, their inability to prevent these infractions of former treaties, as sufficiently excusing, or rather justifying, their connivance at the conduct of other powers.

When the Parliament assembled, (December 1757,) the King, in his opening speech, mentioned the late happy successes in Germany, and recommended "that his good brother and ally, the King of Prussia, might be assisted in such a manner as his magnanimity and zeal for the common cause appeared to deserve; expressing his firm reliance on the zeal of his faithful Commons for the support of the Protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe." The answer of the Commons was very dutiful and loyal; and the supplies, amounting to considerably more than ten millions, were voted almost without the formality of a debate—Sir Francis Dashwood only venturing to express his total dissent from, and disapprobation of, the measures now adopted. The principal debate which occurred this session, arose from a motion made for leave to bring in a bill for shortening the duration of Parlia-

(a) A. D. 1757.

* This enterprise was conducted with remarkable secresy, resolution and dispatch. The Emperor was indulging himself, in ease and security, at his country palace of Oranjebaum, when the Empress suddenly appearing before it, at the head of ten thousand men, summoned him to surrender. With this demand he instantly complied, though accompanied by his Holstein guards, and in a condition to make a vigorous defence; to which he was in vain urged by the officers about his person, particularly the gallant Mareschal Munich, who, at the age of eighty, had recently been recalled from his long exile into Siberia. The Czar was immediately sent, under a strong escort, to the castle of Petershoff, where in a few days he was carried off by "a sudden illness." This revolution was not productive of the least discontent or disorder, in any part of that vast empire; the follies and vices of the Emperor having rendered him the object of public contempt and detestation.

ments; but it was rejected by a great majority, on pretence that whilst the nation was engaged in such an expensive and dangerous war it would be improper to think of introducing so important an alteration in the form of government. The session was terminated, by commission, on the 9th of June, 1758.

In consequence of the numerous seizures made by the English of Dutch vessels, employed in carrying naval stores and transporting merchandise, the produce of the French islands, to Europe, the anger of Holland was, at this time, much excited. A memorial, to which was affixed a prodigious number of commercial signatures of the first consequence, was presented to the States-General, in which their high mightinesses were strongly urged to protect the commerce and navigation of the republic by an armed force. In consequence of a representation made upon this subject, the King of England declared, by his ambassador, that he would not suffer an illicit and injurious trade to be carried on under the specious pretext of neutrality. An open rupture was with some difficulty prevented.*

Parliament meeting in November (1758), the Lord Keeper Henley made a speech to both Houses, by command of his Majesty, in which the successes of the year were enumerated; and the Commons were again exhorted vigorously to support the King of Prussia and the rest of his Majesty's allies.† Towards the termination of the session (May 1759), the King informed the two Houses, by messages, that he had received authentic advice of preparations making by the French court with a design to invade Great Britain: and both Houses in return, assured his Majesty of their determination to support, with their lives and fortunes, his person and government against all attempts whatever. Directions also were issued to the Lords Lieutenants of the respective counties of the kingdom to use their utmost diligence and attention in executing the several acts of Parliament made for the better ordering the militia. This alarm, however, after the defeat of the French fleet by Admiral Hawke, entirely subsided.‡ In November, the Parliament was again opened by commission, and the Lord Keeper again enlarged on the signal successes of his Majesty's arms by sea and land; particularly distinguishing the reduction of Quebec and the victory of Minden—declaring, however, "that, as his Majesty entered not into this war from views of ambition, he did not wish to continue it from motives of resentment; that the desire of his Majesty's heart was to see a stop put to the effusion of Christian blood, whenever just and honourable terms of peace could be obtained." The majority, however, intoxicated with ideas of conquest, were far from wishing the speedy termination of the war; and the enormous supplies, granted by Parliament, amounted this year to no less than 15,000,000*l.*§

The public attention, was at this time engrossed by the court-martial held upon Lord George Sackville, commander of the British forces in Germany, in consequence of the charge brought against him of disobeying the repeated orders of Prince Ferdinand, to advance with the cavalry, in order to sustain the infantry, and to attack the enemy, already broken, at the memorable battle of Minden. It appeared that there was in the orders transmitted by the different aides-du-camp some degree of variation, perhaps of inconsistency, yet it was universally acknowledged that the necessity of bringing the cavalry into immediate action was strongly and repeatedly urged to his Lordship. Colonel Fitzroy (afterwards created Lord Southampton) in particular, after stating the circumstances which occasioned the order, added, "that it was a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves, and that his Lordship, by leading them on, would gain immortal honour." In conclusion, the court-martial adjudged that Lord George Sackville was guilty of disobeying the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, his Commander—declaring him, for this offence, incapable of serving his Majesty in any military capacity whatsoever. This sentence was confirmed by the King, who,

* In August (1758) a decree of the aulic council was published, enjoining all directories of circles, imperial cities, &c. to transmit to Vienna an exact account of those who had disobeyed the "avocatoria" of the empire, issued by a decree of the preceding year, and adhered to the "rebellion" raised by the elector of Brandenburg, that their revenues might be sequestrated, and themselves punished. The King of England, knowing himself to be chiefly aimed at, in the violent measures of the court of Vienna, caused to be presented, by his minister, a spirited memorial to the diet of the empire, enumerating the important services which he had rendered to the house of Austria, for which he had even exposed his life in the field of battle; in return for which the Empress-Queen had formed an alliance with France for the invasion of his electorate: and the Duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the cause of her Imperial Majesty, was compelled to fight at Hastenbec against the troops of that Princess, in defence of his father's dominions: that the King of England was threatened with the ban of the empire for not complying with the resolutions of the diet for assembling an army, although the conduct of the imperial court rendered it indispensible to his safety to retain his troops for the protection of his subjects. He acknowledged that, in quality of King of England, and for just reasons, he had sent over English troops to Germany, and had taken possession of Embden; for which he was accountable to no power upon earth; and he expressed his hope that the diet would, upon deliberate advice, not only exhort the emperor to recal or annul his recent mandates, but institute such proceedings against the Empress-Queen, in the quality of Arch-duchess of Austria, as she wished to enforce against the King of England, as Elector of Hanover. The diet, however, wisely chose to refrain, in present circumstances, from the assumption of a prerogative which they were in no condition to enforce.

This year died the celebrated Prosper Lambertini, who, on his elevation to the papal chair, A. D. 1740, assumed the name of Benedict XIV. The good sense, candour, and moderation of this pontiff made him scarcely less the subject of esteem and veneration in the Protestant than the Catholic states of Europe. Unfortunately, however, his political influence was too weak to enable him to compose those differences by which the respective countries had been so long disgraced and desolated. Far from dwelling upon the sacredness of the claims insisted upon by his predecessors, he used to say, "Let us content ourselves with those privileges and prerogatives which the liberality of the temporal powers is willing to leave us." He was succeeded in the papacy by Cardinal Rezzonico, Bishop of Padua, who took the name of Clement XIII. and who found an early opportunity of displaying his weakness and bigotry, by sending a consecrated banner, accompanied with his apostolic benediction, to the Austrian General, Count Daun.

About this time, an attempt was made on the life of the King of France, by an insane fanatic of the name of Damiens, who, in consequence of his crime, expired in torments; the national sufferance of which, in the view of reason and humanity, deeply degraded the character of the French people.

Assassination, in all its circumstances more extraordinary and interesting, the full extent and mysterious nature of which have never been perfectly developed, was attempted (September 3, 1758) on the person of the King of Portugal, who passing, in his carriage, over a solitary spot near the palace of Belem, was fired at and dangerously wounded by two villains on horseback, one of whom made his escape: the other being put to the torture impeached the Duc d'Aveiro, president of the palace, the Marquis and Marchioness of Tavora, the Count d'Atouguia, and several other persons of the highest rank, as parties in this conspiracy, who were accordingly tried, convicted, and suffered death on the scaffold. As it appeared, from undoubted evidence, that the Jesuits, who had been for some time past in disgrace at court, were the principal instigators to this wicked attempt, the effects and property of the whole order were sequestrated, and a decree of banishment was finally issued against them.

† The expense incurred by England at this time, for the payment of subsidies and the maintenance of armies in Germany alone, exceeded three millions sterling; which immense sum, as well as all the other supplies demanded by the minister, were now voted almost as a matter of course.

‡ In August, this year (1759) an event of great political importance took place in the death of Ferdinand, King of Spain, who, in consequence of the loss of the Queen his consort, had, for many months, renounced all company, neglected all business, and indulged in the utmost excesses of sorrow, under the weight of which he languished without relief or intermission, to the final termination of his life. He was succeeded by his brother Don Carlos, King of the Sicilies—a Prince by no means so favourably disposed as his predecessor to the English nation; and who still harboured a deep resentment of the insult offered to his crown and dignity in the former war, by the threatened bombardment of his capital, and the humiliating treaty of neutrality to which he had been compelled to accede. Previously to his departure from Naples, he, by a solemn edict, resigned the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to his younger son, Don Ferdinand, in contravention and contempt of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which expressly declares, that if the infant Don Carlos shall succeed to the throne of Spain, the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla shall revert to the house of Austria, and the infant Don Philip shall succeed to the throne of the Sicilies. To this article Don Carlos had never acceded; and the court of Vienna was not at this time in a situation to enforce its observance.

§ During this session, an effort was made to render efficient the Parliamentary qualification act of Queen Anne, by the introduction of a bill, which, with some modifications, eventually passed into a law. By virtue of the new act, it became necessary for every person elected a member of the House of Commons, to deliver in a paper or schedule to the Speaker of the House, specifying the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification.

as a further mark of his resentment, called in council for the council-book, and ordered the name of Lord George Sackville to be struck out of the list of privy counsellors.

This was the last memorable act of the King's reign and life; as on Saturday, the 25th of October, 1760, at the palace of Kensington, where he generally resided, he was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit, soon after his rising in usual health in the morning. On recovering his senses, after a short interval, he desired, with a faint voice, that his daughter the Princess Amelia might be sent for; but before her arrival he expired, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign.*

* The character of George the Second it would not be easy to mistake or to misrepresent. It had nothing of that splendid or brilliant cast with which the records of history sometimes present us. Endowed by nature with an understanding by no means comprehensive, his Majesty had taken little pains to improve or expand his original powers by intellectual cultivation. A stranger to learning and to the arts, he witnessed the rapid increase of both, without contributing in the remotest degree to accelerate the progression, or even bestowing, probably, a thought upon the means of their advancement. "Inheriting all the political prejudices of his father—prejudices originating in a partiality natural and pardonable—he was never able to extend his views beyond the advancement of the Germanic balance of power; and resting with unsuspicious satisfaction in that system, into which he had been early initiated, he never rose even to the conception of that simple, dignified, and impartial conduct, which it is equally the honour and interest of Great Britain to maintain in all the complicated contests of the continental states." The grand objects of the two continental wars of this reign was diametrically opposite: in the first, England sought the aggrandisement—in the second, the abasement of the house of Austria. In the internal government of his kingdoms, George the Second appears, however, to much greater advantage than in the contemplation of his system of foreign politics. Though many improper concessions were made by the Parliament to the crown during the course of this reign, no violation of the established laws or liberties of the kingdom can fairly be imputed to the King. The general principles of his administration, both civil and religious, were liberal and just. Those penal statutes which disgrace our judicial code, were, in his reign, meliorated, and virtually suspended, by the mildness and equity of the executive power; and it was a well-known and memorable declaration of his Majesty, "that, during his reign, there should be no persecution for conscience' sake." Though subject to frequent ebullitions of passion, they were transient, and unproductive of serious effects. On various occasions, he had given striking demonstrations of personal bravery; nor did the general tenor of his conduct exhibit proofs less signal of his rectitude and integrity. If he cannot be ranked among the greatest, he is at least entitled to be classed with the most respectable Princes of the age in which he lived: and his memory has been deservedly held in esteem and veneration, by the country at large.

The increase of commerce, during this reign, was very great. In 1727, the year of the accession of George II. the value of our imports was only 6,798,908*l.*; in 1755, they had reached the amount of 9,238,376*l.*; and, in 1760, they amounted to 10,683,595*l.* Our exports, in 1727, were 9,553,048*l.*; in 1755, 12,717,832*l.*; in 1760, 16,665,278*l.* At times, however, our trade was greatly annoyed by French privateers. Between the 1st of June, 1756, and the 1st of June, 1760, they had taken 2589 English ships, including 78 privateers. Within the same period, the English cruisers had captured only 944 French vessels, amongst which were 242 privateers, and many fishing boats, &c. of slight value. The flourishing state of British, and the depressed state of French commerce is believed to have been the cause of this disparity. The facility with which immense loans to government were negociated, furnished an additional proof of our commercial prosperity.

About the middle of this reign, immorality, amongst the lower orders of society, had attained a dreadful height. The very low price of gin enabled the viciously disposed to live in a state of almost continued intoxication; and, according to Smollet, at many houses in London boards were set up, to give public notice, that a person might get drunk for a penny, dead drunk for two pence, and furnished with straw for nothing. In those infamous places of rendezvous, cellars were provided, and littered with straw, into which numbers of intoxicated wretches were dragged, and left crowded together in a state of insensibility, till enabled by sleep to renew the practice of riot and debauchery! However, by judicious regulations respecting distilleries, by taxes on spirituous liquors, licenses to publicans, &c. these enormous evils were checked, and a great melioration of morals effected.

In the higher classes, luxury in dress, in furniture, in equipages, the natural consequence of the increased influx of wealth, displayed itself. The suburbs of London were, during this period, much extended, and adorned with elegant houses. Westminster Bridge was also built, at the expence of 389,000*l.* defrayed by Parliament.

In the early part of this reign a shadow of royal protection and encouragement displayed itself in the countenance given by Queen Caroline—a Princess of an excellent understanding and much liberality of sentiment—to several learned men, with whom she loved freely to converse; especially with Dr. Samuel Clarke, so famous for his theological and metaphysical writings; and whose speculative opinions, on the Trinity, and other points, the Queen was believed to have deeply imbibed. Hoadley, the friend of this distinguished scholar, was advanced, through a long series of promotions, to the Bishopric of Winchester; and Dr. Clarke himself was, it is said, destined, had not his death intervened, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

At a subsequent period, the Prince of Wales, also, showed a disposition to patronize literature; and Mallet, Thomson, and Young are said to have been particularly distinguished by his bounty. The most truly poetical genius of this reign was Gray; but his powers were not indebted to the sunshine of popular and courtly encouragement. In the drama, no tragedies appeared which could stand in competition with the productions of Otway, Southern, or Rowe. In comedy, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar remained unrivalled; and, of the far greater part of the numerous dramatic pieces of this period it may be affirmed, in the words of Dryden, that "the tragic muse gave smiles; the comic sleep." In one department of literature, however, the reign of George II. may boast a decided and indisputable superiority; as, in history, the names of Hume and Robertson will ever claim distinguished praise. In metaphysics, Hartley established a system admirable for its simplicity, for the extent and importance of its practical application, and its perfect correspondence with all the actual phenomena of human nature, upon the firm and immoveable foundation of Locke. In philology, morals, and criticism, Bentley, Warburton, and Johnson, shone with distinguished brilliancy; and, in theology, amidst a host of great and respectable names, the highest applause is due to that of Lardner, who, unassisted by the advantages, and unadorned by the honours, of academical education, composed a stupendous work on the credibility of Christianity, no less to be admired for its candour, impartiality, and sagacious spirit of research, than its amazing extent and depth of erudition. Foster, Leland, Chandler, Abernethy, Duchal, and many other eminent names, not of the established church, maintained also, with distinguished honour to themselves, the reputation of their separate communion, and the authority of that common faith which all denominations of Christians are equally concerned to support. In the establishment, the venerable Lowth distinguished himself above all his cotemporaries, by adorning the profoundest disquisitions in sacred literature with all the charms of classic elegance; and the excellent Jortin, in the justness and comprehension of his views, the clearness and accuracy of his reasonings, attained to high, if not unrivalled eminence. His "Remarks on Ecclesiastical History" abound with the most candid and liberal sentiments; and his "Life of Erasmus" discovers a mind perfectly congenial with that of the illustrious scholar whose portrait he has delineated. Before the conclusion of this reign, Reynolds, in painting, and Wilton, in sculpture, began to rise into fame; and the exquisite musical compositions of Handel were vigorously and successfully emulated by Arne and Boyce. Several public institutions also evinced the improving taste of the people. The British Museum, at Montague House; the Antiquarian Society; the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; the Marine Society, &c. all date their establishment from the reign of George II. It was not, however, to the court, or to any dignified Mæcenas of the age, but to the liberal spirit of the nation, that literature and the arts were at this period indebted for the patronage which they enjoyed.

His Majesty George II. was buried in Henry the VII.th's chapel, a Westminster. His only sons were Frederic, Prince of Wales (father of George III.) who died March 20, 1751; and William, Duke of Cumberland, who died in September, 1790. His daughters were:—Anne, who became Princess of Orange; Amelia, who died unmarried, in 1786; Elizabeth, whom her father survived; Mary, the wife of the late Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and Louisa, who became Queen of Denmark.

BOOK

BOOK XXIX.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT, TO THE GENERAL PEACE OF 1783.

32. GEORGE III.

A. D. 1760.] THE patriotic reader will contemplate, with high and unbounded interest, the reign of George the Third; for, in no period of history, have our annals been rendered so important, by so many wonderful revolutions; never, since Britain was first acknowledged as a nation, has her commercial prosperity, her glory in arms, or her political weight and consequence, in the affairs of Europe, and of the world, attained so towering, so stupendous a height. Auspicious, in its commencement; bright, and dazzling, in its progress; sublime, and beautiful, in its results; its close may be anticipated, as that of an autumnal sun, sinking beneath the horizon in soft and tranquil glory!

Born in England, the youthful monarch was doubly dear to his people. Educated in virtue and religion, and in the principles of a patriot King, his accession was hailed, by the country, as the first of public blessings.—George II. having died on the Saturday, it was not until Monday, (October the 27th), that the new sovereign assembled a council,* and was proclaimed King. Parliament, which, agreeably to the provision of an act passed for that purpose, continued to exercise its functions for a period of six months after the death of the sovereign, met on the 18th of November, when his Majesty delivered a speech from the throne, eminently calculated to confirm all the fond and flattering prepossessions of the public in his favour.†

A. D. 1761.] The supplies demanded for the prosecution of the war amounted to nineteen millions, of which twelve

* At this meeting of the Privy Council, Edward, Duke of York, the King's eldest brother, was sworn a member; as was also his Majesty's favourite, the Earl of Bute. On the same day, the name of the Duke of Cumberland was ordered, by the council, to be struck out of the Liturgy. This was treated as a matter of etiquette; but, to some, it gave serious offence. Soon afterwards, the Princess Amelia, the only unmarried daughter of the late King, was prevailed upon, in consideration of a pension of 1200*l.* per annum, to resign the rangership of Richmond Park, in favour of the Earl of Bute.

† This memorable speech was as follows:—

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"The just concern which I have felt in my own breast on the sudden death of the late King, my royal grandfather, makes me not doubt but you must all have been deeply affected with so severe a loss. The present critical and difficult conjuncture has made this loss the more sensible, as he was the great support of that system by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of these kingdoms, can be preserved, and gave life to the measures conducive to those important ends. I need not tell you the addition of weight which immediately falls upon me, in being called to the government of this free and powerful country at such a time, and under such circumstances. My consolation is in the uprightness of my own intentions, your faithful and united assistance, and the blessing of Heaven upon our joint endeavours, which I devoutly implore.

"Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to adhere to and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state, and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown; and as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the Divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.

"I reflect with pleasure on the successes with which the British arms have been prospered this last summer. The total reduction of the vast province of Canada, with the city of Montreal, is of the most interesting consequence, and must be as heavy a blow to my enemies as it is a conquest glorious to us; the more glorious, because effected almost without effusion of blood, and with that humanity which makes an amiable part of the character of this nation.

"Our advantages gained in the East Indies have been signal, and must greatly diminish the strength and trade of France in those parts, as well as procure the most solid benefits to the commerce and wealth of my subjects.

"In Germany, where the whole French force has been employed, the combined army under the wise and able conduct of my General Prince Ferdinand, has not only stopped their progress, but has gained advantages over them notwithstanding their boasted superiority, and their not having hitherto come to a general engagement.

"My good brother and ally the King of Prussia, although surrounded with numerous armies of enemies, has, with a magnanimity and perseverance almost beyond example, not only withstood their various attacks, but has obtained very considerable victories over them. Of these events I shall say no more at this time, because the nature of the war in those parts has kept the campaign there still depending.

"As my navy is the principal article of our natural strength, it gives me much satisfaction to receive it in such good condition, whilst the fleet of France is weakened to such a degree, that the small remains of it have continued blocked up by my ships in their own ports. At the same time the French trade is reduced to the lowest ebb, and with joy of heart I see the commerce of my kingdoms, that great source of our riches, and fixed object of my never-failing care and protection, flourishing to an extent unknown in any former war.

"The valour and intrepidity of my officers and forces, both at sea and land, have been distinguished so much to the glory of this nation, that I should be wanting in justice to them, if I did not acknowledge it. This is a merit which I shall constantly encourage and reward; and I take this occasion to declare, that the zealous and useful service of the militia in the present arduous conjuncture is very acceptable to me.

"In this state I have found things at my accession to the throne of my ancestors; happy in viewing the prosperous part of it; happier still should I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whose true interest I have entirely at heart, in full peace: but since the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous designs of my enemies rendered the war both just and necessary, and the generous overture made last winter towards a congress or a pacification has not yet produced a suitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with vigour, in order to that desirable object, a safe and honourable peace. For this purpose it is absolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared, and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to support the King of Prussia, and the rest of my allies, and to make ample provision for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"The great uneasiness which I feel at this time is, in considering the uncommon burdens necessarily brought upon my faithful subjects. I desire only such supplies as shall be requisite to prosecute the war with advantage, be adequate to the necessary services, and that they may be provided for in the most sure and effectual manner. You may depend upon the faithful and punctual application of what shall be granted. I have ordered the proper estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and also an account of the extraordinary expences which, from the nature of the different and remote operations, have been unavoidably incurred. It is with peculiar reluctance that I am obliged, at such a time, to mention any thing which personally regards myself; but as the grant of the greatest part of the civil list revenues is now determined, I trust in your duty and affection to me, to make the proper provision for supporting my civil

twelve millions were funded at a high interest, were freely granted.* The civil list was fixed at the clear annual sum of 800,000*l.* payable out of the aggregate fund, in lieu of the hereditary and other specific revenues settled on the late King.†

On the 19th of March the Parliament was prorogued, and in a short time dissolved by proclamation, and a new Parliament convened.‡ Previously to the prorogation, however, very alarming commotions took place in several of the northern counties, owing to the expiration of the three years' term of service, prescribed by the militia act, and the new ballot about to take place. At Hexham, in Northumberland, the justices being assembled for the purpose of enforcing the act, the populace, regarding this military compulsion as a tyrannical and insupportable grievance, collected to the number of many thousands, armed with clubs and other offensive weapons, with which they assaulted the guard of soldiers stationed for the protection of the magistrates. The riot act was read without effect, and they were proceeding to still greater outrages, when the military received orders to fire upon the assailants, more than forty of whom were killed on the spot, and about three hundred wounded, among whom were many women and children: several of the rioters were in the sequel apprehended, tried, and executed. By the exertion of military force, a general submission was at length obtained.

Before the close of the summer, the King declared in council his resolution to demand in marriage the Princess Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburgh Strelitz; and the Earl of Harcourt being appointed ambassador plenipotentiary to the court of Strelitz, the contract of marriage was speedily signed, and the Princess conducted to Stade, whence she embarked on board one of the royal yachts and arrived at the palace of St. James's, September 8th. The nuptial ceremony was the same evening performed in the chapel royal; and on the 22d of September the coronation of their Majesties was publicly celebrated. The new Queen soon acquired great popularity by the sweetness and affability of her manners.§

The war was still carried on with vigour and success. In June the island of Dominique, important from its situation, between the islands of Martinico and Guadaloupe, was reduced with little difficulty or loss by an armament commanded by Sir James Douglas, and a body of troops under Lord Rollo; and a more hazardous enterprise was undertaken about the same time against the island of Belleisle, opposite the harbour of Vannes, on the coast of Bretagne. The island was defended by a strong fortress, constructed by Vauban, near the town of Palais. On the first debarkation of the troops, they met with a severe repulse, being compelled precipitately to retreat with the loss of near five hundred men. The English commanders, General Hodgson and Commodore Keppel, however, secure of the zeal and ardour of their troops, rendered bold and sanguine by a long continuance of prosperity, determined to make another effort; and a body of marines and grenadiers, making good their landing on the craggy point of Lomeria, sustained their position against a superior force, till joined by the remaining troops, amounting to eight or ten thousand men. M. de St. Croix, the French commander, then recalled his detachments, and prepared for a vigorous defence of the citadel, the avenues to which he had fortified with six additional redoubts, which, with much effusion of blood, were successively carried by the English, who now urged with the most persevering ardour the siege of the citadel. On the 7th of June a practicable breach having been made, and a general assault being apprehended on

---

government with honour and dignity. On my part, you may be assured of a regular and becoming economy.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"The eyes of all Europe are upon you. From your resolution, the Protestant interest hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preservation of their independency; and our enemies feel the final disappointment of their ambitious and destructive views. Let these hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented by the vigour, unanimity, and dispatch of your proceedings. In this expectation I am the more encouraged by a pleasing circumstance, which I look upon as one of the most auspicious omens of my reign. That happy extinction of divisions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongst my subjects, afford me the most agreeable prospect. The natural disposition and wish of my heart are, to cement and promote them; and I promise myself that nothing will arise, on your part, to interrupt or disturb a situation so essential to the true and lasting felicity of this great people."

* The sum of 200,000*l.* was voted by the Commons, in consequence of an express message from the throne, as a compensation to the several provinces of America for the extraordinary expences incurred by them in their vigorous and strenuous efforts during the present war, and which the Parliament virtually acknowledged by this grant to be more than adequate to their proportional ability.

† Nearly at the close of the session, a popular measure was recommended from the throne. Notwithstanding the act passed in the reign of King William, by which the commissions of the judges were continued during their good behaviour, their offices determined at the demise of the crown. No instance had occurred since the Revolution, in which a judge had been removed at the accession of a new sovereign; but the King, now declared, that he considered the independency and uprightness of the judges as essential to the impartial administration of justice, and one of the best securities of the liberty of the subject, as well as conducive to the honour of the crown. He therefore recommended that such farther provision should be made for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices, and the permanency of their salaries annexed to them, notwithstanding such demise, as should be thought expedient. The Commons acknowledged, in a very loyal address, their grateful sense of his Majesty's attention to an object so interesting to his people: and a bill framed for the purpose passed both Houses.

Mr. Onslow, who had occupied for more than thirty years the office of Speaker in five succeeding Parliaments, now bending beneath the weight of years and infirmities, declared his determination to retire from public business. The House, affected at the prospect of this separation, immediately and unanimously voted their thanks to him; and, in consequence of an address from the House, to the King, a pension of 3000*l.* per annum was granted him for his own life and that of his son, afterwards ennobled by the title of Lord Onslow.

‡ On the very day of the dissolution, Mr. Legge was dismissed from his office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; two days after which Lord Holderness, having secured an ample pecuniary indemnification, together with the reversion of the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, resigned the seals, which were immediately delivered to the Earl of Bute, who appointed the well-known Charles Jenkinson, his under secretary. Mr. Legge, it appears, had given some offence to the King when Prince of Wales, by his conduct at the last general election. Notwithstanding the advancement of the Earl of Bute, the entire management of foreign affairs remained with Mr. Pitt, matters not being yet mature for a total change: and the fall of Mr. Legge seemed to give little alarm, and made no visible alteration in the political system. He was succeeded by Lord Barrington, a nobleman attached to the Pelham interest.

§ It has been said, that his Majesty received the first intimation of the extraordinary qualities of the Princess from the following letter, which she wrote to the King of Prussia on his entering the territories of her cousin, the Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and which that monarch transmitted to his late Majesty (George II.) as a prodigy of patriotism and good sense in so young a Princess:—

"May it please your Majesty,

"I am at a loss whether I shall congratulate or condole with you on your late victory; since the same success that crowns you with laurels, has overspread the country of Mecklenburg with desolation. I know, Sir, that it seems unbecoming my sex, in this age of vicious refinement, to feel for one's country, to lament the horrors of war, or wish for the return of peace. I know you may think it more properly my province to study the arts of pleasing, or to turn my thoughts to subjects of a more domestic nature; but however unbecoming it may be in me, I cannot resist the desire of interceding for this unhappy people.

"It was but a very few years ago that this territory wore the most pleasing aspect. The country was cultivated, the peasants looked chearful, and the towns abounded with riches and fertility. What an alteration at present from such a charming scene! I am not expert at description, nor can my fancy add any horrors to the picture; but sure, even conquerors themselves would weep at the hideous prospect now before me. The whole country, my dear country, is one frightful waste, presenting only objects to excite terror, pity, and despair. The business of the husbandman and the shepherd is quite discontinued; the husbandman and the shepherd are become soldiers themselves, and help to ravage the soil they formerly occupied. The towns are inhabited only by old men, women, and children; perhaps here and there a warrior, by wounds or loss of limbs, rendered unfit for service, left at his door; but little children hang round him, ask a history of every wound, and grow themselves soldiers, before they find strength for the field. But this were nothing, did we not feel the alternate insolence of either army, as it happens to advance or retreat. It is impossible to express the confusion, which even those who call themselves our friends, excite. Even those from whom we might expect redress, oppress us with new calamities. From your justice, therefore, it is that we may hope for relief; to you even children and women may complain, whose humanity stoops to the meanest petition, and whose power is capable of repressing the greatest injustice.

"*I am, Sire, &c.*"

the

the part of M. de St. Croix, that officer obtained a capitulation, on the most honourable conditions. These triumphs were damped by no reverse of fortune, excepting that which arose from the success of a small squadron cruising in the Indian seas, commanded by the Count d'Estaing, an officer of great activity and courage, who had made himself master of the English fort and factory of Bender Abassi in the gulf of Persia, taking two frigates, and three other vessels belonging to the company. He also attacked and captured the settlement of Ben-Coolen in the island of Sumatra, where he made a great booty.

The campaign of 1760 having terminated disastrously for France, whose finances were now reduced to a state of most distressing derangement, the French ambassador residing at Stockholm delivered a declaration to the Swedish monarch in February, 1761, importing his sovereign's "earnest desire to adopt effectual measures for restoring the peace of Europe;—that in concerting with his allies a general plan of pacification, he was disposed abundantly to display his moderation whenever Great Britain should be inclined to acquiesce in reasonable terms;—that in consequence of the expences and calamities attendant on the war, he was constrained to lessen his subsidies; and should the war continue, he could no longer promise an exact compliance with the letter of his engagements." In March a memorial was transmitted by the hands of Prince Gallitzin, the Russian ambassador at the court of London, from the Duc de Choiseul, prime minister of France, to Mr. secretary Pitt, signifying the firm determination of his most Christian Majesty so to act, in concert with his allies, at the proposed congress, at Augsburg, as to demonstrate his sincere disposition to promote the interests of humanity, and restore the peace of Europe. His most Christian Majesty expressed his desire "that the particular accommodation between France and England should be united with the general pacification of Europe; but as the objects of the war between these two powers were totally foreign to the disputes in Germany, he thought it would be previously necessary to agree with his Britannic Majesty upon certain principal points which should form the basis of their particular negotiation." These advances were favourably received; and in the month of May, Mr. Stanley repaired to Paris on the part of the King of Great Britain: and M. Bussy was received from the court of France at St. James's. The instructions of M. Bussy were to adhere to the uti possidetis, or state of actual possession, as the basis of the negotiation; to demand an explanation of his Britannic Majesty's sentiments touching the dates or æras at which the proposal should take place: and in the conferences which ensued, the French minister continued to press the specification of those dates. But the English minister evaded the discussion of this point until the surrender of the citadel of Belleisle: and then a declaration was made, in explicit terms, that the 1st of July, the 1st of September, and the 1st of November next, should be the established æras in Europe, the West Indies, and the East Indies; after which all the conquests made on either side should be mutually restored; that the preliminaries agreed upon between the two crowns should be conclusive and obligatory, independent of the negotiations of Augsburg for settling the peace of Germany. France at length professed her willingness to cede and guarantee Canada to the crown of England, on condition of her being admitted to a participation, as formerly, of the cod-fishery on the banks of Newfoundland; and insisting also upon the restitution of the island of Cape Breton, as an equivalent for which, France consented to a renewal of the article in the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle, for the demolition of the harbour and works of Dunkirk; that in lieu of the island of Minorca, England should restore Guadaloupe and Marigalante; and that in consideration of the restitution of Belleisle and Senegal, or Goree, France would evacuate her conquests in Germany. Touching the captures made by England at sea, previously to the declaration of war, his most Christian Majesty declared that "he would gladly submit to the justice of the King of England, and the determination of the English courts of judicature: that subjects trading under the faith of treaties, and the protection of the law of nations, ought not to suffer from the misunderstandings which may arise in the cabinets of Princes, before those misunderstandings are publicly known: that the practice of declaring war was established by the law of nations as essential to the general safety: that no seizure made, or prize taken, anterior to such declaration, could be deemed legal, without violating the most sacred of human institutions: that no sort of affinity subsisted between hostilities committed on the Ohio and ships taken in the West Indies: that such hostilities might indeed be alledged as just motives for declaring war, but the effects of that declaration ought not to precede the declaration itself—and that it would be the height of injustice thus to involve innocent individuals, ignorant of the disputes of monarchs, or the affairs of nations, in the depth of distress and ruin, by the indiscriminate confiscation of their property." With this memorial, M. de Bussy delivered to the English minister another, importing "that the disputes subsisting between England and Spain gave his most Christian Majesty cause to apprehend a new war in Europe and America, unless they could be now adjusted: that his Catholic Majesty had communicated to the courts of Versailles the chief points of discussion, namely, the restitution of some ships taken in the course of the war under Spanish colours, the liberty claimed by the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and the settlements made by the English on the Spanish territories in the Bay of Honduras. His most Christian Majesty, therefore, passionately desired, that these differences might be amicably terminated, and that the King of Spain should be invited to guarantee the treaty between the two crowns; because, if these differences were the means of kindling a new war, the most Christian King would be obliged to perform his engagements to his allies." These memorials were accompanied with a third declaration, signifying that the Empress Queen had consented to a separate peace between England and France on these terms only: that France should for her benefit keep possession of the countries conquered in her name, and as her ally, from the King of Prussia; and that the King of Great Britain should no longer afford assistance either in money or troops to the King of Prussia, in like manner as France should be restricted with respect to the Empress Queen. The resentment of the court of London at this unexpected interposition seemed to know no bounds; and Mr. Pitt declared, to M. Bussy, that the King of Great Britain would not suffer the disputes with Spain to be mixed, in any shape whatsoever, with the negotiations for peace now pending with France, and that all further mention of such an idea would be considered as offensive to his dignity. M. de Bussy was also informed, that the King of England had ordered the memorial concerning Spain to be returned as totally inadmissible; and also the memorial relating to the King of Prussia, as affecting the honour of Great Britain, and the unshaken fidelity with which his Majesty would fulfil his engagements with his allies. The court of Versailles, now sensible of the ill consequences that might result from this false step, condescended to apologise for proposing a discussion of the points in dispute with Spain, and declared her readiness to make new concessions for the purpose of accomplishing the desirable end of general pacification. A paper was consequently transmitted to Mr. Stanley, containing the ultimatum of the English court—insisting upon the entire cession of Canada and its dependencies; of Cape Breton and the other islands in the Gulf of St. Laurence; of the settlements of Goree and Senegal, in Africa; a partition of the neutral islands; the restoration of Minorca; the demolition of Dunkirk; satisfaction to the East India company; the evacuation of Ostend and Nieuport; the restitution of Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres; and, in general, of all the territories belonging to the King of Prussia and the other allies of

of Great Britain. The King of England also left himself at full liberty to assist his Prussian Majesty according to the terms of the subsisting treaties. With respect to the prizes taken after the commencement of hostilities, though before the formality of declaring war, his Britannic Majesty persisted in his opinion, that such a demand on the part of France was neither just nor defensible. Should France comply with these propositions, the court of London declared its readiness to restore to France her conquests of Belleisle and Guadaloupe, and to admit the subjects of his most Christian Majesty to a participation of the Newfoundland fishery, agreeably to the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, and to cede the small island of St. Pierre, on certain conditions, as a harbour for the fishermen. To these terms, severe as they were, France acceded, with little variation, excepting that she refused to recede from her claim of restitution respecting the capture of merchant ships captured previously to the declaration of war. To this refusal, the court of London deigned not to reply; and the ministers Stanley and Bussy, this ineffectual negotiation being at length terminated, respectively returned.

Although the memorial respecting Spain had been withdrawn, and France had declared that the offence given to the English court was perfectly unintentional, much anger and resentment were shewn against the court of Madrid; the English minister transmitting instructions to the Earl of Bristol, the ambassador of England at the court of Spain, to require from his Catholic Majesty an explicit declaration as to the authority by which the French minister acted, in presenting a memorial in the name of the King of Spain; and in case it should be avowed by the court of Madrid, to remonstrate with energy and firmness against the unexampled irregularity of such proceedings, and to declare his Majesty's immovable determination not to add facilities for the satisfaction of that court, in consideration of any intimation on the part of a hostile power of union in councils, or of present or future conjunctions.* The Earl of Bristol, who appears to have conducted himself with great ability and address, informed Mr. Pitt, in his reply (dated August 31, 1761,) that immediately on the receipt of the dispatches from England, he had waited on the Spanish minister Don Ricardo Wall, at St. Ildefonso, and, in the most explicit, and at the same time in the least offensive mode, executed the orders contained in them. In reply, General Wall affirmed that the King of Spain, "with a view merely to render the peace more permanent, and without the least intention to give offence to his Britannic Majesty, had assented to the proposal made by the most Christian King for the joint accommodation of their differences with great Britain." As to the differences which had arisen between England and Spain respecting the capture of the Spanish ships during the war, the General allowed they would admit of an easy accommodation. The court of Spain, however, thought that the refusal of the English court to enter into any negociation respecting the claim of Spain to fish on the banks of Newfoundland was violent and harsh, especially as coupled with the absolute determination of England not to relinquish her acknowledged usurpations on the coast of Honduras, except his Catholic Majesty would previously assure to them the right, to which they pretended, of cutting logwood within that territory. In subsequent dispatches, of September and October, the Earl of Bristol informed the court of London, "that umbrage had been taken by the court of Madrid at the additional fortifications reported to be going forward at Gibraltar, and that General Wall had asked, if it were possible that England could be seriously apprehensive of a rupture with Spain; affirming, that at no time had the Catholic King been more intent upon cultivating a good understanding with his Britannic Majesty than at the present; that the flota had arrived at Cadiz, but that the treasure belonging to the crown was much less than had been expected; that great abuses and malversations had been charged against the Spanish viceroys and governors in the West Indies; and that his Catholic Majesty's ministers had strongly suggested t him the impracticability of reforming effectually the old defective system of government, should the court of Madrid embroil itself in the present troubles of Europe: that the Spanish minister, Don Ricardo, urged the evacuation of the more recent settlements on the Honduras coast, which he said would serve as a salvo for the honour of Spain, and greatly facilitate the final adjustment of her differences with England. "General Wall," observes the Earl, "has ever acted in too ingenuous a manner for me to suspect the least duplicity in his conduct." The ambassador added, that, "on the notification of the King's marriage to the court of Madrid, he was particularly enjoined to assure the King of England of the share his Catholic Majesty would ever take in all events that contributed to his happiness—that the Spanish minister expressed a thorough concern at the breaking off the conferences between the courts of Versailles and London; and said it was the opinion in Spain, that the French ministers had gone as great lengths in concessions as could be expected, considering the engagements of France with her allies."

Before the arrival of the last mentioned dispatches, Mr. Pitt was no longer minister. Having received certain intelligence that a treaty of alliance had recently been concluded between France and Spain, and being firmly persuaded that the articles of this treaty were inimical to Great Britain, and that Spain waited only the favourable moment to act openly against her, he strongly urged in council the policy and necessity of an immediate declaration of war against that power; and recommended that a strong squadron should be immediately sent to the Mediterranean, to intercept the flota actually on its passage from Carthagena to Cadiz. In this opinion he was supported only by his brother-in-law, Earl Temple, Lord Privy-Seal; and finding his influence in the cabinet at an end, he resigned the seals, October 9, 1761.† The King granted him a pension of 3000*l.* per annum, and his lady (Lady Hester Pitt, sister to Earl Temple), was created Baroness of Chatham, with remainder to her heirs male, Mr. Pitt in his own person declining the honours of the peerage.

The resignation of Mr. Pitt did not, however, appear to effect any change in the conduct of public affairs; and, after considerable negociation with the court of Spain, letters of marque were issued, and commissions granted for privateers to act against the subjects of his Catholic Majesty; and, on the 4th of January, 1762, war was declared against Spain in the accustomed manner.

Parliament having been convened in the preceding month of November, had chosen Sir John Cust, Baronet, for their Speaker; and the session was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty expressed "his regret at the unsuccessful termination of the late negociation for peace, and his resolution to prosecute the war in the most effectual manner, till the enemies of Great Britain, moved by their own losses, and touched with the miseries of so many nations, shall yield to the equitable conditions of an honourable peace." Loyal addresses were returned; about 240,000 seamen, landmen, and marines, including the German mercenaries, were voted for the service of the year; twelve millions were borrowed to make up the deficiency of the regular means of supply; a jointure of 100,000*l.* per annum was settled on the Queen, with the palaces of

* In relation to the three points stated in the memorial, Mr. Pitt declared it sufficient to say respecting the first, viz. the seizure of certain ships under Spanish colours, "that the courts instituted for the cognizance of such matters are open to the parties who think fit to seek redress in due course of law. As to the obsolete pretensions of Spain to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, no concession in a matter so sacred would be even thought of. With regard to the disputes relating to the logwood coasts, his Britannic Majesty was willing to receive any just overtures on the part of his Catholic Majesty, provided they were not conveyed through the channel of France. And he concluded with professing his expectation that the court of Madrid would come to some explicit eclaircissement as to the destination of her fleets, and with respect to her disposition to maintain and cultivate friendship and good correspondence with Great Britain."

† Mr. Pitt was succeeded in the office of Secretary of State by the Earl of Egremont, son of the celebrated Sir William Windham.

Richmond Old Park and Somerset House; and, after passing various acts, the Parliament was prorogued on the 2d of June.

About the close of 1761, a plan had been formed for the conquest of the important island of Martinico, the principal of the French Caribbee islands, and the residence of the Governor-General and council, whose jurisdiction extends over all the French Antilles. This island was accounted the most populous and flourishing colony belonging to France in America. The armament destined for this expedition consisted of 18 ships of the line, and as many battalions of troops, under General Monckton and Admiral Sir George Rodney, who, rendezvousing at Barbadoes, proceeded early in the month of January (1762) to Martinico; and on the 16th landed, after silencing the batteries erected on the coast in the vicinity of the town of Fort Royal, defended by a strong citadel and various military works erected on the Morne Tortueson and the Morne Garnier, neighbouring heights which commanded the town. These were soon forced by the intrepidity of the English troops; and on the 4th of February, the commandant capitulated, and the garrison was permitted to march out with the honours of war. The Governor-General, M. de la Touche, retreated to the strong fortress of St. Pierre, situated to the leeward of Fort Royal, which he at first seemed disposed to defend with vigour; but on the 14th deputies arrived with proposals of capitulation for the whole island, and this important conquest was achieved with inconsiderable loss. Commodore Swanton was detached from the fleet with a force sufficient for the reduction of the island of Grenada and the Grenadines, which submitted without resistance, and proved in the hands of the English a very valuable acquisition; and, at the same time the English took possession of the islands of St. Lucia, Tobago, and St. Vincent, which, though declared neutral by former treaties, had been for some time occupied by the French.

In one quarter only could England at this time be considered as vulnerable. By an attack on Portugal, a kingdom in close alliance with Great Britain, Spain might hope to indemnify herself for any losses she might elsewhere sustain. On the 16th of March, a joint memorial was therefore presented by the ambassadors of France and Spain, at Lisbon, inviting the King of Portugal to renounce his connection with Great Britain, and engage in the offensive and defensive alliance which they had formed against that "insolent and dangerous power." The Catholic King, professing "the most cordial attachment to the interests of his most faithful Majesty, to whom he was so nearly allied, insisted that the English subjects resident in Portugal should be compelled to depart the kingdom, and the English shipping no longer be allowed shelter in her ports; declaring, that he should immediately occupy with his troops the fortresses and maritime places belonging to his most faithful Majesty, to protect them from the resentment of England." To this requisition, the King of Portugal replied, "That he was sincerely disposed to act as mediator in compromising the present differences, but that the unfortunate state of his kingdom would not allow him, were he so inclined, to engage as a principal in the war; that the honour of his crown, and the faith of solemn treaties, would not permit him to abandon the alliance of England; and that he was determined to observe a strict neutrality, making those preparations only which were necessary for his own defence." In a second memorial, (dated April 1,) the confederate powers declared, in a still higher tone, "That his most faithful Majesty's alliance with England became in effect an offensive alliance, from the situation of the Portuguese dominions, and the nature of the English power; that the British squadrons could not keep the sea without the use of the ports of his most faithful Majesty; that the riches of Portugal passed into the hands of the English; and they again invited him, since the differences between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, which had laid the foundation of the alliance with England, had been long since happily accommodated, to abandon that alliance, and enter into a strict league of alliance and friendship with their Christian and Catholic Majesties." The King of Portugal, generously persisting in his refusal of these overtures, the ambassadors of the two courts, after the delivery of a third memorial, still more insolent than the former, were ordered to depart; and, on the 23d of May, war was declared by Spain against Portugal, the Spanish army having already passed the frontier.

His most faithful Majesty having made urgent solicitation to the court of London for assistance, it was determined to grant him the most speedy and efficacious succour, by the embarkation of a large body of troops under Lord Tyrawley, a veteran officer, who had formerly resided with high reputation as ambassador at the court of Lisbon, and who now united the different characters of plenipotentiary and general.* Early in May, the Spanish army, under the Marquis de Sarria, passed the Douro, and invested the important city of Miranda. At the commencement of the siege, however, the grand magazine of the fortress taking fire, blew up with a tremendous explosion, occasioning the loss of nearly 500 lives, and making two large and practicable breaches in the walls. In consequence, the city was immediately given up, and the garrison made prisoners of war. Braganza being next attacked, the keys of the town were delivered without any attempt at resistance; and the city of Chaves, though provided with all the means of defence, was surprised at the same time by a separate detachment under Count O'Reilly. The southern army, commanded by the Count d'Aranda, being joined by 8000 French auxiliaries, entered the province of Estremadura, and opened the trenches before Almeida in July; but, after a much better defence than had hitherto been made, that city was compelled to capitulate on the 25th of August. On the arrival of the Count de la Lippe, Lisbon, the metropolis, and Oporto, the second city of the kingdom, were exposed to imminent danger; but that General prudently determined to carry the arms of Portugal into the kingdom of Spain; and, an enterprise against the city of Alcantara, where considerable magazines were forming, having been resolved upon, Brigadier-General Burgoyne was appointed to the command of the entire force collected for that purpose. Passing the Tagus at midnight, this officer reached Alcantara at the dawn of day, and, attacking the enemy posted in the vicinity, he totally routed them with considerable loss; much arms and ammunition falling into his hands. The Count d'Aranda, having reduced, after the surrender of Almeida, the fortresses of Castel Rodrigo and Castel Branco, attempted to force a passage through the mountains, intending to cross the Tagus at Villa Velha, a post defended by General Burgoyne, who lay encamped on the southern bank of the river. The old Moorish castle of Villa Velha, on the northern bank, though gallantly defended, was at length compelled to surrender, and the passes of the mountains were gained; but the enemy having weakened their force at Villa Velha, in order to pursue their advantage in the opposite quarter, General Burgoyne ordered a detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Lee to ford the Tagus in the night, and attack the Spaniards in their camp. This enterprise was successfully executed. A great number of the Spanish officers were slain in attempting to rally their troops; their cannon were spiked, their magazines destroyed, and much valuable plunder became the property of the assailants. The Spaniards being repeatedly foiled in their design of passing the Tagus, and embarrassed also in their operations by the heavy rains which fell at this period, at length repassed the moun-

* The King of Portugal, at the recommendation of the King of England, had conferred the chief command of his armies on Count de la Lippe-Buckebourg, Master-General of the artillery under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick; a man whose talents were of the first order. Lord Tyrawley returning to England, probably in disgust at this appointment, the command of the English auxiliaries devolved on the Earl of Loudon, under whom served the Generals Burgoyne, Crawford, Townshend, &c.

tains, and entirely evacuated the province of Estremadura, first dismantling the fortifications of Castel Rodrigo and Almeida.

As soon as war had been declared by England against Spain, preparations began to be made for a grand enterprise; and, in the beginning of March, 1762, a very powerful armament sailed from Portsmouth, under the conduct of Admiral Sir George Pococke, the Earl of Albemarle commanding the land forces on board. Early in June, they arrived off the island of Cuba, and the troops were landed six miles to the eastward of the Havannah.* Protected by a very strong castle called the Moro, against which the principal attack of the Earl of Albemarle was directed, this city was bravely defended; and the siege having been protracted beyond expectation, sickness began to make its ravages amongst the besiegers. On the 30th of July, therefore, although the breaches made were deemed scarcely practicable, an assault was determined upon, and the troops, mounting with the utmost intrepidity, drove the enemy from the ramparts of the castle, and, after a short but fierce and bloody conflict, the Spaniards were compelled to lay down their arms and petition for quarter. The commandant, animated with all the genuine Castilian heroism, fell by a promiscuous shot, whilst inciting his troops to support the glory of the Spanish arms. The city, however, held out till the 13th of August, when it capitulated, on condition of being allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and to have, for its whole garrison, a free and unmolested conveyance to Spain. In the capitulation were included twelve line-of-battle ships then lying in the harbour of the Havannah. Great quantities of ammunition and warlike stores likewise fell into the hands of the victors, who found in the city prodigious quantities of merchandize of various kinds, and an immense treasure, in money.

As soon as the intelligence of the Spanish war was conveyed to the East Indies, an armament was speedily equipped, under the conduct of Admiral Cornish, and Sir William Draper, and sailed from Madras, destined against Luconia, the principal of the Philippine islands, of which the chief city is Manilla, whence two large ships are sent annually across the Pacific Ocean to Acapulco, on the coast of Mexico, laden with the spices, silks, and other precious products of India. On the 23d of September (1762) the whole armament, having on board a land force, including lascars, and other irregular troops, amounting to about 2,500 men, anchored in the bay of Manilla, where they excited great and general alarm. After effecting a landing with little loss, the city was summoned to surrender; but the Marquis de Villa Medina, the governor, returned a resolute refusal. The weather soon grew stormy and tempestuous; but the besiegers carried on their works. A furious, but unsuccessful sally was on the 4th made from the town; after which, the works having been much damaged, a resolution was taken to storm the town. The English penetrated into the centre of the city with little opposition; and, the governor retiring into the citadel, the town was exposed for some hours to a general pillage. At length, the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war; proposing a capitulation to save the city from total destruction. A ransom of four millions of dollars was at length accepted.

Accounts being received of the expected arrival of an Acapulco ship, the Admiral sent the Panther and Argo ships of war in quest of her, who fell in with the Santa Trinidada, bound for Mexico, pierced for sixty guns, with merchandize on board to the amount of three millions of dollars.†

In the course of the present year, the town and fort of St. John, in the island of Newfoundland, which had been surprised and surrendered to the French, were recovered by Lord Colville and Colonel Amherst, who, sailing from the harbour of Halifax, by their spirited exertions anticipated the effect of an armament fitted out expressly for this purpose at home.

The Emperor, deserted by his allies, and despairing of the recovery of Silesia, thought proper, at length, to make direct overtures to the King of Prussia, for the purpose of setting on foot a treaty of peace. The conferences commenced at Hubertsburg on the 31st of December; and both parties being eager to terminate this sanguinary and fruitless war, articles of pacification were signed February 15, 1763; the chief of which imported, that all conquests on each side should be evacuated, and peace re-established on the basis of former treaties. Silesia was anew guaranteed to Prussia, and the Prussian monarch engaged to give his vote in favour of the Archduke Joseph at the electoral diet, which he consented should be forthwith convened, for the purpose of electing a King of the Romans.

After the resignation of Mr. Pitt, the entire direction of affairs rested on the Earl of Bute. The Duke of Newcastle, however, who had for forty years past been considered as the ostensible head of the Whigs, still held the office of first commissioner of the treasury; a post which the Earl now thought he might safely assume. The Duke, knowing that Lord Bute had determined to withdraw all pecuniary support from the King of Prussia, before the close of the session (May 1762,) resolved, finally to retire from office; and, to cast some lustre on this last act of his political life, he determined to insist upon the payment of the Prussian subsidy as usual; signifying, in an audience which he demanded on this occasion of the King, his unalterable intention, otherwise, to relinquish his station. His Majesty expressed his regret, but accepted the resignation. The Earl of Bute being immediately placed at the head of the Treasury, the Chancellorship of the Exchequer was conferred on Sir Francis Dashwood. The Duke of Newcastle, who resented the treatment which he had experienced, again connected himself with Mr. Pitt, for many years his alternate rival and associate. The Duke of Devonshire, soon after the removal of the Duke of Newcastle, resigned his office of Lord Chamberlain, and was by the King's own hand struck out of the privy council. The Earl of Hardwicke retired from court in disgust; the Duke of Grafton, Lord Ravensworth, and Lord Ashburnham, &c. ranged themselves on the side of opposition.‡

On the 12th of August—a day auspicious to the house of Brunswick, as the æra of its accession to the throne of Britain—the nation was delighted by the birth of George Frederick Augustus, Prince of Wales, who came into the world in a moment of national triumph. By a remarkable coincidence, the rich treasure of the Hermione was carried through the city, to the Bank, at the very hour in which his Royal Highness was born.

The first and greatest object of the new minister, was the restoration of peace. The majority of the nation, however, intoxicated with success, were eager for the continuance of the war, in the sanguine hope of victories. A powerful party, too, openly countenanced by the Duke of Cumberland, now opposed the minister. These considerations did not, however, deter him from the execution of his plan; and the court of Versailles readily embracing the overtures now made by England, the Duc de Nivernois arrived in London in the month of September, invested with the character

* This city was of the utmost importance to the security and almost the existence of the Spanish empire in America, as the port where the galleons and flota, laden with the riches of Mexico and Peru, constantly rendezvoused on their return to Spain. From its situation it absolutely commanded the only commodious passage by which these ships could sail from the bay of Mexico to Europe; the windward passage by Carthagena not being practicable, without infinite trouble, loss of time, and danger from an enemy who is decidedly superior at sea.

† The Santa Trinidada was not the only register ship taken in the course of this war from the Spaniards; the St. Hermione, from Lima to Cadiz, being captured by two British frigates cruizing off Cape St. Vincent. Her cargo was estimated at 1,000,000*l.*

‡ Lord Anson, deceased, was succeeded in the Admiralty by the Earl of Halifax, recently returned from the government of Ireland, which now devolved on the Duke of Northumberland, whose eldest son, Lord Percy, had married a daughter of the Earl of Bute. Mr. George Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, was advanced to the secretaryship vacated by the new premier; but in a short time this order of things was reversed: Lord Halifax took the seals, and Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the Admiralty.

of

of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the King of Great Britain. The Duke of Bedford was invested with the same diplomatic distinctions, and sent to the court of France; and the negotiators being actuated by a mutual wish for the re-establishment of peace, preliminaries were signed and interchanged at Fontainbleau, in the beginning of November, between the ministers of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal. On the 25th of that month, the Parliament met; and his Majesty informed the two Houses, "That the preliminary articles were actually signed, on terms which he represented as very advantageous to England; and he recommended that union at home, which was so necessary to the adoption of those measures which could alone relieve the nation from the heavy burdens entailed upon it by the prosecution of a long and expensive war." When the consequent address came under the consideration of the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt expressed his entire disapprobation of the tenor of the treaty, as impolitic, and derogatory to the honour and interests of the kingdom. He was determined, "afflicted as he was with illness, at the hazard of his life," he said, "to attend the House that day, to raise up his voice, his hand, and his arm against the preliminary articles of a treaty, which obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith by an abandonment of our allies." He was answered by Mr. Fox, who, though he occupied only the subordinate post of paymaster of the army, was the ablest advocate of administration in the House; and, after a warm and full discussion, the address was carried by a great majority. In the Lords, the Earl of Bute vindicated the treaty with great spirit; declaring, "That he wished no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb, than that he was the adviser of the peace on the merits of which their Lordships were then called upon to decide." The address passed in this House also by a great majority.*

It was soon found necessary, the increasing expence of the war having left an immense arrear of debt, to negotiate a new loan to a large amount; for discharging the interest of which, amongst other taxes, a duty was moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of four shillings upon every hogshead of cider, to be paid by the maker, and with certain qualifications subjected to all the laws of excise. This proposition had scarcely been made, when the opposition inveighed bitterly against an extension of a system reprobated as oppressive, arbitrary, and odious.

The clamour against the cider bill became loud and general; and the city of London presented, at the bar of the House of Commons, a petition against it. The bill, nevertheless, passed both Houses by considerable majorities, though in the Lords two protests were signed against it. When it lay ready for the royal sanction, the city of London, rather to express its detestation of the bill than from any hope of success, petitioned the crown to refuse its assent. The bill, however, finally passed into a law; and, on the 19th of April (1763) the session closed.†

Scarcely had the favourite measure of the cider act been carried into execution, when, the nation was astonished by the Earl of Bute's resignation of the premiership. By his enemies—and they were numerous—it was affirmed, that though his pride would not suffer him to recede from a measure which he had once adopted, he found himself, on the passing of this unpopular act, in a situation which he had neither the ability nor the fortitude to sustain. The real cause of his resignation is understood to have been, a want of support in the cabinet. To his Lordship succeeded, as first commissioner of the treasury, Mr. George Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, a man accurately versed in the routine of business, frank and affable in his manners, of acknowledged integrity and unambitious of distinction, but destitute of commanding talents. The Duke of Marlborough, (son-in-law of the Duke of Bedford) was advanced to the office of Lord Privy Seal, and the staff of Chamberlain was conferred on Earl Gower, brother to the Duke of Bedford by marriage.

The press at this time teemed with political pamphlets, grossly abusive and virulent; but the ministry disregarded them, till on the appearance of the 45th number of the "North Briton," containing a personal and indecent attack upon the King, charging him with affirming a direct falsehood in his speech from the throne at the termination of the session, it was judged expedient to rescue the Sovereign from so foul an imputation. The almost avowed author of the publication was Mr. Wilkes, member of Parliament for the borough of Aylesbury, a man of ruined fortune and profligate morals, who had made repeated applications to the ministry for some post that might repair his shattered circumstances; but failing of success, he resolved on revenge, and he is said to have declared his resolution to try how far it was practicable to carry the licentiousness of writing, under the pretext of exercising the liberty of the press. A warrant having been issued under the hand and seal of Lord Halifax, directed to certain of his Majesty's messengers, commanding them to apprehend the authors, printers, and publishers, of that seditious and treasonable paper, they, on the 30th of April, late at night, entered the house of Mr. Wilkes, and produced their warrant. On account of the general terms in which it was drawn, Mr. Wilkes absolutely refused compliance; but on their return the next morning, he was compelled to accompany them to the office of Secretary of State, whence he was committed close prisoner to the Tower; his papers having been previously seized and sealed, and all access to his person strictly prohibited. Application was immediately made to the court of Common Pleas for a Habeas Corpus, and a writ was consequently issued, agreeably to which Mr. Wilkes was brought up the next day to Westminster-hall; and the case being new and important,

* The entire province of Canada was by this treaty, ceded and guaranteed to the English, with all that part of Louisiana situated to the east of the great river Mississippi, together with Cape Breton, and the other islands in the gulf and river of St. Laurence. In the West Indies, the island of Grenada, and the Grenadines, were confirmed to England in full right; also the neutral islands, Dominique, St. Vincent, and Tobago; and, in Africa; Senegal, with its dependencies. In the East Indies, his most Christian Majesty acknowledged Mahomed Aly Khan as nabob of the Carnatic; and Salabat Zing, as subah of the Decan—renouncing all acquisitions made on the coast of Coromandel since the year 1749, and engaging not to erect fortifications in any part of the kingdom of Bengal. In Europe, he agreed to restore Minorca in the same condition as when conquered by the arms of the most Christian King. He consented that the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished. Finally, he stipulated, that the territories belonging to the elector of Hanover, the landgrave of Hesse, &c. occupied by the armies of France, should be evacuated, with the fortresses of Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres, &c. belonging to the King of Prussia; and the two monarchs of France and England engaged not to furnish succours of any kind to their respective allies in Germany.—The King of Spain ceded and confirmed to England, the eastern and western Floridas, and all that Spain possessed on the continent of America, to the east or to the south-east of the Mississippi; in consequence of which cession, in conjunction with that of the eastern part of Louisiana, and the entire province of Canada, an immense country, was gained to Britain. His Catholic Majesty also relinquished all pretensions which he might have formed to the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland; confirmed and established the privilege enjoyed by the English, of cutting logwood on the coast of Honduras, stipulating only, that no fortifications should be erected upon the territorial dominions of Spain; and engaged entirely to evacuate all the lands, cities, and castles, belonging to his most faithful Majesty, in the condition they were in when conquered by the arms of Spain. In return for these cessions, Britain engaged to restore to France, in Europe, the island of Belleisle; in Africa, the island of Goree; in the West Indies, the islands of Guadaloupe, Martinique, and St. Lucie; in the East Indies, Pondicherry and Chandernagore. The right of France to fish on the banks of Newfoundland was recognised, and the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded as a shelter for the fishermen. The fortress of the Havannah, and the other acquisitions of England, without reserve, including the recent, and, as yet, unascertained, conquest of the Manillas, were restored to the Spanish crown.

† The speech made by the King on this occasion contained the following expressions:—"These articles; *i. e.* the preliminary articles of peace, signed with France and Spain, have been established, and even rendered still more advantageous to my subjects, by the definitive treaty; and my expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this salutary measure. The powers at war with my good brother the King of Prussia have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation, as that great Prince has approved; and the success which has attended my negotiation has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe."

tant,

tant, he was, after the pleadings were finished, remanded till Friday, May 6, that the Judges might have leisure to consult upon the case. Lord Chief Justice Pratt, in giving the opinion of the court, declared the commitment of Mr. Wilkes to be not in itself illegal, being justified by numerous precedents; and though, in strict contemplation of law, the warrant of Secretary of State was not of superior force to that of a justice of peace, where a combination of circumstances gave a strong suspicion of facts incompatible with the public safety, he was supported in the commitment, even without receiving any particular information for the foundation of the charge. On the second head, the court was of opinion, that there was no specification of those particular passages in the forty-fifth number of the "North Briton," which had been deemed a libel. The paper did not at that time come under the cognizance of the court, nor could it without the assistance of a jury. Respecting the third objection, the chief justice admitted that the privilege of Parliament was violated in the person of Mr. Wilkes: the privilege of Parliament could be forfeited only by treason, felony, or breach of the peace; but Mr. Wilkes stood accused only of writing a libel, which did not come within that description: at most it had but a "tendency" to disturb the peace, and this was not sufficient to destroy the privilege of a member of Parliament. The court then discharged Mr. Wilkes, against whom, however, a prosecution was immediately commenced by the Attorney-General; and he was at the same time, by an official notice from the Secretary of State to Lord Temple, Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Bucks, dismissed from his military command as Colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia; and Lord Temple was himself in a short time dismissed from his Lieutenancy, to make room for Lord Le Despenser, late Sir Francis Dashwood.*

On the 16th of August, the Queen was delivered of a second son, baptized by the name of Frederic. Attempts were at this time made, for a coalition of parties; and, though they proved unsuccessful, some new arrangements of office took place.†

At the opening of the session (November 15), the King, in his speech, exhorted the two Houses "to cultivate the arts of peace; to employ their utmost attention to the discharge of the heavy debts contracted in the late war. He recommended to them the care and support of the fleet; and, towards the close of the speech, he urged them to domestic union, and that they would discourage that licentious spirit which is repugnant to the true principles of liberty and of our happy constitution." Before his Majesty's speech could be reported to the House, Mr. Grenville, knowing the intention of Mr. Wilkes to prefer a formal complaint of the breach of privilege committed in his person, stated that he had a message to deliver from the King. The message imported, "that his Majesty having received information that John Wilkes, Esq. a member of that House, was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel, he had caused the said John Wilkes, Esq. to be apprehended and secured, in order to take his trial in due course of law. And Mr. Wilkes having been discharged out of custody by the court of Common Pleas, on account of his privilege as a member of that House; and having been since refused to answer to an information filed against him by his Majesty's Attorney-General, his Majesty, desirous to show all possible attention to the privileges of the House of Commons, and at the same time solicitous not to suffer the public justice of the kingdom to be eluded, had chosen to direct the said libel, and also copies of the examination upon which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended and secured to be laid before them." The minister then delivered the papers; on which a vehement debate arose, and it was urged in extenuation of the offence of Mr. Wilkes, that no greater liberties had been taken by the author of this obnoxious paper than had been common on former occasions of the same kind; that the speech of the King had never been considered in any other light than as that of the minister, and had always been treated with equal freedom. The House, however, voted by a great majority, that "The North Briton, No. 45, is a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his Majesty, and to excite them to traiterous insurrections;" and ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. No legal conviction having yet taken place, Mr. Wilkes made his complaint to the House, "of a breach of privilege by the imprisonment of his person, the plunder of his House, the seizure of his papers, and the serving him with a subpœna upon an information in the court of King's Bench." It was resolved to take the complaint into consideration on the 17th; but in the interim, Mr. Wilkes, in a duel fought with Mr. Martin, late Secretary of the Treasury, and member for Camelford, from whom he had received a challenge, in resentment of the freedom taken with his character in a former number of "The North Briton," was dangerously wounded, and rendered unable to appear in his place on the day appointed. The consideration of the question was consequently adjourned. On the 23d of November, however, the deliberations on his Majesty's message having been resumed, the House resolved, by a majority of 125, "that privilege of Parliament does not extend to the case of libel;" and an address was presented to his Majesty, in which the Peers concurred, signifying their destestation of these seditious practices, and their warm affection for his Majesty's person and government.‡ The concurrence of the Lords was not obtained without much debate and difficulty; and an animated protest was signed on the occasion by 17 Peers, among whom were the Dukes of Grafton, Portland, and Devonshire; the Lords Temple, and Cornwallis, with his brother the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.§

The sheriffs of London attempting to execute the order of the House of Commons for burning the 45th number of The North Briton at the Royal Exchange, a violent riot ensued; the paper was rescued from the hands of the executioner, the peace officers were attacked, and the sheriffs themselves were put in danger of their lives. The two Houses in consequence resolved, that the rioters were perturbators of the public peace, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and obstructors of the national justice. The thanks of the Commons were voted to the sheriffs, and an address was presented to his Majesty, that he would give directions for the punishment of the rioters.

* It is said, that the Duc de Nivernois, ambassador extraordinary from France, a man of literature and polished manners, taking leave of England about this period; and despising the barbarism of the English court and nation, immersed in political contentions, exclaimed, on quitting the metropolis "Quel roi! quel peuple! quel société!" "What a King! what a people! what a state of society!"

† The Earl of Egremont having died on the 21st of August, the Earl of Sandwich was, on the 2d of the ensuing month, appointed Secretary of State in his stead; and the Duke of Bedford was declared President of the Council in the room of Earl Grenville, deceased some months before. Lord Percival, the leader of the opposition during the latter years of Mr. Pelham's administration, and now created Earl of Egmont, was advanced to the head of the Admiralty, in the room of the Earl of Sandwich.

‡ Mr. Pitt, who attended on this occasion, though obliged by illness to be supported to his seat, declared himself with warmth against the resolution, "No man," he said, "could condemn the paper or libel more than he did; but he would come at the author fairly, not by a sacrifice of their constitutional pledges, and by subjecting every member who did not vote with their minister, to the dread and danger of imprisonment. Under such circumstances, how can a Parliament be free, or bold, or honest? To talk of the abuse of privilege, was to attack the very being and life of Parliament; it was an arraignment of the justice and honour of Parliament to suppose that they would protect any criminal whatever. The dignity of Parliament called upon them, doubtless, to support and protect the purity of his Majesty's character: this they had done by strong and decisive condemnation of the libel in question; the rest belonged to the courts below."

§ Their Lordships affirmed it to be "incompatible with the dignity, gravity, and justice of the House of Peers, thus to explain away a Parliamentary privilege of such magnitude and importance, founded in the wisdom of ages, declared with precision in their standing orders, repeatedly confirmed, and hitherto preserved inviolable, by the spirit of their ancestors; called to it only by the other House on a particular occasion, and to serve a particular purpose, 'ex post facto, ex parte, ex pendente lite' in the courts below."

Mr. Wilkes, however, brought his action against the under Secretary of State, Robert Wood, Esq. for seizing his papers; and on the 6th of December (1763), after a hearing of fifteen hours before the Lord Chief Justice Pratt and a special jury, he obtained a verdict for 1000*l.* damages, and full costs of suit.* Actions were also brought by Mr. Wilkes against the two principal Secretaries of State, Lord Egremont, and Lord Halifax. That against Lord Egremont ended, with his Lordship's death; and that against Lord Halifax was evaded by his lordship's casting essoigns, pleading privilege, and at length standing out in contempt of court until the subsequent outlawry of Mr. Wilkes, which deprived him of all further assistance from the courts of justice. During the Christmas vacation, Mr. Wilkes thought proper to cross the channel to France, and on the 16th of January, (1764) the day fixed for his appearance, the speaker produced a letter from Mr. Wilkes, inclosing medical certificates of the ill state of his health, as an apology for his non-appearance. The House, however, voted Mr. Wilkes guilty of a contempt of the authority of the House, and that they would proceed to hear evidence on the charge against him. On the 29th of January, after a long and vehement debate, they resolved, "that John Wilkes, Esq. was guilty of writing and publishing the paper intituled 'The North Briton, No. 45,' and that for his offence he be expelled from his seat in this House." On the same day in the Lords, a complaint was brought forward by the Earl of Sandwich, who alledged, "that Mr. Wilkes had violated the most sacred ties of religion, as well as decency, by printing in his own house a book or pamphlet intituled, 'An Essay on Woman,' with notes or remarks, to which the name of a right reverend prelate, Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, had been scurrilously affixed." This book, it appeared, had been printed with the utmost secrecy, and very reprehensible artifices were adopted to procure a copy, in order thus to convert it to the prejudice of the author. The privileges of the House most certainly were violated by the use made of the name of the learned prelate; the book was detestably obscene and impious. The House therefore voted an address, requesting his Majesty to order a prosecution to be instituted against the author. This, however, only served to increase the resentment of the public, who now regarded Mr. Wilkes as a victim devoted to the vengeance of the government, and whom it was therefore incumbent upon them to protect. On the 14th of February (1764) a motion was made in the Commons by Sir William Meredith, of the opposition, "that a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law." Ministers forcibly urged, that it was not consistent with the dignity of the House to pass a resolution respecting a point of law, which though it should pass, would not therefore be law; and if the courts of law should, in the causes actually depending, be influenced by this resolution, and the House of Lords, in their judicial capacities, should decree for the legality of general warrants, the consequences would be very disagreeable. They contended, that the remedy should be provided by an act of Parliament passed upon cool deliberation, distinguishing cases, and specifying those discretionary powers which the contingent exigencies of government require to be vested in the Secretary of State. The opposition, however, insisted that the practice in question was an abuse, and they would never consent to any act for regulating that abuse. The debate, however, being adjourned to the 17th, certain modifications of the original motion were proposed by the ministry; after which, they moved the farther adjournment of the question for four months.† The adjournment was carried by 234 voices against 220. By the opposition, this defeat was considered as a victory: the freedom of the city of London was voted to Lord Chief Justice Pratt, and presented to his Lordship in a golden box; and the picture of that magistrate was placed in Guildhall.‡

The reductions which had taken place since the conclusion of the war having been far inferior to those made by Mr. Pelham, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the increase of the national debt having rendered indispensable a proportionable increase of revenue, large supplies were yet wanting. Mr. Grenville, in consequence, cast his eyes upon America, as affording considerable scope for taxation.§ His object was to raise a revenue in America in aid to the mother country, the entire produce of which was to be paid into the Exchequer of Great Britain. On the 10th of March, the House of Commons accordingly passed several resolutions, respecting certain new duties on foreign goods imported in the British colonies in America; which being primarily of the nature of commercial regulations, passed without any distinct or particular notice in the British Parliament, though their equivocal complexion rendered them very distasteful to the Americans. One of these resolutions, however, was of such importance, that Mr. Grenville declared his intention to reserve the execution of it till the next year. This resolution stated, in substance, that it would be proper to impose certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations, for the purpose of raising an American revenue payable into the British Exchequer. The agreeable prospect of being relieved, by the taxation of America, from a portion of the national burdens, was so soothing to the public mind, that the resolution passed the House of Commons without much opposition; and on the 19th of April, the session closed; the King returning thanks for the judicious measures which had been taken to extend the commerce, augment the revenues, and secure the happiness of the kingdom.‖

Early

* In the charge given by the Chief Justice to the Jury, his Lordship, varying in some degree from his former opinion, ventured to declare the "General Warrant," under which Mr. Wilkes had been apprehended, illegal—with submission, however, to the opinions of the other judges, and of the highest judicial authority in this kingdom, the House of Peers. "If," said his lordship, "these superior jurisdictions should declare my opinion erroneous, I submit, as will become me, and kiss the rod; but I must say, I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain."

† Mr. Pitt spoke in support of the original motion. "It was no justification, he said, that general warrants could plead the authority of precedent: two, he admitted, had been signed by himself, but they were not against libels; they were issued in a time of war and public danger, against persons believed to be in the interests of the enemy. Sensible of the irregularity of the act, but preferring the public safety to every personal consideration, he ran the risk, as he would of his head, relying upon the exigencies of the times, and the necessity of the measure, for his vindication. In the present case no such necessity existed; the charge was writing and publishing a libel. What was therein this crime so heinous and terrible, as to require the use of this formidable engine, which, like an inundation, bore down all the barriers of the public security? It was plainly the indulgence of a violent resentment pointed against a particular person. Surely Parliament could not see the extent of the surrender which they had made! a vote had passed, by which the personal freedom of every representative of the nation was now at the mercy of his Majesty's Attorney-General." "It is a maxim of our law," said Mr. Pitt, "that every Englishman's house is his castle. Not that it is surrounded with walls and battlements: it may be a straw-built shed: every wind of heaven may whistle around it: all the elements of nature may enter in; but the King cannot; the King dare not." He concluded with saying, that "if the House negatived the present motion, they would be the disgrace of the present age, and the reproach of posterity."

‡ Early this year, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who had so ably distinguished himself during the late war, was married in London to the Princess Augusta, eldest sister to the King, to whom the Parliament voted a marriage portion of 80,000*l.*

§ The project of taxing America had been many years since proposed to Sir Robert Walpole; but he replied, "that it was a measure too hazardous for him to venture upon; he should therefore leave it to some more daring successor in office to make the experiment."

‖ A few remarks on the affairs of the continent may here be serviceable. On the 5th of October, 1736, died Augustus III. King of Poland and Elector of Saxony; and the election of a sovereign immediately engrossed the attention of the neighbouring powers. The son of the late King offered himself for the vacant throne, but the Empress of Russia espoused the pretensions of Count Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman who had resided for some time at St. Petersburgh; and declared her resolution, to support the "freedom" of the Polish election by "force." The King of Prussia, though his brother Prince Henry had at first declared himself a candidate, was easily induced to acquiesce in this design of the Empress; his principal object being to prevent the crown of Poland from becoming hereditary in the house of Saxony. The court of Vienna, though biassed in favour of the Electoral family, would not openly oppose this combination, being intent

Early in the ensuing year (1765) the question respecting American taxation was warmly revived. Numerous petitions or memorials were transmitted from the different colonies, none of them expressly admitting, but the majority positively denying, the right of the British legislature to impose any tax for the purpose of raising a colonial revenue, at the disposal of the British Parliament, and payable into the British Exchequer.* Mr. Grenville proposed, that the colonial agents might be indulged in being heard at the bar of the House by counsel, contrary to the usual Parliamentary practice, against the tax, in behalf of their respective colonies; but this was refused as derogatory to the honour of the colonies, who would not on this occasion petition, but protest; and the stamp act, after passing through the usual forms, became a part of the law of the country.

At this time, the little territory of the Isle of Man had been held of the crown, for several centuries past, by the noble family of Stanley, as a feudal sovereignty; the Kings of England exercising only the paramount rights of a liege Lord; and although acknowledging allegiance to the crown, the island was not regarded as constituting any part of the realm. In the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, anciently included in the duchy of Normandy, the King appointed the governors, and retained the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, &c. The superintendence of civil justice was vested in the King in council; the prerogatives, regalities, and rights of dominion rested in the crown. Not only the great

intent on securing the succession of the Imperial crown, by an election of a King of the Romans, in the person of the Archduke Joseph. The death of the Elector of Saxony, which happened soon after that of his father, decided the contest. A diet was summoned by the Archbishop of Gnesna, Prince Primate of Poland, on the 7th of May, (1764) under the "protection" of the Russian forces. Count Branittzi, General of the crown, however, with sixty-seven senators and nuncios, signed a protest against the validity of the diet, and began to assemble troops. In consequence he was divested of his office by the diet, and, being pursued by a superior force of Poles and Russians, was compelled to retire into Hungary. Many of the Polish malcontents found refuge in Turkey, where the Imperial and French ministers had been assiduously employed in representing the proceedings of the diet as inimical to the interests of the Porte. On the 7th of September, (1764) "Count Poniatowski was declared King of Poland and Great Duke of Lithuania, and recognized by all the powers of Europe. During the interregnum, the ascendency acquired by Russia in the affairs of Poland had very strikingly appeared. In compliance with the requisition of the Empress, the diet declared the investiture of Prince Charles of Saxony, A. D. 1758, as Duke of Courland, to be null and void: and acknowledged Count Biron, whom her Imperial Majesty had reinstated in the government, as the lawful Duke, and decreed that the dignity should be perpetuated in the Biron family. The Republic also agreed to give the title of Empress to the Czarina, in consideration of her guarantee of the provinces comprehended in the kingdom of Poland, and the great duchy of Lithuania, conformably to the treaty between the two crowns in the reign of the great Sobieski; and that of King to his Prussian Majesty, upon his engaging never to lay claim to Polish Prussia. The Empress, however, who had declared herself Protectress of the dissidents or non-catholics of Poland, who are very numerous, could obtain no satisfaction respecting her subsequent demands for the re-establishment of that class of citizens in the free enjoyment of their religion, and the privileges guaranteed to them by the treaty of Oliva. Highly offended at the resistance of the diet on this point, she formed a resolution to support the dissidents by force of arms. The discontent of the Poles in consequence became general and violent. It was the subversion of the established faith, said they, which Russia really meant to effect; and, throughout the provinces of the kingdom, were at once seen the astonishing effects of that implacable species of malignity which originates in religious bigotry. By the vigour and promptitude, however, of her proceedings, the Empress Catherine had strongly attracted the attention of the European courts; in her general system of Polish politics she was strongly supported by the King of Prussia; and the peace recently concluded with that monarch, was now cemented by a treaty of mutual defence, containing a secret article, to prevent the establishment of hereditary succession in Poland. It is necessary to remark, that the late Czar had no sooner ascended the throne, than great military preparations were made, for the avowed purpose of a war with Denmark, which, justly alarmed at the prospect of such a contest, made uncommon efforts to maintain the validity of her claims to the duchy of Sleswic, ceded to her by the treaty of Vienna, in 1731. The deposition of the Czar was a happy event for Denmark; for the Empress, to whom the recovery of Sleswic appeared a chimerical and useless project, evinced a disposition to restore the harmony so long subsisting between the two crowns; and in the end, in order to attach the Danish court to that of Russia, the Grand Duke, only son of the late Emperor, made a voluntary cession to the King of Denmark, of the entire duchy of Holstein-Gottorp; an acquisition invaluable to Denmark, though on the part of Russia, on account of its remote and detached situation, a sacrifice of slight import.

About this time, an incident of a deeply tragic nature occurred in Russia. The infant Emperor Iwan, of the house of Mecklenburg, descended from Iwan, elder brother of the Czar Peter the Great, had been closely confined since the period of his deposition by the late Empress Elizabeth, upwards of twenty years, in the castle of Schlusselberg. At the accession of Catherine, apprehensions being entertained that an attempt might be made to revive the pretensions of this young Prince, his guards were doubled, and orders given if any rescue should be attempted, not to suffer him to escape alive from the place of his confinement. Early in the morning of the 15th of August (1764), the Empress being then resident at Mittau, the capital of the duchy of Courland, an officer named Mirowitz, produced a forged order from the Empress to the governor of the fortress, signifying her resolution to resign the crown to Prince Iwan, as the lawful heir and sovereign of the Russian empire. On the Governor's disputing the authenticity of the order, Mirowitz, rushing forward, at the head of his troop, attempted to force a passage into the castle, but was repulsed by the guard. In the interim, the keepers of Prince Iwan's person, pretending that they could not answer for the consequence, went to the apartment of the young Prince, then asleep, and, as far as appears, entirely ignorant of all the circumstances attending this project of rescue, and in the most barbarous manner, murdered him in his bed. His body was immediately exposed at a window; when Mirowitz, terrified at the sight, surrendered, and after a public trial, was condemned to lose his head on the scaffold; a sentence to which he submitted with great constancy and resignation. A relation of this affair was published by order of the court of St. Petersburgh, but accompanied with certain circumstances of mystery and romance which have never been satisfactorily cleared up; and there were those who did not scruple to insinuate, that Mirowitz was the unconscious instrument and victim of the insidious and detestable artifices of the court.

According to an article of the late treaty of Hubertsburg, the King of Prussia had given his assent to the election of a King of the Romans, which at a former period he so obstinately opposed; and the Archduke, heir of the house of Austria-Lorraine, was chosen, and crowned with great solemnity at Francfort (April 3, 1764). In the course of the following year, the Emperor Francis dying suddenly at Inspruck, that Prince succeeded quietly to the Imperial throne, under the appellation of Joseph II.

Some differences now arose between the King of France and the respective Parliaments of that kingdom, which have been regarded, by many, as the seeds of that dreadful revolution, which afterwards burst forth, attended by so many horrors.

* It was urged, on the part of the colonists, "that the claim of England was not only absolutely novel, but diametrically opposite to the spirit and letter of the English constitution, which has established, as a fundamental axiom, that taxation is inseparably attached to representation; that as the colonies were not, and from local and political obstacles could not, be represented in the British Parliament, it would be of the very essence of tyranny to attempt to exercise an authority over them, which from its very nature must lead to gross and inevitable abuse; for, when Great Britain should be in full possession of the power contended for, could it possibly be imagined, when a sum of money for the supply of the exigencies of government was wanting, that the British Parliament would not rather choose to vote that it should be paid by the colonists, than by themselves and their constituents?" In reply to the argument, which stated as highly reasonable that America should contribute her proportion to the general expense of the empire, it was observed, "that America had never been deficient in contributing, at the constitutional requisition of the crown, in her own assemblies to the utmost of her ability, towards the expenses of the wars in which, conjointly with England, she had been involved; that, in the course of the last memorable contest, large sums had been repeatedly voted by Parliament, as an indemnification to the colonies, for exertions which were allowed to be disproportionate to their means and resources; that the proper compensation to Britain for the expenses of rearing and protecting her colonies, was the monopoly of their trade, the absolute direction and regulation of which was universally acknowledged to be inherent in the British legislature." It was intimated, however, that a specific sum, in lieu of all other claims, might be obtained from the colonies, if accepted as a voluntary offering, not as a revenue extorted by force, which left them no merit in giving, and which might ultimately leave them nothing to give. The argument which seemed to excite most indignation in the breast of the Americans, was that which affected to deem them already represented; and as being virtually included in the general system of representation, in the same manner as that very large proportion of the inhabitants of the British Parliament. "The very essence of representation," observed they, "consists in this—that the representative is himself placed in a situation analogous to those whom he represents, so that he shall be himself bound by the laws which he is intrusted to enact, and liable to the taxes which he is authorised to impose. This is precisely the case with regard to the national representation of Britain. Those who do, and those who do not elect, together with the elected body themselves, are, in respect to this grand and indispensible requisite, upon a perfect equality—that the laws made, and the taxes imposed, extend alike to all. Where then, in this case, is the danger of oppression, or where the inducement to oppress? But in the case of American taxation, these mock representatives actually relieve themselves in the very same proportion that they burden those whom they falsely and ridiculously pretend to represent. Where then, in this case, is the security against oppression; or where is the man so weak and prejudiced, as not to see the irresistible tendency of this system to oppression, however honest and upright candour would represent the intentions of those by whom it should be originally established?"

mandatory

mandatory writs, but those of quo warranto and habeas corpus, &c. extended to these islands; but in the Isle of Man they had no effect; there being no officer to whom they could be directed, or from whom they were legally returnable. In the Isle of Man all civil, criminal, naval, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction was vested solely in the Lord. This splendid inheritance had been transferred from the house of Stanley to that of Athol, by the marriage of the daughter of the last Earl of Derby to the Duke of Athol: and it had for many years been the subject of complaint, that the Isle of Man, not being subject to the laws of the realm, was so conveniently situated for the purposes of carrying on a contraband and fraudulent traffic, as to defeat the utmost vigilance of government. Early in the present session, Mr. Grenville brought in a bill for more effectually preventing these mischiefs; upon which a petition was presented, by the Duke and Duchess of Athol, stating their confidence, that in case the service of the state demanded the resumption of their ancient hereditary rights and revenues, that the legislature would grant them such relief as circumstances should require. In a letter addressed to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the proprietors offered to accept the sum of 70,000*l.* as a full compensation for the loss sustained by them in consequence of this resumption. This sum was, in the progress of the bill, voted by the House to the Duke, and the rights of jurisdiction and sovereignty were re-annexed to the crown, reserving only to the house of Athol its seignorial rights, with the patronage of the Bishopric and other ecclesiastical benefices in the island. As an act of royal munificence, in addition to this claim of justice, a pension of 1200*l.* per annum, was settled, during her life, upon the Duchess of Athol, as heiress of the house of Stanley, and Lady of the Isle of Man.

A temporary illness of the King exciting much alarm, in the possible prospect of a long minority, his Majesty, on the 22d of April, went in state to the House of Peers, and in a speech to both Houses, recommended to their serious attention, the making such provision as would be necessary in case any of his children should succeed to the throne before they should respectively attain the age of eighteen. In consequence of this recommendation, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, framed on the plan of the Regency act, of the 24th of the late King, empowering his Majesty to appoint, by instrument in writing under his sign manual, either the Queen, or any other person of his royal family usually resident in Great Britain, to be Regent of these kingdoms, until the successor to the crown shall attain the age of eighteen years. The council of Regency to consist of the Dukes of York and Gloucester; the Princes Henry Frederic and Frederic William, brothers to the King; William Augustus Duke of Cumberland, uncle to his Majesty; and the great officers of state for the time being. This bill was understood to have been introduced into Parliament officially only, the ostensible ministers not having been previously or confidentially consulted on the subject. Some doubts arising on the question, "Who were the royal family?" it was explained by the law lords to be the descendants of King George II. and in this construction Lord Halifax, the Secretary of State, readily acquiesced, declaring it to be perfectly consonant to the royal intention.* When the bill, however, was transmitted to the Commons, a motion was made by Mr. Morton, a confidential friend of the Earl of Bute, to insert the name of Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales, the omission of which was declared to be a gross indignity offered to a Princess who merited the esteem and gratitude of the English nation. The bill accordingly passed with this important amendment; but it soon appeared that a very deep resentment was harboured by the Princess at the conduct of the ministers in the whole of this transaction, which she considered as an open and flagrant affront. The conduct of the ministry relative to the Regency bill was certainly calculated to excite resentment on the part of the King and the Princess of Wales; and a resolution was in consequence formed, to discard the present ministers. After much delay, and fruitless negotiation, the arrangements for a new administration were settled.(a) The Duke of Newcastle chose the honourable sinecure of Lord Privy Seal, to which was now, for the first and last time, annexed the patronage of the church. The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the Treasury; and Mr. Dowdeswell was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Earl of Northington was confirmed as Chancellor of Great Britain; Lord Egmont as first Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Winchelsea succeeded the Duke of Bedford as president of the council; and the seals, lately in the possession of the Earls of Sandwich and Halifax, were transferred to the Duke of Grafton, and General Conway; the Earl of Hertford, brother to the General, superseding the Earl of Bristol, who had been nominated successor to the Duke of Northumberland in the Irish government.

Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt condemned the acceptance of the new ministers: the nation was astonished and displeased to see a new arrangement of administration formed on Whig principles, from which Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt were excluded; and, on the other hand, the ministers complained of the inflexibility of men who, when great constitutional points might be, with certainty, secured, would not scruple to put all to the hazard, rather than accede to terms of reasonable accommodation.

The fact is, that Mr. Pitt had peremptorily declined any appointment in an administration formed under the auspices of the Duke of Cumberland, whose friendship and confidence he had never cultivated, and could not hope to obtain; knowing that the state of his royal highness's health was such as to warrant the belief that he could not long survive; and flattering himself, that whenever this event took place, he might, or rather must, come in upon his own terms. In the first of these points he was not deceived; the Duke of Cumberland dying after a long protracted indisposition, which terminated at last in a fit of apoplexy, October 31, 1765, in the 45th year of his age. This Prince being the youngest of the numerous family of King George II. Louisa Queen of Denmark excepted, was not born till some years subsequently to the accession of the house of Hanover; and not having been sent to Germany for education, he might boast that his heart was truly English. His personal and public virtues, his affability, generosity, and rectitude of principle, made his character highly respectable; and by his victory at Culloden he rendered his name dear to the British nation, and memorable to future times.

Parliament having assembled on the 14th of January, (1766) their attention was engrossed by the disturbances and tumults which had taken place in almost all parts of the continent of America, in consequence of the stamp act passed in the preceding session.† On

(a) A. D. 1766.

* On the 30th of December, this year (1765) died, at Rome, in a far advanced age, the famous Chevalier de St. George, only son of the late King James II. Born with the prospect of inheriting three powerful kingdoms, he experienced, during the course of a long life, only a succession of misfortunes. So entirely had he survived his political consequence, that the intelligence of his death was received in Great Britain with the utmost indifference; though his pretensions to the British crown had, within the memory of the majority of persons living, excited the highest apprehension and alarm. He left two sons, the eldest of whom was Charles Edward, the hero of 1745. The younger, educated an ecclesiastic, and advanced to the purple under the appellation of Cardinal of York, was the last surviving male of the ill-starred house of Stuart.

† So great was the difficulty, in a country so thinly peopled, in proportion to its extent, as America, to procure the necessary stamps, that the cost of obtaining them from the distributors was, in many parts, said to be tenfold the amount of the duty. According to the provisions of the act, the prosecutor might bring his action in a court situated at one extremity of the continent, though the trespass were committed more than fifteen hundred miles distant, at the other; yet the defendant, should the plaintiff lose his cause, could obtain no damages if the judge should certify that there was a probable foundation for the prosecution. The judge, too, had an interest in procuring a verdict for the plaintiff, being allowed a large proportion of the penalty in case of conviction.

receiving

receiving authentic intelligence of this act of the legislature, the melancholy which had prevailed was converted into fury, and broke out almost every where into acts of violence. The ships in the harbour of Boston hung out their colours half mast high, as a signal of the deepest distress. The bells of the churches throughout the city, being muffled, rang out a dumb peal. The act itself, as soon as it arrived from the King's printing house, was burnt by the populace, with the effigies of the men most active in passing it.* The masters of those vessels which had conveyed the stamps to America were compelled to deliver up their execrated cargoes to an enraged multitude, who treated them with the same ignominy which the act itself had experienced. Those who had accepted commissions to act as distributors of stamps were forced, by public oath, to renounce all concern in them at this or any future juncture; and in some instances, the houses of those who were most obnoxious were demolished, and their effects plundered or destroyed. The justices of the peace in many parts gave public notice, that they would never, by acting in that capacity, be instrumental to the subversion of their country's liberties; the gentlemen also of the law, universally renounced, in their profession, the use of English stamps. The most alarming opposition, however, was made by the merchants, who entered into solemn engagements not to import any more goods from Great Britain till the stamp act should be repealed. By the 1st of November (1765,) the day on which the act was to take place, not a sheet of stamped paper was to be found throughout the colonies; so that all business which could not be legally carried on without stamps, was entirely at a stand. Every where the courts of justice were shut, and the ports closed. The assembly of Virginia being sitting when the stamp act arrived, it became immediately the subject of the most vehement debate ever known since the foundation of the settlement. A leading member of the assembly exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III.——" The opposite party prevented his proceeding, by the cry of "Treason! treason!" Resolutions being finally passed by the House, declaratory of their rights, political and civil, the assembly was immediately dissolved by the governor. The provincial assemblies in general, far from taking effectual measures to enforce the act, passed resolutions in opposition to it, and established committees to correspond and advise concerning the common affairs of the continent. From these committees delegates were appointed, who, meeting at New York, unanimously concurred in framing and publishing a manifesto, declaratory of their grievances. Numerous papers were, by order of the King, laid before Parliament, relative to these transactions; and his Majesty declared "His firm confidence in their wisdom and zeal, which would, he doubted not, guide them to such sound and prudent resolutions as might tend at once to preserve the constitutional rights of the British legislature over the colonies, and to restore to them that harmony and tranquillity which had lately been interrupted by disorders of the most dangerous nature." "I have," said the King, "nothing at heart but the assertion of legal authority, the preservation of the liberties of all my subjects, the equity and good order of my government, and the concord and prosperity of all parts of my dominions."† The numerous petitions which were presented

* Copies of the act were printed, with a death's head in the place where it is usual to affix the arms, and cried publicly about the streets by the name of "The Folly of England, and Ruin of America." Essays soon followed, not only against the expediency, but even the equity of it, in several newspapers, one of which bore the significant title of "The Constitutional Courant, containing matters interesting to liberty, and no ways repugnant to loyalty; printed by Andrew Marvel, at the sign of the Bribe Refused, on Constitutional Hill, North America." The head-piece to this paper was cut in small pieces, with the initial letters of the names of the several colonies, from New England to South Carolina, affixed to each piece, and above them the words "Join or Die." To these were added caricatures, pasquinades, puns, bon-mots, and such sayings, suited to the occasion, as by being short could be most easily circulated and retained, at the same time that, by being extremely expressive, they carried with them the weight of a great many arguments.

† In the debate on the motion of address, Mr. Pitt pronounced every leading measure taken by the late ministers to have been entirely wrong; and as to the present ministers, though men of fair characters, and such as he was happy to see engaged in his Majesty's service, he professed, that he could not give them his confidence. "Confidence," he observed, "is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom: youth is the season of credulity. By comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence. I have had the honour to serve the crown; and, could I have submitted to influence, I might still have continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments. It is indifferent to me, whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I countenanced and protected merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast, that I was the first minister who sought for it in the mountains of the North—I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who were once dreaded as the inveterate enemies of the state. When I ceased to serve his Majesty as a minister, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved, but that the man of that country held principles incompatible with freedom. It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in Parliament; when the resolution was taken in this House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it. It is my opinion, that the kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power; the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. The concurrence of the Peers and of the crown is necessary only as a form of law. This House represents the Commons of Great Britain. When in this House we give and grant, therefore, we give and grant what is our own; but can we give and grant the property of the Commons of America? It is an absurdity in terms. There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know by whom? The idea of virtual representation is the most contemptible that ever entered into the head of a man; it does not deserve a serious refutation. The Commons in America, represented in their several assemblies, have invariably exercised this constitutional right of giving and granting their own money; they would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it; at the same time, this kingdom has ever possessed the power of legislative and commercial controul. The colonies acknowledge your authority in all things, with the sole exception that you shall not take their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here would I draw the line, quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum."

Mr. Grenville, in a laboured vindication of the measures of his administration, asserted, that the tumults in America bordered on open rebellion; and if the doctrine promulgated that day were confirmed he feared they would lose this name to take that of revolution. He affirmed taxation to be a branch of the sovereign power, and that it had been frequently exercised over those who were never represented: it was exercised over the East India and other chartered companies, over the proprietors of stock, and over many great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the palatinate of Chester, and the Bishopric of Durham, before they sent representatives to Parliament. He appealed for proofs to the preambles of the act which gave them representatives, and which, by his desire, were read to the House. He said, that when he proposed to tax America, the right was by no one called in question. Protection and obedience were reciprocal: Great Britain protects America; America is therefore bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me, he cried, when were the Americans emancipated? The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this House. We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience: what was this but telling America to stand out against the law? to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence? Ungrateful people of America! The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection; bounties have been extended to them; in their favour the act of navigation, that palladium of the British commerce, has been relaxed; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expence, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion.

Mr. Pitt rose to reply, but was called to order, the privilege of speaking a second time being allowed only in a committee. The House, however, resounded with the cry of go on; and, addressing the Speaker, he proceeded as follows:—"Sir, a charge is brought against gentlemen sitting in this House, for giving birth to sedition in America. The freedom with which they have spoken their sentiments against this unhappy act, is imputed to them as a crime; but the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty which I hope no gentleman will be afraid to exercise; it is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. We are told America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted: three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. I came not here armed at all points with law cases and acts of Parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dog's ears, to defend the cause of liberty; but for the defence of liberty upon a general, constitutional principle: it is a ground on which I dare meet any man. I will not debate points of law:

presented to the House, from the principal commercial cities of the kingdom, for the repeal of the stamp act, combined with other circumstances; in a short time occasioned a bill to be brought in by the new ministers for this purpose; and, after a strenuous opposition, it passed both Houses by considerable majorities, and received the royal assent; accompanied with a declaratory act, asserting the power and right of Great Britain to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever,*

In the course of the session, the cyder tax, as far as its operation extended to private individuals, was repealed; the unpopular duty on windows was modified and mitigated; general warrants were, by a resolution of the House of Commons, declared illegal; and several useful and important regulations were made in the West India and American trade. A new and beneficial treaty of commerce was also concluded with Russia; the long contested affair of the Canada bills settled to the satisfaction of the holders; and strong and effectual remonstrances made to the French court for the more complete demolition of the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk.

Soon after the prorogation of Parliament, some important changes in the ministry were effected. Considerable negotiations having taken place, at the latter end of July, the Duke of Grafton was appointed first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury; the right honourable Charles Townshend, being made Chancellor of the Exchequer, by no means to the satisfaction of Mr. Pitt, who reluctantly acquiesced in the recommendation of the Duke. The Earl of Shelburne, vice the Duke of Richmond, was nominated Secretary of State for the southern department, General Conway being continued in possession of the northern. Sir Charles Saunders was placed at the head of the Admiralty, in the room of Lord Egmont; Lord Chief Justice Pratt, created Lord Camden, was declared Chancellor of Great Britain; the Earl of Northington succeeded the Earl of Winchelsea as President of the Council; and Mr. Pitt, being advanced to the Peerage by the title of Earl of Chatham, chose for himself the office of Lord Privy Seal, vacated by the Duke of Newcastle. The Earl of Bristol was nominated to the government of Ireland, of which he never took possession; the administration of affairs in that kingdom remaining with the Lords Justices, till, at a subsequent period, it was consigned to Lord Townshend. Lord Rockingham retired from office with a character for pure and disinterested patriotism, and without securing place, pension, or reversion to himself, or any of his adherents.

Early in the month of October, the Earl of Chatham and the Duke of Bedford being on a visit at Bath, an interview took place between them, when the former declared, "That he should be happy to see the King's administration countenanced and supported by his grace's approbation and interest." The measures which he purposed to pursue, he said, were:—

"I. To keep the peace inviolate, and to endeavour to prevent any infraction of it by foreign powers.

"II. He would enter into no continental connections, nor make any subsidiary treaty with any European power.

"III. He firmly resolved to observe, in the expenditure of the civil government, a strict and rigid economy."

The Duke answered, "that these were precisely the measures for which he had ever contended, and which he would certainly support, whether he and his friends were in or out of office." Having so far succeeded, Lord Chatham, on his return to London, no longer hesitated to risk an open rupture with the Newcastle or Rockingham party, by the dismission of Lord Edgecumbe, from his office of treasurer of the household, which was conferred on Mr., afterwards Sir John, Shelley. The Duke of Portland, Lord Chamberlain, Sir Charles Saunders, first Lord of the Admiralty, the Lords Scarborough, Besborough, Monson, &c. in consequence resigned their offices. These resignations Lord Chatham purposed to supply by an intended coalition with the Bedford party; but larger concessions being required by the auxiliary party than they were thought entitled to, that negotiation terminated ineffectually. Soon afterwards Sir Edward Hawke was placed at the head of the Admiralty; Lord Le Despenser, late Sir Francis Dashwood, was appointed postmaster; Mr. Charles Jenkinson was made a Lord of the Admiralty; and Mr. Stuart Mackenzie was restored to his office of privy seal for Scotland. Lord Chatham was now universally, though erroneously, considered as reconciled to the system of the court. He, however, retired to Bath, where he sustained a paroxysm of the gout, which seemed to threaten his existence.

In the course of the preceding summer, riots and tumults had taken place in various parts of the kingdom, owing to the high price of provisions, and the magistrates were at length obliged to call in military aid. Many lives were lost, and a special commission was issued for the trial of the numerous rioters apprehended. Few examples, however, were made, the sentence of the majority being mitigated to transportation, and many receiving a free pardon.†

---

law: but what, after all, do the cases of Chester and Durham prove, but that under the most arbitrary reigns, Parliament were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives? A higher and better example might have been taken from Wales: that principality was never taxed by Parliament till it was incorporated with England. We are told of many classes of persons in this kingdom not represented in Parliament; but are they not all virtually represented as Englishmen resident within the realm? Have they not the option, many of them at least, of becoming themselves electors? Every inhabitant of this kingdom are necessarily included in the general system of representation. It is a misfortune that more are not actually represented. The honourable gentleman boasts of his bounties to America—Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America—I maintain that Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. The honourable gentleman tells us, he understands not the difference between internal and external taxation; but surely there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of commerce. 'When,' said the honourable gentleman, 'were the colonies emancipated?' At what time say I in answer were they made slaves? I speak from accurate knowledge when I say, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions per annum. This is the fund which carried you triumphantly through the last war; this is the price America pays you for her protection; and shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the Exchequer at the loss of millions to the nation? I know the valour of your troops—I know the skill of your officers—I know the force of this country; but in such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheath the sword in the scabbard, but to sheath it in the bowels of your countrymen? The Americans have been wronged—they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? No: let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper: I will pledge myself for the colonies, that, on their part, animosity and resentment will cease. Let affection be the only bond of coercion. The system of policy I would earnestly exhort Great Britain to adopt in relation to America, is happily expressed in the words of a favourite poet:

"Be to her faults a little blind,
Be to her virtues very kind;
Let all her ways be unconfin'd,
And clap your padlock on her mind."

"Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House in a few words what is really my opinion. It is, "that the stamp act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately."

* Dr. Franklin, when examined at the bar of the House of Commons, declared his opinion, "That abstract resolutions of right would give the colonies very little concern, if no apprehension were entertained that attempts would be made to carry them into practice." When asked, what was the temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763, he answered, "The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid, in all their courts, obedience to acts of Parliament. Numerous as the colonists are, they cost Great Britain nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons, or armies, to keep them in subjection: they were governed only at the expence of a little ink and parchment. They had not only a respect, but affection, for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs, manners, and even fashions; and to be a native of Old England, was itself a sort of claim and title to distinction among them."

† The incessant rains which fell during the summer and harvest months, afforded an alarming prospect of increasing scarcity; and it was thought expedient, when the great deficiency of the crop was fully ascertained, to lay an embargo on the exportation of corn, though as yet below the fixed and legal standard.

A. D. 1767.] The assembly of the province of New York had resolved, that they would not regard the provisions of an act passed in the last session, by which they were required to supply the troops stationed in the province with necessaries in their quarters. When this instance of contumacy was laid before Parliament, ministers, avoiding all harsh and positive penalties, enacted a law prohibiting the governor, council, and assembly, of New York to pass any act, till they had, in every respect, complied with the requisition of Parliament. This in a short time produced the desired effect. The project, however, was revived, of drawing a revenue from America, in a mode not indeed analogous to that which had been so recently abandoned, but which served to rekindle those alarms and jealousies, which had been rather allayed than extinguished. Mr. Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared, in the House, "that he knew how to draw a revenue from the colonies without giving them offence." Mr. Grenville instantly urged him to pledge himself to the execution of this project; which he hesitated not to do. When the engagement came under discussion in the cabinet, it was reluctantly assented to by the principal members of administration. Lord Chatham was not at this time capable of attending the cabinet councils, nor was he at all consulted, by the ministers. From this period, indeed, that nobleman perceived, or fancied, himself to have become a mere cypher in the administration; and having lost the confidence of the people, he became the object of court contempt.* Whilst affairs were in this state, a bill was introduced and passed, with general approbation, and great applause, for the imposition of certain duties on glass, tea, paper, &c. imported from Great Britain into the colonies. By the repeal of the stamp act, the exercise of the right of internal taxation was allowed to be virtually relinquished; but the claim of external taxation was affirmed still to remain in full force. It had been uniformly acknowledged that Britain possessed the right of commercial regulation and control; it could not be denied port duties had been at former periods imposed for the purpose of commercial regulation; it could not be pretended, that the same power did not now inhere in the British Parliament; but it was considered that this power was, in the present instance, exercised for the accomplishment of a different object; that of inveigling the Americans into the payment of that revenue which could not be extorted. When the intelligence of this new plan reached America, an angry gloom universally took place of the good humour which had predominated since the supposed relinquishment of the plan of American taxation. Mercantile combinations became general, not to import those articles on which the new duties were laid, the trivial amount of which did not diminish the odium attending them; the Americans comparing these duties to "an entering wedge, designed to make way for others which would be greater and heavier."

The prodigious acquisitions recently made by the East India Company, and the princely fortunes accumulated by those who occupied the higher departments in the service, now strongly attracted the attention of Parliament. Many of the proprietors not being satisfied with so low a dividend as six per cent. a dividend of twelve and a half per cent. as a prelude to yet greater things was declared. When the Parliament, in consequence of an application from the company for the renewal of their charter, entered into an investigation of the company's affairs, it was asserted, that a commercial company could not legally acquire territorial rights, and that the revenues annexed to those rights appertained solely to the crown. Dreading the consequences of a competition so formidable, the company voluntary offered an annual sum of 400,000*l.* to the government, in lieu of all other claims; and a temporary agreement for two years was concluded upon these terms, the question of right remaining undecided. A bill was also brought into the House, rescinding the late resolution of the general court, and confining the dividends of the company to ten per cent. during the continuance of the agreement made with the government.

From the termination of the war, the land tax had been continued at four shillings in the pound; and ministers wished that no reduction should at this time take place; but when the usual land tax bill was brought forward, it was strenuously opposed by the country gentlemen, who insisted upon its being reduced to three shillings in the pound. An amendment to this effect was carried by a decisive majority.

Negociations were now again entered into, for the formation of a new ministry; and, during the progress, died, in the month of September, Mr. Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That gentleman was succeeded in his office by Frederic Lord North, eldest son of the Earl of Guildford; a man then little known to the public, but who soon attained considerable eminence. Thomas Townshend succeeded Lord North as paymaster of the forces, Mr. Jenkinson, Mr. Townshend as a Lord of the Treasury. Lord Chatham had retired, oppressed with illness and chagrin, to his seat in Somersetshire.† About the end of the year, Lord Northington retiring, from ill health, Earl Gower was nominated President of the Council, in his room; Lord Weymouth, Secretary of State for the northern department, in the room of General Conway, promoted in the military line; the Earl of Sandwich, Postmaster; and Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the colonies. The Duke of Bedford was prevented from taking any share in these transactions, by a domestic affliction, a few months before sustained in the unexpected death of his only son, the Marquis of Tavistock;‡ which he, with difficulty for two or three lingering sorrowful years only, survived. Though the political views and principles of the Duke of Bedford appear in many respects erroneous, his sincerity and probity remain unimpeached. Honour and rectitude of intention seemed indeed to be hereditary in the house of Russel.

In

* In a debate which subsequently took place in the House of Lords, Lord Chatham spake indignantly of "the secret influence of an invisible power, of a 'favourite,' whose pernicious counsels had occasioned all the present unhappiness in the nation—who had ruined every plan for the public good, and betrayed every man who had taken a responsible office. He said that there was no safety, no security, against his power and malignity; that he himself had been duped, he confessed with sorrow—that he had been duped when he least suspected treachery—at a time when the prospect was fair, and the appearances of confidence were strong—when he had with great pains, attention and deliberation, formed schemes highly interesting, and of the utmost importance to this country. These schemes had been proposed and approved in council, and assented to by the King; but, on his return from a short, and, in his state of health, a necessary absence at the bath, he found his plans all vanished into air."—"In the closet, he said, "he had invariably found every thing gracious and amiable—he had received the most condescending promises of support. I own," continued he, "I was credulous, I was duped, I was deceived. I soon found there was no original administration to be suffered in this country. A long train of insidious practices at length unwillingly convinced me, that there is something behind the throne greater than the throne itself."

† In the autumn of the year, died at Monaco, in Italy, Edward Duke of York, eldest brother of the King. He is generally represented as possessed of pleasing manners, and vivacity of genius, but of superficial attainments, and dissolute in his morals. He was of the naval profession, and had distinguished himself in the last war, in the attack upon Cherbourg. His affability and courage had acquired for him considerable popularity.

‡ Some time previously to these changes, the feelings of the public had been peculiarly interested, by the situation of Corsica, which now forced itself upon the notice of government. This island, on the fall of the Roman empire, was possessed by the Goths, and afterwards by the Saracens, from whom it is said to have been wrested by the celebrated Charles Martel. Corsica was soon resigned by the Kings of France, as a free gift to the Holy See, which, from the incessant irruptions of the Saracenic power, and the ungovernable spirit of the natives, finding the acquisition very unprofitable, ceded the island to the republic of Pisa. Genoa, however, gaining the ascendency over this nation, Corsica, about the beginning of the 14th century, fell under her dominion. In the wars between France and Austria, in the 16th century, Corsica made a spirited effort to recover her independence, under the protection of Francis I. and his son and successor Henry II.; but the Genoese, strongly protected by the Emperor Charles V. under the auspices of the renowned Andrew Doria, again reduced the island under their yoke, Sampieri d'Ornano, the principal leaders of the insurgents, having been assassinated, A. D. 1567, by the treachery of Genoa. After a long succession of slavery, the Corsicans suddenly and unexpectedly rose, in 1729, and possessed themselves of the city of Corte, the ancient capital of the island;

In the Parliamentary session of 1768, nothing very interesting occurred, excepting a bill introduced by the opposition, under the denomination of the nullum tempus bill, for quieting the possessions of the subject, and securing them from all obsolete and vexatious claims. This bill had a particular view to the claims of the crown, against which it was held to be a maxim of law, that no prescription could be pleaded. Passing ultimately into a law, it became the means of extending and securing the rights and liberties of the community at large.* Parliament having nearly completed the legal term of its existence, it was now dissolved, with many expressions of grateful acknowledgment from the King.†

The ensuing election is said to have been signalized above all others by the immense sums expended in electioneering contests; the rival adventurers of the East and West Indies standing forward, in considerable numbers, as candidates for senatorial honours. Long previously to this period, Mr. Wilkes had suffered a sentence of outlawry to be passed upon him; and for several years, he had resided in different parts of the continent. Now, however, he appeared publicly at Guildhall, and offered himself as a representative for the city of London. He was received by the populace with loud acclamations, and a large majority of hands appeared in his favour; but, on the poll, he was contemptuously rejected. Not dispirited by this defeat, he immediately offered himself for Middlesex, and was returned by a decisive majority.‡ Ministers, who had remained passive at his first appearance, now seemed to be awake. Mr. Wilkes, having surrendered himself to the jurisdiction of the King's Bench, obtained a reversal of his outlawry; but the verdicts which had been given against him were now confirmed by Lord Mansfield, and he was condemned to suffer two years' imprisonment; to pay a fine of one thousand pounds; and to find security for his good behaviour during the space of seven years. Enraged at this procedure, the populace rescued Mr. Wilkes from the officers who were conducting him to prison, and carried him in triumph through the city; but through his earnest entreaties, they were prevailed on to abstain from all further acts of outrage; and, at midnight, Mr. Wilkes again surrendered himself to the custody of the Marshal of the King's Bench.

On the 10th of May, the new Parliament assembled, and multitudes of people were collected about the King's Bench, and the fields adjacent, expecting to see Mr. Wilkes go to the House of Commons. At length they began to grow insolent and clamorous; and it was found necessary, to read the riot act. The mob, highly exasperated, interrupted the magistrates with throwing showers of stones, and other missiles. The soldiers, also irritated, and impatient of attack, were now ordered to fire, and upwards of twenty persons were killed or wounded at the first discharge. Some of the military, pursuing a supposed offender, unfortunately shot one Allen, a youth who had taken no part whatever in the affray, in a hovel or cow-house belonging to his father, in the very act of imploring mercy. This incident aroused the pity, as well as the indignation of the public; it was daringly averred, that the justices had caused the riot, by reading the riot act. The thanks returned in the King's name to the detachments employed in this unfortunate service, unluckily happened, in the routine of duty, to have been drafted from one of the Scotch regiments, a circumstance which greatly inflamed the passions of the populace.

At an early period, the Parliament was prorogued till November.§

In October, the seals of Secretary of State for the southern

---

island; but the republic applying for, and receiving, powerful succours from the Emperor Charles VI. an accommodation took place, and a treaty was concluded under the imperial guarantee. This having been almost immediately broken by the Genoese, the Corsicans in a few years again rose: and, after a short interval, elected Theodore Baron Neuhoff for their sovereign. The republic, no longer adhering to the political system which connected her with the court of Vienna, now applied to France for assistance; and, in 1739, a great force was sent over under the Count de Maillebois, by whose able, and at the same time relentless exertions of military skill and vigour, the island was once more totally vanquished; the French auxiliaries leaving it, at the end of the year 1741, in a state of perfect submission, exhibiting every where marks of the most frightful desolation. Scarcely, however, had the French departed, than the Corsicans were again in motion. Not only men, but women, and beardless boys, appeared in the field, and the whole nation burned with renewed ardour to burst their bonds. The war between England and France having commenced, and Genoa taking a decided part with the latter, the English fleet in the Mediterranean gave frequent and efficacious succours to the Corsican insurgents, and St. Fiorenzo and Bastia were, in 1745, recovered, by their assistance to the Genoese. Next year, the Corsicans, conducted by Count Rivarola, made proposals to the Earl of Bristol, ambassador from the court of London at Turin, to put themselves entirely under the protection of England. This was, however, in terms of respect, declined by the English court; and on the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Corsicans were left to their fate. The contest was, however, continued with various success; but the Corsicans having (in 1755) elected as their chief, Pascal Paoli, son of the former leader Giacinto, a man of distinguished talents and virtues, a regular government, on a democratic basis, was formed under his influence, and great advantages were gained over the Genoese in the subsequent conduct of the war. Giacinto had, many years before, retired to Naples, devoting himself to the education of his son. Embracing him at parting, he said in broken accents, "My son, I may possibly never see you more, but in my mind I shall ever be present with you; your design is a great and noble one, and I doubt not but God will bless you in it. The little that remains to me of life I will allot to your cause, in offering up my prayers and supplications to Heaven for your protection and prosperity." The proclamation issued by the King of England in 1762, under the administration of the Earl of Bute, prohibiting his subjects from giving aid or assistance in any shape to the "Corsican rebels," was a terrible blow to these unfortunate islanders, and no doubt emboldened the court of Versailles to conclude the subsequent treaty with Genoa, by which the progress of the Corsican General was arrested in the midst of his victories. The aid of France was, however, granted in a mode conformable to the insidious policy of that court, which, influenced by the aspiring councils of the Duc de Choiseul, was ambitious to annex Corsica to its other dominions. The Genoese, perceiving no prospect of a termination of the war, at length made a cession of the island to the French King; and a large body of forces was ordered to embark, for the purpose of taking possession. This could not fail to excite great jealousy and alarm in the several courts of Europe most adverse to France; and England and Holland, in particular, presented, by their respective ambassadors, strong memorials to the court of Versailles, expressive of their resolution not to suffer this addition to the French monarchy. The Duc de Choiseul consequently began to waver; and Lord Rochford, in his dispatches transmitted at this period to England, seemed not to have a doubt that France would finally concede in every point required of her. Unfortunately the Duc de Choiseul is said to have received at this critical moment, through a private medium, "a satisfactory assurance" that the cabinet of England would not involve the nation in hostilities on account of this object. Suddenly the language of the French court became haughty and peremptory. The English ministers, astonished at this alteration, and at a loss how to decide, sent, with a considerable supply of arms and ammunition, a private message (June 1768,) to General Paoli, desiring full information respecting the defence he was able to make, and how long he thought that Corsica would be competent to resist the force employed on this service. Instead of ingenuously acknowledging that the island must fall, without immediate and powerful succours from England, General Paoli affirmed that it could not be reduced in less than eighteen months: imagining, perhaps, that to magnify the strength and resources of his country, might be the most effectual means of inducing England to take a decided part in her favour. Whilst the English ministers, however, were hesitating and deliberating, the French arms made a rapid and alarming progress; and Paoli, discerning no vigour in the English councils, made a seasonable retreat, leaving his country to its unmerited fate. He was well received by the court of London on his subsequent arrival in England, and an ample pension was settled on him.

* The nullum tempus bill originated in an incident of an extraordinary nature. The Portland family had, in consequence of a grant from King William, possessed for seventy years the honour of Penrith and its appurtenances, situated in the county of Cumberland; and the forest of Inglewood, and the manor and castle of Carlisle, being considered as parts of this grant, were quietly enjoyed by the family for several descents, under the same tenure, though not particularly specified. Sir James Lowther, the son-in-law of Lord Bute, having been apprized of this omission, made a clandestine application to the crown for a lease of the premises in question; and the surveyor general of the crown lands took upon himself to decide, that these estates were still vested in the crown. Orders were consequently issued for a new grant to Sir James Lowther; but when the case was subsequently argued, before the Barons of the Exchequer, the new grant was declared invalid, and Sir James Lowther was nonsuited.

† About this period, a bill passed the Parliament of Ireland, limiting the duration of Parliaments in that kingdom to eight years.

‡ So great was the popular exultation at this event, that the people paraded the streets of the metropolis, and compelled the inhabitants to illuminate their houses, as though some signal victory had been gained; and the chief magistrate, Harley, was openly and grossly insulted by a violent assault upon the Mansion-house.

§ In August this year died Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury; a prelate, of a life rigidly virtuous, and well versed in all branches of

southern department had been taken from the Earl of Shelburne, in consequence of irreconcilable cabinet differences; and he was succeeded by Viscount Weymouth. The seals of the northern department were entrusted to the Earl of Rochford. Resenting the dismission of the Earl of Shelburne, in the course of the same month, the Earl of Chatham sent the Privy Seal to the King by the hands of Lord Camden; and it was immediately transferred to the Earl of Bristol.

Lord Weymouth had addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Bench of Justices for the county of Surry, expressive of his Lordship's high approbation of the late proceedings of the magistrates, and recommending to them, in case of future tumults, to make early application for a military force in aid of the civil power. This letter fell into the hands of Mr. Wilkes, who published it, with inflammatory comments, denominating the affair in St. George's Fields, "a horrid massacre, and the consequence of a hellish project deliberately planned." On the meeting of Parliament (November 8), Lord Weymouth made a formal complaint of breach of privilege. The House of Commons resolved that Mr. Wilkes's prefatory introduction to Lord Weymouth's letter was "an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel." Wilkes, at the bar of the House, avowed the publication, and declared his satisfaction for having properly exposed "that bloody scroll." In the course of the debate, it was urged, that Mr. Wilkes had been sentenced to a long imprisonment for former offences, and was incapable of attending his duty in Parliament; and it was moved by Lord Barrington, that he be expelled the House. His Lordship's motion was carried by a majority of 219 against 136. A new writ having consequently been issued, Mr. Wilkes was a second time almost unanimously returned. The House then resolved, "that Mr. Wilkes, having been once expelled, was incapable of sitting in the same Parliament, and that the election was therefore void." The Middlesex electors, equally determined, chose him a third time their representative; but the election was again declared void by the Commons; and, to terminate the contest, Colonel Luttrell vacated his seat in Parliament, to offer himself as a candidate for Middlesex; assured that, whatever might be the disparity of numbers upon the poll, he must be the sitting member. Mr. Wilkes, for the fourth time, was again returned by the sheriffs, the votes in his favour being 1243 to 296; but, on a petition from Colonel Luttrell, that gentleman was, after a long and vehement debate (March 3, 1769,) declared duly elected; a decision by which the nation was thrown into a paroxysm of rage and consternation.*

The Middlesex election having been thus determined, 33,000 men were voted for the sea and land service of the year. The charter of the East India Company was prolonged for the farther term of five years; the company being allowed to increase their dividend to twelve and a half per cent. during this term, provided they did not in any one year raise it more than one per cent. Should the dividend be reduced below ten per cent. the stipulated payment of 400,000*l.* per annum to the public, was to be proportionally diminished; and should the dividend sink to six per cent., the payment to the public should cease entirely. On the 2d of March, the sum of 513,000*l.* was voted, to defray the arrears of the civil list; and on the 9th of May, Parliament was prorogued.

A circular letter was subsequently transmitted by Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for America, to the respective colonies, informing them, "that it was the intention of his Majesty's ministers to propose, in the next session of Parliament, taking off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, on consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce; and assuring them, that at no time had they entertained any design to propose to Parliament to lay any farther taxes on America for the purpose of raising a revenue." The duty on tea, however, was left, contrary to the inclinations and endeavours of the minister.

The irritability excited by the late decision of the House of Commons, seemed to increase in violence. A bold petition was presented to the King by the electors of Middlesex; in which they enlarged on "the uniform tendency of the measures of the present reign to destroy that harmony which ought to subsist between the Prince and the people;" and they concluded by declaring, that the right of election had been wrested from them, by the unprecedented seating of a candidate who was never chosen by the county; who, even to become a candidate, had been obliged "fraudulently" to vacate his seat in Parliament.—"Deign then," say the petitioners, "most gracious Sovereign, to listen to the prayer of the most faithful of your subjects, and to banish from your royal favour, trust, and confidence, for ever, those evil counsellors who have endeavoured to alienate your Majesty's affections from your most sincere and dutiful subjects, and who have traitorously dared to depart from the spirit and letter of those laws, which have secured the crown of these realms to the house of Brunswick." The city of London presented a similar petition to the same purport; but the city of Westminster, petitioned expressly for an immediate dissolution of Parliament; and the county of York, and fourteen other counties, with many cities and towns, followed this example. A few counter addresses were presented; one in particular from a respectable, though small body of merchants of London, who, in their procession to St. James's, were grossly insulted by the populace. The riot act was read at the Palace-gate; and Lord Talbot, Lord-Steward, attempting to interpose, had the staff of office broken in his hand. Several persons were taken into custody by the military, but the indictments subsequently preferred against them were all thrown out by the grand jury at Westminster-hall.

About this period, the celebrated "Letters of Junius," whose author has hitherto eluded the most scrutinising and indefatigable research, arraigned the conduct of Ministers in the bitterest terms of severity. Though written in a style so masterly, as to be deemed, in point of composition, equal to any literary production in the English language, they betray a deliberate malevolence of disposition; and, whilst we admire the splendid declamation and poignant invective with which they abound, we shrink with disgust, amounting almost to horror, from the foul and cold blooded malignity of the writer's heart. Of these letters, the most memorable is the one addressed to the King, in which Junius exhibits a most unflattering view of his Majesty's ministers.† On the appearance of this letter, the Attorney-General had orders to file a bill, ex officio, against the publisher, Woodfall, for uttering a false and seditious libel. Lord Mansfield, in summing up the evidence, informed

---

of ecclesiastical learning. His sermons, &c. are distinguished by their perspicuity and elegance. He was succeeded by Dr. Frederic Cornwallis, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry.

In the autumn of this year died also at an advanced age, the Duke of Newcastle, who, upwards of fifty years, had occupied the highest offices and honours of the state.

* In the case of Sir Robert Walpole, expelled the House, in the year 1711, for "breach of trust and corruption," and re-elected for the borough of Lynn Regis, the House resolved, that he was incapable of sitting in that Parliament; but they did not venture to declare Mr. Taylor, the candidate next upon the poll, duly elected. In the case of Serjeant Comyns, who, on being returned for Malden, in 1715, had refused to take the qualification oath, the House determined, that the votes given to Comyns were lost, and that Mr. Tuffnell, next upon the poll, was duly elected. In the case of Bedford, in the year 1727, the House, in conformity to the former decision, declared Mr. Orlebar duly elected, though inferior by 225 votes on the poll to Mr. Ongley, disqualified by holding the office of commissioner of the customs. From these authorities combined, a complete precedent might therefore be formed; the first affirming, that a member once expelled could not sit in the same Parliament; the two latter, that votes given to a disqualified person, were absolutely, and to every elective purpose, null and void.

†. "Whichever way," observes the writer at the conclusion of this letter, "you turn your eyes, you see nothing but perplexity and distress. You have still an honourable part to act—Discard those little personal resentments which have too long directed your public conduct—come forward to your people—lay aside the wretched formalities of a King,—tell them you have been fatally deceived. This is not a time to trifle with your fortune—the people of England are loyal

informed the jury, that the "fact of publication" was all that came under their cognizance—the question of libel or no libel being a mere question of law, to be decided by the court.* After long deliberation, the jury returned their verdict, "Guilty of printing and publishing only;" thus "virtually negativing the seditious meaning and intention, which being of the essence of the charge, though according to the new doctrine, a question of pure law, the verdict amounted to an absolute acquittal, and the defendant was discharged amidst the universal and unbounded acclamations of the people."

Parliament met on the 9th of January, 1770; and, on the usual motion for an address, Lord Chatham arose,† and declared "that, at his advanced period of life, bowing under the weight of his infirmities, he might perhaps have stood excused if he had continued in his retirement, and never taken part again in public affairs, but the alarming state of the nation called upon him—forced him to come forward once more, and to execute that duty which he owed to God, to his sovereign, and his country. The situation of foreign affairs, was, he said, critical; but what more immediately demanded their Lordships' attention was, with grief he spoke it, the divisions and distractions which prevailed in every part of the empire. He lamented those unhappy measures which had alienated the colonies from the mother country, and which had driven them into excesses he could not justify. Such, however, was his partiality to America, that he was inclined to make allowances even for those excesses. The discontent of three millions of people deserved consideration—the foundation of those discontents ought to be removed. This was the true way of putting a stop to those combinations which the address styled 'unwarrantable,' and which he readily admitted to be alarming and dangerous. The discontents of the Americans, however, at the present crisis, were unimportant in comparison of those which prevailed in this kingdom. It was an obligation incumbent upon that House to inquire into the causes of the notorious dissatisfaction expressed by the whole English nation, to state those causes to their sovereign, and then to give him their best advice in what manner he ought to act. The privileges of the greatest and of the meanest subjects stood upon the same foundation; it was therefore their highest interest, as well as their bounden duty, to watch over and protect the rights of the people. The liberty of the subjects," continued he, "is invaded, my Lords, not only in our distant provinces, but at home. The people are loud in their complaints, they demand redress; and until the injuries they have received are redressed, they will never return to a state of tranquillity: nor ought they; for in my judgment, my Lords, and I speak it boldly, better were it for them to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expense of a single iota of the constitution. Not being able to entertain the smallest doubt that the present universal discontent of the nation arises from the proceedings of the House of Commons upon the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, I think that we ought in our address to state that matter to his Majesty." For this purpose, his Lordship concluded his speech by moving the following amendment to the address: "And for these great and essential purposes we will, with all convenient speed, take into our most serious consideration the causes of the discontents which prevail in so many parts of your Majesty's dominions, and particularly the late proceedings of the House of Commons, touching the incapacity of John Wilkes, Esq. expelled by that House, to be re-elected a member to serve in this present Parliament; thereby refusing, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to the subject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative." The amendment was strenuously opposed by Lord Mansfield, and ultimately negatived. Lord Camden, having decisively condemned the proceedings of the House of Commons, and actually divided on this occasion with Lord Chatham, immediately relinquished the great seal; and, such was the political consternation of the moment, that no person competent to the office could be persuaded to accept it. Mr. Yorke, Attorney-General, son of the late Lord-Chancellor Hardwicke, had given, it is said, a positive assurance to the Earl his brother, that he would not, upon any terms, listen to the offers of the court; but upon being sent for by the King, and earnestly solicited, he, in a fatal moment, consented, and a patent was immediately ordered to be prepared for his elevation to the peerage by the title of Lord Morden. Waiting upon his brother, to explain to him the motives of his acceptance, he was refused admission; and, in the agitation of his mind, he rashly terminated his existence. The great seal was then put into commission, and at length (January, 1771) given to Mr. Justice Bathurst, only son of Lord Bathurst, created Baron Apsley. The removal of Lord Camden was followed by the resignation of the Dukes of Beaufort and Manchester, the Earls of Coventry and Huntingdon, and Lord Granby, Commander-in-Chief of the forces. The Earl of Bristol accepted the post of First Lord of the Bed-chamber, and the Privy Seal was delivered to the Earl of Halifax.

On the 22d of January (1770) the Marquis of Rockingham moved for fixing a day to take into consideration the state of the nation. The Duke of Grafton seconded the motion and the 2d of February was fixed upon accordingly. On the 28th of January, however, the Duke of Grafton unexpectedly resigned his office as First Lord-Commissioner of the Treasury; and Lord North was nominated his successor. Thus was formed that celebrated administration, which exercised the powers of government for twelve successive years.‡

On the day after the resignation of the Duke of Grafton, the House of Commons resolved itself into a

---

loyal to the house of Hanover, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction, that the establishment of that family was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties. This, Sir is a principle of allegiance equally solid and rational, fit for Englishmen to adopt, and well worthy of your Majesty's encouragement. We cannot long be deluded by nominal distinctions—the name of Stuart of itself is only contemptible; armed with the sovereign authority, their principles are formidable—the Prince who imitates their conduct should be warned by their example, and, while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the throne, should remember, that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another."

* This distinction was not authorised by the ancient practice of the courts; and, if it be admitted, the proper use of juries is superseded; the Judge being made, what the constitution never intended him to be—the arbiter of the fate of his fellow subjects. In cases of difficulty, indeed, the jury are permitted to return a special verdict, in which the facts only are found, and it is left to the court to apply the law in conformity to such specific statement. In the case of Bushel, in the reign of Charles II. Lord Chief Justice Vaughan maintained an opinion diametrically opposite to that delivered by Lord Mansfield. "In special verdicts," says he, "the jury inform the naked facts, and the court delivers the law; but upon all general issues, the jury find, not as in a special verdict, the fact of every case by itself, leaving the law to the court, but find for the plaintiff or defendant upon the issue to be tried, wherein they resolve both law and fact compli-

cately, and not the fact by itself, so as though they answer not singly to the question, 'What is the law?' yet they determine the law in all cases where the issue is joined and tried in the principal case, except where the verdict is special." Lord Raymond, on the trial of Franklin, publisher of the Craftsman, in the year 1731, appears to have been the first judge who ventured to maintain the innovating doctrine in its full extent. Junius himself remarks, in his letter to Lord Mansfield: "in other criminal prosecutions, the malice of the design is confessedly as much the subject of consideration to a jury as the certainty of the fact. If a different doctrine prevails in a case of libels, why should it not extend to all criminal cases?—why not to capital offences? What good reason can be assigned why the life of the subject should be better protected than his liberty or property?" The uniform language of Lord Mansfield on this subject, he professes to regard as evidence of a settled plan to contract the legal power of juries, and to draw questions inseparable from fact within the arbitrium of the court.

† The health of his Lordship had been, unexpectedly restored; and, to add to the tranquillity of his mind, a cordial reconciliation had been effected between him and his nearest relative, Lord Temple.

‡ Sir John Cust, who had been nine years Speaker of the House of Commons, being incapacitated by illness from executing the duties of his office, was succeeded at this period by Sir Fletcher Norton, a lawyer of considerable eminence and ability.

grand committee on the state of the nation, and Mr. Dowdeswell moved, "that the House, in the exercise of its jurisdiction, ought to judge of elections by the law of the land, and by the custom and practice of Parliament, which is part of that law." To this motion Lord North moved, as an amendment, "and that the judgment of this House, in the case of John Wilkes, Esq. was agreeable to the law of the land, and fully authorized by the practice of Parliament." This was opposed, as a perversion of the meaning of the resolution; but it was carried, on a division, by 221 against 180 voices. On the 2d of February, the day previously fixed upon by the Peers for resolving themselves into a committee, Lord Rockingham moved, "That the House of Commons, in the exercise of its judicial authority in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of Parliament, which is part thereof." The motion was supported by the Earl of Chatham, who condemned the conduct of the House of Commons in terms of great asperity; denominating the vote of that House, which had made Colonel Luttrell a representative for Middlesex, "a gross invasion of the rights of election, a dangerous violation of the English constitution, and a corrupt sacrifice of their own honour." The question being put, it was resolved, that the speaker should resume the chair. The original motion having been thus evaded, Lord Marchmont, moved, "That any resolution of this House, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional right of the Commons, tending to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leading to a general confusion." This motion, after considerable debate, was carried; but a strong and animated protest was entered against it.

In the ensuing month, a second address and petition were presented to the throne by the city of London, expressed in the most reproachful terms; and beseeching his Majesty to dissolve the present Parliament, and to remove for ever from his councils, those evil ministers, who had been guilty of violating the freedom of election, and depraving the noble constitution of Parliament.

On the 1st of May, Lord Chatham presented a bill "for reversing the adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby John Wilkes, Esq. has been adjudged incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament, and the freeholders of the county of Middlesex have been deprived of one of their legal representatives."* The motion for the second reading having been negatived, Lord Gower moved for its rejection; and on a division, 89 voted for the motion, and 43 against it. Lord Chatham then desired that their Lordships might be summoned for the 4th of May; "for," said he, "I have a motion of great importance to make relative to the King."

On the day appointed his Lordship moved, "that it is the opinion of the House, that the advice inducing his Majesty's answer to the late address of the city of London, is of a most dangerous tendency; inasmuch as the exercise of the clearest rights of the subject has been thereby checked and reprimanded; an answer so harsh, as to have no precedent in the history of this country, and such as the Stuarts had never dared to venture upon in the zenith of their power."† The motion was negatived by a great majority; and the address itself gave birth to a resolution of the House of Commons, that "to deny the legality of the present Parliament, or to assert their acts to be invalid, was unwarrantable, and tended to destroy the allegiance of the subjects;" and a joint address was presented to the King by the two Houses, thanking him for his conduct on this occasion.

Lord Chatham next made a motion for an address to the King to dissolve the Parliament. This motion, as might, perhaps, have been expected, was flatly, and rudely negatived. However, on the 1st of June, a committee, delegated by the city of London, waited on his Lordship with a vote of thanks "for the zeal he had shown in support of those invaluable and sacred privileges, the right of election and the right of petition, as well as for the wishes expressed by him, that Parliaments may be restored to their original purity, by shortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal representation."

Early in the session, Lord North had moved the repeal of the port-duties of 1767, "excepting the duty on tea," omitted, on the avowed principle of asserting the supremacy of Great Britain. Governor Pownall, who moved to include the duty on tea as an amendment to the original motion, acknowledged, that though the total repeal of the duties in question might do much, it would not restore satisfaction to America. Mr. George Grenville affirmed, that he had pursued the best of all possible systems respecting America, viz. that of compelling submission to the laws by force: his successor had adopted the next best, that of relinquishing absolutely the idea of coercion; but the present plan of modified concession and repeal would prove altogether futile; and, as the amendment did not accord with his sentiments of dignity or propriety, he should decline voting upon the question. The amendment was negatived, by 206 against 144.

About this time, Mr. Grenville introduced his bill for regulating the proceedings of the House of Commons on controverted elections, generally known as the Grenville act. This was originally limited to the short term of a year; but in the session of 1774 it was made perpetual.‡

Parliament had been only a short time prorogued, when a third address was presented to the throne by the city of London, in which they lamented the heavy displeasure under which they had fallen with his Majesty, in consequence of the sentiments expressed in their late petition and remonstrance, to which they, nevertheless, informed his Majesty they still adhered; and they again renewed their prayer for the dissolution of the present Parliament. The King in answer declared, "that he should have been wanting to the public, as well as to himself, had he not expressed his dissatisfaction at their late address; and that he should ill deserve to be considered as the father of his people, could he suffer himself to be prevailed upon to make such a use of his prerogative, as was inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution of the kingdom." Beckford, the Lord Mayor, who presented the petition, demanded leave "to answer the King;" and, permission having been granted, he delivered an address to his Majesty, concluding as follows.—"Permit me, sire,

* He declared, "that a violent outrage had been committed, which struck at every thing dear and sacred to the liberties of Englishmen. I am afraid," said he, "my Lords, that this measure has sprung too near the throne. I am sorry for it; but I hope his Majesty will soon open his eyes, and see it in all its deformity."

† In the city address, alluded to by Lord Chatham, which bore the unusual title of "a remonstrance to the King," the addressers affirm "that the House of Commons have done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles I. or the dispensing power assumed by James II.; a deed which must vitiate all the proceedings of this Parliament; for the acts of the legislature can no more be valid without a legal House of Commons, than without a legal Prince on the throne."

‡ A money bill, originating in the usual and established mode, being about this period returned from England, to Ireland, under the seal of Britain, was rejected by the Irish Commons, under the plea that it did not originate in that House. They maintained, "that Poyning's law, and the other subsequent statutes by which that law was modified and enforced, made no specific mention of money bills, which might, therefore, be supposed accepted; that, if the origination of money bills was not in reality the sole right of the Commons, this must at least be admitted to be the better and more constitutional mode; and that, in rejecting this bill, they exercised an indubitable right, even supposing the right of the council to originate the bill to be equally indisputable." The Lord Lieutenant, Lord Townshend, though he allowed that the Irish Parliament should grant their own money in their own way, protested against the right claimed by the House of Commons, and endeavoured, but in vain, to enter his protest upon their journals. His Excellency's protest, however, was recorded on the journals of the peerage; the Parliament was immediately prorogued; and these proceedings becoming the subject of discussion in England, it was moved in the Commons, that the instructions in consequence of which the Parliament of Ireland had been prorogued, should be laid before the House. A great majority negatived this motion.

further

further to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your Majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, is an enemy to your Majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious and necessary revolution." His Majesty, who had been accused of the indecorum of "laughing" at the former address, now reddened with anger and astonishment, and remained in profound silence; but when the Lord Mayor, some time afterwards, went to St. James's, with the usual congratulation on the birth of a Princess, he was informed, "that as his Lordship had thought fit to speak to his Majesty, after his answer to the late remonstrance, as it was unusual, his Majesty desired that nothing of the kind might happen for the future."

Previously to the close of the session, Lord Chatham had declared, "that a great blow either had been or would be struck in some part of the world." In a few weeks it was ascertained, that a squadron of Spanish ships from Buenos Ayres had seized upon the Malouine or Falkland islands, of which the English had been some years the occupants.*

As soon as the particulars of this extraordinary affair were known in England, the whole nation appeared inflamed with resentment. In the present instance, it was said, there was no room for negotiation; "for, whatever difference of opinion might exist respecting the opposite abstract claims of the two crowns, an attack upon an English fort and garrison by an armed force, was equivalent to a declaration of war. A superior force ought, therefore, to be sent without delay, in order to retake the islands; and then it might be proper to enter into a negociation, with a view to determine what reparation was due from Spain for so unprovoked and unprecedented an outrage; after which it would be time enough to enter upon the discussion of the claim of right." A negotiation between the two courts, however, immediately commenced: but, as the English ministers insisted upon the restitution of the islands, as a preliminary step to the determination of the question of right, there was little appearance of an amicable accommodation.

When Parliament met, in November, the King stated, in his opening speech, that an insult had been lately offered to the honour of this nation, by an act of "The Governor of Buenos Ayres, in seizing one of his Majesty's possessions; and that, should satisfaction be refused by the court of Spain for this injury, preparations had been made and were still making to do ourselves justice." Ministers, who appear to have been guilty of considerable neglect and delay, now exerted themselves to the utmost in the equipment of a formidable fleet; and the court of Spain perceived, that, unless some concessions were made, a rupture must occur.† In reply to the demand of disavowal made by England, the Marquis de Grimaldi, the Spanish minister, alledged, "that as England well knew in what light the court of Madrid had ever viewed the settlement at Port Egmont, it could not be imagined that the King of Spain could really disapprove the conduct of the governor Don Buccarelli; but as it was neither the interest nor inclination of Spain to involve herself in a war with England, his Catholic Majesty was willing to make such concessions as should be consistent with his honour and the welfare of his subjects; and that instructions had been transmitted to Prince Maserano, his ambassador in London, for this purpose." Prince Maserano accordingly acquainted Lord Weymouth, the English Secretary of State, that the King of Spain had empowered him to disavow any "particular orders" given to M. de Buccarelli, and at the same time to say, that he had acted agreeably to his "general instructions" and oath as governor; that the islands should be restored; and that it was expected his Britannic Majesty would, on his part, disavow Captain Hunt's menace, which had prompted the governor to act as he had done. About this time, Lord Weymouth resigned the seals of the southern department to Lord Rochford, and a convention was soon after concluded on the terms proposed; not, indeed, with a disavowal of the menace of Captain Hunt, but with a secret article or engagement, as is understood, that the islands should be evacuated by England within a specific term. The condition of eventual restitution not being suspected at this time, it afforded no public ground of objection; and when the evacuation of the islands took place three years afterwards, the quarrel being almost forgotten, and the attention of the public otherwise engaged, it passed off with slight and transient comment.

Lord Halifax had now taken the seals of the northern department, in the room of Lord Rochford; Lord

* These islands, consisting of two larger and many of smaller size, are bleak, barren, and marshy; exposed, even during the summer, to storms and tempests almost perpetual; and no regular settlement, in the space of two hundred years, which had elapsed since their first discovery, had been attempted. Lord Anson, on his return from his voyage round the world, had remarked that the possession of a port to the southward of Brazil, would be of signal service to future navigators, for refitting, &c. previously to their passage through the Straits of Magellan, or the doubling of Cape Horn: and the Falkland islands were mentioned to him as well adapted to the purpose. When his Lordship was subsequently at the head of the Admiralty, it was in contemplation to form a settlement on the spot; but, remonstrances being made by the court of Spain, the project was relinquished. In the year 1764, however, under the auspices of Mr. Grenville, Commodore Byron was sent out to take possession of these islands; and a settlement was made, and a small fort erected, in the vicinity of a commodious harbour, to which the name of Port Egmont was given, in compliment to Lord Egmont, then at the head of the Admiralty. About the same time, a settlement was also made, and a fortress erected, by the French navigator, M. de Bougainville, on another of these islands to the eastward of the English settlement, under the name of St. Louis; but, in consequence of the representations of the Spanish court, it was in a short time freely yielded to the Spaniards, who gave it the name of Port Solidad. Brazil, Surinam, and Cayenne, countries long possessed by Portugal, Holland, and France, excepted, Spain pretended to the absolute sovereignty of the whole of South America. The new settlement of the English therefore, excited the highest alarm and uneasiness, not merely as an encroachment on the right of dominion, but as it was evident that the principal inducement of England to form this settlement, was the facility which it would give in case of a future war between the two powers, to an attack upon the Spanish territories bordering on the great South Sea. Strong remonstrances were therefore made against an encroachment, considered as unjust and invidious; but, at that period, such was the dread of the power of England, that Spain was under the humiliating necessity of submitting to an aggression which she had not the force to repel. The subsequent domestic broils in England, and the threatening aspect of affairs in the English colonies, emboldened the court of Madrid to revive its pretensions to the Falkland islands, and to take vigorous measures to enforce her rights. To this she was secretly excited, by the Duc de Choiseul, Prime Minister of France, whose ruling passion was the depression of the power of England. Towards the close of 1769, Captain Hunt, of the Tamar frigate, cruizing off the islands, fell in with a Spanish schooner belonging to Port Solidad, taking a survey of them. Agreeably to what he conceived to be his duty, he charged the commander of the schooner to depart from that coast, as it was the property of his Britannic Majesty, and threatened to fire into him if he did not desist from prosecuting his commission. The schooner obeyed; but soon afterwards returned with an officer on board, bringing with him a letter from Buenos Ayres, addressed to Captain Hunt, in which the governor in his turn warned the captain to depart from a coast belonging to the King of Spain; but, on the supposition that Captain Hunt's touching at these islands was merely accidental, the governor expressed his earnest desire to show him all possible civilities. Captain Hunt warmly replied, that these islands were the property of Britain, by discovery and by settlement. The governor maintaining with equal warmth the rights of the crown of Spain, an altercation ensued; and, in the sequel, Captain Hunt was charged with a direct violation of treaties, and the governor declared it to be his duty to transmit the particulars of this transaction to the court of Spain. Captain Hunt, not chusing to take further steps without proper authority, set sail for England, where he arrived in the month of June 1770, having left two small sloops at Port Egmont. Soon after his departure, a considerable armament, consisting of five ships of war, &c. with all the means for prosecuting a regular siege, appeared before Port Egmont. The commandant knowing the place to be untenable, submitted to a capitulation; by which he and his garrison were allowed to evacuate the place, carrying with them such of their stores as they could take. The commander of the Spanish squadron, not wishing that very early intelligence of this affair should be carried to England, enjoined Captain Farmer (the Commandant) not to sail without his permission; and in order to ensure his compliance, he caused the rudder of his ship, the Favourite, to be taken off and kept on shore, and it was not restored for twenty days. The Favourite was at length permitted to depart, and, after a voyage of ten weeks arrived safe at Portsmouth.

† The King of France, dreading a renewal of hostilities with England, on being apprized of the secret intrigues of the Duc de Choiseul at the Spanish court, and dissatisfied also with the encouragement given by the Duke to the popular party at home, sent that minister into exile, and made pressing applications to the King of Spain, to come to an amicable accommodation with England.

Suffolk succeeded Lord Halifax as Lord Privy Seal; and Sir Edward Hawke relinquished his seat at the head of the Admiralty to the Earl of Sandwich. Mr. George Grenville had died on the 13th of November, the first day of the session; and many of his friends joining the administration, the majorities in both Houses became very powerful.

Parliament assembled on the 22d of January, 1771; and in the course of the session, a remarkable bill was introduced, and passed into an act, for disfranchising a large proportion of the freemen of the borough of New Shoreham, and for extending the right of voting to the contiguous rape of Bramber, &c.*

It had long been a subject of complaint, that the speeches of the members of the Commons were, in contempt of the resolutions of the House, regularly printed in the public papers; and several members having formally stated that their speeches had been misrepresented in the report, a motion was made and carried, that the printers Wheble and Thompson should appear to answer this complaint at the bar of the House. The printers taking no notice of this general summons, a second order was issued, and declared to be final; but no more regard being paid to the second order than to the first, a motion was made that Wheble and Thompson should be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms. In consequence of information, that the parties had absconded, a royal proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 50*l.* for apprehending the two printers.† In the interim, six other printers were for similar offences ordered to the bar of the House, five of whom obeying the summons, were reprimanded and discharged; and the remaining delinquent, Miller, the printer of the London Evening Post, was ordered to be taken into custody for contempt of the House. He was consequently taken into custody by the messenger of the House of Commons, at his own dwelling, was carried before the Lord Mayor (Crosby,) and the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, at the Mansion House. The serjeant at arms attending to demand the prisoner, the legality of the warrant was denied, the printer was discharged, and the messenger of the House, on pretext of a false arrest, was ordered to be committed to prison in default of bail. This was at first refused, but at length reluctantly given; and for these proceedings the thanks of the corporation of London were immediately voted to the Mayor and Aldermen. The House of Commons were now reduced to a vexatious perplexity; and the opposition members reminded the ministers, that to them must be imputed the odium under which the House had fallen with the people. The Lord Mayor and Mr. Alderman Oliver, as members of the House, were ordered to attend in their places; when the former pleaded, that he was bound by oath to preserve the franchises of the city, that his conduct had been strictly agreeable to law, and he demanded to be heard by counsel. This was refused, on the ground that no counsel could be heard in opposition to the privileges of the House; and the Lord Mayor's book of minutes being called for, the recognizance of the messenger was expunged from the record by order of the House; and a resolution was passed, that "to institute any proceeding at law in this case, was contrary to the privileges of the House; and also that it was a breach of privilege to apprehend the messenger of this House executing his warrant, under the pretence of an assault, and that it was a breach of privilege to hold the messenger to bail for such pretended assault." Mr. Oliver was proceeded against in a similar manner; and the two magistrates refusing to make any concession or apology, it was, by a great majority, voted that they be committed prisoners to the Tower. On the last day of the attendance of the Lord Mayor, multitudes of people assembled in the vicinity of Westminster-hall, and a riot took place, in which several of the ministerial members were grossly insulted. Mr. Wilkes, having received a summons to attend at the bar of the House, wrote to the speaker, declaring that he could attend only in his place as member for the county of Middlesex. After some unsuccessful repetitions of the order, the House, desirous to dismiss the business, ordered a new summons for the "eighth" of April, and at the same time appointed the "ninth" as the first day of meeting after the Easter recess.‡

At the beginning of May, the Earl of Chatham repeated his motion for an address to the King, requesting that he would be graciously pleased to dissolve the present Parliament; but it was negatived, by 72 voices against 23.§

At the close of the session, on the 8th of May, the King congratulated the Parliament on the prospect of a permanent continuance of peace, and earnestly exhorted them to discourage and suppress all groundless suspicions and domestic disturbances, in order that the national happiness might be rendered complete.‖

Parliament did not meet again till January 21, 1772,¶ when his Majesty confidently announced the continuance of peace, from the repeated assurances he had received of the amicable disposition of the powers on the continent. In a few days, however, a demand was made, by ministers, for 25,000 seamen to be employed in the service of the current year, under the pretext of the necessity of our maintaining a superior force, both in the East and West Indies,** to the French, who had lately sent considerable reinforcements to those distant quarters

* It appeared in evidence, before the select committee appointed to try the merits of the late election for Shoreham, that a great number of the freemen of the borough had formed themselves into a society, under the name of the "Christian Club." This Christian club was merely a junto, appointed to dispose of the borough to the highest bidder; and after the election was decided, the profits were shared equally amongst the members. The attorney-general was, in consequence of an address of the House to the King, ordered to prosecute the persons who had distinguished themselves as the peculiar agents of infamy on this occasion.

† Some time afterwards, Wheble was taken by Edward Twine Carpenter, a journeyman printer, and carried before Wilkes, who not only discharged him, but took recognizance for prosecuting the person by whom he was apprehended. Mr. Dowdeswell, who attempted to interest the House of Commons in Carpenter's behalf, received the following whimsical answer from Mr. Wedderburne. "As to the affair of Mr. Twine Carpenter, I can see no reason for supporting him; as I understand it, the man is Mr. Wheble's devil. Wheble was arrested by his own devil: he was discharged out of the illegal arrest of this devil: the devil was bound over to answer: whether printer beats devil, or devil beats printer, is of no consequence; there may be the devil to do; there will be the devil to pay: if the devil has the reward that was advertised, the devil has fairly outwitted the noble Lord near me: whether he has or not I do not know; but I hope this House will have nothing to do with him."

‡ The Lord Mayor and Mr. Oliver, soon after their commitment, applied for a writ of habeas corpus, which was accordingly issued by the court of Common Pleas; but, after long pleadings, these magistrates were remanded by the court, and continued in custody till the end of the session, when their liberation was celebrated by great and universal rejoicings; and from this time forward the proceedings of Parliament, and the speeches of the members, have been published without any serious interruption or molestation.

§ About the same time, a bill was brought into Parliament, "for enabling certain persons to inclose and embank part of the river Thames adjoining to Durham-yard, &c." By some it was considered as an invasion of the property claimed by the city of London in the soil or bed of the river; but, whatever indemnification the city might be entitled to, the magnificent buildings constructed in virtue of this act, under the appellation of the Adelphi, exhibit a noble monument of architectural utility, and reflect honour on the reign of George III.

‖ The city of London, soon after the rising of Parliament, presented another petition and remonstrance to the King, in which they complain of the Adelphi bill as a violation of their chartered rights, of the arbitrary imprisonment of their chief magistrate, of the enormity of erasing a judicial record in order to stop the course of justice; and again urge, the immediate dissolution of the Parliament, and the removal from his Majesty's person and councils, for ever, of "the present wicked and despotic ministers." The petition, however intemperate, excited but little attention; and his Majesty, in answer, coldly expressed his readiness to redress the real grievances of his subjects; but he was sorry to find that a part of them renewed requests, a compliance with which he had repeatedly refused.

¶ During the recess, died the Earl of Halifax, who had filled the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to which he had been appointed in 1761, with distinguished success. The Earl of Suffolk succeeded the Earl, as Secretary of State for the northern department, and the Duke of Grafton accepted the vacant post of Lord Privy Seal.

** The opposition urged, in reply, "That this was in fact a war establishment in the midst of peace—that if so great an augmentation was in present circumstances thought necessary, it was impossible to say when it could with propriety be diminished—that the apprehension of an attack from France was futile and ridiculous, and that the naval force of that power employed in actual service was totally inadequate to any hostile attempt—that the present motion would add 500,000*l.* to the public expence—and that, bending under the

quarters. The motion was carried without a division.*

About this time, a bill was introduced, for "making more effectual provisions to guard the descendants of the late King, George II. from marrying without the approbation of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, first had and obtained."† By the provisions of this bill, the "marriages contracted by the royal family from this time are declared null and void, unless the previous approbation of his Majesty be obtained; but in case the parties shall have attained the age of twenty-five years, and give notice to the privy council of their intention of marriage, such marriage should be held good in law, unless the Parliament shall, within the space of twelve months, declare its disapprobation of the same." The bill excited great dissatisfaction, and did not pass without considerable difficulty.‡

A petition, signed by some hundreds of members of the established church, humbly praying to be relieved from the obligation of subscribing to the thirty-nine articles of faith as imposed by law, was presented to the House of Commons, in the course of this session. It was rejected, however, by 217 against 71; many, even of those who were favourable to its prayer, considering, that the main force of its arguments was directed rather against ecclesiastical establishments, as such, than against the specific defects of the particular establishment of which the petitioners were members. On a motion subsequently made, a bill was brought in, for the further enlargement of the Toleration act. It passed the Commons almost by acclamation; but, in the Lords, it was rejected, by 102 against 29.

Parliament was prorogued on the 9th of June. Notwithstanding the expence attending the armament of the preceding year, some progress had been made in the reduction of the national debt; and the repeal of the port duties shewed an inclination to accommodate the differences with America. This seemed further apparent by the resignation of the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State for America, who was no favourite with the colonists, and the subsequent appointment of the Earl of Dartmouth, a nobleman who had uniformly opposed American taxation. Various other changes and promotions took place during the recess: the Earl of Harcourt succeeded Lord Townshend as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Lord Stormont was appointed ambassador at the court of Versailles, in the room of Lord Harcourt; and Mr. Charles Jenkinson having been nominated vice-treasurer of Ireland, his seat at the board of treasury was filled by the honourable Charles James Fox, second son of Lord Holland, a young man who had already drawn the attention of the public by the splendor of his Parliamentary talents; a circumstance the more extraordinary, as it was known that he indulged in all the fashionable levities and dissipations of the time.

Parliament met on the 26th of November, when its attention was particularly called to the present state of the East India Company, and the difficulties in which they appeared to be involved; and his Majesty recommended making such provisions for the common benefit and security of all the various interests concerned, as they should find best adapted to the exigencies of the case.§ A bill had, late in the preceding session, been introduced,

---

the weight of an enormous public debt, it behoved us to adopt effectual means for its reduction; instead of which, our peace establishment was every year increasing, and was now nearly double what it had been at the accession of King George I."

* On the 8th of February, this year, died Her Royal Highness Augusta Princess Dowager of Wales, in the fifty-third year of her age—a Princess possessed of many virtues, personal and relative, and much esteemed by the nation.

† This bill originated in the marriage lately contracted by the Duke of Cumberland, second brother to the King, with Mrs. Horton, relict of Colonel Horton, and daughter of Lord Irnham. It had been also long believed, that the Duke of Gloucester, elder brother to the King, was privately married to the Countess of Waldegrave, which marriage the Duke now openly avowed.

‡ Two animated protests, signed by eighteen Peers, display the arguments employed in opposition to the bill. "The descendants of George II." it is remarked, "may in time comprehend a very numerous description of people; and it would be an intolerable grievance, that the marriages of so many subjects, dispersed amongst the various ranks of civil life, should be subject to the restraints of this act." It seems indecent to the royal family, to suppose that they arrive later at the age of discretion than others, and absurd to allow them to be capable of governing a kingdom at an age when they are not to be trusted in the choice of a wife. It seems to be a mere act of power, having neither the force nor obligation of law, and contrary to the inherent rights of human nature, to disable a man from contracting marriage, perhaps for life; and it is pregnant with civil discord and confusion, as having a natural tendency, at some future period, to produce a disputed title to the crown—and all this for ends wholly disproportionate to such extraordinary efforts, as the main purposes of the bill might have been answered without creating that perpetuity of restraint, which they think themselves in conscience bound to oppose." That part of the royal message containing the assertion, "that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family had ever belonged to the Kings of this realm," being inserted in the preamble of the bill, occasioned, in the Commons a violent debate; and a motion was there made, that those words were neither founded in law nor in the opinion of the judges. The words in question, however, were, after long and repeated discussion, confirmed, by 200 against 184 voices. A clause was afterwards moved, that this bill should remain in force during the life of the present King only, and three years after, which was negatived by 150 to 132 votes; and the bill ultimately passed by a majority of 50.

§ Short as had been the interval since the acquisition of the dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, when the company appeared to be elevated to the height of prosperity, they were now reduced to a state of embarrassment and distress verging upon ruin. As soon as the presidency of Calcutta had obtained the government of those territories, a grand project was formed by the president Lord Clive, and approved by the board; agreeably to which the members of the council, and other civil and military servants of the company, might be enabled to derive vast emoluments, not only without prejudice to their principals, but with great advantage to the company's revenue. This was the establishment of a commercial association, for the purpose of carrying on an inland traffic in the important articles of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco; articles of general consumption in India, and considered as amongst the absolute necessaries of life. They had formerly been subject to the slight duty of the fortieth penny; but, to obtain the sanction of the company to the system now established, a duty of thirty-five, afterwards advanced to fifty per cent. was imposed on salt, which, with fifteen per cent. on betel-nut, and twenty-five per cent. on tobacco, produced an annual additional revenue of 160,000*l.* This, however, was regarded by the natives as a trivial grievance, in comparison of the mode in which the traffic was conducted: for the servants of the company acting at once in the twofold capacity of merchants and sovereigns, they reduced to the extreme of depression the price in the purchase, and enhanced it in the same proportion in the sale. The directors, indeed, expressed much displeasure that such extortion should be practised under their authority. Another project of plunder was, to declare void all the leases held by the natives under the government, on low and beneficial terms, by a kind of feudal tenure. Many of these leases, it was said, had been collusively obtained; impartiality therefore required that they should be now re-let, without distinction, to the highest bidder. By this proceeding, many individuals of elevated situations were entirely ruined, and immense fortunes were made by the favoured few; yet the landed revenue of the Company was very little improved. The aggregate receipts of the Company's treasury alarmingly decreased; for the natives could no longer purchase their favourite articles at the extravagant prices now demanded. Those who cultivated the soil, planted in doubt, and reaped in uncertainty; a large proportion of land was left untilled; and an unusual and long continued drought happening also at this juncture, a general scarcity of provisions, especially of rice, ensued. It was possible to exist without betel-nut and tobacco, but not without their daily food: the monopolists seized the opportunity of collecting the rice into stores; and as the Gentoos would in no extremity violate the precepts of their religion by eating flesh, they had no other alternative than to part with the remains of their property, or die with hunger. A dreadful sickness and mortality ensued: in some districts, the living scarcely sufficed to bury the dead; and pestilence and famine desolated the land.

At this time, the embarrassments of the Company were exceedingly increased by a war in which they were involved on the coast of Coromandel with the famous Hyder Ally, a powerful Prince, who, from low and obscure beginnings, had established a great empire in the southern parts of the continent. The subah, or Nizam of the Decan, a potentate of high rank in India, and whose territories bordered upon those of the Company, had entered into an alliance with Hyder; but the united forces of the Indian Princes were defeated with great loss by Colonel Smith, near Trincomallee, September 26, 1767: after which the Nizam made a separate peace with the English, yielding up to them a considerable territory called the Balagat Carnatic. The war with Hyder, who had retired to the interior and mountainous parts of his dominions, was carried on without advantage, and at a ruinous expence. By skilful manœuvres and rapid movements, he at length contrived to leave the English army several days march in the rear; and, after ravaging the dominions of the nabob of Arcot, the old and faithful ally of the Company, he suddenly appeared in force at the gates of Madras. The presidency immediately proposed a negotiation for peace, offering a truce of fifty days for that purpose; but Hyder would grant a truce for seven days only, in which time articles of accommodation were signed (April, 1769) and the conquests on both sides were reciprocally restored. The proprietors, at home, previously to their knowledge of this event, had determined to send out a committee of supervision to Bengal, with authority to

introduced, under the patronage of the Company itself, for the better regulation of the government and commerce of India. Such a measure, however, was not thought likely to be effective: after the second reading, the bill was thrown aside; and, in its room, a select committee was chosen by ballot, to inquire into the state of the Company. The committee continued their sittings during the summer, and it was revived early in the present session; but, as its appointment had not originated with the minister, it was regarded by him with little satisfaction; and as soon as Parliament assembled, Lord North moved for another committee, denominated the committee of secrecy, for taking into consideration the state of the Company's affairs. These different committees, it was said, would operate as a check upon each other, and between them the House would obtain every requisite degree of information. The motion for a secret committee passed without a division; and in a short time a report was presented, stating, that, "though the Company were reduced to great pecuniary distress, they were preparing to send out an expensive commission of supervision to India; and recommending that a bill be brought in to restrain the Company for a limited time from sending out such commission of supervisors." A bill was immediately ordered in for this purpose; which, though a petition was presented against it from the Company, and counsel heard in their behalf, passed by 153 against 28. Previously to the last reading of this bill, a second report was presented by the secret committee, containing a statement of the debts, credits, and effects of the Company, both at home and abroad, by which the finances of the company appeared to be dreadfully deranged.* During the summer recess, (a) the Company, with an empty treasury, had accepted bills from Bengal to an immense amount, which were now coming round for payment. They were at the same time deeply in debt to the Bank for cash borrowed, to the Custom-house for duties unpaid, and to the Exchequer for the arrear of the annual stipulated payment of 400,000*l.* The directors were therefore under the necessity of entering into a negotiation with government for a loan. The minister coldly referred them to Parliament for satisfaction. The restraining bill passed both Houses before the Christmas adjournment; soon after which a petition was presented from the Company, with a requisition for a loan of 1,500,000*l.* for four years, at four per cent. to be repaid by instalments, on condition that the dividends of the company should not exceed six per cent. until the loan should be reduced to 750,000*l.* after which it should be lawful to divide eight per cent. and after the whole loan should have been discharged, the surplus of the Company's net profits above the said dividend should be appropriated to the payment of the Company's bond debt until it was reduced to 1,500,000*l.* and thence, that the surplus profits should be equally divided between the public and the company. The petitioners farther engaged, that the account of the Company's revenues, sales, debts, &c. should be annually laid before Parliament; and they humbly requested to be discharged from the payment of the 400,000*l.* for the remainder of the five years specified in the act of 1769, and that leave might be given to export teas, free of all duty, to America, and to foreign ports. Lord North observed, that the granting relief to the Company was a matter of obvious policy and expediency, but in no degree a claim of right or of justice: it was an axiom in politics, that such territorial possessions as the subjects of any state shall acquire by conquest, are virtually the property of the state, and not of those individuals who acquire them. He therefore inferred the justice and legality of the discretionary interposition of the state in all cases respecting the affairs of the Company. He afterwards moved, "That it is the opinion of this House, that the affairs of the East India Company are in such a state as to require Parliamentary assistance: that a loan of 1,400,000*l.* be granted to the Company, provided that due precautions shall be adopted to prevent the company's experiencing the like exigencies in future." Some days afterwards, he moved "That the Company's dividend should be restricted to six per cent. until the repayment of the sum advanced, and that the company be allowed to divide no more than seven per cent. until their bond debt be reduced to 1,500,000*l.*" He further moved, "that it is the opinion of this House that it will be more beneficial to the public, and to the East India Company, to let the territorial acquisitions remain in the possession of the Company for a limited time, not to exceed the term of six years, the charter of the Company expiring about that period: that no participation of profits shall take place between the public and the Company until after the repayment of the 1,400,000*l.* advanced to the Company, and the reduction of the Company's bond debt to 1,500,000*l.* that after the payment of the loan, and the specified reduction of the bond debt, three fourths of the net surplus profits of the Company above the sum of eight per cent. upon their capital stock, shall be paid into the Exchequer for the use of the public; and the remaining one-fourth shall be set apart, either for farther reducing the Company's bond debt, or for composing a fund for the discharge of any contingent exigencies the Company may labour under. In fine, that, as the Company had in their warehouses a stock of teas amounting to above seventeen millions of pounds, which it would be greatly to their advantage to convert into money, they should be allowed to export any quantities of it duty free."

The Company, highly alarmed at these resolutions, presented a second petition, representing, "that terms and conditions are annexed to the loan which they presumed to request from Parliament, materially differing from the propositions on which their requisition was founded;—that the limitation of the Company's dividend to seven per cent. after the discharge of the loan, is a hardship exceedingly aggravated by a consideration of the great losses which they as proprietors have sustained, and the expenses they have incurred in acquiring and securing the territorial revenues in India;—that the resolution limiting the Company to a term not exceeding six years for the possession of their territories in India appears to be altogether arbitrary, as it may be constructed into a conclusive decision against the Company respecting those territorial possessions, to which they humbly insist they have an undoubted right; that they cannot acquiesce in the resolution respecting the surplus net profits of the Company, because such disposal of their property appears to them subversive of all their rights and privileges; and rather than submit to such conditions, they desire that any claims against the Company, which can be supposed to give rise to such restrictions, may receive a legal decision, from which, whatever may be the event, they will at least have the satisfaction of knowing what they can call their own." The loan bill, however, passed with as little difficulty as the former; and, a third bill was speedily introduced by

(a) A. D. 1773.

examine into and rectify the concerns of every department. Messrs. Vansittart, Scrafton, and Ford, were nominated supervisors, and sailed from England, in the Aurora frigate, in the month of September, 1769; but by some undiscovered mischance, this ship never arrived at the place of her destination. This calamity having been ascertained, it was resolved by the Company to nominate new commissioners; and six gentlemen, during the summer Parliamentary recess of the year 1772, were chosen for this purpose; but, as it was certain that Parliament would be convened at an early period, with the view of discussing the affairs of India, it was not thought advisable, to carry so important a resolve into execution till the sanction of the legislature could be obtained for that purpose.

* By the examinations which took place at the bar of the House, it appeared, that the annual expenditure of the civil and military establishments in Bengal had risen, since 1765, from 700,000*l.* to 1,700,000*l.* that including the 400,000*l.* paid by the company in consequence of the agreement made in 1767, the whole sum received by government, in customs and duties, &c, from the Company, at an average calculation of the last five years, amounted to little less than 2,000,000*l.* that, during the same term, the dividends of the Company amounted not in the aggregate to 1,000,000*l.* above the rate of six per cent. upon their capital, which was the lowest trading dividend that had ever been made during the most expensive and dangerous war. The mercantile profits of the Company, during this period, averaged 464,000*l.* annually, which would have afforded a dividend of twelve and a half per cent.

the

the minister, "for establishing certain regulations for the better management of affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe."* Though the majorities by which the former bills had been carried demonstrated the hopelessness of opposition, petitions were presented against the present bill by the India Company, the city of London, and the proprietors of five hundred pounds stock disfranchised by the new qualification clause, a class of men, amounting to above twelve hundred in number."† The bill, however, passed both Houses without difficulty; but a protest was entered by the Dukes of Portland, Richmond, and Devonshire, the Marquis of Rockingham, Earl Fitzwilliam, and eight other Lords, against it.

The public were reconciled to these measures, by the inquiries of the select committee, in consequence of which, scenes of unexampled oppression and iniquity were developed. A report was presented to the House by General Burgoyne, chairman of the select committee, containing heavy charges against individuals in very exalted stations, and in which the character and conduct of Lord Clive in particular underwent a most severe investigation. The General concluded the report with moving,

I. That all acquisition made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign Princes, do of right belong to the state:

II. That to appropriate acquisitions so made to the private emolument of persons intrusted with any civil or military powers of the state, is illegal:

III. That very great sums of money and other valuable property have been acquired in Bengal by persons of this description, and appropriated to their private use. These resolutions passed unanimously; and the subject being soon afterwards resumed, the chairman of the committee moved, "That Lord Clive, about the time of the deposition of Su-Rajah Dowla, &c. did obtain and possess himself of several sums, amounting to two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds, under the denomination of private donation, and that in so doing the said Robert Lord Clive abused the powers with which he was intrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public."

In consequence of this motion, Lord Clive entered very ably into his own vindication, showing the urgent political necessity which had induced him to embrace the measures for which he was so unexpectedly and injuriously arraigned. He states, "that the power and fortune of the English nation in India had been entirely owing to the boldness and promptitude with which those measures had been conducted; that what he had acquired for himself was inconsiderable in comparison with what he had acquired for the Company, whose welfare had ever been his great object; that he had been placed in great and eminent stations, surrounded with temptations; the civil and military powers were united in him, a circumstance which had never happened to any other individual;—that being circumscribed by no restraint but that of his own conscience, he might have accumulated a fortune too great for a subject; but that he had then determined to reject all future opportunities of gain, and from the day on which he entered the city of Moorshedabad in triumph, after the victory of Plassey, which was a space of fifteen years, he had not benefited himself a single shilling, directly or indirectly, the jaghire ‡ only accepted." On putting the question, the last clause of the resolution was rejected, though the minister declared in favour of the words of censure, and divided in the minority. An amendment was then moved, "that Lord Clive did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to this country;" which was carried by a considerable majority, and an end was put to the inquiry.§

The different bills relative to India occupied the attention of Parliament the greater part of the session. An investigation, however, of a somewhat different nature also took place. The island of St. Vincent, ceded by France to England by the last treaty of peace, was in great part occupied by a race of yellow Caribbs, considered as the aboriginal possessors of the entire chain of the Great and Lesser Antilles; and it was supposed that, reduced as they were in number, they could still muster, within the limits of St. Vincent's, upwards of 1000 fighting men. The new settlers, perceiving that the most fertile districts of the island were in the hands of these people, urged the government to divest them of the lands which they occupied, and to bestow upon them in exchange other lands, in the island, or "elsewhere," as should be thought expedient. Orders were accordingly issued for this purpose, early in 1768; and the Caribbs very strenuously resisting the measure, a considerable force was employed to reduce them to submission. An inquiry was instituted in the House of Commons respecting this business, and the following resolutions were moved by Alderman Trecothick, one of the members for the city of London:

I. That the expedition against the Caribbs was undertaken without sufficient provocation on the part of these poor people, and at the instigation of persons interested in their destruction.

II. That sending the troops in the unhealthy season of the year, unprovided with camp equipage and necessaries, on that service, is not justifiable by any existing necessity.

---

* Its principal provisions were, "That the court of directors should in future be chosen for a term of four years, instead of being elected annually, six members vacating their seats each year;—that the qualification for voting should be raised from 500*l.* to 1000*l.* capital stock, and the term of previous possession be extended from six months to twelve;—that the jurisdiction of the mayor's court at Calcutta be confined to mercantile causes, and a new supreme court of judicature be established in India, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges, of the appointment of the crown. Lastly, that a superiority, with respect to all political concernments, be given to the presidency of Bengal over other presidencies in India; the present governor and council being confirmed by the bill, certain other persons added thereto, and a negative upon the future nomination of the Company vested in the crown."

† The Company's petition declares, "That the appointment of officers by Parliament or the crown, to be vested with the whole civil and military authority of the presidency of Bengal, independent of any choice or power of control in the directors or general courts of the said Company, is destructive of their essential rights and interests, and of the most dangerous tendency to the liberty of the subject, from the immense addition of power it must give to the influence of the crown; that the Company have never been acquainted with any charge of delinquency brought against them in Parliament; nor have they been called upon to enter on their defence, although this delinquency is made the ground of the new regulations."

‡ A life annuity of 30,000*l.* charged on the revenue of the districts ceded by Meer-Jaffier to the company.

§ Robert Clive, Lord of Plassey, was born at the family seat in Shropshire, in 1725, and educated at several schools, but with so little success, that his father, despairing of his becoming eminent in any profession, obtained him a place as a writer in the India Company's service. But he quitted the desk for the army in 1747, and distinguished himself with so much bravery, at the taking of a fort belonging to the Rajah of Tanjou, as to obtain the post of Commissary General. On his return to Madras he was seized with a nervous fever, and though he recovered, yet the effects ever after remained on his mind. About this time the French, under Dupleix, began to display their ambitious views in India, in procuring Chundasheb to be chosen nabob of Arcot, and by that means gaining the grant of a large territory for themselves. This roused the jealousy of the English, and the war was renewed. The French and their allies, however, gained numerous advantages, and the affairs of the English and their ally, Mohammed Ali Khan, son of the late nabob, appeared to be nearly hopeless, when Clive resumed his military character, as captain, in 1751. Tritchinopoly, the seat of Ali Khan, was then besieged by the French, and Chundasheb, on which Clive's superior genius suggested the advantage of attacking the city of Arcot, and the attempt succeeded beyond expectation. This unexpected circumstance drew off the enemy from Tritchinopoly to retake Arcot, which Clive defended in such a manner that the siege was raised. The success was followed by a series of victories, and the overthrow of the enemy. In 1753, Clive embarked for England, where he was presented by the court of directors with a sword set with diamonds. He returned to India as Governor of Fort St. David, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; and shortly after he assisted Admiral Watson in reducing Angria the pirate. When Calcutta was taken, Clive went to Bengal and took Fort William. He defeated Su-rajah Dowla at Plassey; and the day following entered Moorshedabad, where he placed Jaffier Ali Cawn on the throne. The Mogul conferred on him the title of Omrah of the empire, with a grant of lands. In 1760 he returned to England, and was made an Irish Peer. In 1764 he went to Bengal as president, where he soon restored tranquillity, and returned home in 1767. In 1769 he was made Knight of the Bath. In 1773 the motion stated above was made; and notwithstanding the resolution of the House in his Lordship's favour, it had so serious an effect on his mind, that in a fit of despondency he soon afterwards terminated his existence. Lord Chatham called him 'a heaven-born general, who, without experience, surpassed all the officers of his time.'"

III. That

III. That an address be presented to his Majesty, desiring that his Majesty would be pleased to acquaint the House by whose advice a measure was undertaken, equally repugnant to the humanity of his Majesty's temper, disgraceful to his arms, and derogatory from the character of the British nation.

These motions were negatived by considerable majorities; but the business would probably have been soon revived, had not intelligence arrived that a treaty of peace had been concluded with the Caribbs, after several fierce encounters, in which the regular troops had severely suffered.

The bill, for the enlargement of the toleration act, was again passed by the House of Commons, in the present session, and was again rejected by the Peers.

A. D. 1774.] A spirit of gloomy and irritable discontent continued to prevail in America, and had burst forth in several instances, the details of which would now excite very little interest.—It has been stated, that, at a very early period of Lord North's administration, the duties on paper, glass, colours, &c. were repealed, the duty on tea being left as a mark of supremacy. The East India Company, finding their stock of tea to accumulate, in consequence of the loss of the American market, became urgent with the minister to repeal the American import duty of three-pence per pound, proposing in lieu thereof to pay double the sum on exportation. Things, however, remained on their old footing till, in the session of 1773, the act passed for allowing the exportation of teas duty-free. The Company, desirous of making a grand effort to relieve themselves, were flattered with the expectation, by becoming their own factors, of regaining possession of the American market; as, when the teas should have been transported across the Atlantic, and lodged in warehouses, the circumstance of their having previously paid the import duty would not, it was thought, impede the Company's sales. The Americans, however, considered this attempt as an artifice and collusion, to inveigle them into the payment of this tax, in order to establish the precedent; and they were firmly and unanimously determined that no such project should succeed. A general meeting was convened at Philadelphia, in which resolutions were passed, "declaring this new ministerial plan of importation to be a violent attack upon the liberties of America, and pronouncing it to be the duty of every American to oppose this attempt; and whoever should directly or indirectly countenance it was an enemy to his country." In the next place a committee was appointed to wait upon the consignees of the Company, and to "request" their resignation; which was complied with. At New York, on the arrival of the tea-ships, in December, they were with difficulty permitted to approach the wharf; and, as at Philadelphia, the consignees were compelled to relinquish their appointments, and the ships returned to England without discharging their cargoes. At Charlestown, after much tumult, the tea was unloaded, but was shortly lodged in damp cellars, where it finally perished. In no place was its delivery to the consignees allowed. At a general meeting of the inhabitants of Boston, the resolutions of the Philadelphians were unanimously adopted, and a committee was appointed to wait upon the consignees, to know whether they would resign their appointments; which they declared not to be in their power. At a subsequent meeting, it was voted with acclamation, "that the tea shall not be landed, that no duty shall be paid, and that it shall be sent back in the same bottoms." On an application from the captain of the Dartmouth Indiaman for a clearance, the Governor replied, "I cannot give you a pass, consistent with the laws and my duty to the King, unless the vessel is properly qualified from the custom-house." This answer being reported to the Assembly, the meeting was declared to be dissolved. All now was tumult and confusion; vast multitudes rushed forward to the quay, and a number of the most resolute, disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels, and broke up between three and four hundred chests of tea, and discharged their contents into the sea. Measures of severity were now naturally expected. On the meeting of the general court of Massachusetts, (1774), the House of Representatives, by a new assumption of authority, determined upon an impeachment of the Chief Justice Oliver, for refusing to relinquish the salary settled upon him by the crown—which, with the hope of its augmentation, they affirmed, "must have the effect of a perpetual bribe, and expose him to a violation of his oath—that the acceptance of this salary, unprecedented in all former times, was a breach of his implied engagements on entering into his office; and that, by receiving a grant payable out of the revenue unjustly extorted from the American colonies, he had given a sanction to the injustice, counteracted the petitions of the people, and wickedly endeavoured to increase the discontents and jealousies which had arisen from the grievance." The governor refused to receive this accusation.

The English Parliament met on the 13th of January (1774) and, the ministry not being in possession of the full information from America, the speech from the throne observed a profound silence relative to the late transactions in that part of the globe. On the 7th of March, however, a message from the King informed the two Houses, that "in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before Parliament—recommending it to their serious consideration, what further regulations or permanent provisions might be necessary to be established." Lord North, in enlarging upon the documents produced on this occasion represented the conduct of the Bostonians in the most offensive light. His Lordship's speech was received with great applause, and firm and vigorous measures were at this crisis thought absolutely necessary. It was accordingly voted, "that an address of thanks should be presented to the King, assuring his Majesty that they would not fail to exert every means in their power of effectually providing for the due execution of the laws, and securing the dependence of the colonies upon the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain."

The minister soon afterwards introduced a bill for discontinuing the lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise, at the town of Boston or the harbour thereof; and for the removal of the Custom-house, &c. to the town of Salem, till the King in council should declare himself satisfied as to the restoration of peace and good order in the town. Whilst this bill was pending, a petition from the natives of America resident in London was presented to the House of Commons, stating, "the deep sorrow with which they understood that this honourable House was about to pass a bill, to punish, with unexampled rigour, the town of Boston, for a trespass committed, by some persons unknown, upon the property of the East-India Company, without the said town's being apprized of any accusation brought against them, or being permitted to hear the evidence or make their defence." This bill, however, was passed, with general approbation; and, soon afterwards, a second bill was introduced, for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay; agreeably to which the nomination of the counsellors, judges, magistrates, and even sheriffs was vested in the crown, and all these officers were made removable at pleasure.* This bill was finally carried by 239 against 64 voices; but, in the House of Lords, it did not pass without

* On this occasion, Mr. Dowdeswell, one of the opposition members, called upon the House to "recollect that the province of Massachusetts had flourished for fourscore years under their old and democratic charter. It was granted in the reign of King William, and breathed a spirit of liberty unknown to modern times. They have increased their possessions and improved their lands to an unexpected and unexampled pitch, and we have reaped the benefit of their labour;—yet you are now," said Mr. Dowdeswell, "going to destroy that very charter which has subsisted to the mutual advantage of both this country and America. The regulations enacted by the bill in question

without severe strictures; the division on the general question was 92 against 20; and an animated protest against it was signed by eleven Peers, amongst whom were the Dukes of Richmond and Portland, and the Marquis of Rockingham.

Ministers next brought in a bill for the impartial administration of justice in the province of Massachusetts Bay; which provided, "that, in case any person was indicted in that province for murder, or any other capital offence, and it should appear, by information given on oath to the Governor, that the fact was committed in exercise or aid of magistracy in suppressing riots, and that a fair trial could not be had in the province, he should send the person so indicted to any other colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried; the act to continue in force four years." The opposition to this bill was warm in words, though not vigorous in numbers. Before it passed the Commons, a second petition was presented from the natives of America resident in England, representing in strong and striking terms the fatal effects which this and the former bill were calculated to produce. The petition was ordered to lie upon the table.

The bill having been passed, by great majorities in both Houses, and the recess approaching, many members thought of retiring into the country, when their attention was claimed by another bill, for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec. It passed the Peers, where it originated, with great facility; but met with strong opposition in the Lower House.* Parliament was prorogued on the 21st of June; on which occasion, his Majesty's speech contained a high eulogium on the measures which had been adopted for the purpose of reclaiming his deluded subjects; and on the temper, firmness, and unanimity, which had been displayed in the deliberations of Parliament.

General Gage, commander of the troops stationed at Boston, having been appointed Governor of the province, arrived in that city in May. The intelligence of the Boston port bill had been received; and on the day succeeding the arrival of the General, a meeting of the inhabitants was convened, to take it into consideration. A resolution was then passed expressing their ideas of the impolicy, injustice, and barbarity of the bill, and inviting the other colonies to join with them in a general agreement to put a stop to all exportation and importation to Great Britain and the West Indies till it should be repealed. Addresses from Virginia, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, New York, and the other provinces, in a short time arrived, exhorting them to resolution and perseverance; and declaring that they considered Boston as suffering in the common cause. A general congress now became the object of universal desire; and Philadelphia being commodiously situated, it was convened to meet there on the 1st of September. In the interim, combinations were every where entered into to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain; and renouncing all communication with those who should refuse to sign this covenant, notwithstanding a proclamation from General Gage, styling such agreement "an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination." An address being presented to the Governor, by the corporation of Boston, in which the rights of the colonies; were asserted in high language, he would not hear it read to the end, declaring it to be an insult to the King and to his government.

The new general court met at Boston, on the 25th of May, when General Gage apprised them of their removal to Salem by the late act, and adjourned the court to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. The first business, after the adjournment, was to appoint deputies to the general congress. The Governor, aware of this design, dispatched his Secretary to dissolve the court; but, on his arrival, he found the doors fast locked: knocking aloud for entrance, he was informed that the House was upon very important business, and till it was finished he could not be admitted. He then read the proclamation of dissolution on the stairs leading to the hall of the assembly; but the nomination of deputies having been made, this was considered as an important advantage gained by the assembly.

Drafts of the bills for altering the charter of Massachusetts; for the impartial administration of justice; and for providing quarters for troops in America, arrived about this time at Boston, and were immediately circulated over the continent. The people at large now expressed their conviction that the æra was fast approaching when it would be necessary for them to defend their rights with the edge of the sword. Nothing was to be seen or heard of but purchasing of arms and ammunition, casting of balls, &c. All persons accepting offices under the new acts were declared enemies to their country; the mandamus counsellors, the commissioners of the customs, and all who had made themselves particularly obnoxious by their activity in seconding the measures of government, were compelled to take refuge in Boston; the seat of government at Salem was entirely abandoned; and the government itself seemed as though it had been dissolved.

The general Congress met at Philadelphia, on the 4th of September.† Amongst other measures, they published a Declaration of Rights, to which they conceived themselves entitled by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and their several charters or compacts. They also entered into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement; and agreed to prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, a memorial to the inhabitants of British America, and a loyal and humble petition to his Majesty.‡ Having finished its deliberations, the Congress dissolved itself, after an uninterrupted session of fifty-two days; its last resolution importing that another Congress should be held the 10th day of May, 1775, unless redress of grievances be previously obtained.§

The

question were, he affirmed, so bad, that it would be infinitely better to let matters take their course, than attempt the correction of any irregularities by so inadequate and at the same time so violent a remedy. He conjured the House to preserve temper and moderation in their proceedings, and to avoid such harsh and odious exertions of their authority." Lord North, in reply, declared, "that it rested upon the ground of an over-ruling political necessity; and Mr. Jenkinson avowed, as an unquestionable axiom of government, that, in matters of high political regulation, no obligation to hear the parties existed; and that justice was not violated in the present instance by the refusal of evidence."—Colonel Barré declared, that he saw "nothing in these measures but inhumanity, injustice, and wickedness, and he feared that the avenging hand of heaven would fall heavy on this country."

* The leading objects of the bill were, to ascertain the limits of the province, which were now extended far beyond those settled by the proclamation of 1763, including that vast tract of territory southward of the Lakes, and bordering upon the great rivers Ohio and Mississippi; to establish a legislative council, the counsellors to be appointed by the crown, and the office to be held during pleasure; to confirm the French laws and a trial without jury in civil cases; the English laws and a trial by jury in criminal; to secure to the Roman Catholic clergy the legal enjoyment of their tythes from all who were of their own religion. The revenue of the province was consigned in the first instance to the board of treasury, for the support of an unlimited civil list, and the administration of justice; the judges holding their offices and salaries during pleasure.

† This assembly consisted only of fifty-one members, delegated in such proportions from the different colonies as corresponded with their varied extent and population, though each colony had a distinct and separate vote.

‡ In their address to the King, they say, "We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. In the magnanimity and justice of your Majesty and Parliament we confide for a redress of our grievances, trusting that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard we have been accustomed in our happier days to enjoy. And appealing to that Being who thoroughly searches the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess that our councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of the impending destruction. We implore, therefore, your Majesty, as the loving father of all your people, connected by the same bands of loyalty, faith, and blood, not to suffer the transcendant relation formed by these ties to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects which, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained. So may your Majesty enjoy every temporal felicity throughout a long and glorious reign, and your descendants inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more."

§ In one of the debates respecting the probability and danger of a rupture

The general court of Massachusetts met at Salem on the 5th of October, and voted themselves into a provincial Congress; but the government refused to recognize them, and warned them to desist from their unconstitutional proceedings. To this, little regard was paid; a plan was promptly drawn up for the defence of the province; magazines of ammunition and stores were provided for 12,000 militia, and an enrolment made of a number of "minute men," so called from their engaging to turn out with their arms at a minute's warning. On the approach of winter, the Governor was desirous of providing barracks and clothing for the soldiers; but neither workmen nor necessaries could be procured; and every thing indicated the most determined spirit of animosity and resistance.

The English Parliament, having sat only six years, was unexpectedly dissolved in the month of September, and a new one met on the ensuing 29th of November. His Majesty acquainted them, "that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience still prevailed in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and had broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; that the most proper and effectual measures had been taken to prevent these mischiefs; and that they might depend upon a firm resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this legislature over all the dominions of the crown." The address, in the Commons, produced a warm and animated debate; but the proposed amendment, "that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to communicate the letters, orders, and instructions, relative to the execution of the late acts," was negatived by 264 against 73. In the Lords the numbers were 63 against 13; but a protest against the address was entered by the minority.

It is remarkable, however, notwithstanding the high tone of the King's opening speech, that, previously to the recess, all discussion of the affairs of America was studiously avoided; that the estimates were formed entirely upon a peace establishment; that the land tax was continued at three shillings; that no vote of credit was required; that the army remained on its former footing; and, that a reduction of 4,000 seamen took place from the 20,000 voted lasted year.*

On the 20th of January, 1775—the first day of the meeting after the recess,—Lord Dartmouth laid before the Peers the official papers belonging to his department. The plan of ministerial operation had been finally settled—not, however, it is understood, without considerable opposition in the cabinet. The Earl of Chatham had formed a resolution to attend the House, if possible, on this memorable day, to make one more powerful effort to avert the calamity, the danger, and the ruin which he saw impending over the country, by moving an address to the King, for conciliation with America.† His Lordship's motion was ably seconded and supported by Lord Camden; but the language of the

---

rupture with Great Britain, a leading member of Congress rose up and said, "I should advise persisting in our struggle, though it were revealed from Heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish in the contest, and one only of a thousand to survive, and retain his liberty."

* Lord Sandwich, first Lord of the Admiralty, declared in the House, that he "knew" the low establishment proposed would be fully sufficient for reducing the colonies to obedience. He spoke in terms the most contemptuous both of the power and the courage of the Americans; asserting, that "they were neither disciplined nor capable of discipline; and that, formed of such materials, and so indisposed to encounter danger, their numbers would only add to the facility of the defeat."

† The House was remarkably full; and when his Lordship rose to speak, a death-like silence prevailed. Inspired as it were by his subject, dignified and graceful in decay, his language, his voice, his gesture, were such as seemed to characterize him as the guardian genius of his country. "Too well apprized," said he, "of the contents of the papers now at last laid before the House, he would not take up their Lordships' time in tedious and fruitless investigations, but would seize the first moment to open the door of reconcilement;—for, said he, every moment of delay is a moment of danger. As I have not, said his Lordship, the honour of access to his Majesty, I will endeavour to transmit to him, through the constitutional channel of this House, my ideas of America, to rescue him from the mis-advice of his present ministers. America, my Lords, cannot be reconciled, she ought not to be reconciled to this country till the troops of Britain are withdrawn from the continent; they are a bar to all confidence, they are a source of perpetual irritation, they threaten a fatal catastrophe. How can America trust you, with the bayonet at her breast? How can she suppose that you mean less than bondage or death? I therefore, my Lords, move that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech his Majesty, 'that, in order to open the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, it may graciously please his Majesty to transmit orders to General Gage for removing his Majesty's forces from the town of Boston.' I know not, my Lords, who advised the present measures; I know not who advises to a perseverance and enforcement of them; but this I will say, that the authors of such advice ought to answer it at their utmost peril. I wish, my Lords, not to lose a day in this urgent pressing crisis;—an hour now lost in allaying ferments in America may produce years of calamity. Never will I desert, in any stage of its progress, the conduct of this momentous business. Unless fettered to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unremitted attention. I will knock at the gates of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will, if it be possible, rouse them to a sense of their danger. The recall of your army I urge as necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace. By this it will appear that you are disposed to treat amicably and equitably, and to consider, revise, and repeal, if it should be found necessary, as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have disseminated confusion throughout the empire. Resistance to these acts was necessary, and therefore just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince or enslave America, who feels that tyranny is equally intolerable, whether it be exercised by an individual part of the legislature, or by the collective bodies which compose it. The means of enforcing this thraldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice as they are unjust in principle. Conceiving of General Gage as a man of humanity and understanding; entertaining, as I ever must, the highest respect and affection for the British troops; I feel the most anxious sensibility for their situation, pining in inglorious inactivity. You may call them an army of safety and of defence, but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt; and to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation. Allay then the ferment prevailing in America, by removing the obnoxious hostile cause. If you delay concession till your vain hope shall be accomplished of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever: the force of this country would be disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts—three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. But is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity, beyond what history has related, or poetry has feigned?

——— Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
Castigatque, auditque, dolos.

But the Americans must not be heard; they have been condemned unheard. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has devoted thirty thousand British subjects of all ranks, ages, and descriptions, to one common ruin. You may no doubt destroy their cities; you may cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life; but, my Lords, they will still despise your power, for they have yet remaining their woods and their liberty. What though you march from town to town, from province to province, though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission, how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you, in your progress of eighteen hundred miles of continent animated with the same spirit of liberty and of resistance! This universal opposition to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen: it was obvious from the nature of things and from the nature of man, and, above all, from the confirmed habits of thinking, from the spirit of Whiggism flourishing in America. The spirit which now pervades America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money in this country; the same spirit which roused all England to action at the Revolution; and which established at a remote æra your liberties on the basis of that great fundamental maxim of the constitution, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breast of every generous Briton? To maintain this principle is the common cause of the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic and on this; it is liberty to liberty engaged. In this great cause they are immovably allied; it is the alliance of God and nature, immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of heaven. As an Englishman, I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalterable right of property. As an American, I would equally recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation. This distinction is involved in the abstract nature of things; property is private, individual, absolute; the touch of another annihilates it. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration; it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow; it is a vast and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of it several parts, and combine them into one harmonious effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power of the empire. On this grand practical distinction then let us rest;—taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from legislative controul and commercial restraint, as from taxation for the purpose of revenue, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless. When your Lord-

the Cabinet Lords was high and decisive; it was declared, that the mother country should never relax till America confessed her supremacy, and obedience must be enforced by arms; and the motion was finally rejected by 68 voices against 18.* This great majority, however, did not discourage Lord Chatham from persisting in his exertions for restoring peace to the empire; and, early in February, he proposed a bill, under the title of "A Provisional Act for settling the Troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." This bill, which comprehended a vast extent of matter, and seemed to require much separate discussion, was negatived, by 61 against 32.—On the following day, Lord North moved, in the Commons, an address to the King, "To return thanks for the communication of the American papers, and to declare, that having taken them into their most serious consideration, they find that a rebellion at this time actually exists in the province of Massachusetts Bay; which was affirmed to be the more inexcusable, from reflecting with how much temper his Majesty and the Parliament had acted in support of the laws and constitution of Great Britain; and solemnly assuring his Majesty, that it is their fixed resolution, at the hazard of their lives and fortune, to support his Majesty, against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of his just rights and those of the two Houses of Parliament." A vehement debate ensued, and an amendment was proposed by Mr. Fox. Omitting all but the preliminary words, he moved to substitute the following: "But deploring that the information which the papers laid before them had afforded, served only to convince the House that the measures taken by his Majesty's servants tended rather to widen than to heal the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America, and praying an alteration in the same." The amendment was rejected, by 304 voices against 105; but, on receiving the report, Lord John Cavendish moved for its recommitment, and a second warm debate took place, when the numbers were 288 against 106. The next day, a conference was held with the Lords, to propose their Lordships' joining in this address. The debate which followed, in the Lords, was equally violent with that in the Commons; and, to the unbounded surprise of the House, Lord Mansfield declared, "that the imposition of the port duties of 1767 was a measure the most absurd and pernicious that could be devised, and the cause of all our present and impending evils." Lord Shelburne, Lord Camden, and the Duke of Grafton, also severally declared, that they had no share in that measure, and had never given it their approbation. The Marquis of Rockingham, who had petitions from the American and West India merchants to present to the House, moved the previous question, that the allegations of the merchants might be heard, before any decisive step should be taken; but on the division it was negatived by 104 against 29, and the original motion, for uniting with the Commons in the address, was put, and agreed to.

Lord North next moved for a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the New England provinces, and to prohibit them from carrying on the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. This, as a measure of political necessity, was agreed to.

Before this bill had passed, Lord North announced a conciliatory proposition, which he introduced by a speech, in which he affirmed the offer to be founded on that passage of the late address, which declared, that "whenever any of the colonies shall make a proper application to Parliament, we shall be ready to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence.†

The intention of the minister is allowed, even by his enemies, to have been just and laudable; but the opposition treated the proposition as nugatory, insidious, and ridiculous; and the partisans of administration, still known as the Bedford party, exclaimed against the motion, as a total abandonment of principle, as in direct opposition to the address, as a contradiction to all the acts and declarations of Parliament, as a virtual acknowledgment of injury, and as a mean prevarication, which could tend to no other purpose than to sacrifice the dignity of that House. They declared that they would make no concessions to rebels with arms in their hands; nor agree to any terms of conciliation, in which an express and definitive acknowledgment of the supremacy of Parliament should not be a preliminary article. Amidst the tumult occasioned by this motion, the solicitor general, Wedderburne, affirmed, "That it was far from the design of the proposition to assent to a dereliction of the rights of Parliament, or to yield in any degree to the insolence of the Americans; but, on

---

ships have perused the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider the dignity, the firmness, and the wisdom with which the Americans have acted, you cannot but respect their cause. History, my Lords, has been my favourite study, and in the celebrated writings of antiquity have I often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but, my Lords, I must declare and avow, that, in the master states of the world, I know not the people, or the senate, who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in general congress in Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be in vain, must be futile. Can such a national principled union be resisted by the tricks of office or ministerial manœuvres? Heaping papers on the table, or counting your majorities on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger. It must arrive, my Lords, unless these fatal acts are done away; it must arrive in all its horrors; and then these boastful ministers, in spite of all their confidence and all their manœuvres, shall be compelled to hide their heads. But it is not repealing this or that act of Parliament, it is not repealing a piece of parchment, that can restore America to your bosom; you must repeal her fears and resentments, and then you may hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force, irritated with an hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you could force them, would be suspicious and insecure. But it is more than evident that you cannot force them to your unworthy terms of submission; it is impossible; we ourselves shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retreat while we can, not when we must. I repeat it, my Lords, we shall one day be forced to undo these violent oppressive acts; they must be repealed, you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I stake my reputation on it; I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not repealed. Avoid then this humiliating disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace, and to happiness. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of man, and establishes solid confidence on the foundation of affection and gratitude. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend to deter you from perseverance in the present ruinous measures; foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, waiting for the maturity of your errors, with a vigilant eye to America and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may. To conclude, my Lords, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from the crown; but I affirm, they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone."

* In the Commons the American papers were referred to a committee of the whole House, on the 26th of January, 1775; previously to which, petitions were presented from the merchants of London, Bristol, Glasgow, &c. which, by a ruse d'etat were consigned to a separate committee, to meet on the 27th of January; the day after the House must have come to a final decision on the grand question. The petition from the American congress to the King having been referred, amidst the common mass of paper, to the House, the American agents, Mr. Bollan, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, petitioned the House to be heard at the bar in its support. The ministers, however, alledged, "that the congress was no legal body; and to hear evidence on the subject of their petition would be giving that illegal body some degree of countenance:—that with respect to the pretended grievances alledged in the petition, the House could hear the colonies only through their legal assemblies, and their agents properly authorised; and that any deviations from this rule would destroy the whole order of colony government." The petition was rejected by 218 against 68.

† The proposition was as follows:—"That when the governor, council, and assembly or general court of his Majesty's provinces, or colonies, shall propose to make provision according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and situation, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court or general assembly of such province, or colony, and disposable by Parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony; it will be proper if such proposal should be approved of by his Majesty in Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, or to propose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to propose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation respectively."

the

the contrary, it held forth a more wise and effectual method of enforcing the claims of the one, and repressing the arrogance of the other." Sir Gilbert Elliot reconciled the apparent deviation of the motion from the tenor of the address, and the other measures of administration, by observing that the address contained two correspondent lines of conduct; the one to repress rebellion, protect loyalty, and enforce the laws; the other, to afford indulgence to those who would return to their duty. Lord North, alarmed at the idea of a minority, acquiesced in this explanation; adding, that his motion was founded on the well known maxim, "Divide et impera!"—that he had never expected the Americans would embrace this proposal, but that it was intended to disunite the colonies and unite the people of England." The question was then carried, by 274 against 88; and a second bill, "To restrain the trade of the colonies of East and West Jersey, Pensylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, and the counties on the Delawar," was passed almost without opposition.

On the 22d of March, with the view of effecting a peace, upon a solid and rational basis, Mr. Burke moved a series of thirteen propositions, which he enforced by a most able and eloquent speech. These resolutions went to recognize the legal competency of the colonial assemblies for all the various purposes of taxation; to acknowledge that this legal competency had had a just and beneficial exercise; and that experience had shewn the benefit of their grants, and the futility of Parliamentary taxation as a method of supply. Some of the propositions related to the settlement of an independent judicature; to the regulation of the courts of Admiralty, and to the repeal of the late coercive acts of Parliament. The previous question, however, was moved on the first resolution, and carried, in favour of ministers, by 270 voices against 78; and the remainder were negatived without a division.

A few days afterwards Mr. Hartley moved, "That letters of requisition should be issued, agreeably to ancient precedent under authority of the crown, with a view to procure a permanent and voluntary contribution from the several colonies towards the general expences of the empire." This motion was also negatived without a division.* On the 15th of May, Mr. Burke presented to the House of Commons a paper intituled "A Representation and Remonstrance from the general assembly of New York;" a province which had been considered less disaffected than any other, which, with North Carolina, had refused an unreserved acquiescence in the resolutions of the congress, and had not been included in the late restraining acts. The remonstrance, however, was rejected, as containing claims inconsistent with the authority of Britain; a rejection which completed that union which it seemed to be the policy of government to prevent. At the close of the session, his Majesty expressed "the most perfect satisfaction in the conduct of his Parliament, and his entire conviction that the most salutary effects must result from such measures formed and conducted on such principles."

In the spring of this year, General Gage having received intelligence of a considerable magazine, at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, where the provincial congress was also held, detached, on the night of the 18th of April, 800 grenadiers and light infantry, under the command of Colonel Smith. They proceeded with great silence; but by the firing of guns and ringing of bells they perceived that they were discovered; and on their arrival at Lexington, at five on the morning of the 19th, they found the company of militia belonging to that place drawn up on the green. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced guard, cried out, "Disperse, rebels! down with your arms, and disperse!" This not being immediately complied with, he ordered the soldiers to fire; when eight or ten of the provincials were killed, and the others precipitately retreated. The King's troops immediately marched on to Concord, destroyed such stores as they found, and spiked three or four pieces of cannon. On their return, the passage of a bridge was disputed, when a skirmish ensued, in which several were killed on both sides. The whole country was now alarmed; and, had not General Gage, apprehensive of the danger of the service, early in the morning, ordered Lord Percy, with a second detachment, to march to Lexington, Colonel Smith would have found great difficulty in forcing his way back to Boston. In the course of the day, during their retreat, the loss of the King's troops was estimated at nearly 300 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, while that of the provincials, it is said, did not exceed 90. A few days afterwards, the provincial Congress of Massachusetts resolved, that 30,000 men be forthwith raised, of which Generals Ward, Putnam,† Heath, and Thomas, were appointed to the command; and a strong military force collecting in the vicinity of Boston, formed the entire blockade of that town.

In the month of May, the general Congress met at Philadelphia, where they passed resolutions for raising a continental army, and for establishing a paper currency; declaring, also, that by the violation of the charter of Massachusett's bay, the compact between the crown and that colony had been dissolved. The provinces of New York and North Carolina now likewise declared their resolution to unite with the others in every effort to retain their rights and liberties.

The Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, having arrived at Boston, with large reinforcements, the force stationed in that neighbourhood was now about 10,000 men. General Gage issued a proclamation, offering a pardon to all who should lay down their arms; excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock. Those who did not accept of the proffered mercy were declared rebels and traitors, and martial law was established. The Congress immediately chose the proscribed Mr. Hancock their president; and, at the same time George Washington, Esq. was chosen General and commander-in-chief of the continental army; Horatio Gates, Esq. was appointed Adjutant-General; and Artemas Ward, and Charles Lee, Esqrs. first and second Major-Generals. The last of these officers was a man of extraordinary and eccentric genius, who had served with great reputation in Portugal and elsewhere during the last war. Passionately attached to the principle of democratic liberty, rather from a proud disdain of superiority than from the pure and genuine ardour of benevolence—on the prospect of a war with the colonies, he had resigned his commission in the British army, and immediately offered his services to Congress, by whom they were gladly accepted; and on his military talents, skill, and experience, they justly placed very great dependence.

The British commanders had formed a plan to possess themselves of the heights of Dorchester, southward of the town; but, on the morning of the 16th of June, they found that a redoubt, breast work, and entrenchment had been thrown up in the night, on an eminence called Bunker's hill, to the north of Boston, on a peninsula divided by a narrow channel from that on which the town of Boston itself stands. It was immediately determined to attack this post; and a detachment of 3000 chosen troops, under the command of General Howe, ascended the hill with great resolution, but with slow and deliberate step. The Americans, under General Putnam, reserving themselves till the British

* About this time the city of London presented another address, remonstrance, and petition, distinguished by the circumstance of being delivered to his Majesty by Mr. Wilkes, as Lord Mayor, to which office he had been elected at the close of the preceding year. His Majesty's answer was as follows: "It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in my Parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdoms."

† General Putnam, who had served under Lord Amherst, had since retired to a remote farm; and when the intelligence of his appointment was notified to him, he was found, in a leathern frock and apron, employed amongst his labourers. He instantly laid down his spade, and, within eighteen hours, he was at the head quarters at Lexington, nearly a hundred miles distant.

forces were within ten or twelve rods, suddenly poured in a tremendous fire, which threw them into great disorder. Rallied, however, by the exertions of their officers, they again advanced, till a second discharge renewed the confusion. The Generals Howe and Clinton, placing themselves at the head of the troops, for a time almost unsupported, led them to a third attack. The assault was most furious; the redoubt was carried; and the Americans were compelled to retreat across the Isthmus, to Cambridge, with the loss of about 450 men. On the part of the British, however, about 1100 were killed or wounded, and amongst them 89 officers, who were particularly aimed at by the American riflemen.*

Early in July, General Washington arrived at the head-quarters near Boston; which, with Bunker's-hill, now occupied by the English, continued to be closely invested. The American army was at this time suffering under every species of privation, and extremely deficient in powder, ammunition, and military stores of every kind; but, from some unaccountable cause, no attempt was made by the English generals to molest them.† Georgia having now acceded to the confederacy, which henceforward assumed the appellation of the Thirteen United Colonies, they issued a declaration setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms, which was read at the head of every regiment, and received with great applause. At the same time, the Congress resolved upon a second petition to the King, which was transmitted to England through the medium of Mr. Penn, proprietary governor of the province of Pennsylvania. To this petition, however, no answer was given.

Hopes had been entertained, that the Canadians might be induced to take an active part in this war against America; and 20,000 stand of arms were, in that expectation, actually sent to Quebec. The militia of the province, however, absolutely refused to pass their own limits; declaring, that this was a quarrel which did not concern them, and in which they were determined to take no part. A project was, in consequence formed by the Americans for the invasion of that province; and General Montgomery, with an army of 3000 men, having been appointed to conduct this expedition, immediately proceeded to St. John's, on the banks of Lake Champlain, before which he encamped in the middle of September. After a very gallant defence, that important fortress was surrendered on the 2d of November. General Montgomery had succeeded in reducing a great part of the province, when he was killed, in attempting to carry Quebec by assault; and Colonel Arnold, the second in command, having been dangerously wounded, the Americans withdrew to some distance, and converted the siege of Quebec into a blockade.

Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, having found it impracticable to appease the disputes which had long subsisted between him and the people, was induced to take refuge on board the Fowey man of war, in the month of June; and attempted to transfer thither the sittings of the assembly—a requisition with which the legislative body refused compliance. His Lordship then proclaimed martial law, and immediate emancipation to all negroes and indented servants able and willing to bear arms in his Majesty's service—a measure which caused great irritation and resentment. At length, a demand was made by the shipping in the bay of the Chesapeak, to the inhabitants of the town of Norfolk, for supplies for his Majesty's service. This being peremptorily refused, a heavy cannonade was by order of the governor commenced against the town, which, in a few hours, was reduced to ashes. The loss was estimated at 300,000*l.* In the Carolinas, Lord William Campbell and Governor Martin, were also compelled to withdraw for safety on board the King's ships lying off the coast. In Pennsylvania, a military association was established throughout the province; and a similar spirit seemed to pervade the whole chain of colonies. In Massachusett's bay, the town of Falmouth, from similar causes of offence with that of Norfolk, was set on fire, and destroyed by a tremendous cannonade.

The garrison of Boston was maintained at a heavy expence by supplies from England, a great proportion of which was intercepted by the American cruisers. Towards the end of February (1776,) General Washington determined to take possession of the heights of Dorchester, situated in a peninsula stretching into the bay to the south of Boston. This design ultimately succeeded; the English were compelled to evacuate the town; and, early in the morning of the 17th of March, the whole of the troops, with such of the inhabitants as were attached to the royal cause, put to sea on board the transports lying in the harbour. After a tempestuous and dangerous voyage, they landed safely at Halifax. On the following day, General Washington entered Boston in triumph, and found there a great quantity of stores and provisions which the British commander had not been able either to remove or to destroy.‡

At the meeting of Parliament, on the 26th of October, the conduct of the colonies was mentioned with much severity of remark in the King's opening speech. The Duke of Grafton, whose attempts to effect a reconciliation between England and America had failed, had previously given in his resignation.§ On the motion for the usual address to the throne, Lord Rockingham moved an amendment, condemning, most pointedly, the proposed measures of coercion. In this, he was warmly supported by the Duke of Grafton; but the amendment was negatived, by a large majority, as was an amendment, of a similar nature, moved for in the House of Commons.

The Duke of Richmond (November 10) moved for the examination of Mr. Penn, at the bar of the House of Lords; which, having been agreed to,‖ the Duke moved,

---

* This was one of the warmest and most bloody conflicts ever known. for the time it lasted; the number of British troops engaged was 3000; that of the Americans was estimated at 4000. During the action, Charlestown, on the opposite peninsula, containing several hundred houses, was set on fire by the English forces, and entirely consumed.

† It is deserving of remark, that the general Congress had, in the beginning of June, come to a resolution, that the colonies of America would not only continue to grant extraordinary aids in time of war, but also, if allowed a free commerce, pay into the sinking fund such a sum annually for a hundred years, as should be more than sufficient in that time, if faithfully applied, to extinguish all the present debts of Britain. The intelligence, however, at this period, arriving of the prohibitory and other acts of the English Parliament, it was not suffered to be entered upon the minutes.

‡ Previously to this, the Oneidas and other Indian nations had sent to the Congress a deputation of their chiefs and warriors, who, in their simple, yet poetical stile, disclosed the purport of their commission in the following terms:—"Brothers! we have heard of the unhappy differences and great contention between you and old England. We wonder greatly, and are troubled in our minds. Brothers, possess your minds in peace respecting us Indians. We cannot intermeddle in this dispute between two brothers. The quarrel seems to us unnatural. You are two brothers of one blood; we bear an equal affection to both. Should the great King apply to us for aid, we shall deny him: if the colonies apply, we shall refuse. We Indians cannot find or recollect in the traditions of our ancestors a case similar to this. Brothers, were it an alien that had struck you, we should look into the matter. We hope, through the wise government and good pleasure of God, your distresses may be soon removed, and the dark clouds be dispersed. Brothers, as we have declared for peace, we desire you will not apply to our Indian brethren for assistance. Let us Indians be all of one mind, and you white people settle your disputes between yourselves." Many of the tribes, however, bordering on the great lakes and rivers, were afterwards prevailed upon, to take part with the English.

§ On the resignation of his grace, Lord Dartmouth was advanced to the dignity of Lord Privy Seal; and Lord George Germaine, so notorious as Lord George Sackville, was appointed to the vacant post of Secretary of State for the colonies. Lord Rochford also retiring, Viscount Weymouth was reinstated in the office of secretary for the southern department.

‖ On this occasion, Mr. Penn declared his firm belief, "That the Congress had hitherto entertained no designs of independency; that the members of that assembly were men of character, fairly elected, and fully competent to declare the sense of their constituents; that the different provinces would certainly be governed by their decisions; that the war was levied and carried on by the colonists, merely in defence of what they conceived to be their undoubted rights and liberties; that the spirit of resistance was general, and that they believed

moved, "That the petition from the continental congress to the King was ground for a conciliation of the unhappy differences subsisting between Great Britain and America." This motion was negatived by 86 against 33 voices.

Lord North having moved, in the Commons, that the land tax for the ensuing year, be four shillings in the pound, the country gentlemen were congratulated by the opposition on this additional taxation, as the first fruits of their scheme for the coercion of America; and it was predicted, that below the present level the land tax would never again be reduced. Irritated by the increase of the tax, and by the bitter sarcasms by which it was accompanied, and displeased also with the language now held by Lord North, "that the contest was not for taxation but for sovereignty," the country members declared, that "they had supported government in its plans of coercion, in the firm persuasion that their burthens would be eventually diminished by a great revenue to be drawn from America; but if the idea of a revenue were abandoned, they could not think of expending any more money in a contest attended with so many evils, and wholly unproductive of benefit; and they would therefore oppose the noble Lord's motion for the increase of the land tax." His Lordship, however, immediately assured them, "that the idea of taxation, and of levying a productive revenue from America, was never abandoned; and that when any thing of that sort was affirmed, nothing more was meant than that it was dropped for the present; taxation being a matter of secondary consideration only, when the supremacy of the country was at stake. He even declared, that no means existed by which the legislative authority and commercial controul of this country over the colonies could be insured, but by combining them with taxation." The motion was now carried by a great majority.

On the 15th of November, several motions made in the Upper House by the Duke of Grafton, for estimates to be laid before the House respecting the state of the army in America, and the addition of force necessary for the service of the ensuing campaign, were negatived without a division; and, on the day following, Mr. Burke, in the Commons, moved for leave to bring in a bill "for quieting the present troubles in America." The great object of the bill, he said, was "a renunciation of the exercise of taxation, without at all interfering with the question of right; it preserved the power of levying duties for the regulation of commerce; but the money so raised (agreeably to an excellent idea suggested by the conciliatory motion of Lord North) was to be at the disposal of the several general assemblies. The tea duty of 1767 was to be repealed, and a general amnesty granted." This plan, though it met with a less unfavourable reception than any hitherto attempted, was negatived by a majority in the proportion of two to one.

Soon afterwards, Lord North brought in his Prohibitory bill, interdicting all trade and intercourse with the Thirteen United Colonies. All property of Americans, whether of ships or goods, on the high seas or in harbour, was by this measure declared forfeited to the captors. This, the opposition affirmed to be a formal act of abdication of our government over the colonies; it drove the two countries to the fatal extremity of absolute conquest on the one side, or absolute independency on the other. The repeal of the Boston Port, and Fishery-restraining acts, being included in this bill, as superseded by its operation, Mr. Fox moved an amendment, to leave out the whole title and body of the bill excepting the parts relative to such repeal. This amendment was rejected by 192 against 64 voices. In the Lords, the bill was again strongly combated, but without effect.*

The assembly of Nova Scotia had transmitted a petition to Parliament, presented to the House on the first day of the session, by the Speaker, founded on the basis of Lord North's conciliatory proposition; and it was now moved by his Lordship, that the proposal of a poundage duty ad valorem upon all commodities imported, not being the produce of the British dominions in Europe or America, to be diposed of by Parliament, should be accepted, and the duty fixed at eight per cent. in lieu of all other taxes; and in reward of this overture, the act of Navigation itself was in part dispensed with in their favour, and they were allowed to import oranges, lemons, &c. directly from the place of their growth and produce. No bill, however, was brought forward in consequence of these resolutions.

A. D. 1776.] The Earl of Harcourt, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had recently proposed to the Parliament of that kingdom, on the part of his Majesty, who had pledged his royal word, "that twelve thousand regular troops on that establishment should always remain stationary in that country; requesting four thousand of the said troops to be employed in the service of Great Britain, and engaging that Ireland should be relieved from the expense of the same; and also, that the said troops should be replaced, if desired, by four thousand foreign Protestant troops, to be likewise paid by Great Britain." After the Christmas recess, a motion was made in the English House of Commons, by Mr. Thomas Townshend, "that the Earl of Harcourt was herein chargeable with a breach of privilege, and had acted in derogation of the authority of that House, and that a committee be appointed to inquire into the same." It was urged, "that it was the highest presumption in the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to engage for the payment of any specific sums by the Parliament of Great Britain; and much worse to pledge the Parliament to the fulfillment of a contract so absurd and extravagant as to defray the expence of eight thousand men for the service of four thousand; and the design of introducing foreign troops into Ireland was represented as fraught with danger and mischief." The minister seemed embarrassed on this occasion; but, Mr. Jenkinson, and others, insisted upon the King's right of introducing foreign forces into any part of his dominions, when the exigencies of the state rendered it expedient or necessary. That part of the motion which went to the appointment of a committee of inquiry was negatived by 224 against 106, and the previous question, on the clause of censure, was carried without a division.

On the 20th of February, Mr. Fox moved, "that it be referred to a committee, to inquire into the ill success of his Majesty's arms in America." This motion was rejected by 240 against 104 voices. The treaties with the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Brunswick, &c. for hiring large bodies of their troops for the American service, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, having been laid before the House, and a motion made by the minister for referring them to a committee of supply, a vehement debate ensued; but the question was carried, in favour of the ministers, by 242 against 88 voices. The same question experienced a similar de-

lieved themselves able to defend their liberties against the arms of Great Britain; that the colonies had been greatly dissatisfied with the reception of their former petitions, but had formed great hopes on the success of that brought over by him, which was stiled by them 'The Olive Branch,' and that he had been congratulated by his friends upon his being the bearer of it: that it was greatly to be feared, that, if conciliatory measures were not speedily pursued, they would form connections with foreign powers, and that such connections, once made, it would be found very difficult to dissolve. He affirmed, that the prevailing wish of America was restoration of friendship with England; but that the most intelligent men on the continent were of opinion, that a rejection of the present petition would prove an insuperable bar to reconcilement. He said, that the Americans were well satisfied with the repeal of the Stamp act, notwithstanding the declaratory law which accompanied it, and if no innovations had been afterwards made, they would have remained content; that they would allow the imperial authority of Great Britain, but not its right of taxation."

* Lord Mansfield remarked, "That we had passed the Rubicon, and were not now at liberty to consider the questions of original right or wrong, justice, or injustice. We were engaged in a war, and we must use our utmost efforts to obtain the ends proposed by it." Quoting the laconic speech of a gallant officer in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, who, pointing to the enemy, said to his men, "See you those lads! Kill them, or they will kill you," his Lordship affirmed the sentiment to be applicable to the present case. "If we do not get the better of America, America will get the better of us.—Are we to stand idle because we are told this is an unjust war, and wait till they have brought their arms to our very doors? The justice of the cause must give way to our present situation."

cision

cision in the House of Peers. A demand, made by the Secretary of War for the sum of 845,000*l.* for army extraordinaries, was also carried by 180 against 57. On the 14th of March, the Duke of Grafton moved "for an address to the King, that, in order to prevent the further effusion of blood, a proclamation might be issued, declaring, that if the colonies shall present a petition to the commissioners appointed under the late act, setting forth what they consider to be their just rights and real grievances, that in such a case his Majesty will consent to a suspension of arms; and that assurance shall be given them, that their petition shall be received, considered, and answered." The noble moverobserved, "that the adoption of the present motion, or of something equivalent, seemed to be absolutely necessary, from two circumstances. The first was the doctrine of unconditional submission: it was the object of the present motion to disarm the Americans of the rage and horror which this doctrine had excited in their minds; and to inculcate the idea that there were terms and conditions implying mutual concessions, on which a satisfactory and lasting accommodation might be founded, and their constitutional rights secured. The second circumstance was the certain notice which his Grace had himself received, that the two French gentlemen, charged, as there was good reason to believe, with a commission of high and momentous import, had lately been introduced by General Washington to the Congress, with whom conferences had been actually commenced. Thus a direct interference on the part of foreign powers in our civil contentions had undoubtedly taken place, and from a most dangerous and hostile quarter. No time was, therefore, to be lost to counteract its effects, and upon the decision of the present moment the fate of the empire depended." The Lords in administration, however, avowed and vindicated the doctrine of unconditional submission; asserted the impossibility of an effectual resistance on the part of America; and declared their utter disregard and disbelief of any interference on the part of France, or any other foreign power, which, possessing colonies of its own, could never be so devoid of policy as to encourage the spirit of revolt in those of another nation. The motion was ultimately rejected by 91 voices against 31.

Parliament was prorogued on the 23d of May, by a speech, in which the King intimated "his hope, that his rebellious subjects would still be awakened to a sense of their errors; at the same time expressing his confidence, that if due submission could not be obtained by a voluntary return to their duty, it would be effectuated by a full exertion of the great force entrusted to him."*

The blockade of Quebec was continued through the winter, by Colonel Arnold, and afterwards by General Sullivan; but early in the spring, before the colonists could be joined by their expected reinforcements, a naval armament from England, consisting of the Isis of 54 guns, accompanied by the Surprise frigate and the Martin sloop, forced their passage through the ice. This was effected before the navigation of the St. Lawrence was thought practicable. General Carleton encouraged by succours thus obtained, immediately marched out to attack the American camp. The besiegers, however,

* Louis XV. who, for 59 years, had reigned with arbitrary sway over France, died nearly at the commencement of the present troubles (May 10th, 1774). He was succeeded by his grandson Louis the Dauphin, who had scarcely attained the twentieth year of his age. This young Prince had, in 1770, married the Arch-duchess Marie Antoinette, daughter of the Empress Queen—a Princess adorned with all the facinating graces of her sex. By this apparently auspicious alliance, the peace of Europe seemed to be secured. The appellation of "Louis the desired," universally given to the young monarch, was the bitterest satire on the memory of his predecessor. —The Count de Maurepas, who had been thirty years in exile, was raised by Louis XVI. on the accession, to the post of Prime Minister. At nearly fourscore years of age he retained all the vivacity of youth. The new King, desirous of recommending himself to his subjects, began his reign with the dismission of the Duc d'Aiguillon, and his co-adjutors, the Chancellor Maupeo, and the Comptroller-general L'Abbe Terrai, which was regarded as the certain prelude of the restoration of the ancient Parliaments; and on the 12th of November, 1774, the recall of the Parliament of Paris took place amid the unbounded acclamations of the people. On holding the bed of justice, the King declared to the Parliament, "that he was determined to preserve his authority in all its plenitude, and that he expected they would give to his subjects an example of submission." A powerful party immediately arose at the court, of which the Queen, a woman of high spirit, was considered as the head. This faction burned with a desire to avenge the disgraces of the last war; and the Americans received strong encouragement to persist in their resistance to England. The Queen also was believed to be actuated by an ardent desire of advancing the interests of the House of Austria. The views, however, of M. de Maurepas, were assidiously directed to the extension of Commerce, and the re-establishment of the French marine. That union of counsels which, since the æra of the family compact, had marked the politics of the Bourbon courts still subsisted. To consolidate the friendship of the two crowns, the late King of France had made an entire cession of the province of Louisiana.

The Spanish discontents, prevailing since the accession of the reigning monarch, and which at length burst forth, were appeased by the dismission of the Marquis de Squillacio, and the other Neapolitans who had accompanied the King from Italy; and the attention of the court of Madrid had been for some years much occupied with the means of effecting the expulsion of the Jesuits from the kingdom; which was ultimately effected, under circumstances of great cruelty. The other branches of the house of Bourbon, (France, Naples, and Parma,) followed the example set by Spain; and this once famous Order now found themselves in almost every country the objects of reproach, hatred, and persecution. Pressing solicitations were made by the Catholic powers to the Pope Clement XIII. for the utter abolition of this Order; but the Holy Father persisted in refusal. At length, oppressed with years, grief, and infirmities, this inflexible pontiff sunk into his grave; and the famous Ganganelli, who assumed the name of Clement XIV. was elected, (May 1769,) his successor. The pontificate of Ganganelli was rendered memorable by the abolition of the Order of the Jesuits, in virtue of a bull, issued in 1773, charging them with having adopted opinions scandalous, contrary to good morals, and of dangerous import to the church and all Christian states. Ganganelli died in 1774, much beloved and regretted, and not without suspicion of poison.

During the war which had commenced between Russia and Turkey, a grand object was formed by the courts of Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Berlin, originally suggested by the King of Prussia, for the partition of Poland. On the accession of the Empress of Russia to the conspiracy of sovereigns, manifestoes were published (1772) by all these powers, stating their claims and pretensions to such provinces as happened to be most commodious for their purpose, and lying contiguous to their own territories. To Russia was allotted the whole country westward of the rivers Dwina and Nieper. The emperor seized upon a vast tract of land, extending from the frontiers of Moravia to the province of Volhynia, and situated in a direct course to the northward of Hungary and Transylvania, on which the pompous appellations were bestowed of the kingdoms of Gallicia and Ludomiria. The whole of Royal Prussia, with some adjoining districts of Great Poland, fell to the share of the King of Prussia. In vain did the King and diet of Poland protest against these unheard of claims and extravagant pretensions. The diet was in the end compelled to ratify these claims. At this time, a grand alliance, projected by the cabinet of Versailles, between the courts of Versailles, London, Madrid, and Turin, to counterbalance that subsisting between the courts of St. Petersburgh, Vienna, and Berlin, not meeting with encouragement from England, perished in embryo.

Frederic V. King of Denmark, died January 1766, and was succeeded by his son Christian VII. who in a few months after his accession espoused the Princess Carolina Matilda, youngest sister of the King of England. In 1768, the young King arrived in England, where he was entertained with great magnificence. Thence he passed into France and Germany, and did not return to Denmark till 1769. The apparent weakness and incapacity of the King, sufficiently showed that he had gained no useful knowledge by his travels. Struensee, a certain German physician, who had attended the King abroad, had acquired an ascendency over him, and being created a count, was placed at the head of affairs; the Ministers of the late King, Counts Bernstorf, Holke, &c. having been disgraced. Struensee attempted to introduce many innovations, which rendered him extremely odious. The credit in which he stood with the Queen also gave rise to imputations unfavourable to her Majesty's character. At length, by an extraordinary revolution, conducted by the Queen Dowager and her son Prince Frederic, Struensee and his chief adherents were arrested under the sanction of a warrant compulsorily signed by the King; and (January 1772) the Queen herself was committed close prisoner to the castle of Cronenburg. Struensee suffered on a public scaffold; and the Queen was allowed, through the interposition of England, to retire from the Danish dominions, and found an asylum in the city of Zell, where, after residing some years, she died in obscurity and neglect.

High disputes had for many years subsisted between the King of Sweden and the Senate. At length, the King died, early in the year 1771, and was succeeded by his son Gustavus the Third, then absent at the court of Versailles. On his return to Sweden, he passed some days at Berlin, where the project of a revolution in the government of Sweden was undoubtedly concerted. By a system of artful management, he soon effected the establishment of a new constitution, by one of the articles of which the King was vested with the power of assembling and dissolving the States at pleasure; by another, he was to have the sole disposal of the army, the navy, the finances, and all employments civil and military; by a third, all existing taxes were made perpetual; and the King, in case of pressing necessity, might impose new taxes till the States should be assembled: by a fourth, the States, when assembled, were to deliberate only on those questions which the King thought proper to refer to them. Thus was a revolution accomplished, which converted one of the most limited monarchies in Europe into one of the most absolute, without shedding a single drop of blood.

reduced

reduced by hardship and disease, and despairing of success, had already begun their retreat, abandoning their baggage, artillery, and stores, and directing their march towards Sorel, which they soon reached in a miserable condition. By the end of May, all the reinforcements having arrived from England, a great force was collected in Canada, the general rendezvous of which was appointed at Trois Rivieres, half way between Montreal and Quebec, about ninety miles apart. General Burgoyne, second in command, had orders to pursue the continental army up the Sorel to St. John's. This post was now abandoned by the Americans, who retreated in confusion to Isle aux Noix, and thence to Crown Point. Montreal, and Chamblee had been also evacuated, and the garrisons with difficulty avoided being entirely cut off. The Americans, however, remained masters of Lake Champlain.

A squadron, commanded by Sir Peter Parker, with about 3000 land forces on board, sailed from Cork in February, and on the 3d of May, anchored off Cape Fear, where the Admiral was joined by General Clinton. Finding that nothing could be attempted in Virginia, it was determined to attack the city of Charlestown. On the 28th of June, the Bristol and Experiment, of 50 guns each, supported by several smaller ships, had with some difficulty crossed the bar, and advanced to the attack of the fort on Sullivan's Island, constructed of the palmetto, a soft spongy wood, in which a ball can make no extended fracture. A furious cannonade, from the shipping, was returned with equal fury and more effect from the fort; the ships were almost torn to pieces; the slaughter was dreadful; and, in consequence of the military force not being able to get up, the ships drew off, the design on Charlestown was abandoned, and Sir Peter Parker sailed for New York.

The delegates of all the Thirteen Colonies having at length assembled in General Congress, the Declaration of Independence was solemnly promulgated on the 4th of July, 1776.*

The great naval and military force now collected against America was intrusted to Lord Howe and his brother. His Lordship, anxious to obtain an enlargement of his powers as commissioner, to effect his favourite purpose of pacification, did not leave England till May, and he then directed his course for Halifax, where he arrived in June; but found, by a letter left for him, that his brother, the General, had already departed for New York; to which place he instantly proceeded without coming to an anchor, and reached Staten Island, the head-quarters of the General, on the 12th of July. There, he was informed of the Declaration of Independence. Adjutant-General Paterson was soon afterwards deputed by General Howe with a message to General Washington, stating, that the commissioners were invested with great powers, and that they would derive the greatest pleasure from effecting an accommodation. General Washington replied, "that, by what had transpired, their powers extended merely to the granting of pardon; that those who had been guilty of no fault wanted no pardon; and that they were only defending what they deemed their indisputable rights." Both sides now prepared seriously for action; General Howe found himself at the head of 30,000 veteran troops, supported by a formidable fleet. On the 22d of August, the whole army having re-embarked, was safely landed on the south-western extremity of Long Island, on the opposite side of which, in view of the island and city of New York, lay encamped, near the village of Brooklyn, a large body of Americans commanded by General Sullivan. General Howe, having formed his plan, stationed General Grant at the head of the left wing, in a position to guard the coast, and, if practicable, to force a passage through the Narrows. The intermediate time having been occupied in skirmishes, in which the Americans were great sufferers, a general action commenced early on the morning of the 27th, by a warm cannonade on the right of the American lines, from the Generals de Heister and Grant; the ships of war in the mean time attacking a battery at Red Hook, in the rear of the American encampment, in order to call off their attention from the left centre, where the real danger lay. The Americans, suddenly attacked by General Clinton in the rear, were thrown into the utmost confusion; and, in the effort to retreat back to the lines of Brooklyn, great numbers were killed or taken prisoners: among the latter were General Sullivan and ten other field officers, and many were drowned or suffocated in attempting to pass the marsh. A signal victory was thus obtained with inconsiderable loss; and such was the ardour of the British troops, that scarcely could they be restrained from storming the American lines, which might then, in all probability, have been quickly forced, in the consternation occasioned by the loss of the battle. No hope remained for the Americans but in a retreat, which was in the succeeding night effected, under cover of a thick fog; General Washington having crossed over in person, and taken the conduct of the whole. When the fog cleared up, the last boats of the Americans were seen passing the river, but out of the reach of the English batteries; and General Howe derived no other advantage from his victory than the acquisition of the deserted works of Brooklyn. Soon after this affair, General Sullivan was sent upon parole, with a message from Lord Howe to the Congress, importing, that, though he could not then treat with them in a legal character, he was desirous of conferring with some of the members of that assembly in their individual capacity. The Congress replied, that "being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, they could not with propriety send any of their members to confer with his Lordship in their private characters; but that ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body, to know whether he had any authority to treat with persons authorised by Congress, and what that authority was." Dr. Franklin, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, accordingly met Lord Howe upon Staten Island, September 14, where they were entertained by his Lordship with great politeness; but the conference proved fruitless. No suspension of arms having taken place, several ships of war had been sent up the East and North rivers, which wash the coast of the peninsula, at the extremity of which the city of New York is situated. General Washington's army being stationed, partly in the environs of the city and partly at Kingsbridge, on the isthmus which connects the peninsula with the continent, apprehensions were entertained

* This Declaration commences with the acknowledgement, "That respect to the opinions of mankind requires, that, when in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation; and they assert the unalterable right of the people, whenever government becomes destructive of those ends for which it is instituted, to form a new government on principles most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they have been accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States." They proceed to enumerate the particulars of his Majesty's conduct in relation to America; and in conclusion they say, "In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. We, therefore, the representatives of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intention, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States, and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and in support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

tertained

tertained that the English General, by landing his forces in the centre, would cut off the communication between them. A resolution was therefore taken, to evacuate the city; and on the landing of the British forces, the Americans retreated with precipitation and some loss to Kingsbridge, where they had erected strong works. Great part of the army had re-embarked, and again landed near West Chester, with a view to gain the rear of General Washington's encampment, and to surround him. The American commander, immediately decamping with his whole army, took a new and strong position at White Plains, the deep river Brunx covering his front, and the North River flowing at some distance in the rear. On the 28th of October the royal army advanced in two columns within cannon-shot of the American lines; and, in the night of the 1st of November, General Washington drew off his troops, and took another and still stronger position, amidst the woods and high lands bordering on the North Castle district. General Howe then made a sudden movement towards Kingsbridge, and unexpectedly invested Fort Washington, a strong post on the North River. The commander of the fortress refusing to surrender, it was by a vigorous assault carried sword in hand, and more than 2000 men made prisoners of war. General Washington, who had passed the North River, with a view to the protection of the province of Jersey, was now compelled to retreat with a diminished force to Newark, whence he fell back on the approach of Lord Cornwallis to Brunswick, leaving Newark the very morning that his Lordship entered it. His Lordship pursued him to the banks of the Delawar, where a cessation of the pursuit became indispensible, as no boats could be procured for transporting the troops over that great river.

General Lee, at the head of a considerable body of troops, had followed Lord Cornwallis, but at too great a distance to be of any service to the commander-in-chief. While he lay carelessly at a place called Basking-ridge, Colonel Harcourt formed a plan for capturing this officer, who was stiled by the English army "the American Palladium." This project was carried into execution, with such address and activity that the General was seized by a party of light horse, conducted by the Colonel in the night of the 13th of December, and carried safely off to the British camp, though several guarded posts and armed patroles lay in their way. His capture caused great exultation, and he was confined in the closest manner.*

General Clinton, with a body of troops, and a squadron of men of war, was detached to the attack of Rhode island, which was immediately abandoned, on the very day that General Washington crossed the Delawar.

At this period, the affairs of America were considered to be in a very critical situation. Early, however, in the morning of December the 26th, a day selected on the supposition that the Christmas festivity might favour the project of surprise, General Washington crossed the Delawar, though with extreme difficulty, from the quantity of ice in the river, nine miles above Trenton, and began his march in the midst of a storm of snow and hail at the head of an army not exceeding 3000 in number, and reaching Trenton by day-break. Here about 1600 men were stationed, chiefly Hessians, under the command of Colonel Rahl, who, unsuspicious of danger, were thrown into confusion at the first attack. Colonel Rahl himself was mortally wounded, the disorder increased, and, abandoning their artillery, they attempted to make their retreat to Prince-town. Finding resistance and escape equally impracticable, the three regiments of Rahl, Lossberg, and Knyphausen, surrendered themselves prisoners of war—the remainder of the troops retreating with difficulty by way of Bordenton. General Washington then repassed the Delawar, carrying with him the prisoners, their artillery, and colours, and entered the city of Philadelphia in triumph. In consequence of this success, great numbers of the Americans, who had deserted their colours, again repaired to the standard of their commander, who soon found himself at the head of a considerable army, in a condition once more to cross the Delawar; and Lord Cornwallis, who was actually at New York on his way to England, found himself under a necessity of returning to the defence of the Jerseys. Approaching the American army, strongly posted near the town of Trenton, he made immediate dispositions for an attack; but in the dead of night (January 2, 1777) General Washington silently withdrew his troops, leaving fires burning in his camp, to deceive the enemy, and by a circuitous march arrived by sun-rise at Prince-town. Lord Cornwallis, finding himself out-manœuvred, abandoned his camp, and retired to Brunswick.

On the 19th of September the commissioners of the crown had caused a proclamation to be published, promising in his Majesty's name a revision of all such instructions as might be construed to lay an improper restraint on the freedom of legislation in the colonies, and also to concur in the revisal of such acts by the operation of which they might think themselves aggrieved. In October, the inhabitants of New York, then in the possession of the English, presented a petition to the commissioners, signed by 946 names, declaring their allegiance to the King, and their acknowledgment of the constitutional supremacy of Great Britain, and praying to be restored to his Majesty's peace and protection. This petition was followed by another from Queen's County, in Long Island. On the 30th of November another proclamation was published by the commissioners, offering a pardon and indemnity to all persons who should, within the space of sixty days, surrender themselves to any of his Majesty's general officers, Admirals, &c. and suscribe a declaration of loyalty and obedience. This proclamation was issued during the success attending the royal arms, and many persons consequently subscribed to the declaration.

Congress removed their session from Philadelphia to Baltimore in Maryland, where "they declared the property of the subjects of Great Britain taken on the high seas to be lawful prize; they resolved upon raising eighty-eight battalions to serve during the war; they nominated three of their body, of whom Dr. Franklin was one, commissioners to the court of Versailles, to solicit aid and assistance, and to propose the plan of a treaty of friendship, commerce, and alliance; they enlarged the powers of their general, vesting in him a kind of dictatorial authority for the space of six months; and they resolved that all bills of credit emitted by Congress should pass current in all transactions, and whoever refused to receive the same in the common course of payment should be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America, and should be treated accordingly."

Parliament assembled on the 31st of October, when the King informed the two Houses, "That so daring and desperate was the spirit of those leaders, whose object has only been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with this country; they have rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them, and have presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies as independent states. If their treason be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it to the present system of all Europe." His Majesty further informed them, "That the successes already obtained had been so important as to give the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences; but, notwithstanding this fair prospect, it was necessary, at all events, to prepare for another campaign." Addresses, the echo of the speech, were moved in both Houses; but an amendment was moved by Lord John Cavendish in the Commons, and by the Marquis of Rockingham in the Lords, containing a recapitulation of what were termed the manifold errors of that system which had caused the entire alienation, and at length the open revolt, of so large a part of his Majesty's once loyal and affectionate

* An offer being made by the Congress to exchange six field officers for the General, it was answered, that General Lee, being a deserter from his Majesty's service, did not come under the denomination of a prisoner of war, nor was he entitled to the benefits of the cartel; and the menace of retaliation alone prevented their proceeding to the last extremity against him.

subjects. On a division, however, the amendment was rejected in the Commons by 242 against 87; and in the Peers by 91 against 26. Soon afterwards, Lord John Cavendish exhibited in the House a printed paper, purporting to be a proclamation of his Majesty's commissioners in America, and called upon ministers to inform him as to its authenticity; which having been immediately admitted, his Lordship moved, "that the House should resolve itself into a committee to consider of the revisal of all acts of Parliament by which his Majesty's subjects in America think themselves aggrieved." Ministers alledged, that the paper in question was not of sufficient moment to be laid before Parliament, being no treaty nor part of a treaty, but barely a preliminary which might possibly lead to one; and, after a long and violent debate, the motion was negatived by a considerable majority. From this time many of the opposition, especially of the Rockingham party, absented themselves from the House.

After the recess Lord North introduced a bill "To enable his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with or suspected of the crime of high treason committed in America, or on the high seas." With such negligence was this bill framed, that, by the enacting clauses the crown was enabled, at its pleasure, to commit any person resident in any part of the British dominions to custody, without bail or main-prize, under his Majesty's sign manual, in any place of confinement situated in Great Britain or elsewhere. The minister, however, who appeared not to have been apprised of the nature of the bill, frankly and explicitly disavowed all design of extending its operation beyond its open and avowed objects. The bill was consequently amended before it passed.

On the 9th of April, the King informed the House of the difficulties which he laboured under from the debts incurred by expences of the civil government, amounting, on the 5th of January preceding, to upwards of 600,000*l.* The minister consequently moved, "That the sum of 618,000*l.* be granted, to enable his Majesty to discharge the debts of the civil government; and that the sum of 100,000*l.* per annum, over and above the sum of 800,000*l.* be granted as a farther provision for the same." A debate of some warmth ensued; but the motion was carried without difficulty, in both Houses. The Speaker of the House of Commons, on presenting the bill a few days afterwards, for the royal assent, addressed his Majesty in the following terms:—"In a time, Sire, of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents labouring under burders almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful Commons, postponing all other business, have not only granted to your Majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue, great beyond example, great beyond your Majesty's highest expence; but all this, Sire, they have done in the well grounded confidence, that you will apply wisely what they have granted liberally." The King was little pleased with this unexpected liberty. On the return of the Speaker, the thanks of the House were immediately voted him. Mr. Rigby, however, in a subsequent debate, arraigned the conduct of the Speaker, as conveying little less than an insult on the King, and as equally misrepresenting the sense of Parliament and the state of the nation. The Speaker appealed to the vote of thanks which had been passed, as a proof that he had not been guilty of the misrepresentation imputed to him; and the minister expressed a wish that the subject might not be farther discussed. Mr. Fox declared, "That a serious and direct charge having been brought, the question was now at issue. Either the Speaker had misrepresented the sense of the House, or he had not. He should therefore, in order to bring this question to a properand final decision, move, "that the Speaker of the House, in his speech to his Majesty at the bar of the House of Peers, did express, with just and proper energy, the sentiments of this House." The Speaker himself declared, "that he would sit no longer in that chair than he was supported in the free exercise of his duty. He had discharged what he conceived to be his duty, intending only to express the sense of the House; and from the vote of approbation with which he had been honoured, he had reason to believe he was not chargeable with any misrepresentation." Ministers, in pressing terms, now recommended the withdrawment of the motion; but this was positively refused. Mr. Rigby moved for the House to adjourn; but, as it appeared sensible of the degradation which its dignity must sustain from any affront offered to the chair, Mr. Rigby in some degree conceded, professing, "That he meant no reflection upon the character of the Speaker, but that what he had said was the mere expression of his private opinion, and the result of that freedom of speech which was the right and privilege of every member of that House, without respect of persons; and that, if what he had advanced was not agreeable to the sense of that House, he would readily withdraw his motion of adjournment." Mr. Fox's motion was then unanimously carried; and the thanks of the House were voted to the Speaker for his conduct in this affair.

On the 30th of May, towards the close of the session, Lord Chatham went down to the House of Peers, wrapped in flannel, and bearing a crutch in each hand. He presented himself, thus oppressed with infirmities, for the purpose of moving their Lordships, who had been previously summoned, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to advise his Majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to the present unnatural war against the colonies, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances.* The Peers in administration denied any danger from France, and asserted, that "the assistance given to the Americans proceeded neither from the court nor the ministers,

* "The present motion," said his Lordship, "will open the way for treaty. It will be the harbinger of peace, and will convince the Americans, that Parliament is sincerely disposed to reconciliation. We have tried for unconditional submission—let us now try what can be gained by unconditional redress. The door of mercy has been hitherto shut against them: you have ransacked every corner of Germany for boors and ruffians to invade and ravage their country; for to conquer it, my Lords, is impossible—you cannot do it. I may as well pretend to drive them before me with this crutch. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises, but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment. But were it practicable, by a long continued course of success, to conquer America, the holding it in subjection afterwards will be utterly impossible. No benefit can be derived from that country to this, but by the good will and pure affection of the inhabitants: this is not to be gained by force of arms; their affection is only to be recovered by reconciliation and justice. If ministers are founded in saying, that no engagements are entered into by America with France, there is yet a moment left; the point of honour is still safe; a few weeks may decide our fate as a nation. Were America suffered to form a treaty with France, we should not only lose the immense advantages resulting from the vast and increasing commerce of our colonies, but those advantages would be thrown into the hands of our hereditary enemy. America, my Lords is now contending with Great Britain under a masked battery of France, which will open as she perceives this country to be sufficiently weakened by the contest. France will not lose so fair an opportunity of separating for ever America from this kingdom. This is the critical moment—for such a treaty must and will take place, should pacification be delayed; and war between England and France is not the less probable because professions of amity continue to be made. It would be folly in France to declare it now, while America gives full employment to our arms, and is pouring into her lap her wealth and produce. While the trade of Great Britain languishes, while her taxes increase, and her revenues diminish, France is securing and drawing to herself that commerce which is the basis of your power. My motion was stated generally, that I might leave the question at large to the wisdom of your Lordships. But, my Lords, I will tell you fairly what I wish for—I wish for a repeal of every oppressive act passed since 1763: I would put America precisely on the footing she stood at that period. If it be asked, why should we submit to concede? I will tell you, my Lords: because you have been the aggressors from the beginning: you ought, therefore, to make the first overture. I say again, my Lords, you have been the aggressors, you have made descents upon their coasts, you have burned their towns, plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiscated their property, proscribed and imprisoned their persons;—you have injured, oppressed, and endeavoured to enslave them. America is therefore entitled to redress. Let, then, reparation come from the hand that inflicted the injuries; let conciliation succeed to oppression: and I maintain, that Parliament will again recover its authority; that his Majesty will be once more enthroned in the hearts of his subjects; and that your Lordships, as contributing to so great, benignant, and glorious an event, will receive the prayers and benedictions of every part of the British empire."

but

but from the spirit of military enterprise and commercial adventure; and finally, that the motion arraigned, in the most improper terms, measures which had received the sanction of Parliament." The motion was negatived, by 99 against 28.

On the 7th of June, Parliament was prorogued; his Majesty expressing his entire approbation of their conduct.*

The American campaign of this year commenced at an early period of the spring, with varied success; but, by some unaccounted-for contingency, the British army, at New York, was not able to take the field till June, for want of tents and camp equipage. General Howe at length passed over into the Jerseys, determined, if possible, to bring the American commander to a general action; but on approaching his camp at Middlebrook, it was found inaccessible, from the nature of its situation and its artificial defences; and finally, the English General was under the necessity of evacuating the Jerseys, without effecting a single object of his expedition. Great preparations were next made for an important naval effort; and, on the 23d of July the whole army, excepting a sufficient force for the defence of New York, embarked, and after a long and tedious voyage, were landed at the head of Chesapeak Bay. General Washington, who had long been kept in suspense as to the destination of the British army, had recently passed the Delawar; and he now took possession of the heights on the eastern side of the river Brandywine, which falls into the Delawar below Philadelphia. Early on the 11th of September the English advanced in two columns; both of which were, in a considerable degree successful; the first forcing the passage of the ford, and the latter surprising and routing the right wing of the enemy. General Washington consequently retreated towards Philadelphia; but, on the advance of General Howe, he withdrew; the English army passed the Schuylkil without opposition; and, on the 26th of September, entered Philadelphia in triumph, the Congress having previously removed their sittings to York-town in Virginia. On the receipt of this intelligence, Lord Howe moved round with the fleet from the Chesapeak to the Delawar, the navigation of which the Americans had endeavoured to render impracticable by various works and batteries; and, across the mid-channel they had sunk several vast machines composed of transverse beams firmly united and pointing in various directions, strongly headed with iron. The head-quarters of the British army at this time were at German-town, six miles from Philadelphia. General Washington, who was posted about sixteen miles off, on the banks of the Schuylkil, thinking this a favourable opportunity of attack, decamped in the evening of the 3d of October, and arrived at three the next morning at German-town. Colonel Musgrave's regiment, which was first attacked, made so gallant a resistance, that the whole army had time to form; and Major-General Grey bringing up the left wing by a rapid and seasonable movement, the Americans were forced to act on the defensive, and, after a long conflict in darkness and confusion, they were compelled to retreat.

On the 22d of October, an attempt was made, by a corps of Hessians, to storm the fortress of Red Bank, on the Delawar; but they were repulsed with great slaughter, their leader having been mortally wounded. A fierce attack was at the same time made by the shipping on the works of Fort Island, on the opposite bank, on which they made little impression; and the Augusta man of war, and Merlin sloop, in endeavouring to avoid the chevaux-de-frize, or iron-shod beams, in the mid-channel, were stranded. The Augusta by accident was blown up. On the 15th of November the attack was renewed, the works were nearly demolished, and the garrison retired in the night across the river to Red Bank, which was also soon afterwards evacuated. The free navigation of the river was now restored; but the season for military action had elapsed, and no further enterprise of moment was attempted during the remainder of the campaign.

Subsequently to the evacuation of Canada by the Americans, in the summer of the preceding year, great exertions were made by the English to acquire a naval superiority on Lake Champlain.† Early on the 11th of October (1776,) the English flotilla proceeding up the Lake, discovered the enemy's squadron drawn up in a line. A warm action ensued, in which the Americans were entirely defeated; and General Arnold was under the necessity of setting fire to his own ship, to prevent her falling into the hands of the English. Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, a few of the enemy's small vessels only making their escape to Ticonderoga, where they concentrated their force. General Carleton went into winter cantonments in Canada.

Of the Indians in his service, he had made but little use, and they were now dismissed on a general promise of returning when called for. On this, or on some other account, offence was taken at his conduct, and he was superseded in the command by General Burgoyne, who arrived in America, early in the spring of 1777.

General Burgoyne proceeded up Lake Champlain, and landed a little to the northward of Crown Point, where he met the Indians in Congress, and in compliance with their customs gave them a war feast. After a short stay, the army proceeded under convoy of the shipping on the Lake to Ticonderoga, a post of great natural strength, which had been rendered famous by the disastrous attack made upon it by General Abercrombie in the preceding war. On the first approach of the English, however, it was suddenly evacuated, (on the night of the 5th of July) by direction of the Commander-General St. Clair, leaving behind them their artillery, provisions, and stores. The flight of the enemy was no sooner discovered, than preparations were made for a vigorous pursuit. The main body of the Americans was quickly overtaken and entirely defeated by General Frazer; and their remaining naval forces, which had rendezvoused at Skenesborough, were destroyed by General Burgoyne. The fugitives retreated with the utmost precipitation to Fort Edward, on the North of Hudson's River, where General Schuyler, Commander-in-Chief of the American northern army, had fixed his head-quarters. The English, elated at the successes which had hitherto attended them, now exerted indefatigable industry in clearing the Wood Creek, (a continuation of Lake Champlain) from the obstacles which impeded the passage of the batteaux; and in conveying gun-boats, provision-vessels, and batteaux, over land into Lake George.‡ Their heavy train of artillery, however, was a great incumbrance, and it was

* In the course of the session, a memorial had been delivered by Sir Joseph Yorke, ambassador at the Hague, to the States General, in which his Excellency declared, "That the King, his master, had hitherto borne with unexampled patience the irregular conduct of the subjects of their High Mightinesses, in their interested commerce at St. Eustatia, as also in America." His Excellency then proceeded to state, "That M. Van Graaf, Governor of St. Eustatia, had permitted the seizure of an English vessel, by an American pirate, within cannon shot of the island; and that he had returned from the fortress of his government the salute of a rebel flag." The ambassador concluded with demanding, "a formal disavowal of the salute by Fort Orange, at St. Eustatia, to the rebel ship, and the dismission and immediate recall of the Governor Van Graaf;" declaring, that "until such satisfaction shall be given, they are not to expect that his Majesty will suffer himself to be amused by mere assurances, or that he will delay one instant to take such measures as he shall think due to the interest and dignity of his crown." The States, offended at the language of this memorial, gave no answer to the ambassador, but ordered their resident in London, to deliver into the King of England's own hand a counter-memorial, in which they complain of the menacing tone that reigns throughout that of the English court: adding, however, "That from the sole motive of demonstrating their regard to his Majesty, they have actually dispatched orders to M. de Graaf to surrender himself within the republic without delay, in order to give the necessary information respecting his conduct; nor do they scruple to disavow, in the most express manner, any act or mark of honour which may have been given by their officers to any vessels belonging to the colonies of America, so far as it may imply a recognition of American independence." The King declared himself satisfied with these concessions; but considerable coolness from this time subsisted between the two powers.

† The naval fleets were commanded by land officers; General Carleton and General Arnold.

‡ From Fort Anne, at the extremity of the Wood Creek, where the

was not till the 30th of July, that General Burgoyne fixed his head-quarters at Fort Edward, whence the Americans had retired to Saratoga. On the 15th of August, he had only four days' provisions in store; and, understanding that a large magazine was collected at Bennington, twenty miles to the eastward of Hudson's River, for the use of the enemy, he detached Colonel Baum, at the head of about five hundred men, to surprise the place: moving himself with the whole army, up the eastern shore of Hudson's River, and encamping nearly opposite to Saratoga. Colonel Baum finding his destination discovered, and his force insufficient, took post near Bennington, whence he communicated intelligence of his situation to General Burgoyne, who dispatched Colonel Breyman to his assistance. Baum, however, was surrounded, defeated, and taken, before the arrival of Breyman; who, in turn, was routed, with heavy loss. In the interim, Colonel St. Leger, who commanded a separate corps on the Mohawk River, and had, in conjunction with Colonel Johnson and a body of Indians, invested Fort Stanwix, was compelled to raise the siege, and to leave behind him his artillery, stores, &c.

About this time, General Gates superseded General Schuyler in the command of the northern army; and the spirits of the colonists being raised by their late successes and the long inaction of General Burgoyne, a formidable and increasing army was collected in the vicinity of Still Water, on the western bank of Hudson's River, southward of Saratoga. Notwithstanding the present unpromising prospect, General Burgoyne having now about thirty days' provision in store, resolved to pass the river, which he effected about the middle of September, and encamped on the heights of Saratoga. As he advanced along the western bank of the river, he found the country covered with thick woods and intersected with creeks, which made a continual repair of bridges necessary. At length, on the 19th of September, he was attacked near Still Water by the Americans: the action lasted from noon till sun-set, when the King's troops were left in possession of the field. They lay all night on their arms, and in the morning they took a position in front of the enemy's camp, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left to the banks of the river. General Burgoyne received a letter from General Clinton, informing him of his design to make a diversion in his favour, which he, in reply, urged the immediate performance of. Early in October, General Clinton, at the head of about 4000 troops, accordingly proceeded up the North River to Forts Montgomery and Constitution, which he reduced. He afterwards broke an immense boom and chain extending from shore to shore, and burnt several ships and armed vessels lying in the river; also destroyed many desirable mansions on the banks, and the whole of the beautiful village of Esopus.* It was now unquestionably in his power to proceed without interruption to Albany; but the loss which he had sustained in the midst of his successes, and the apprehension that his communication with New York would be in the end cut off, probably induced him to return, and the northern army was left to its fate. A considerable hostile force had now formed in the rear of General Burgoyne, which, making itself master of the posts on Lake George, effectually cut off all supplies of provisions and stores, in that direction. General Burgoyne found it necessary to lessen the rations of the soldiers. On the 7th of October, a detachment of 1500 men, conducted by the General himself, made a movement to the right, to discover if there were any means of forcing a passage. The detachment, however, was vigorously assailed, and compelled to retreat with great loss, General Frazer having been killed in the action. Perceiving the lines weakened by this movement, the Americans fell with the utmost fury on the left and centre of the British army. General Arnold, who commanded the attack, was severely wounded, and obliged to retire. Night at length put an end to the conflict, but not before the German entrenchment had been carried sword in hand, and a lodgment made which left every other quarter of the camp dangerously exposed. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to take a new position; and, amidst the darkness and horrors of this fatal night, the whole army retreated in mournful silence to the heights in the rear of the encampment which they had formerly occupied.

Next day, General Burgoyne continued his retreat to Saratoga, where, on his arrival, he found the passes in possession of the enemy. All resources having been cut off, the distressing necessity became apparent, of proposing terms of capitulation. A convention was accordingly concluded, by which it was agreed, that "the British army should march out of camp with the honours of war, and then lay down their arms; and be allowed a free embarkation from Boston to Europe, upon condition of not serving again in America during the present war." Such was the fate of an army, consisting, at its departure from Canada, of above 10,000 men, but now reduced to little more than half its original number. The whole plan and conduct of this campaign were most severely censured; and, as it has been justly observed, "the catastrophe of Saratoga will afford irrefragable demonstrations, that Lord George Germaine was as little to be dreaded in the cabinet as Lord George Sackville had been in the field."

Parliament assembled on the 20th of November. The King's speech betrayed no symptoms of dejection; but his Majesty "intimated the necessity of preparing for such farther operations as the contingencies of the war and the obstinacy of the rebels might render expedient. He expressed his determination steadily to pursue the measures in which they were engaged, and his hope that the deluded and unhappy multitude would finally return to their allegiance."—In the Commons, the Marquis of Granby moved an amendment to the address, recommending measures of accommodation, and an immediate cessation of hostilities, as necessary for accomplishing so desirable a purpose. This was negatived by 243 against 86. In the Upper House, Lord Chatham moved an amendment of similar import to that of Lord Granby, which he supported with all his accustomed energy and eloquence; notwithstanding which, it was negatived, by 97 against 28. A fortnight afterwards, Mr. Fox moved for an inquiry into the state of the nation, in which the minister professed his cordial acquiescence; but a previous motion, for certain papers, to elucidate the subject, was negatived, through the influence of the minister, by 178 against 89; although, upon the motion of the Duke of Richmond, in the other House, on the same day, the required papers were granted. On the following day (December 3) the disclosure of the melancholy catastrophe at Saratoga took place; when, after a period of silent astonishment and consternation, a torrent of invective, accompanied by taunts the most bitter and sarcastic, was poured forth by the leaders of the opposition against the ministers, whose pride, ignorance, and incapacity, they averred, had occasioned a more signal disgrace and calamity than had ever before, in the most disastrous war, befallen the British arms. Mr. Fox denounced the minister as "a political Sangrado. Bleeding was his only prescription for all ills. Should mortal symptoms appear in the body politic in consequence of this regimen, still this state empiric will persist in crying out for more blood, merely because he has staked his reputation on the assertion that this is the only effectual remedy." Lord North dejectedly acknowledged "that he had indeed been unfortunate,

the batteaux navigation ends, to Fort Edward, a distance scarcely exceeding twenty miles, the difficulties attending the march of the army were inconceivably great. In this short space they had no fewer than forty bridges to construct, one of which was over a morass two miles in extent, and the roads were every where obstructed by large timber trees laid across with their branches interwoven.

* "The flames from the frigates and galleys," observes Stedman, in his History of the American war "suddenly bursting forth, as every sail was set, the vessels soon became magnificent pyramids of fire. The reflection on the steep face of the opposite mountain, and the long train of ruddy light that shone upon the water for a prodigious distance, had a wonderful effect; whilst the ear was awfully filled with the continued echoes from the rocky shores as the flames gradually reached the cannon. The whole was sublimely terminated by the explosions, which again left all to darkness."

fortunate, but that his intentions were ever just and upright; that he had originally been, in a manner forced into an office which he would most willingly and gladly resign, could his resignation facilitate the obtaining that peace and reconciliation for which he had ever earnestly wished."

On the 5th of December, the Earl of Chatham moved, "that an address be presented to his Majesty, to cause the proper officers to lay before the House copies of all orders and instructions to General Burgoyne, relative to the late expedition from Canada."* The motion having been negatived, his Lordship next moved, "that all orders and treaties relative to the employment of the Indian savages be laid before the House." Lord Gower opposed the motion; asserting, "that the noble Lord had himself employed savages without scruple in the operations of the last war." Lord Chatham prereniptorily denied this charge, and challenged the ministers, if any such instructions of his were to be found, to produce them. Lord Amherst reluctantly admitted that Indians had been employed on both sides—the French employed them first, he said, and we followed their example; but, that he had been authorised to take them into his Majesty service by instructions from the ministers, his Lordship would not affirm. The motion was disposed of by the previous question; and, a few days afterwards, Parliament adjourned to the 20th of January, 1778.

A. D. 1778.] Soon after the recess, the ministry having, in the interim, formed a determination to prosecute the war with renewed energy, the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Fox, resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation. After taking a retrospective view of the whole conduct of the present administration respecting America, the measures which led to the war, and the manner in which it had been prosecuted, Mr. Fox moved, as a resolution of the committee, "that an address should be presented to his Majesty, beseeching his Majesty that no part of the national force in these kingdoms, or in the garrisons of Gibraltar or Minorca, should be sent to America." Greatly to the surprise of the public, no debate ensued, no reply was made; but the motion was negatived by 259 against 165; the minority being larger than any that had before appeared in this Parliament.

Mr. Burke soon afterwards moved for the papers relative to the employment of the Indians; reprobating the measure as replete with disgrace and infamy. After a long debate, the motion was negatived by 223 against 137. Several other motions having also been negatived, Lord North, at length, gave notice that he had digested a plan of conciliation; and, on the 17th of February, he moved for leave to bring in—

"I. A bill for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the colonies and plantations in North America; and,

"II. A bill to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies in America."

In opening his plan, Lord North acknowledged, that "he had always known that American taxation could never produce a beneficial revenue—that it was not his policy to tax them, but that he had found them taxed when he unfortunately came into administration—and that he could not possibly suspect the regulation he had introduced in relation to the tea-duty could have been productive of such fatal consequences. With respect to the coercive acts, they had appeared necessary to remedy the distempers of the time; the events of war had turned out very differently from what he had a right to expect from the great and well appointed force sent over; but to events, and not expectations, he must make his plan conform. The appointment of five commissioners was in contemplation, who should be enabled to treat with the Congress, "as though it were a legal body;" or with any individuals in their present civil capacities, or military commands;—that they should have a power to order a suspension of arms, to suspend the operations of all laws, and to grant all sorts of pardons. "A preliminary renunciation of Independency would not be required of America, and a contribution in any shape from America was not to be insisted upon as a sine qua non of the treaty. These concessions were founded on reason and propriety; and if the question were asked, Why they had not been sooner proposed? he should reply, that the moment of victory, for which he had anxiously waited, seemed to him the only proper season for offering terms of concession. But though the result of the war had proved unfavourable, he would no longer delay the desirable and necessary work of reconciliation." These propositions were assailed by objections from all quarters. The Tories lamented the degradation which the bills would bring upon the government of this country; insisted that our resources were great and inexhaustible; and bitterly deplored that pusillanimity in our councils, which, after so great an expense of blood and treasure, could submit, not only to give up all the objects of the contest, but to enter into a public treaty with armed rebels, which, after all, would not produce the end proposed. The opposition members expressed their reluctant agreement in the probable truth of this prediction; but they would not, they said, impede or delay the execution of a plan which had conciliation for its object. Mr. Fox was particularly severe. "What censure," he asked, "would be found sufficient, on those ministers who had adjourned Parliament, in order to make a proposition of conciliation, and then neglected to do it until France had concluded a treaty with the United and Independent States of America, and acknowledged them as such? He did not speak from surmise, he had it from authority he could not question, that the treaty he mentioned had been signed in Paris ten days before; he therefore wished that the noble Lord would give the House satisfaction on that interesting point." Lord North reluctantly acknowledged, "that it was but too probable that such a treaty was in agitation, though he had no authority to pronounce absolutely that it was concluded." A direct communication was soon after made, "that a rescript had been delivered by the ambassador of his most Christian Majesty, containing a direct avowal of a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance, recently concluded with America; in consequence of which offensive communication on the part of the court of France, his Majesty had sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from that court; and, relying on the zealous support of his people, he is prepared to exert all the force and resources of his kingdoms, to repel so unprovoked and unjust an aggression." Addresses were voted by both Houses, containing the strongest assurances of assistance and support.†

The Duke of Richmond, at the close of the grand committee

* "A system destructive of all faith and confidence had been introduced," his Lordship affirmed, "within the last fifteen years, at St. James's, by which pliable men, not capable men, had been raised to the highest posts of government. A few obscure persons had obtained an ascendency where no man should have a personal ascendency, and by the most insidious means the nation had been betrayed into a war of which they now reaped the bitter fruits. The spirit of delusion had gone forth; ministers had imposed on the people; Parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition; a visionary phantom of revenue had been conjured up for the basest of purposes, but it was now for ever vanished. The abilities of General Burgoyne were confessed, his personal bravery not surpassed, his zeal in the service unquestionable. He had experienced no pestilence, nor suffered any of the accidents which sometimes supersede the wisest and most spirited exertions of human industry. What then is the cause of his misfortunes?—Want of wisdom in our councils, want of ability in our ministers. The plan of penetrating into the colonies from Canada was a most wild, uncombined, and mad project; and the mode of carrying on the war was the most bloody, barbarous, and ferocious, recorded in the annals of history. The arms of Britain had been sullied and tarnished by blending the scalping knife and tomahawk with the sword and firelock. Such a mode of warfare was a contamination which all the waters of the Hudson and the Delawar would never wash away. It was impossible for America to forget or forgive so horrid an injury."

† A consequent debate in the Lords was remarkable for disclosing an important difference of opinion between the Peers in opposition, respecting the recognition of American Independence. The Rock-

committee of inquiry, moved an address to the King on the state of the nation, recommending immediate recognition of American independance. Lord Chatham, expecting that this point would come under discussion, had resolved, though labouring under heavy corporeal infirmities, to make his appearance in the House, to bear testimony against such recognition.* When the Duke of Richmond had sat down, his Lordship rose, and began by lamenting, "that his bodily infirmities had so long and at so important a crisis prevented his attendance on the duties of Parliament." He declared, that "he had made an effort almost beyond the powers of his constitution, to come down to the House on this day, perhaps the 'last' time he should ever be able to enter its walls, to express the indignation he felt at the idea which he understood was gone forth of yielding up the sovereignty of America. My Lords," said he, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by a load of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my Lords, while I have sense and memory, I never will consent to tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions. Shall a people so lately the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? It is impossible! In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and if peace cannot be preserved with honour, why is not war commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom, but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not.—Any state, my Lords, is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort—and, if we must fall, let us fall like men." The Duke of Richmond professed himself "totally ignorant of the means by which we were to resist with success the combination of America with the House of Bourbon." He urged the noble Lord "to point out any possible mode, if he were able to do it, of making the Americans renounce that Independence of which they they were in possession." His Grace added, that "if 'he' could not, no man could; and that it was not in his power to change his opinion on the noble Lord's authority, unsupported by any reasons, but a recital of the calamities arising from a state of things not in the power of this country now to alter." Lord Chatham, apparently much moved, made an eager effort to rise; but, before he could utter a word, pressing his hand on his bosom, he fell down suddenly in a convulsive fit. The Duke of Cumberland, Lord Temple, and other Lords, caught him in their arms; the House was immediately cleared; his Lordship was carried into an adjoining apartment; and the debate was adjourned. Medical assistance having been obtained, his Lordship in some degree recovered, and was conveyed to his favourite villa of Hayes, in Kent, where, after lingering a short time, he expired on the 11th of May, in his 70th year.†

Towards the close of the session, Sir George Saville obtained leave to bring in a bill "for the repeal of certain penalties imposed by an act passed in the 10th of King William, intituled An Act for preventing the farther Growth of Popery;" which penalties Sir George stated to be, "the punishment of popish priests, or jesuits, as guilty of felony, who should be found to officiate in the services of their church; the forfeiture of estate to the next protestant heir, in case of the education of the Romish possessor abroad; the power given to the son, or other nearest relation, being a Protestant, to take possession of the father's estate during the life-time of the proprietor; and the depriving Papists of the power of acquiring any legal property by purchase." This bill was passed without a single negative.

It was about this time that General Burgoyne returned to England, on his parole; but he experienced a cold and indifferent reception from ministers, and was refused admission to the royal presence. Highly resenting this treatment, he avenged himself by loud complaints of the misconduct of ministers; a mode of retaliation, which contributed little to raise his character in the estimation of the public. He was subsequently ordered to re-join his troops in America, whom the Congress refused to release till the convention of Saratoga should be formally ratified. With this injunction, he refused to comply; and he was therefore divested of all his posts and offices.

Parliament was prorogued on the 3d of June, when thanks were returned by the King, "for the zeal shewn by Parliament in supporting the honour of the crown, and their attention to the real interests of the nation, manifested in the wise, just, and humane laws which have been the result of their deliberations."

Early in the month of June, the new commissioners, Lord Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Johnstone, formerly Governor of Florida, arrived at Philadelphia; more than a month having elapsed, since the ratification of the treaty between France and America had been formerly exchanged. Amongst the concessions now offered to the Americans, was an engagement, "that no military force should be kept up in the different states, without the consent of the General Congress, or of the several assemblies—to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation—to admit of representatives from the several states, who should have a seat and voice in the Parliament of Great Britain—to establish a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, comprehending every privilege short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force on which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends."

From the Declaration of Independence, however, the Congress had no wish to recede; and an answer, to that effect, brief but conclusive, was returned. The president, Henry Laurens, added, "That he is directed to inform their Excellencies of the inclination of Congress to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it had been conducted. They will, therefore, be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the King of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; and the only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of the Independence of the United States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies." In consequence of this communication, the commissioners returned to England.—The Earl of Carlisle had brought with him an order, for the immediate evacuation of the city of Philadelphia, and the retreat of the army to New York; a measure which, however mortifying, had been rendered very necessary, by the departure of a strong squadron from Toulon in April,

---

ingham connection, maintained the necessity of admitting the independence of America; whilst the Earls of Chatham, Temple, Shelburne, and others disclaimed the idea of relinquishing America, and deprecated its Independence as the greatest of all political and national evils.

* The last moments of this renowned statesman are eminently entitled to notice. He was dressed in a rich suit of black velvet, with a full wig, and covered up to the knees in flannel. On his arrival, he refreshed himself in the Lord Chancellor's room, where he staid till prayers were over, and till he was informed that business was about to begin. He was then led into the House by his son and son-in-law, Mr. William Pitt, and Lord Viscount Mahon, all the Lords rising and making a lane for him to pass. He appeared pale and emaciated; but his eye retained all its native fire. It was,

"An eye, like Jove's, to threaten, or command!"

† Colonel Barré was the gentleman who communicated the melancholy information to the House of Commons. The motion which he made, "that the remains of the Earl of Chatham be interred at the public expence," was unanimously adopted; with the addition, "that a monument be erected to his memory in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster." Lord John Cavendish then moved for an address to the King, "that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to make a permanent provision for the family of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, in consideration of the services performed by that able statesman;" and a bill was consequently brought into Parliament, and unanimously passed, by which a clear annuity of 4000*l.* per annum, payable out of the civil list, was for ever to be annexed to the Earldom of Chatham, and the sum of 20,000*l.* voted for the discharge of his debts and incumbrances.

which

which was supposed to be destined for the Delawar, and which the naval force under Lord Howe was not in a condition successfully to resist.

General Howe having resigned the command to Sir Henry Clinton, the whole British army passed the Delawar on the 18th of June. In their march through the Jerseys, encumbered with an enormous train of baggage, extending twelve miles in length, the whole country hostile, the bridges broken down before, and a vigilant enemy pressing close behind, the utmost prudence and circumspection of the General were necessary for their safety. He, therefore determined, by bending his march to the right, and approaching the sea coast, to disappoint the expectation of the enemy, and to avoid the difficulty attending the passage of the Rariton. On the evening of the 27th, the royal army encamped in the vicinity of Monmouth court-house, and early the next morning they re-commenced their march. Scarcely, however, were they in motion, when the enemy were discovered moving in force at some distance on both flanks. A severe action ensued, with considerable loss on both sides. The Americans were obliged to retreat; Sir Henry renewed his march; and, on the 30th, he arrived in safety at Sandy Hook, whence he passed over to New York.*

Soon after the departure of Lord Howe from New York, Count d'Estaign arrived off the coast, and anchored in the night of the 8th of July at the mouth of the Delawar; so that his Lordship very narrowly escaped a surprise. On the 11th, the French fleet, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, appeared off Sandy Hook, to which Lord Howe could oppose only eleven ships of inferior size and metal. The large French ships, however, were unable to pass the bar; so, after eleven days' stay, D'Estaign sailed to Rhode Island, to co-operate with General Sullivan in an enterprise against Newport. The hostile fleets were both dispersed by a storm, which occasioned the French Admiral to proceed to Boston, to refit. This circumstance obliged the American General, Sullivan, to raise the siege of Newport, which had been commenced under very favourable auspices. In the month of October following, Lord Howe resigned the command to Admiral Gambier; and, in the beginning of November, D'Estaign sailed to the West Indies, to second the operations of the Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico, who had already taken the important island of Dominique. The same day that the French fleet left Boston, a detachment of 5000 troops, under convoy of Commodore Hotham, sailed from Sandy Hook, and arrived, without encountering the enemy, at Barbadoes, on the 10th of December. Without allowing the troops to disembark, an expedition was resolved upon against the island of St. Lucia, where on the 13th a landing was effected. General Meadows and Admiral Barrington, upon whom the command had devolved, had carried several of the advanced posts, when D'Estaign arrived, with a superior force, in the hope of effecting the entire reduction of the British islands. On the morning of the 15th, he bore down with ten sail of the line, but met with so warm a reception, that he soon drew off. A renewed attack proved equally unsuccessful. At length, he landed a body of 5000 troops, and putting himself at their head, marched to the assault of the British lines. Again repulsed, with great loss, the Count re-embarked his troops, and left the island, which soon after surrendered to the British arms. This conquest was considered as much more than an equivalent for the loss of what had been taken by the French.

In the month of July, an expedition had been undertaken by Colonel Butler, in conjunction with Brandt, a half Indian by birth, against the beautiful and flourishing settlement of Wyoming: this was an infant colony, on the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, consisting of eight townships, in a country and climate luxuriantly fertile. The assailants appeared in force, to the number of about sixteen hundred men, of whom about one-fourth were Indians, and invested the fort. The commandant, incapable of making any effectual defence, dispatched a flag to Colonel Butler, to know what terms he would grant on a surrender. The reply was, in two words, "The hatchet;" sending in at the same time the bloody scalps of the victims who had already fallen into his hands. The garrison, though determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, were soon overpowered; and the savage conquerors, after gratifying their diabolical rage by a bloody military execution, shut up the greater part of the survivors in the barracks, to which they set fire, and consumed the whole in one general blaze. "The entire settlement," observes a modern writer, "was now delivered up to all the horrors of Indian barbarity, of which the detail is not to be endured. A terrestrial paradise was in a short time converted into a frightful waste; and men, women, and children, underwent one common butchery, in all the possible varieties of torture. A provincial officer, of the name of Bedlock, being stripped naked, had his body stuck full of sharp pine splinters; and a heap of knots of the same wood being then piled around him, the whole was set on fire—two other officers also, Captains Ransey and Durgie, being thrown alive into the flames."†

Major-General Grey was detached, in September, from New York to a place called Fair-Haven, on the coast of New England, where he destroyed about seventy sail of shipping, together with the magazines, wharfs, and stores, and proceeding to Martha's Vineyard, a delightful island in the vicinity, he carried off an immense booty in oxen and sheep, which afforded a welcome supply to the army at New York.

Sir Henry Clinton now detached a considerable body of troops under the command of Colonel Campbell, convoyed by Sir Hyde Parker, to attempt the recovery of the province of Georgia—General Prevost, Governor of East Florida, having at the same time orders to co-operate with them. On the 23d of December, the armament arrived at the mouth of the Savannah, and the town of that name immediately surrendered.

Admiral Keppel, on the personal solicitation of the King, having been prevailed on to accept the command of the Channel fleet, sailed from St. Helen's on the 13th of June with twenty ships of the line. At the entrance of the Bay of Biscay he fell in with the Licorne and the Belle Poule, two French frigates; and on their refusal to obey the signal to bring to, a chase ensued, when the Licorne, after discharging a broadside, struck to the America. The Belle Poule, after a warm engagement with the Arethusa, escaped by running on shore; and the Pallas, another French frigate, was captured. From the papers found on board these frigates, the Admiral discovered, that the French fleet, in Brest, amounted to thirty-two sail of the line: he was therefore under the immediate necessity of returning to port for a reinforcement. On the 9th of July, he again sailed with twenty-four ships, and was soon afterwards joined by six more. In a few days he came in sight of the French fleet off Ushant, commanded by M. d'Orvilliers.

The action which ensued, though warm, was partial; but Admiral Keppel having in a short time sufficiently repaired his damages, made the signals for the van and rear divisions to take their respective stations. This order was promptly obeyed by Sir Robert Harland, of the van; but Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, of the rear division, who had fallen to leeward, neglected the signals. Admiral Keppel, after waiting perhaps too long, sent the Fox frigate at five o'clock with peremptory directions to Sir Hugh Palliser, to bear down into his wake in order to renew the engagement. Sir Hugh answered, that he was knotting and splicing,

* In consequence of a difference between General Lee and General Washington, upon this affair, the former wrote the latter a passionate letter, which occasioned his being put under immediate arrest; and a court martial having been held upon him for disobedience of orders, misbehaviour in action, and disrespect to his commander, he was found guilty, and suspended from all his military commands for twelve months.

† Campbell, one of the first writers of the present day, has constructed a most beautiful and affecting poem, intituled "Gertrude of Wyoming," upon the sacrifice of this ill-fated settlement.

but would obey the order as soon as possible." The day, however, finally closed before Sir Hugh Palliser rejoined his commander. In the night the French made sail for their own coast, and in the morning scarcely were the rearmost ships discernible from the topmast heads of the English fleet. Admiral Keppel, therefore, returned to Portsmouth to refit. In his public letter, no reason was assigned for not renewing the engagement in the afternoon, except the expectation of the Admiral that the French would fight it out handsomely the next day.* A letter appearing some time afterwards in the newspapers severely reflecting on the conduct of Sir Hugh Palliser, that officer thought proper to require from the commander-in-chief a formal disavowal of the charges it contained, and a public justification of his character. Admiral Keppel declining, the Vice-Admiral immediately exhibited articles of accusation against him, for misconduct and neglect of duty on the 27th of July, 1778, although he had, in the month of October, a second time sailed with Admiral Keppel, and had never before whispered a word to his prejudice. The Lords of the Admiralty accordingly fixed a day (January 7, 1779,) for the trial of the commander-in-chief;† who was not only unanimously acquitted by the court martial, but received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his services. Sir Hugh Palliser afterwards demanded a court-martial upon himself, and was also acquitted; the sentence declaring, that his behaviour, on the 27th and 28th of July, was highly meritorious and exemplary. The resentment of the public, however, was so great, that Sir Hugh Palliser resigned his place at the board of Admiralty, his Lieutenant-Generalship of marines, his government of Scarborough castle, and also vacated his seat in the House of Commons.‡ The acquittal of Admiral Keppel was celebrated with illuminations and rejoicings in all parts of the kingdom; and the houses of Lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser were insulted by the populace; the demolition of them being with difficulty prevented.

After the Christmas recess, Mr. Fox moved a vote of censure upon Lord Sandwich "For sending Admiral Keppel, with twenty ships of the line only, to a station off the coast of France, thereby hazarding the safety of the kingdom, the Brest fleet consisting at that time of thirty-two ships of the line, besides a great superiority of frigates." The motion was negatived by a majority of 34 voices only. Mr. Fox then moved, "That the state of the navy, at the breaking out of the present war, was inadequate to the exigencies of the service." In the course of the debate, upon this motion, Lord Howe declared his resolution to decline all future service so long as the present ministers continued in office. On this occasion, the previous question was moved, and carried, by 246 against 174.

At the opening of Parliament, on the 26th of November, 1778, the royal speech complained of "The unexampled and unprovoked hostility of the court of France; and regret was expressed that the efforts which had been made for disappointing the malignant designs of the enemy had not been attended with all the success which the justice of the cause, and the vigorous exertions which had been made, seemed to promise." The usual addresses were carried by great majorities.

A. D. 1779.] Lord Howe and his brother, the General, having earnestly solicited a Parliamentary inquiry into their conduct in America, Lord North at length assented; and the result was, in general, "That the force sent to America was at no time equal to the subjugation of that continent; that the people of America were almost unanimous in their enmity and resistance to Great Britain; that the nature of the country was, beyond any other, difficult and impracticable for military operations; and that there was no fairer prospect of success, in any subsequent attempt at conquest, than in those which had been already made." The committee, however, was suddenly dissolved, without any formal decision.—Motions for an address to the King, for the removal of the Earl of Sandwich, from the person and councils of his Majesty for ever, were negatived, in both Houses, by considerable majorities. Some time before the prorogation, a royal message was delivered to Parliament, informing them, that "A manifesto had been presented to his Majesty by the Count d'Almodovar, ambassador of the King of Spain, containing a declaration of hostility on the part of the Catholic King, who had in consequence ordered his ambassador to depart without taking leave." This event called forth much eloquence and invective from the opposition, who did not fail to remind ministers of their blindness, obstinacy, and incredulity on this subject—of the contempt with which they had treated every warning of danger—and of their repeated and triumphant declarations "that Spain could have no interest in joining our enemies—Spain had colonies of her own, and would not set so bad an example as to afford aid or succour to our rebellious colonies. The honour, sincerity, and fidelity of the court of Spain were held up as sacred; and thus were Parliament and the nation kept in a constant state of delusion, until they were awakened from their dream by the imminence of the impending ruin." An address, however, with the fullest assurances of support, was unanimously carried. A subsequent motion, by Lord John Cavendish, for withdrawing the troops from America, was got rid of by an adjournment.

A plan was now proposed for augmenting the militia, to double the actual number. A bill for that purpose passed the Commons without difficulty; but it met with an unexpected opposition with the Lords; and, on a division, the compulsatory clause was thrown out by 39 against 22 voices.

Parliament was prorogued § on the 3d of July, with a speech, in which the King mentioned it as a happy omen of the success of his arms, that the increase of difficulties seemed only to augment the courage and constancy of the nation.‖

In the spring of 1779, much skirmishing, and predatory enterprise, with various success, took place in Ame-

* The French Admiral asserted, that, "During the action, the English had, as he conceived, the advantage; but that, after the firing had ceased, he out-manœuvred Admiral Keppel. He considered, that he had completely deceived the British commander, by impressing on him an idea, that he, the Count, intended to renew the action on the morrow.

† Moderate men considered that there was an impropriety in prosecuting a charge after so long an interval; and a memorial, signed by several of those who had been, and were amongst the leading and most distinguished characters in the British navy, was presented to the King, beseeching him to stop all further proceedings, as they conceived the prosecution of the charge would be totally subversive of the rules and discipline of the navy.

‡ The demon of party appears, in many instances, on both sides of the question, to have taken full possession of many, who, both as officers and men, stood deservedly in the highest rank of public opinion. By his condescending manners, Admiral Keppel had rendered himself almost the idol of the service, and considerably ingratiated himself with the whole mass of his countrymen. Palliser, on the other hand, was neither so well nor so generally known, nor from his more reserved carriage, so much beloved. He was industriously represented as the tool of administration; the whole of his conduct was interpreted as tending to a wish of sacrificing his commander-in-chief, and the charge violently imputed to malicious rancour.

§ During the recess, Lord Stormont was made Secretary of State, in the room of the Earl of Suffolk deceased. Lord Weymouth again resigned the seals of the southern department, which were transferred to Lord Hillsborough, and Lord Bathurst, late Chancellor of Great Britain, was nominated president of the council, in the room of Earl Gower. The great seal had been consigned, in the course of the preceding year, to the Attorney-General Thurlow, created Baron Thurlow; a man endowed by nature with uncommon talents, which were clouded by moroseness, bigotry, and malevolence of disposition.

‖ The memorial of Count d'Almodovar, and a long justificatory manifesto subsequently published by the court of Madrid, were filled with heavy complaints of the conduct of the English court for several years past, though grounded on no solid reason; his Britannic Majesty truly affirming, "That with regard to Spain he had nothing to reproach himself with; and that his desire to cultivate peace and amity with that power had been uniform and sincere." The only circumstances really important and interesting in this singular manifesto is the discovery that the mediation of Spain had been offered and accepted by Great Britain and France soon after the commencement of hostilities; and that a negotiation between these two courts had been actually carried on for nearly three quarters of a year.

rica, but nothing of decisive moment occurred. In the West Indies, Admiral Barrington was joined by Admiral Byron; when, the English fleet being superior to that of the French, endeavours were made, but ineffectually, to force the enemy to a general engagement. Admiral Byron, however, deeming it expedient to convoy the trade ships, collected at St. Christopher's in June, part of their voyage, Count d'Estaign took the opportunity of detaching a considerable force to the island of St. Vincent, which surrendered, though garrisoned by seven companies of regular troops, without firing a shot. This was ascribed to the dread entertained of an insurrection of the Caribbs. The French commander, having been joined by a large reinforcement of ships and troops, sailed from Fort Royal early in July, for the island of Grenada, which, though bravely defended, was soon compelled to surrender at discretion. Admiral Byron hearing of the capture of St. Vincent's, immediately determined to make an effort for its recovery; but, on his passage thither, he received the still more unwelcome intelligence of the attack of Grenada, of which he immediately resolved to attempt the relief. On the 6th of July the two fleets came in sight; and a warm but indecisive action ensued between the respective van divisions, in the course of which the English discovered, to their astonishment, the French colours flying on the fortress of St. George. In the sequel the English squadron bore away for Antigua, and the French returned to Grenada. D'Estaign directing his course to Georgia, captured the Experiment, of 50 guns, with supplies on board for Savannah, and three other frigates. On the 9th of September he anchored off the mouth of the Savannah, and sent a haughty summons to General Prevost to surrender to the arms of his Most Christian Majesty. On the following day, d'Estaign having been joined by General Lincoln, a regular siege commenced, which was very ably sustained by General Prevost. The French commander, impatient at the slow progress made, determined upon a general assault; and, after a heavy cannonade, the allies advanced to the attack of the British lines on the morning of the 9th of October. They were every where repulsed with heroic valour; d'Estaing himself was wounded in the action; and the troops having sustained great loss, the siege was converted into a blockade, and soon afterwards entirely raised. A precipitate retreat was made by the Americans, and the French Admiral retired to the West Indies; whence he returned to France in much chagrin.

On the 26th of December, Sir Henry Clinton sailed with the greater part of the army from New York, under convoy of a fleet commmanded by Admiral Arbuthnot. He arrived off Charlestown-bar (which the men of war passed with some difficulty) on the the 20th of March, 1780. On the 1st of April the British troops broke ground in front of the American lines; and, after proceeding in due military form, preparations were made for a general assault. General Lincoln, on being informed that the lines were no longer defensible, seeing no prospect of relief, and the flesh provisions remaining in store not being sufficient to furnish rations for a week, agreed to surrender the city; in consequence of which, about 6000 men became prisoners of war. This was on the 4th of May 1780. The general submission of the inhabitants ensued. Sir Henry Clinton soon afterwards returned to New York, leaving the command in Carolina to Lord Cornwallis.

Much alarm had been created in England by the junction of the fleets of France and Spain, which took place soon after the delivery of the Spanish manifesto. In August (1779) they entered the Channel to the number of sixty-five ships of the line, besides frigates, sloops, fire-ships, &c. Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded the Channel fleet, having received no instructions to prevent this formidable junction, was utterly unable to encounter so prodigious a force; and, consequently, was compelled to retire to the narrow part of the Channel, whilst the flags of France and Spain menaced and insulted the English coasts without molestation or control. Plymouth had been left so destitute of the means of defence, that the docks and shipping in the harbour, had their unprotected state been known, might have been destroyed without difficulty. On the approach of the equinox, Count d'Orvilliers steered his course back to Brest, without effecting any thing farther than the capture of the Ardent man of war, which had accidentally fallen in with the combined fleets.*

In the course of the summer an encounter took place between Sir Richard Pearson, of the Serapis man of war, accompanied by the Scarborough frigate, having under their convoy the trade from the Baltic, and Captain Paul Jones, an adventurer of desperate courage, who was commander of a small American squadron, which had some time infested the British seas. Both the Serapis and Scarborough, the convoy having been first secured, were compelled to strike their colours, and were carried by the captors to the Texel. A strong memorial was in consequence presented to the States General by Sir Joseph Yorke, who urged in the most pressing terms, "that those ships and their crews may be stopped and delivered up, which the pirate Paul Jones, who is a rebel subject and a criminal of the State, has taken." Their high mightiness as answered, "that they will in no respect whatever pretend to judge of the legality or illegality of the actions of those who have on the open seas taken any vessels which do not belong to this country, and bring them into any ports of the republic; and that they are not authorized to pass judgment either on those prizes, or on the person of Paul Jones."

Early intelligence of the war with France having been sent by express over-land to India, the factories of Chandernagore, Carical, and Masulipatam, were taken possession of without difficulty. The city of Pondicherry was invested by the troops of the Company and of the government, commanded by Sir Hector Monro, in the autumn; and, after a gallant resistance by the governor, it surrendered to the British arms. The settlement of Senegal, however, and the British forts in the river Gambia, were captured by a squadron of his Most Christian Majesty.

Parliament met on the 25th of November, when the King informed them, "that he had met them at a time when they were, in concert with him, called upon by every principle of duty, and every consideration of interest, to exert their united efforts in support and defence of their country, attacked by an unjust and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the most dangerous confederacies that ever was formed against the crown and people of Britain. Aided by the protection of Providence, the zeal of the nation, and the justice of his cause, he was firmly resolved vigorously to prosecute the war, for the purpose of compelling the enemy to equitable terms of peace. In the midst of his care and solicitude for the safety of this country, he had not been inattentive to the state of his loyal and faithful kingdom of Ireland; and, in consequence of the addresses presented to him the preceding session, he had ordered such papers to be laid before them as might assist their deliberation, and he recommended it to them

* The most remarkable consequence resulting from the appearance of this vast armament in the British seas, was the resolution with which it inspired the inhabitants of the kingdom of Ireland. Seeing themselves in a manner abandoned by England, their troops withdrawn, their commerce unprotected, their grievances unredressed, military and mercantile associations began every where to be formed; and in a short time, an army of 500,000 volunteers was created, disciplined, and equipped; and resolutions were almost universally passed against the use of British manufactures. The English ministers furnished the new-raised army with arms from the royal magazines. The Irish Parliament met on the 12th of October, and, to the usual address, an amendment was moved and adopted by a great majority, to insert in the body of the address:—"We beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty, that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." The Lords concurred; and the addresses were carried up to the Lord Lieutenant amidst the acclamations of the people. The thanks of both Houses were unanimously voted to the volunteer corps throughout the kingdom, for their patriotic exertions; and a six months' money bill passed the Commons, in order to prevent a sudden prorogation.

to consider what further benefits and advantages might be extended to that country." The usual motion for an address in answer to the speech from the throne, called forth an amendment from the Marquis of Rockingham, censuring, in strong language, the facility with which the two ambassadors, Lord Grantham and Lord Stormont, had suffered themselves to be deceived by the craft of Spain and France; and the confidence with which ministers had assured Parliament that treaties inimical to the interests of Great Britain were not in existence, or even in embryo; also beseeching his Majesty "to reflect upon the extent of territory, power, and opulence, of reputation abroad and concord at home, which distinguished the opening of his Majesty's reign, and marked it as the most splendid and happy period in the history of this nation; and to turn his eyes on the present endangered, impoverished, distracted, and even dismembered, state of the empire, after all the grants of successive Parliaments, liberal even to profusion, and trusting to the very utmost extent of rational confidence;—and finally stating to his Majecty, that if any thing could prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can be only new counsels and new counsellors, a real change from the conviction of past errors,—and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless." Lord Stormont, in reply, imputed a great part of the public misfortunes to the incautious and too often violent language held in Parliament. Lord Mansfield declared himself persuaded that nothing but a full and comprehensive union of all parties and all men could effect the salvation of the country. He was old enough to have seen violent party struggles; but no previous time presented an image of the present. How far the temper of the nation and the state of parties might admit of a coalition, he could not decide; but the event was devoutly to be wished. The amendment was negatived, by 82 against 41 voices. A similar amendment, moved in the House of Commons, by Lord John Cavendish, was, after a violently stormy debate, negatived, by 233 against 134. Lord North admitted that it was the duty of Parliament to cause bad ministers to be removed; but he insisted that proof should first be made of their delinquency. The disapprobation of that House must and ought to sweep ministers before it; and whenever his day of account should come, he declared himself ready to meet it without fear. On the 6th of December, a resolution of censure on the ministers was moved in the House of Commons by the Earl of Upper Ossory, relative to the affairs of Ireland.* This motion was supported by Mr. Dunning, a lawyer and speaker of great eminence, and by Mr. Burke, who drew a parallel between the situation of Ireland and that of America.† Lord North, who opposed the motion, declared his intention to bring forward certain resolutions respecting Ireland in a few days, which he trusted would meet the ideas of gentlemen on both sides of the House. The motion was then negatived by 173 against 100; and a similar motion, in the Peers, by the Earl of Shelburne, was negatived by 82 against 37. Lord North, agreeably to his intimation, brought forward his propositions respecting Ireland, comprising several important concessions, particularly that Ireland should be allowed the free exportation of her woollens. These resolutions passed unanimously, and were received in Ireland with delight and exultation.

Eighty-five thousand men had been, early in the session, voted for the sea service, and before the recess, 111,000 for the land service, exclusively of militia, amounting, with the additional volunteer companies, to upwards of 42,000. The foreign troops in British pay were calculated at 24,000, and the artillery, at 6000. The aggregate therefore, was nearly 270,000, besides the troops upon the Irish and Indian establishments. To support this force, 12,000,000*l.* were raised by way of loan, in addition to the permanent means of supply.

A spirit of economy now began to be called for by the people. About the commencement of the year 1780, public meetings were convened in many of the counties, and petitions to Parliament were framed, expressly with this view. The county of York took the lead on this occasion; and its petition ‡ was presented to the House on the 8th of February, by Sir George Saville, member for the county, who stated, that it was signed by above eight thousand freeholders.§

A. D. 1780.] Several other similar petitions having been presented, Mr. Burke brought forward a specific plan of reform, aiming at two grand objects: "first, the reduction of the national expenditure; second, the diminution of regal influence—that influence which took away all vigour from our arms, wisdom from our councils, and every shadow of authority and credit from the most venerable parts of the constitution."—In pursuance of this plan, Mr. Burke moved for leave to bring in certain bills "For the better regulation of his Majesty's civil establishments, for the sale of forest and other crown lands, for more perfectly uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, the counties palatine of Chester and Lancaster, and the duchy of Cornwall." These bills, after much violent discussion, in the course of which the minister was more than once left in a minority, were finally lost. A bill was soon afterwards brought in, for instituting a commission of accounts, consisting of persons not members of the House of Commons. In the Peers, on the day that the petition from the county of York was presented to the Commons, the Earl of Shelburne moved, "For the appointment of a committee of members of both Houses of Parliament, possessing neither employments nor pensions, to examine into the public expenditure, and the mode of accounting for the same." This motion was negatived by 101 against 55; the largest minority that had for many years been known in the Peers.

It was on the 6th of April that the House of Commons resolved itself into a grand committee, on the motion of Mr. Dunning, to take the petitions of the people into consideration. On this occasion a very remarkable debate occurred. "The first object," the honourable mover said, "which he meant to submit to

* His Lordship observed, that "the ministers seemed totally to have abandoned the government of that country to chance. They neither felt for its distresses nor provided against its resentments. The present state of Ireland was truly alarming, and seemed to portend a sudden dissolution of the constitutional connection which had so long subsisted between the two countries. To the shameful inattention and criminal neglect of the ministry, who might, in the early stages of the miseries of that kingdom, have granted the Irish nation substantial relief, was the present spirit of resistance wholly imputable. To what had the conduct of ministers led? Either to an unreserved acquiescence in every proposition which Ireland, in her present distempered state, might think proper to demand, or the horrible alternative of a civil war, while engaged in the present unequal contest with France, Spain, and America."

† "In Ireland," said Mr. Burke, "as a few years since in America, non-importation agreements had taken place. The Irish, like the Americans, had resolved to consume no more British manufactures. They had armed and arrayed themselves, and now insisted upon a free trade, or were determined to break off all political connection with this country. Why then, had not the ministry adopted the same measures respecting Ireland as they had respecting America? Why had they not treated Dublin as they had treated Boston? Why had they not shut up the port of Dublin, burnt Cork, and reduced Waterford to ashes? Why had they not prohibited all popular meetings in that kingdom, and destroyed all popular elections? Why had they not altered the usual mode of striking juries, as was done by the Massachussets Bay charter Bill? Why were not the Dublin rioters brought over to this country to be tried by an English jury? Why were not the principal leaders of the Irish armed associations proscribed, and the whole kingdom declared to be in rebellion? The answer was plain and direct. The ministers dared not. Sad and dear-bought experience had even taught them the folly, as well as the impracticability, of such measures. The danger of the present awful moment had made insolence and arrogance give way to fear and humiliation."

‡ The petitioners earnestly requested, "that, before any new burdens were laid upon this country, effectual measures might be taken by that House to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state in such manner as to the wisdom of Parliament should seem meet."

§ "This petition," he observed, "had been procured by no underhand arts or public canvass; it was first moved in a meeting of six hundred gentlemen; and there was, he believed, more property in the hall where it was agreed to, than was contained within the walls of the House of Commons. It was a petition, he said, to which the administration would not dare to refuse a hearing, however the arts of ministerial artifice and finesse might be employed to defeat the purpose of it."

the

the House, was a proposition collected from the several petitions, which, if agreed to, would establish the grounds of their prayer for redress. His second proposition should include the means of that redress. Should the House concur in his propositions, he meant to follow them up with real, substantial, and practicable measures. But, should they dissent from them, or endeavour to evade or procrastinate, there would be at once an end of the petitions and a full answer to the petitioner. His first motion was, that it should be resolved by this House, 'that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished.'" This motion was warmly supported by the speaker of the House, who, seldom taking part in their debates, declared, "That, on an occasion like the present, he should deem himself criminal in remaining silent; the resolution proposed contained an allegation which was too notorious to require proof—which, in its full extent, did not admit of proof—it could be known only to the members of that House:—as they were the only persons competent to resolve it, they were bound as jurors by the conviction arising in their own minds, and were obliged to determine accordingly. The powers, constitutionally vested in the executive part of the government, were (he said) amply sufficient for all the purposes of good government, but its undue influence had increased to a degree absolutely incompatible with every just idea of a limited monarchy. What the petitioners demanded should have originated within those walls; they were sitting as the representatives of the people, solely for their advantage and benefit, and were pledged to them for the faithful discharge of their trust." The Lord Advocate of Scotland, Henry Dundas, moved, as an amendment, to prefix the words "It is now necessary to declare;" but the original motion was carried, by 233, against 215; so that ministers were left in a minority of 18. Mr. Dunning then moved, "that it was competent to that House to examine into and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the House to do so." This motion was also carried. It was then moved, by Mr. Thomas Pitt, "That it was the duty of that House to provide, as far as might be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to the House from the different counties, cities, and towns, in this kingdom." Lord North most earnestly implored the committee, as he had done on the former motion, to desist, but the resolution was agreed to. Mr. Fox then moved, "that the resolutions should be immediately reported to the House." This was protested against by Lord North, as violent, arbitrary, and contrary to the established usage of Parliament. The motion, however, was carried; and the chairman reporting the resolutions accordingly, they were severally agreed to by the House. Four days afterwards, the committee being resumed, Mr. Dunning moved, "that there be laid before the House every session, within seven days after the meeting of Parliament, an account of all moneys paid out of the civil revenue to, or for the use of, or in trust for, any member of Parliament since the last recess." This, though objected to by ministers, was carried without a division. Mr. Dunning next moved, "that the persons holding the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer of the household, comptroller of the household, master of the household, clerks of the green cloth, and their deputies, should be rendered incapable of a seat in that House." This also was opposed; but, on a division, it was carried by 215 against 213. So far the opposition had triumphantly proceeded, when the sudden illness of the speaker obliged the House to adjourn to the 24th of April; when, the committee having been resumed, Mr. Dunning moved for an address, "that his Majesty would be pleased not to dissolve the Parliament or prorogue the present session until the objects of the petitions were answered." This motion, to the unbounded astonishment and chagrin of the opposition, was rejected, by 251 against 203. It was evident, that, during the recess, a sudden change had taken place in the temper and disposition of the House. Mr. Fox, after the division, severely reprobated the conduct of these men who had thus receded from the solemn engagements which they had so recently entered into; and Mr. Dunning charged them with direct treachery to the nation, considering this resolution as an effectual bar to all future means and efforts of redress. On a subsequent resumption of the subject, he moved "that the two resolutions passed on the 10th of April be reported." A motion, however, was made from the opposite side of the House, "that the chairman leave the chair," which, on a division, was carried by 177 to 134. Thus miserably ended those memorable deliberations.

During the session of 1778, an act had been passed relieving the Roman Catholics from some of the heavier penalties inflicted upon them in the last century. This measure was much approved in England; but in Scotland, it excited great indignation, and dangerous popular commotions. Violent tumults took place at Edinburgh and Glasgow; the Popish chapel in the metropolis was destroyed; and the houses of the principal Catholics were attacked and plundered; and the fanatics formed themselves into a society, termed the "Protestant Association," to oppose any remission of the laws against the Papists. Of this association, Lord George Gordon, a man in the highest degree wild, eccentric, and enthusiastical, was chosen president. This association gradually extended to England; much pains were taken to prejudice the minds of the vulgar against the relaxation of the penal code; and it was at length determined to prepare a petition for a repeal of the law alluded to, which is affirmed to have obtained 120,000 signatures, chiefly of men of the lowest orders of society. Lord George Gordon, who was a member of the House of Commons, declined to present this petition, unless he were accompanied to the House by at least 20,000 men. A meeting of the association was, consequently, convened in St. George's Fields (June 2, 1780) whence it was supposed that not fewer than 50,000 persons proceeded in regular divisions with Lord George Gordon at their head, to the House of Commons, where his Lordship presented their petition. Towards evening this multitude began to grow very tumultuous, and grossly insulted several members of both Houses, compelling them, in passing to and from the House, to cry, No Popery! and to wear blue cockades. During the debates on the petition, Lord George Gordon frequently addressed the mob without, stating to them, "that the people of Scotland had no redress till they pulled down the Popish chapels." Subsequently to the adjournment, the mob, agreeably to this suggestion, proceeded to demolish the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors. The military were ordered out; and, though they were unable to prevent the mischief, they apprehended several of the rioters. The following day, Saturday, passed quietly; but on Sunday the rioters re-assembled in vast numbers, and destroyed the chapels and private dwellings belonging to the principal Catholics in the vicinity of Moorfields. On Monday they extended their devastations to other parts of the town; and the house of Sir George Saville, in Leicester Fields, was totally demolished; Sir George having been the proposer of the obnoxious bill. They also destroyed a Catholic chapel, in Virginia Street, Ratcliffe Highway, and a valuable library belonging to the priests. On Tuesday, the day for taking the petition into consideration, the mob again surrounded the Parliament House, repeating their outrages and insults. After passing some resolutions adapted to the occasion, and expressive of their indignation, the House adjourned. In the evening, the populace attacked the prison of Newgate, where their comrades were confined, and, setting the building in flames, liberated upwards of three hundred felons and debtors. They next proceeded to Lord Mansfield's house, in Bloomsbury square, which they totally demolished, his Lordship himself escaping with some difficulty. The prisons of Clerkenwell were also forced, many private houses were plundered or destroyed, and scarcely did the

the night afford any cessation of the riots. On Wednesday, the mob, more desperate than ever, attacked with incredible fury the houses of various individuals, chiefly Catholics, which they had previously marked for destruction. In the evening the King's Bench, the Fleet Prison, the New Compter, and a large distillery in Holborn, were set on fire; and, with a prodigious number of private dwellings in different parts of the town burning at the same time, formed a tremendous scene of conflagration. Attempts were also made on the Bank and Pay Office; but these, being strongly guarded, fortunately escaped destruction. At this time, the public indignation was much excited by the supineness of the magistracy of London. At length a privy council was convened, at which several members of the opposition attended, and the King himself declared, "That, although the magistrates had not done their duty, he would not be deficient in his." General orders were then immediately transmitted to the military to fire upon the rioters, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrate; in consequence of which, by noon, on Thursday, order and tranquillity were perfectly restored, though at the expence of several of the rioters' lives. Lord George Gordon was taken into custody, and, after a strict examination before the privy council, committed close prisoner to the Tower on a charge of high treason. On his trial, however, he escaped punishment, rather from an impropriety in the charge, as to the nature of his crime, than from actual innocence. A special commission was issued for the trial of the rioters, of whom a great number, consisting of men very opposite in description and character, were apprehended. Lord chief justice De-Grey, whose infirm health, and benignant disposition, were ill-suited to this task, resigning his office, the attorney general Wedderburne was advanced to the chief justice-ship, under the title of Lord Loughborough. His Lordship proceeded against the delinquents with great severity; fifty-nine of the prisoners being capitally convicted. After proper inquiries had been made, the sufferers in these tumults received full compensation for their losses.*

In opening the Parliament, on the 19th of June, his Majesty "lamented the necessity which had obliged him, by every tie of duty and affection to his people, to employ the force entrusted to him for the suppression of those acts of felony and treason, which had overborne all civil authority, and threatened the immediate subversion of all legal power, the destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order in the state;—at the same time renewed his assurances, that he had no other object than to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of the constitution, the rule and measure of his conduct." The address of thanks for this speech was voted without a single negative. Parliament was prorogued on the 18th of July, nothing of importance having occurred during the session.

Requisition had been made by the English court to the States General, soon after the declaration of war against Spain, for the succours stipulated by the treaty of 1678; but no answer could be obtained. Loud complaints on the contrary were made of the conduct of the English court, which had caused to be seized, and carried into the different ports of Britain, ships belonging to the subjects of the republic, navigated under the faith of treaties, and not laden with contraband goods. England complained, with equal truth, "That France received from Holland, continual supplies of naval and military stores, contrary to the faith of treaties; that the principle of self defence warranted the seizure and detention of all vessels laden with such exceptionable cargoes." Thus, the questions respecting the rights of the neutral flag were again revived. On the 1st of January, in the present year, Commodore Fielding fell in with a fleet of Dutch merchant ships off Portland, under convoy of Count Byland. The English commodore desiring permission to visit the merchant ships, to ascertain whether they contained contraband goods, was refused; on which he fired a shot a-head of the Dutch Admiral, who answered with a broadside. Commodore Fielding returned the compliment, and the Dutch immediately struck their colours. The merchant ships which had naval stores on board were stopped, and Count Byland was informed that he was at liberty to hoist his colours and prosecute his voyage. He refused, however, to quit his convoy, and accompanied Commodore Fielding to Portsmouth. A peremptory demand was made, by the Dutch Count, of reparation and redress, but without effect; and on the 17th of April a declaration was issued by the King of Great Britain, announcing, "That repeated memorials having been presented by his Majesty's ambassador to the States General, demanding the succours stipulated by treaty, to which requisition they had given no answer, nor signified any intention of compliance, his Majesty considered their high mightinesses as having deserted the alliance that had so long subsisted between Great Britain and the Republic: and his Majesty from this time suspended, provisionally, all the stipulations of the several existing treaties, particularly of the marine treaty concluded at London, A. D. 1674."†

Scarcely had the war between England and Spain commenced, when the blockade of Gibraltar was formed by sea and land; the hope of recovering that fortress having probably operated as no inconsiderable inducement with Spain to engage in the war. Sir George Rodney was appointed to the command of a powerful fleet, for the relief of that place, having on board Prince William Henry, (now Duke of Clarence) the King's third son. On the northern coast of Spain he fell in with a convoy of twenty-two merchantships richly laden, under the protection of a squadron of seven ships of war, to which he immediately gave chace, and in a few hours, the whole were taken. On the 16th of January, off

* On the very day that the riots commenced, the Duke of Richmond gave notice of his design to bring in a bill for annual Parliaments, and a more equal representation of the people in the House of Commons. His Grace declared the national representation to be flagrantly and grossly corrupt. The constitution had been impaired, and was impairing daily by the accumulation of abuses: Parliament was becoming more and more servile: and the tendency of the prevailing system was, to make the will of the sovereign the rule and measure of the government. He even proceeded to assert, that the present Parliament was in reality no Parliament at all, because it was not founded on that principle which could alone constitute them the legitimate representatives of the people. The most effectual remedy for the existing evils would be to shorten the duration of Parliaments, rendering them annual; and to cause every man in the kingdom, of full age and not disqualified by law, to be represented in the House of Commons. His Grace proposed, that this bill should be read once only during the present session, and then be left upon the table, that it might be fully considered by their Lordships during the recess. At this very time, the House was prevented from listening by the outrages of the lawless multitude without, who, according to the principles of this dangerous bill, were henceforth to be invested with the power of returning representatives to Parliament: the populace were on the point of rushing into the House, opposed only by the activity and resolution of the door keepers and attendants. Several Peers were grossly insulted, and on entering exhibited proofs of the indignities which they had sustained; and the House at length adjourned in the utmost confusion. This crude and indigested measure was never again revived in either House of Parliament; but the bold and plausible, though erroneous and pernicious, principles on which it was founded, were many years publicly avowed by the Duke of Richmond, and under his sanction they acquired great credit.

† The powers of the North, in more decided language than Holland, declared their resolution to adopt such measures as were necessary for their own security. In the spring of this year the Empress of Russia had addressed a declaration to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid, containing an explicit statement of the principles on which she had determined to act for the removal of those molestations which had interrupted the navigation of her subjects, and for the protection of the liberty of commerce in general. The main principles laid down were:—

"I. That neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers.

"II. That all effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers shall be looked upon as free on board such neutral ships, excepting only warlike stores or ammunition—but neither the vessels, passengers, nor the rest of the goods, shall be liable to seizure or detention."

To these principles, the Empress declared "she was firmly resolved to adhere; and, for the honour of her flag, and the security of her subjects, she had ordered a considerable part of her naval forces to be equipped, to act wherever her honour, interest, or necessity, should require." Denmark and Sweden acceding to this declaration of Russia, and ordering similar equipments of the marine, this confederacy acquired the appellation of "the armed neutrality;" and the basis on which it was founded seemed to give much satisfaction throughout Europe,—excepting to England.

Cape St. Vincent, he descried a Spanish squadron, consisting of fourteen sail of the line. At four in the afternoon an action began, and in little more than half an hour, the San Domingo, one of the Spanish ships, blew up. The engagement, however, continued with unabating fury, in the midst of darkness and confusion, increased by the tempestuousness of the weather, and before morning the Phœnix of 80 guns, Don Juan de Langara, the Spanish Admiral's own ship; the Monarca, the Princessa, the Diligente, of 70 guns each, struck their colours; the St. Julien and St. Eugenio were also captured, but through the violence of the weather were afterwards driven on shore and lost. The others escaped in a very shattered condition; and the whole squadron, as to any immediate capability of service, might be considered as annihilated. The force of Admiral Rodney was greatly superior; and his skill and courage were displayed in the mode of conducting the attack, which the violence of the storm, the darkness of the night, and the vicinity of a lee-shore every where encircled with shoals and breakers, rendered very dangerous. His own ship, the Sandwich, and several others, were in great danger of being lost on the shoals of St. Lucar, and did not get into deep water till the next day. Having effected the relief of Gibraltar, Sir George proceeded to the West Indies, sending home his prizes under the care of Admiral Digby, who, on his passage, captured the Prothée, a French ship of 64 guns, and part of her convoy of merchant ships. In the West Indies, he made every possible exertion to bring on a general action; but Count de Guichen, who commanded the French fleet, cautiously evaded his efforts. Intelligence, however, having been received that, in the night of the 15th of April, they had put to sea with their whole force, the English Admiral, who was stationed at St. Lucie, followed, and early on the morning of the 17th came in sight of the enemy. At noon, Sir George, being to windward, made the signal for a general and close engagement, bearing down upon the French Admiral, whom he fought with unremitting fury, attempting, in vain, by a manœuvre long unpractised, to break the enemy's line of battle, till de Guichen bore away, leaving the Sandwich a mere wreck. Some other partial and indecisive encounters afterwards took place.

About this time, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, reduced the British settlements on the Mississippi, and made great progress in the conquest of the province of West Florida. By the English, an expedition had been undertaken from Jamaica to the Spanish main; and the fortress of Omoa, which contained a considerable booty in specie and merchandise, was taken by storm, but soon afterwards evacuated. A heavy misfortune took place in the autumn of this year, in the entire capture of the outward bound East and West India fleets, in the Bay of Biscay, by the Spaniards. Such a booty was never before carried into the port of Cadiz.

In the northern provinces of America, the war seemed, during the summer of 1780, to be nearly at a stand. On the 10th of July, a large body of French troops, said to be only the vanguard of a much greater force, commanded by the Comte de Rochambeau, under convoy of a considerable fleet, arrived at Rhode Island. Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot soon afterwards planned a combined attack against the French and Americans at Rhode Island. A large proportion of the forces stationed at New York were embarked for that purpose; but General Washington, by a rapid movement, compelled them to desist.* In the autumn, a remarkable event took place in the defection of the American General Arnold, who commanded a considerable body of troops at West Point on the North River. Having some time held a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, he had agreed to deliver into his hands that important post, and the whole of the troops entrusted to him. The intercourse between the American and English Generals was carried on through the medium of Major André, a young man of singular accomplishments, who had passed up the river unknown and unsuspected, from the head-quarters at New York, to the post of West Point. On his return by land, however, (September 23,) he was taken in disguise, and with a false passport, by three American privates, to whom he in vain offered large rewards if they would suffer him to escape. On examination, the papers found upon him discovered all the particulars of the conspiracy. His case being referred to a board of general officers, of which the Marquis de la Fayette (who afterwards made so conspicuous a figure in the French revolution) was one, they unanimously determined that he came under the denomination of a spy; and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, he ought to suffer death. This, notwithstanding the solicitations and menaces of Sir Henry Clinton, who anxiously sought the means of saving him, was, on the 2d of October, inflicted by the hands of the hangman! a deed, the memory of which must rest, for ever, as a foul and indelible stain upon the character of Washington.† General Arnold, with great difficulty, made his escape to New York, where he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General in the service of his Majesty.

Subsequently to the departure of Sir Henry Clinton from Carolina, Lord Cornwallis was left with a force apparently inadequate to maintain possession of the province against the increasing armies of the Americans, of which General Gates, the conqueror of Burgoyne, had taken the command. The British forces, having advanced towards the north frontier of the province, found their further progress intercepted by the enemy, who with far superior numbers were posted near the town of Camden. The English General, sensible that a retreat would be equal to an abandonment of the recent conquests, determined to risk an engagement; and in the night of the 15th of August, the troops were put in motion, in hope of surprising General Gates in his camp. That commander, with a similar intention respecting Lord Cornwallis, had marched his troops during the night to the attack of the British camp, and the advanced parties of the two armies unexpectedly met in a wood near Camden. Both parties were quiet till day-light appeared, when the action commenced on the part of the British, who were well pleased to observe that the Americans had been under the necessity of taking a disadvantageous and confined position, bounded by swamps, which prevented their making any efficacious use of their great numerical superiority. The militia, of whom General Gates's army chiefly consisted, were unable to resist the attack of the bayonet, and fled at the first onset. The continental troops maintained their ground, till, finding themselves deserted by the militia, they were compelled to retreat with the loss of nearly 2,000 men, leaving behind them their cannon, camp-equipage, &c. This victory seems to have been the most complete which was obtained in the whole course of the war: the pursuit continued for more than twenty miles; and Colonel Tarleton, coming up with a detached corps at the Catawba fords under General Sumpter, charged them with such vigour that they were instantly broken, and the greater part either cut to pieces or taken prisoners. General Gates left the remains of his army to the care of General Smallwood, and retired into North Carolina. Lord Cornwallis, desirous of improving his victory to the utmost, advanced, as soon as the excessive heats would permit, to the vicinity of Salisbury,

* This year, the legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act, in commemoration of their own independence, "That no child born hereafter shall be a slave; that Negro and Mulatto children shall be servants only till twenty-eight years of age; that all slaves shall be registered before the 1st of November next; that they shall be tried like other inhabitants; and that no Negroes or Mulattoes, other than infants, shall be bound for longer than seven years."

† Poor André, for whose fate many a tear will yet be shed, made it his earnest, sole, and last request, that he might be permitted to die as a soldier, not as a felon! He might have anticipated the words of the gallant Porlier, sacrificed by the besotted government of Ferdinand the VIIth of Spain, in the winter of 1815. "Be not affected at the kind of death they inflict upon me, since it can dishonour only the wicked, but covers the good with honour and glory!"

on the frontier of North Carolina, having first detached Major Ferguson to the western side of the province to collect and arm the Royalists in that quarter. As soon as the communication of Ferguson with Lord Cornwallis was interrupted by the extension of the distance, a plan was formed to surround and cut him entirely off. Divers corps of the provincial militia effected a rapid junction with the mountaineers of the western districts, under the command of Colonels Williams and Cleaveland, to the amount of several thousand men, and, marching in quest of Ferguson, soon discovered his encampment on King's Mountain. The Americans ascended the hill in various directions. Major Ferguson was successful whenever he directed his efforts; but as soon as one division was driven back, the former resumed its station; so that his exertions were entirely unavailing. His unconquerable spirit, however, disdained the idea of surrender, and the unequal conflict continued till he received a mortal wound; no chance of escape being left, nor prospect of successful resistance remaining, the second in command called for quarter; which was granted, and more than eight hundred men laid down their arms, about three hundred having been killed or wounded in the action.

On the first intelligence of this disaster, Lord Cornwallis retreated to Wynnesborough, where he was much harassed by the irregular but continual attacks of the provincials.

An important occurrence now attracted the attention of the British government. On the 3d of September, the Mercury, a Congress packet, was taken by the Vestal frigate off the banks of Newfoundland; and Mr. Laurens, late president of the Congress, charged with a commission to Holland, was found on board. When brought to England, he was examined by the privy council, and committed to the Tower, on an accusation of high treason. His papers had been thrown overboard, but by great dexterity and diligence they were recovered and deciphered and found to contain the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the Republic of Holland and the States of America. This treaty appeared to be in a train of negociation, and to have received the sanction and approbation of M. Van Berkel, counsellor and pensionary of Amsterdam. Such was the offence taken by the British court at this discovery, that immediate orders were transmitted to Sir Joseph Yorke, to represent to the States General, "that the States of Amsterdam, as appeared from the papers of Mr. Laurens, had entered into a clandestine correspondence with the American rebels, and that instructions and powers had been given by them for the purpose of concluding a treaty of indissoluble friendship with the said rebels. His Britannic Majesty, therefore, required not only a formal disavowal of so irregular a conduct, but also insisted on speedy satisfaction adequate to the offence, and the exemplary punishment of the pensionary Van Berkel, and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace and violators of the rights of nations; otherwise the King would be obliged to take such steps as became his dignity and the interests of his subjects." The States General passed resolutions of disavowal and inquiry; but they delayed to give a formal and explicit answer to this declaration; and, after some further fruitless efforts, Sir Joseph Yorke received orders to leave the Hague, and a declaration of war was published against Holland on the 20th of December. This was a measure totally unexpected on the part of the States General, and for which they were ill-prepared.

The old Parliament was dissolved on the 1st of September; and, at the meeting of the new one (October 31) Mr. Cornwall was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in the room of Sir Fletcher Norton, by 203 voices against 134. His Majesty, in his opening speech, declared "His satisfaction in having an opportunity, by the recent election, of receiving the most certain information of the disposition and wishes of his people, to which he was always inclined to pay the utmost attention! He acknowledged the arduous situation of public affairs; but the late signal successes of his arms in Georgia and Carolina would, he trusted, have important consequences, in bringing the war to a happy conclusion." An amendment to the address, consisting in the omission of several complimentary paragraphs, was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Thomas Grenville; but it was negatived, by a majority of 69, in favour of the original address.

On the 25th of January, 1781, two days after the Christmas recess, Lord North delivered a message from the King, in which his Majesty acquainted the House of Commons, "That, during the recess of Parliament, he had been obliged to direct letters of marque and general reprisal to be issued against the States General of the United Provinces. For the causes and motives of his conduct he referred to his public manifesto, which, with various other papers, he had ordered to be laid before the House." Lord North in consequence moved, "That an address be presented to his Majesty, assuring him that the House would, with a firm and determined resolution, support the just and necessary war against Holland, for the maintenance of the honour of his crown, and the rights and interests of his people." This motion was seconded by Lord Lewisham; but it met with considerable opposition in both Houses; and, in the Peers, it was observed, by Lord Camden, that, "As to what was called the treaty between Holland and America, it was the mere unauthorised act of Van Berkel, and betrayed neither directly nor indirectly any intention in the States General of a hostile nature. It did not even appear that they knew any thing of this man or his colleagues; and much less that they had determined to ratify this pretended treaty, or project of a treaty, by which no one was bound, and no one could be injured." The addresses, however, were carried by great majorities; but the dissentient Peers recorded their objections in a strong and vigorous protest.

The memorable Reform Bill of Mr. Burke was revived soon after the recess; but, on the motion for the second reading, it was thrown out by 233 voices against 190.*

In the month of March, Lord North brought forward the annual statement of the public account. The entire expenditure of the year his Lordship calculated "at twenty-one millions,—twelve of which it would be necessary to raise by a public loan; as to the terms of which, his Lordship had contracted with the subscribers, to grant 150*l.* capital stock at three per cent. and 25*l.* capital stock at four per cent. for every 100*l.* in money; thus creating a new capital of eighteen millions three per cent. and three millions four per cent.

* The speech which attracted most strongly the public attention, was that which was delivered by Mr. William Pitt, second son of the late Earl of Chatham, who in early youth had been elected a member of the present Parliament, and who now exhibited himself as the heir of his father's talents and virtues. "One great object," said Mr. Pitt, "of all the petitions which had been presented, was a recommendation of œconomy in the public expenditure; and the design of the present bill was, to carry into effect the wishes of the people, by introducing a substantial system of œconomy. Besides the benefits which would result from the bill in this respect, it had another object still more important, and that was the reduction of the influence of the crown—an influence which was the more to be dreaded, because more secret in its attacks, and more concealed in its operations, than the power of prerogative." The youthful orator adverted to the extraordinary objections which had been made to the bill, which proposed to bring no more than 200,000*l.* per annum into the public coffers, and that sum was insignificant, in comparison of the millions annually expended. "What then is the conclusion we are left to deduce? The calamities of the present crisis are too great to be benefited by œconomy. Our expences are so enormous, that it is useless to give ourselves any concern about them; we have spent and are spending so much, that it is foolish to think of saving any thing. Such is the language which the opponents of this bill have virtually employed. It had also been said, that the King's civil list was an irresumable Parliamentary grant, and it had been even compared to a private freehold. The weakness of such arguments was their best refutation. The civil list revenue was granted to his Majesty not for his private use, but for the support of the executive government of the state. His Majesty, in fact, was the trustee of the public, subject to Parliamentary revision. The Parliament made the grant, and undoubtedly had a right to resume it when the pressure of the times rendered such resumption necessary. Upon the whole, he considered the present bill as essential to the being and independence of this country, and he would give it his most determined support."

being nine millions more than the sum actually paid into the Exchequer. To defray the interest of this loan, new taxes would be wanting to the amount of 660,000*l.* annually, *i. e.* 60,000*l.* more than the legal established interest of five per cent. exclusive of which, as the subscription to the loan bore an immediate premium of ten per cent. the further sum of 1,200,000*l.* was lost to the nation." The terms of this contract were, even by several of the friends of the minister, declared to be extravagantly high; and Mr. Fox reprobated them in the most indignant expressions of severity; but, on a division, the motion was carried by 169 against 111 voices. Some weeks afterwards, however, the subject was revived by a motion of Sir George Saville's, that a select committee be appointed, to inquire into the circumstances of the last loan, to make an estimate of its terms, and report the same to the House. A vehement debate ensued, at the conclusion of which the motion was negatived by 211 against 166. Towards the end of the session Mr. Fox moved for a committee, to consider of the American war, for the purpose of devising some means of accommodation. This motion was supported by Mr. Pitt, who expressed his utter abhorrence of a war, "which," he said, "was conceived in injustice, nurtured in folly, and whose footsteps were marked with slaughter and devastation. It exhibited the height of moral depravity and human turpitude. The nation was drained of its best blood and its vital resources, for which nothing was received in return but a series of inefficient victories or disgraceful defeats,—victories obtained over men struggling in the holy cause of liberty,—or defeats which filled the land with mourning for the loss of dear and valuable relatives, slain in a detested and impious quarrel." The motion was negatived, by 172 against 99; and, on the 18th of July, the session was closed by a speech, in which the King observed, that "the great efforts made by the nation to surmount the difficulties of the present arduous and complicated war, must convince the world that the ancient spirit of the British nation was not abated or diminished, and he was resolved to accept of no other terms or conditions of peace than such as might consist with the honour and dignity of his crown, and the permanent interests and security of his people."*

In the course of this year, an attempt was made to effect

* A considerable proportion of this session had been occupied in the consideration of the affairs of India; where, since the summer of 1779, the war had become very general; a most formidable combination of the country powers, in opposition to the English, having taken place, which, assisted by the fleets and armies of France, seemed to menace the very existence of the empire of Britain in the East. Hyder Ally, the old and inveterate enemy of the Company, in the month of July, 1780, broke into the Carnatic with an immense army, and committed the most dreadful ravages. This sanguinary conqueror, "finding," to use the language of Burke, "that he had to do with men whom no treaty could bind, resolved in the gloomy recesses of a mind capacious of such things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monument of vengeance, and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier between him and those against whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together was no protection. Having terminated his disputes with every enemy, and every rival, burying their mutual animosities in their common detestation, and compounding all the materials of fury, havock, and desolation, into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havock. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages in part were slaughtered: others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, were swept into captivity in an unknown and hostile land. One dead silence reigned over the whole region. This hurricane of war passed through every part of the central provinces of the Carnatic." On the 10th of September, (1780) Hyder Ally attacked and surrounded a considerable detached corps under Colonel Baillie, which after great, but unavailing, efforts of valour, were cut to pieces, or made prisoners; Sir Hector Monro, who commanded in the Carnatic, precipitately retreating towards Madras. Hyder next assailed and rendered himself master of Arcot; and scarcely did the government at Madras believe itself to be in safety when Sir Eyre Coote arrived, in the month of November, to take the command of the company's forces on the coast of Coromandel. Hyder Ally was, during this and the following year, in repeated engagements, foiled and defeated by this fortunate and gallant veteran. The most remarkable of these battles was fought near Porto Novo on the 1st of July, 1781. It lasted eight hours, when Hyder quitted the field, after losing four or five thousand of his best troops. Still, however, he remained extremely formidable. Several fierce encounters also took place between the French and English fleets in the Indian seas, commanded by M. Suffrein and Admiral Sir Edward Hughes. The naval force of both nations had been gradually increased, in the progress of the war, to a degree far beyond what had been known at any former period in India, amounting at the last, on the part of the British, to eighteen ships of the line of battle. The successive battles, though wholly indecisive, were obstinately, and even heroically, contested. The war on the continent of India still continued with alternate and diversified success. The valuable settlement of Negapatnam on the Coromandel coast, belonging to the Dutch, was captured by Sir Hector Monro in the month of November, 1781; and that still more important station of Trincomale, in the isle of Ceylon, by Sir Edward Hughes, a few weeks afterwards. On the other hand, Colonel Braithwaite, with a detachment of the company's troops, was totally routed on the banks of the Coleroon, in February, 1782, by Tippoo Saib, son of Hyder Ally, assisted by a body of French auxiliaries, and Cuddalore and Permaco surrendered to the victors. The operations of the war on the Malabar coast were conducted by General Goddard with great skill and spirit. Invading the province of Guzzerat, in the year 1780, he reduced the city of Amedabad, its capital; and on the 2d of April he stormed the camp of the Mahrattas commanded by Madajee Scindia, whom he totally defeated. Entering into a treaty with the Rajah of Gohud, Major Popham, by order of the General, attacked and carried, in the course of the summer, the strong fortress of Gualior, which was garrisoned by the Mahrattas, though within the territory of the Rajah. Early in 1781, General Goddard sat down before Basseen; and after reducing that important place he desisted from farther active operations, in consequence of the succours which he was obliged to send to Sir Eyre Coote. In the province of Malva, Colonel Carnac surprised, (April 30,) the camp of the enemy, and Madajee Scindia was a second time totally routed. After this the Mahratta chieftain made secret overtures for a separate peace; and a cessation of hostilities between England and the Mahratta states took place in the month of October, 1781. The definitive articles of peace were signed in May following, at Salberg, by Mr. Anderson on the part of the Company, and by Scindia, general and plenipotentiary, on the part of the Peishwa. By this treaty Basseen and the other recent acquisitions in the Guzzerat were restored to the Mahrattas, the island of Salsette only of the late conquests remaining to the English; for, at the request of Madajee Scindia, the English consented also to relinquish their claim to the city of Baroach and the contiguous districts. Ragonaut Row was for ever abandoned, and compelled to quit the territories of the Company; and their ally, the Rajah of Gohud, who appears to have opposed duplicity to duplicity, was, under the pretext of "leaving him to settle his own affairs," virtually delivered up to the mercy of his enemies.

In the session of 1780-1, as already mentioned, the affairs of India attracted the attention of Parliament, in consequence of a petition presented to the House of Commons from the governor and council at Calcutta, a second from the British settlers, and a third from the native inhabitants of Bengal, against the supreme court of judicature, established by the regulating act of 1773. The two former were drawn up in a very masterly style, and demonstrated, in a striking manner, the temerity and folly of those who could attempt to engraft the laws and juridical maxims of England upon the ancient usages and immemorial institutions of Hindostan. The petition of the natives is remarkable for its pathos and simplicity. A motion, by General Smith, for referring these petitions to a select committee, was agreed to by the House; and a bill was introduced and passed, explanatory of the powers of the supreme court of judicature, and in some points limiting and restraining its jurisdiction, which had been extended, by the arbitrary encroachments of the chief justice, far beyond the real and obvious intent of the regulating act. On the motion of Lord North, a committee of secrecy, consisting, like the select committee, of fifteen members, was also appointed to inquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic, and of the present condition of the British possessions in those parts, and to report the same with their observations thereon." Mr. Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland, was chosen chairman of this committee.

The pacification with the Mahrattas induced the presidency of Bengal to risk a bold attempt on the dominions of Hyder Ally on the Malabar side. The kingdoms of Canara and Mysore, both under subjection to that Prince, stretch along the western coast of Hindostan, nearly in the latitude of Arcot. The chief city of the former is Bednore, a name changed by its then possessor to Hydernagore. A considerable force, already landed in the kingdom of Mysore, had relieved the city of Tellicherri, a post or factory on that coast belonging to the English, and reduced the neighbouring town of Calicut. It was with difficulty, however, that the English kept their footing in this country, when General Matthews arrived from Bombay with large reinforcements, and immediately laid siege to the important fortress of Onore, which was carried by storm on the 5th of January 1783. The carnage on this occasion was terrible; and the indiscriminate seizure of treasure, public and private, there deposited, exhibited, in the most odious light, the rapacity and avarice of the commander. At this period, the hopes of the English were elated by the death of Hyder Ally, who was succeeded by his son Tippoo Saib, who had already given proofs of an heroic spirit. From Onore, General Matthews proceeded through the Ghauts, or the passes of the mountains, to Hydernagore, which surrendered without resistance. Here, as at Onore, the General was accused of combining the

effect a general accommodation; under the mediation of the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburgh. A general suspension of arms was suggested as a preliminary; but this was rejected by the British ministry, who declared the readiness of England to meet in Congress with France and Spain, but never to permit the interference of any foreign power between her and her rebellious subjects. The Bourbon courts, on the other hand, protested that they would never make a public sacrifice of their honour and good faith by abandoning the Americans. At length, all hopes of a favourable close of the negociation vanished; and, after some time, Prince Kaunitz was ordered to inform the British court of the accession of his sovereign, the Emperor of Germany, to the northern league, known by the appellation of the Armed Neutrality.

At the commencement of the year, the French had made a spirited, though abortive attempt to capture the island of Jersey by a coup-de-main.—Early on the 16th of January, a landing was effected by the Baron de Rullecourt, at the head of about 800 men, at the Bank du Violet; and, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, when the day began to dawn, the market-place of St. Helier was found occupied by French troops. The governor's house being entirely surrounded, he was compelled to surrender himself prisoner; and he was so far intimidated as to sign articles of capitulation. However, when Elizabeth Castle was summoned, Captain Aylward, the commander, far from paying the least regard to the acts of the governor in his present state of durance, fired upon the French and obliged them to retreat; and Major Pierson, a young and gallant officer, second in command, having assembled the regular troops and militia of the island on the heights near the town, attacked the enemy with the greatest resolution and vigour. Baron Rullecourt having been, at the commencement of the action, mortally wounded, the French troops in less than half an hour laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Unfortunately almost the last shot which was fired previously to the surrender proved fatal to Major Pierson.

Intelligence of the rupture with Holland having been promptly transmitted to the West Indies, Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan appeared, in February, with a considerable naval and military force, before the island of St. Eustatia. Totally destitute of the means of resistance, the inhabitants were compelled to surrender at discretion; with unusual rigour, the immense property found on the island was confiscated, on pretence of the assistance afforded by the inhabitants to the Americans; and the stores and merchandize, estimated at three millions sterling, were publicly sold for about one-fourth of their real value. A vast number of trading vessels lying in the harbour, and two men of war, also became the property of the victors. Nearly at the same time, the Dutch settlements of Demerary, Berbice, and Issequibo, on the Southern Main, also submitted without resistance to the arms of his Britannic Majesty. There, the same indiscriminate confiscation of private property did not take place; but the proceedings at St. Eustatia excited universal consternation; and a memorial was presented to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan by the hands of Mr. Glanville his Majesty's Solicitor-General for St. Christopher's, strongly representing, "that if by the fate of war the British West India islands should fall into the hands of an enraged enemy, the conduct of St. Eustatia would be a pretext for them to retaliate; that the conquerors of all civilized countries had avoided the invasion of private property; that the generosity of the enemy had been very conspicuous; and even in the case of Grenada, which had been taken by storm, the rights of individuals had been held sacred: that Eustatia was a free port, and the rich and various commodities found there were far from being the sole property of the Dutch; that a great portion of it belonged to the British subjects; and that, previously to this declaration of war, the trade to Eustatia was strictly legal, and the officers of his Majesty's customs cleared out vessels from all the ports of Great Britain and Ireland for this island. And not merely the legality, but the propriety of this trade was confirmed by the conduct of his Majesty's naval officers in those seas; for if the King's enemies were supplied by the trade of his subjects through Eustatia, they were likewise supplied, through the same channel, by the sale of the prizes captured by his Majesty's ships of war."—The Admiral replied, "that he had not as yet leisure to peruse the memorial; but that the island of Eustatia was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, every thing was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it should be treated."

About this time, the French fleet under Count de Grasse, after a partial engagement with Admiral Hood, who, in the absence of Sir George Rodney, commanded the English fleet, steered its course to the island of Tobago, on which M. de Bouille, with a considerable land force, made an immediate descent. Admiral Rodney, on receiving intelligence of an attack, detached a squadron for the relief of the island, which finding the French in great force was obliged to return. The Admiral, accompanied by General Vaughan, then sailed with the whole fleet for Tobago, off the coast of which he arrived on the 4th of June, but had the mortification to learn that the island had surrendered on the second. Towards the close of the year, St. Eustatia was unexpectedly lost. M. de Bouille, having received intelligence of the habitual negligence of the garrison, landed by night about four hundred troops, part of a much larger force which the tempestuousness of the weather had separated, in a cove at the back of the island. Confiding in his fortune, he advanced with his troops, when day-light appeared, to the citadel, which they immediately stormed, and carried; and, the surprise being complete, nearly seven hundred men, with Colonel Cockburne, their commander, were constrained to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Restitution, so far as circumstances would permit, was immediately made to those unfortunate individuals who had been

---

the meanness of fraud with the ferocity of violence; and Colonel Macleod, second in command, and several other officers, retired in in disgust from the army. Subsequently to this, Annampore, Carwa, and Mangalore, were successively subdued. In the interim, Tippoo prepared for the relief of Mysore and Canara; and, leaving a strong force to guard his conquests in the Carnatic, he marched across the peninsula with unexampled expedition, and arrived in the vicinity of Hydernagore in April, 1783. By a series of manœuvres he made himself master of the Ghauts in the rear of General Matthews, by which all communication with the sea was entirely cut off. The force of General Matthews being centred in Hydernagore, that city was invested by Tippoo with an immense army, computed at 150,000 men, covering the hills on every side as far as the eye could reach. The English, reduced to extremity, were soon obliged to surrender on capitulation, by the terms of which the public treasure was restored to the Sultan. Not a rupee, however, being found in the fortress, General Matthews was charged by the conqueror with gross collusion, and a direct infraction of the treaty. He was, consequently, taken in chains to Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, where he was thrown into a dungeon, in which, with a great part of his officers, he miserably perished.

No decisive advantage had been gained in the last campaign with Hyder; and the ill state of health of Sir Eyre Coote obliged him to resign the army into the hands of General Stuart, and to retire at the conclusion of the year 1783 to Bengal. Early in the ensuing spring, he returned to Madras, to resume his command; but two days only after his arrival he expired, in an advanced age, having acquired, in more than thirty years' military service in India, a reputation scarcely inferior to that of his predecessor Lord Clive. The important settlement of Trincomale had been retaken by M. Suffrein in the last summer, and a large reinforcement of French troops landed in the Carnatic under M. de Bussi. Notwithstanding all opposition, General Stuart invested Cuddalore, and made considerable progress in the siege, when an express arrived with the intelligence of a treaty of peace having been concluded between the belligerent powers, on which an immediate cestation of hostilities took place. After the conquest of Hydernagore, and the recapture of the inland country by Tippoo, he laid siege to Mangalore, the principal place on the Malabar coast yet remaining in our hands. Great resistance was made by the garrison; but, a practicable breach having been effected, a general assault was in contemplation, when the news arrived of the pacification which had taken place in Europe; and the French troops and engineers in his service informed Tippoo, that they must immediately withdraw their assistance. After much passionate expostulation, he therefore assented to an armistice, in a few days after which, Colonel Macleod arrived with powerful reinforcements from Bombay. A negociation was immediately commenced for definitive peace; the articles of which were signed at Mangalore (March 11th, 1784.) on the terms of mutual restitution, and a renunciation on the part of the Sultan of his claim to the sovereignty of the Carnatic.

stripped of their property; and a declaration was published, that the French forces defended the island only till relieved by the troops of their High Mightinesses.

The war in the central colonies of America, though conducted by the opposing commanders in chief, seemed at this time to languish. Early in the year, the whole Pennsylvania line in the continental army, at once revolted; and, collecting the artillery, stores, &c. belonging to them, moved in an entire body out of the camp. General Clinton, anxious to improve this apparent advantage, immediately passed over to Staten Island with a large body of forces, and dispatched messengers to the revolters with almost unlimited offers of pay, pardon, and protection. These offers, however, were rejected with disdain, and the messengers were actually delivered up to congress. Having obtained a promise of the redress of grievances, the revolters soon returned to their station.

An expedition, under the conduct of Generals Arnold and Philips, was soon afterwards sent into Virginia, where they laid waste the country, and did much damage to the Americans by the destruction of an immense quantity of provisions, merchandize, and stores, deposited in different parts; and a permanent station was established at Portsmouth, to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, whose transactions to the southward were still carried on with spirit and success. A plan having been formed between the French and American commanders, Rochambeau and Washington, to invest the post occupied by General Arnold, a warm engagement took place, in March, between Admiral Arbuthnot and a French squadron under M. Destouches, at the entrance of the Chesapeak, in which the former obtained the advantage, and was left master of the navigation of the bay.

Early in January, Lord Cornwallis began his March to North Carolina, General Green, who had superseded General Gates, retiring at his approach beyond the Pedee, having previously detached Colonel Morgan, at the head of the light troops, to the westward of the Wateree, to penetrate into South Carolina, and watch the motions of the English at Wynnesborough and Camden. Lord Cornwallis, not choosing to leave so considerable a corps in his rear, ordered Colonel Tarleton, at the head of a superior force, to drive Morgan from his station. On the 17th of the month, the Americans were discovered at a place called the Cowpens, near an open wood, drawn up in two lines; the first of which consisted of militia only, the second of continental infantry and Virginia riflemen, and a chosen body of cavalry was posted as a corps de reserve, at some distance, in the rear. Colonel Tarleton led on the attack with his accustomed impetuosity; and the American militia, as Colonel Morgan had foreseen, gave way on all quarters. The English then confidently advanced to the attack of the second line; and the continental troops, after an obstinate conflict, retreated towards the cavalry. In the interim, the militia had formed again, agreeably to orders, on the right of the continentals; and the American corps de reserve, perceiving the British troops disordered in the pursuit, came forward to the attack, the militia and continentals at the same time vigorously charging with fixed bayonets. Astonished at these unexpected charges, the English advanced corps immediately fell back, and communicated a general confusion and panic, which all the efforts of Colonel Tarleton could not retrieve. The consequence was, that the cannon, colours, and baggage waggons, with upwards of 700 prisoners, fell into the hands of the victors.

In the hope of recovering the prisoners, and intercepting the victorious Americans, Lord Cornwallis immediately marched with the greater part of his army, in rapid pursuit of Colonel Morgan. That officer had crossed the Catawba a few hours only before the arrival of his Lordship, on its southern banks, where, by heavy rains, he was detained two or three days. On the 1st of February, the passage was found practicable; but Colonel Morgan had by that time crossed the Yadkin, and effected his junction with General Green, who, on the 5th, wrote confidentially to a military correspondent, General Huger, thas he was preparing to receive the enemy's attack. At length, the whole American army, after crossing the Dan into Virginia, suddenly returned into the province of North Carolina; and with powerful reinforcements took (March 14) a strong position near Guildford Court-house. At day-break, on the 15th, Lord Cornwallis, with diminished and very inferior forces, advanced to the attack of the Americans, who were ready formed in three lines to receive him. Through the misconduct, it is said, of the North Carolina militia, who were posted in front, the British troops soon forced their way to the second line, composed of Virginians, who made a much better defence, and, when at length thrown into disorder, effected a good retreat. The continental troops, who formed the third line, were last engaged: with them, the contest was long and severe: but the British ultimately carried their point, on which General Green drew off the army, and left the field of battle, with the artillery, consisting of four field-pieces, in their hands. The Americans retired in good order, and took post behind a river, three miles only from the scene of action. This victory had all the consequences of a defeat; for the royal army was too much disabled and weakened to pursue the enemy; and it has been said, that the British troops remained near two days without subsistence; that they were destitute of tents; that the night succeeding the battle was remarkable for its darkness; that the rain at the same time fell in torrents; and that many of the wounded, sinking under their aggravated miseries, expired before morning. Lord Cornwallis now found himself under the necessity of directing his march towards Wilmington, near the mouth of Cape Fear river, a post already occupied by a detachment of British troops, where he arrived on the 7th of April. General Green immediately directed his march to the southward, and unexpectedly attacked the important post of Camden, which was gallantly maintained by Lord Rawdon, (now Earl of Moira); but the surrounding stations of Fort Motte, Orangeburgh, Congarees, and Augusta, being successively forced, his Lordship was compelled to evacuate Camden, and retire to the south of the Santee. General Green then laid close siege to the settlements of Ninety-six, which was considered as commanding the whole of the back country; and on the approach of Lord Rawdon, who had recently received great reinforcements from England, attempted to storm the garrison, but was repulsed with loss by Colonel Cruger, the governor. He then retired with his army behind the Saluda; but, no sooner had the British army been divided and weakened by the several detachments necessary to occupy their former posts, than General Green recrossed the Saluda; Lord Rawdon, surprised, and unprepared for action, retired to Orangeburgh; and the important post of Ninety-six, so gallantly defended, was evacuated. The garrison joining Lord Rawdon, with other troops drawn from the advanced posts, General Green took a strong position on the high hills of Santee, whence he detached different parties to intercept the convoys, and beat up the quarters of the English between Orangeburgh and Charlestown. The English, now under the command of Colonel Stuart, having advanced to the point of junction between the Wateree and Congaree, in order to cover the country to the south and south-east of those rivers, General Green passed the Congaree with a view to inclose the British army in its present insulated situation, or compel them to retreat towards Charlestown. Colonel Stuart immediately fell back forty miles, to a place called Eutaw Springs, where he took an advantageous position, his right extending to Eutaw, and his left to a rising ground which was occupied by a corps de reserve. General Green, with the American army, advanced (September 8) to the attack with the greatest resolution. The Virginian and Maryland continentals charged the left wing of the British with trailed arms, through a heavy cannonade and shower of musketry, and bore down all before them. The American cavalry, at the same time, turned the left flank of the British, and attacked them

in the rear. The whole army gave way in great confusion; but in their retreat, gaining an open field, they were rallied by Colonel Stuart, and formed again under protection of an effective and well-directed fire from a large and moated house, which served them for a redoubt; and whence the Americans, after repeated efforts, were unable to dislodge them. The right wing of the English pressing on the left flank of the Americans, General Green thought proper to order a retreat, leaving four pieces of artillery in the hands of the British, two of which had been taken by the Americans in the early part of the engagement. The English were in no condition to pursue, and General Green carried off with him all his wounded, and several hundred prisoners.

In the evening of the next day, Colonel Stuart abandoned the Eutaw, and moved towards Charlestown, after destroying a great part of his stores, leaving behind him many of his wounded, and about a thousand stand of arms. This engagement was decisive of the fate of the war in the southern colonies—the English not being able from this time to appear in the open field, and scarcely could they maintain their posts in the vicinity of Charlestown and Savannah. In the course of the following year those towns were finally evacuated.

Lord Cornwallis, on the march of General Green's army to the southward, found himself reduced to a perplexing dilemma—either to abandon the Carolinas to their fate, or sacrifice his hopes of future conquests, and entirely disappoint the high and sanguine expectations, which he knew to have been formed in England, of the result of the present campaign. At length, he determined to prosecute his march to Virginia. The Roanoke, the Meherrin, and the Nottaway rivers were successively crossed, with trifling opposition; and on the 20th of May his Lordship arrived at Petersburgh, where he was joined by the powerful detachment recently conducted thither by Generals Arnold and Philips. From Petersburgh Lord Cornwallis advanced to James River, which he crossed at West Town; and, thence marching through Hanover Country, crossed the South Anna or Pamunky river, whence by a rapid movement Colonel Tarleton had nearly surprised the assembly of Virginia now sitting at Charlotte-ville. Various expeditions were undertaken to different parts of the province, with uniform success; and Lord Cornwallis, by a well-concerted manœuvre, took a position between the American army and its grand depot of stores at Albemarle Court-house. Aware that the Marquis de la Fayette was on his march to prevent that important capture, and believing that he could not make his approach but with great disadvantage and hazard, he in an unguarded moment exclaimed, "The boy cannot escape me!" The Marquis, however, extricated himself from this difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer and long disused road to the Court-house; and the next day, to the surprise of Lord Cornwallis, he had taken a position which effectually covered it from attack. Lord Cornwallis finding his plan frustrated, proceeded to Williamsburg, the capital of the province, which he took possession of, (June 26th) without opposition. Here he received advices from Sir Henry Clinton, which informed him, that the commander-in-chief, conceiving New York to be in danger from the united forces of the French and Americans, desired the troops under General Arnold, which he had detached to Virginia, to be returned. With this requisition Lord Cornwallis was compelled, however reluctantly, to comply. Aware that his adversary had been lately reinforced by a strong body of troops under General Wayne, he did not think his present force adequate to maintain his station at Williamsburg, and he therefore determined to cross James River to Portsmouth. In consequence of false intelligence, General Wayne arrived with the van of the American army on the banks of the river, in expectation of attacking the rear of the British, before any part of the army had passed. Perceiving his mistake, he deemed it the best policy to charge boldly, though his corps did not amount to more than eight hundred men; and after sustaining a very unequal conflict for some time with great resolution, he ordered a rapid retreat. Lord Cornwallis, amazed at the circumstances of this attack, and suspecting that it must be meant to draw him into an ambuscade, fortunately for Wayne, forbade all pursuit. In the night, his Lordship passed over to Portsmouth, where he purposed to establish his head-quarters; but, on further deliberation, he removed to York Town.

General Washington had long and seriously meditated an attack upon New York, and General Clinton had good reason to believe that this was finally determined upon at an interview between the American General and Count Rochambeau, which took place in May; and in consequence of this project, great preparations were made in the vicinity of New York, indicatory of an approaching siege. The arrival, however, of considerable reinforcements from England, and the recall of so large a body of troops from Virginia, led General Washington to meditate a change in his plan of operations. At length a letter from Count de Grasse, stating that his destination was unalterably fixed to the Chesapeak, left no alternative; and a joint answer was immediately sent by the American and French Generals, that they would lose no time in removing the army to the south of the Delawar, there to meet the Admiral. All the appearances of attack upon New York were, however, still carefully kept up, till at length, on the 24th of August, the allied army suddenly decamped, passed the North River, and by rapid marches proceeded to Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 30th; the fleet of Count de Grasse, consisting of twenty-four ships of the line, entering nearly at the same time the bay of Chesapeak. So strongly impressed was the mind of the British commander-in-chief with the expectation of an attack upon New York, that he for a long time conceived the southern march of the American army to be only a feint. At length, finding that the van of the American army had actually passed the Delawar, and receiving authentic intelligence that the fleet of Count de Grasse was destined to the Chesapeak, he communicated his suspicions to Lord Cornwallis; at the same time assuring his Lordship," "that he would either reinforce him by every possible means in his power, or make the best diversion he could in his favour." It appears, that the leading ideas of the two British Generals did not coincide; and it may be remarked, that from the moment Lord Cornwallis began to act in subordination to orders sent him from New York he ceased to be successful.

On the 5th of September, the English fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, under Admiral Graves, appeared off the capes of Virginia, and Count de Grasse, expecting a reinforcement from Rhode island, stood out to sea for their protection. A warm engagement ensued, and the Count de Grasse being joined by the squadron of M. Barras, was left undisputed master of the Chesapeak. Relief was from this time wholly impracticable; and Lord Cornwallis withdrew within his works, making every preparation for a vigorous defence. York Town being situated nearly at the extremity of a narrow peninsula, inclosed between York River to the north, and James River to the south, it was invested with great ease and advantage by an enemy who commanded the navigations of the two rivers. On the 14th of October the besiegers, notwithstanding the well-directed and incessant fire of the enemy, had advanced far in their second parallel. As they were greatly incommoded in their approaches by two redoubts at the distance of two hundred yards from the English lines, it was determined to attack them at the same time by different detachments of French and Americans. Both of the redoubts were carried, sword in hand, with resistless impetuosity. By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance; and the British works, enfiladed in almost every part, and nearly demolished, could scarcely mount a single gun. In this extremity no resource remained but to endeavour to transport the garrison across York River to Gloucester Point, opposite to York Town, where works had been

been also erected, and were still occupied by part of the English army. This intention however, was totally frustrated by a violent storm after the embarkation had actually commenced, and Lord Cornwallis was reduced to the distressing necessity of proposing terms of capitulation, which were granted only on condition of his Lordship's surrendering himself, and the forces under his command, to the amount of above 7000 men, prisoners of war. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to General Lincoln on his giving up Charlestown, was now refused to Lord Cornwallis; and General Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the army of York Town precisely in the same way his own had been conducted eighteen months before.*

In the spring, Governor Johnstone, late one of the commissioners to America, had been invested with a naval command, and with a considerable squadron was detached on an expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. The French court, aware of the inability of the States General to protect their foreign dominions, sent a superior squadron under M. Suffrein, to counteract the designs of the English; and coming up with them at Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, the French Admiral scrupled not to violate the neutrality of the Portuguese flag, by attacking the squadron of Commodore Johnstone while it lay dispersed and scattered, unsuspicious of danger, in the harbour. Fortunately, the French, rather by extraordinary efforts of valour on the part of the English seamen, than of skill on that of their commander, were beaten off; but, immediately proceeding to the Cape, they effectually secured that important settlement from any hostile attempt, Commodore Johnstone, on his subsequent and tardy arrival, was obliged to content himself with the capture of several Dutch East Indiamen in Saldanha Bay; and those of his ships which were destined for the East Indies prosecuting their voyage thither, the Commodore returned home with his prizes.

During the summer, a sanguinary engagement took place off the Dogger Bank, between an English squadron commanded by Admiral Hyde Parker, and a Dutch squadron of equal force under Admiral Zoutman, who had under convoy the Baltic trade bound to the Texel. On perceiving the English fleet bearing down, the Dutch Admiral, who was to leeward, lay-to, and the English were suffered to approach within half musket shot without firing a gun, when a dreadful cannonade commenced, which was kept up without interruption for three hours and forty minutes; and the action then ceased only because the ships on both sides, from the damages they had respectively sustained, were no longer found manageable. The Dutch, after some time, bore away with their convoy for the Texel, which they reached with great difficulty, one of their largest ships sinking before they could make the harbour. Admiral Parker, who had unavailingly applied to the Admiralty for a reinforcement, returned in great discontent and in a shattered condition to the Nore, where he received the honor of a visit from his Majesty on board his own ship, and was offered knighthood as the reward of his valour. Nothing, however, could alter his resolution of resigning his command. The Dutch, on their part, bestowed rewards more liberal and solid on the officers and sailors of their fleet, and Admiral Zoutman was received at Amsterdam with great applause.†

Parliament was opened on the 27th of November, by a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty observed, "That the war was still unhappily prolonged, and that, to his great concern, the events of it had been very unfortunate to his army in Virginia, having ended in the total loss of his forces in that province. But he could not consent to sacrifice, either to his own desire of peace or to the temporary ease and relief of his subjects, those essential rights and permanent interests upon which the strength and security of this country must ever principally depend." The King declared, "that he retained a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and a perfect conviction of the justice of his cause;"—and he concluded by calling "for the concurrence and support of Parliament, and a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and resources of his people." Mr. Fox, who inveighed against the measures of government with much bitterness, moved, as an amendment to the proposed address, "That of the address proposed the whole be omitted excepting the first paragraph, and the following words inserted: 'And we will, without delay, apply ourselves with united hearts to propose and digest such counsels as may in this crisis excite the efforts, point the arms, and, by a total change of system, command the confidence of all his Majesty's subjects.'" This amendment was supported by Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Burke; but the original address was carried by a large majority. A similar amendment was moved in the Upper House by the Earl of Shelburne, and supported by the Duke of Richmond; but that also was negatived, by a large majority. A few days afterwards, a motion having been made by Sir Grey Cooper, for the House to resolve itself into a committee of supply, a vehement debate arose; but with as little success on the part of the opposition as the former.

On the 12th of December, a motion was made by Sir James Lowther, "That it be resolved by the House that the war carried on against the colonies and plantations of North America had been ineffectual to the purposes for which it was undertaken; and that it was also the opinion of this House, that all further attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force must be injurious to this country, by weakening her powers to resist her ancient and confederated enemies." In support of this motion, Sir James observed, "that the late speech from the throne had given a just alarm to the nation—it had shown them that the ministers were determined to persevere in the American war—that more blood and more money were to be lavished in this fatal contest—the men invested with the powers of government derived no advantage from experience—the surrender of one army only gave them spirit to risk a second, and the surrender of the second only instigated them to venture a third. There was no end of loss nor of madness. The unexampled ignorance and misconduct of the ministry were now visible to all the world. It had therefore become the indispensible duty of that House to come to some solemn resolution, in order to mark and define their idea of the American war, and to convince their constituents that they were awake to the real situation of the country." The motion was seconded by Mr. Powys, member for Northamptonshire; and, notwithstanding the utmost opposition of the minister, the numbers, on dividing the House, appeared to be 179 in favour of the motion, against 220 who opposed it.

Two days after the motion of Sir James Lowther, the army estimates were laid before the House; from which it appeared that the whole military force required for the year 1782, including the provincial corps serving in America, amounted to 195,000 men. One hundred thousand seamen and marines had been already voted by the House. It was however stated by Lord George Germaine, "That the ministry were of opinion, considering the present situation of affairs, and the misfortunes of the war, that it would not be right to continue any longer the plan on which it had hitherto been conducted; and that a fresh army would not be sent to supply the place of that captured at York Town. It

* A marble column, with appropriate inscriptions and trophies, was ordered by the Congress to be erected at York Town, in commemoration of this event; and a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God was appointed throughout all the States of the Union, "for the signal successes with which he had vouchsafed to bless the armies of America, combating in defence of their rights and liberties."

† Notwithstanding the concessions which had been made by the English Parliament to the people of Ireland, that country remained in a state far short of satisfaction. In numerous county and provincial meetings the supremacy of the British Parliament was in formal resolutions positively denied, and the absolute independence of Ireland on the British legislature boldly asserted. The unconstitutional powers of the Irish privy council were reprobated, a Habeas Corpus Act was loudly called for, and the abolition of all superfluous places and pensions was insisted upon. The zeal and activity of the military associations evinced a spirit still more alarming.

was intended only to preserve such posts in America as might facilitate and co-operate with the enterprises of our fleets."

In the debate which ensued, General Conway declared himself "anxious for a recall of our fleets and armies from America. Of the two evils he would choose the least, and submit to the independence of America, rather than persist in the prosecution of so pernicious and ruinous a war. As to the idea now suggested of a war of posts, what garrison (he asked) would be able to maintain them, when it was well known that even Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, did not consider himself as secure?" The impression made by the successive speeches of the principal leaders in opposition in this debate was too great to be concealed; but the estimates as originally moved, were at length voted by a considerable majority.

[A. D. 1782.] After the recess, Mr. Fox renewed his motion of censure against the First Lord of the Admiralty; and, in a House of near four hundred members, it was rejected by a majority of only twenty-two. The American Secretary now thought it expedient, to resign the seals of that department—and for his services he was raised to the dignity of the peerage.*

On the 20th of February, Mr. Fox again brought forward his motion of censure, somewhat varied, on Lord Sandwich; which was negatived by a majority of 19 voices only, in a House consisting of four hundred and fifty-three members; notwithstanding which, the noble Lord still kept possession of his office.

Two days afterwards, General Conway moved "for an address to the King, earnestly imploring his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to listen to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful Commons, that the war on the Continent of North America might no longer be pursued, for the impracticable purpose of reducing that country to obedience by force." This was opposed by Mr. Welbore Ellis, the new Secretary for the American department, who observed, "that it was now in contemplation to contract the scale of the war, and to prosecute hostilities by such means as were very dissimilar from the past. A striking change of circumstances had taken place, and these of course demanded a change of measures. The war now raging in America was not so properly a war against the colonies as with France. He wished to discard, as inapplicable, so vague a term as the American war. While the whole continental army was fed, clothed, and paid by France, it was not mere locality which ought to give a name to it. The war was a French war; and as in the late war America had been said to be conquered in Germany, so in this France must be said to be conquered in America. A conquest of this nature would inevitably root out the faction now prevalent in that unhappy country. That this faction, however powerful, was less numerous than the party of the royalists, appeared from the most respectable authorities. However, at the present juncture, administration were conscious of the necessity of contracting the scale of war in America, and of drawing the operations of it into a narrow compass." The division on General Conway's motion gave a majority of only "one," in favour of ministers; and Mr. Fox immediately gave notice, that in a few days the question would be revived under another form. Accordingly, on the 27th of February, General Conway moved, "That it is the opinion of this House, that a further prosecution of offensive war against America would, under present circumstances, be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, and tend to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America." To evade an immediate determination upon the question, the Attorney-General, Wallace, moved an adjournment, declaring his intention speedily to submit to the consideration of the House "a bill, enabling his Majesty to conclude a truce with America, and to enter into a negociation on this ground." The proposition of adjournment was negatived by a majority of 19, the numbers being 234 to 215; and the original motion of General Conway was then carried without a division. The General next moved an address to the King, founded on the precise words of the motion. This was agreed to; and it was resolved that the address should be presented to his Majesty by the whole House; which was accordingly done on the 1st of March: and his Majesty most graciously replied, "That, in pursuance of the advice of the House of Commons, he would assuredly take such measures as should appear to him most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and her revolted colonies." This answer not being deemed sufficiently explicit, General Conway on the 4th of March moved another address to his Majesty, returning him thanks for his gracious assurances, and affirming, "That nothing could so essentially promote the great objects of his Majesty's paternal care, as the measures his faithful Commons had humbly though earnestly recommended to his Majesty." This was agreed to Nem. Con. and by a second motion it was resolved, "That the House will consider as enemies to his Majesty and the country all those who should advise a prosecution of offensive war on the Continent of North America."

On the succeeding day, the Attorney-General moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to conclude a truce or peace with the revolted colonies in America. No serious opposition was made to this bill, but it was treated with indifference, and Mr. Fox declared it to be only deserving of contempt.†

Ministers not having indicated an intention to resign, it was thought necessary to move a direct vote of censure upon them, at the close of a series of resolutions brought forward by Lord John Cavendish, on the 8th

---

*. Before the Great Seal was affixed to the patent, the Marquis of Carmarthen moved, in the House of Peers, "that it was highly derogatory to the honour of that House, that any person labouring under the sentence of a court martial, styled in the public orders issued by his late Majesty 'a censure much worse than death,' and adjudged unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity, should be recommended to the crown as a proper person to sit in that House." The motion was evaded by the question of adjournment; but Lord George Germaine having actually taken his seat in the House under the title of Lord Viscount Sackville, the Marquis of Carmarthen renewed his attack, and urged, "that the House of Peers being a court of honour, it behoved them to preserve that honour uncontaminated, and to mark in the most forcible manner their disapprobation of the introduction of a person into that assembly who was stigmatized in the orderly books of every regiment in the service." Lord Abingdon, who seconded the motion, styled the admission of Lord George Germaine to a Peerage "an insufferable indignity to that House, and an outrageous insult to the public.—What," said his Lordship, "has that person done to merit honours superior to his fellow-citizens? His only claim to promotion was, that he had undone his country by executing the plan of that accursed invisible though efficient cabinet, from whom as he received his orders, so he had obtained his reward." Lord Sackville denied the justice of the sentence passed upon him, and affirmed "that he considered his restoration to the council board, at a very early period of the present reign, as amounting to a virtual repeal of that iniquitous verdict." The Duke of Richmond defended the motion, and said, "that he himself was present at the battle of Minden, and was summoned on the trial of Lord George Germaine; and had his deposition been called for, he could have proved that the time lost when the noble Viscount delayed to advance, under pretence of receiving contradictory orders, was not less than one hour and a half; that the cavalry were a mile and a quarter only from the scene of action; and it was certainly in his Lordship's power to have rendered the victory, important as it was, far more brilliant and decisive; and he had little reason to complain of the severity of the sentence passed upon him." The motion was also powerfully supported by Lord Southampton, the Earl of Shelburne, the Marquis of Rockingham, &c. On a division, it was rejected, by a majority of 93 to 28 voices; but to the inexpressible chagrin of Lord Sackville, a protest was entered on the journals of the House, declaring the promotion of his Lordship to be "a measure fatal to the interest of the crown, insulting to the memory of the late sovereign, and highly derogatory, to the dignity of that House."

† "Ministers had no wish," Mr. Fox observed, "for peace, and affairs were so circumstanced, that they must lose their places or the country be undone. There were at that very time persons in Europe, fully impowered to make peace between Great Britain and America, but who would not negociate with such an administration. He, as a friend to his country, would, if properly authorized, conduct the transaction, even in the capacity of a "commis;" but he desired it to be understood that he did not mean to connect himself with any of the ministers. From the moment when he should make terms with any one of them, he would rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of mankind. He could not for an instant think of a coalition with men, who, in every public and private transaction, as ministers, had shown themselves void of every principle of honour and honesty. In the hands of such men he would not trust his honour even for a minute."

of March, importing, "that the chief cause of all the national misfortunes is want of foresight and ability in his Majesty's ministers." The motion was seconded by Mr. Powys, who remarked, "that the noble Lord at the head of affairs had declared, that whenever Parliament should withdraw its confidence from him, he would resign. That period was now come. The confidence of Parliament was now withdrawn. It was therefore necessary that he should retire from power; and, whenever the happy moment should arrive, in which the noble Lord, to the unspeakable joy of the nation, should really go to his Sovereign to resign his employments, he hoped he would not forget to lay before the King a fair representation of the flourishing state in which he found his Majesty's empire when the government of it was intrusted to his hands, and the ruinous condition in which he was about to leave all that remained of it." After a long debate, the order of the day was moved, and carried by 226 against 216. In the course of a few days, a resolution was moved by Sir John Rous, "that the House taking into consideration the debt incurred, and the losses sustained in the present war, could place no further confidence in the ministers, who had the direction of public affairs." On a division, the numbers were 227 for, and 236 against the motion. Four days after this (March 19), the Earl of Surry had proposed to move a resolution of similar import to that of Sir John Rous; but when his Lordship was about to rise, Lord North addressed himself to the Speaker, and said, "that as he understood the object of the noble Lord's motion to be the removal of ministers, he wished to prevent the necessity of giving the House further trouble, by an explicit declaration, "that his Majesty had come to a determination to make an entire change of administration:" and he and his colleagues only retained their official situations till other ministers were appointed to occupy their places. His Lordship thanked the House for the indulgence he had experienced from them in the discharge of his duty, and declared himself ready to answer to his country for his conduct whenever he should be called upon for that purpose." Lord Surry consented, upon this communication, to wave his motion, which, he declared, "was intended to prevent the further perpetration of those abuses of their trust, to which, with impunity, and to the disgrace and detriment of the state, the late ministers had for such a length of time proceeded." Thus was this memorable administration suddenly and totally dissolved.

It was feared by many that great difficulties would arise in the formation of a new and efficient cabinet, on account of the division which had so long subsisted among the Whigs in opposition to the court. Of the two parties, that of Lord Rockingham was the most numerous and powerful; but, from various causes, the other party, of which, since the death of Lord Chatham, the Earl of Shelburne was accounted the head, was in less discredit with the King;—and the highest department of government was, upon this occasion, expressly offered to that nobleman by his Majesty. His Lordship, however, resisted the temptation; and the Marquis of Rockingham was a second time placed at the head of the treasury; Lord John Cavendish acted as Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox were nominated Secretaries of State; Lord Camden was appointed President of the Council; the Duke of Grafton was reinstated as Lord Privy Seal Admiral, now Lord Keppel, was placed at the head of the Admiralty; General Conway, of the Army; the Duke of Richmond, of the Ordnance; the Duke of Portland succeeded Lord Carlisle as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Burke was constituted Paymaster of the forces; and Colonel Barre, Treasurer of the navy. Lord Thurlow alone, by the indulgence of the new ministers, continued in possession of the Great Seal.*

Amongst the first acts of the new ministry, was a letter from Mr. Fox to M. Simolin, the Russian ambassador, expressing his Britannic Majesty's willingness to accept the mediation offered by the Empress for a separate accommodation with Holland, on the basis of the treaty of 1674. This their High Mightinesses thought proper to decline; and Mr. Adams was at this period formally acknowledged and received by the States General as Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America. Negociations for a general peace were almost immediately commenced between France and Great Britain, and Mr. Grenville was sent to Paris, invested with full powers to treat with all the parties.

Previously to the change of administration, Sir Henry Clinton had resigned to Sir Guy Carleton his command in America, which he had held since the resignation of Sir William Howe, in the Spring of 1778. Instructions were now sent to the new commander and Admiral Digby, to acquaint the Congress of the pacific views of the English court, and of their readiness to treat on the basis of American Independence.

Bills which had been formerly introduced and negatived, were, at a very early period, after the appointment of the new cabinet revived by Mr. Crew and Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, for disabling revenue officers from voting at elections, and excluding contractors from the House of Commons. They were now passed with eclat, Mr. Fox declaring, that not an hour should be lost in giving the public the strongest proofs that his Majesty's ministers were sincerely determined to make such reforms as should be necessary, and to enforce that system of government which they had repeatedly called for when not in place. These bills were warmly though ineffectually, opposed in the House of Peers by the Lord-Chancellor.

In the month of November 1781, Mr. Grattan, a distinguished member of the Irish Parliament, had moved for a limitation of the perpetual mutiny bill. This was rejected by a great majority; but, at a subsequent meeting of the representatives of 143 corps of volunteers assembled at Dungannon, resolutions were passed declaratory of the rights of Ireland, and in express terms asserting, "that the claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, was unconstitutional and illegal, and a grievance of which it was their decided and unalterable determination to seek the speedy and effectual redress. They knew," they said, "their duty to their sovereign, and were disposed to be loyal; but they knew also what they owed to themselves, and were resolved to be free." A short time after these resolutions had been passed, Mr. Grattan moved the House for an address to the King, founded upon the same principles. This motion was also rejected; but, on the 16th of April (1782) he again moved "a Declaration of Rights, under the form of an address to the throne."† The address was voted without a dissentient voice, unanimously acceded to by the Peers, and immediately transmitted to the King.‡

Some

* The friends of Lord North have asserted, with scarcely any contradiction from his enemies, "that his honour was unblemished, his integrity unquestionable; and in a long and stormy, and at length unfortunate administration, he had many political opponents, almost without any personal enemy."

† In his speech on this occasion, Mr. Grattan pronounced an animated panegyric on the volunteers, and the late conduct of the Irish nation—"He beheld," he said, "with joy and admiration, her progress from injuries to arms, from arms to liberty. The Irish volunteers had supported the rights of the Irish Parliament against those temporizing trustees who would have relinquished them. Allied by liberty still more than by allegiance, Great Britain and Ireland formed a constitutional confederacy. The perpetual annexation of the two crowns was a powerful bond of union, but Magna Charta was more efficacious still. It would be easy any where to find a king, but to England only can we look for a constitution. Ireland was planted by Britons, and was entitled to British privileges. It was by charters, and not by conquest, as had been falsely asserted, that the mutual connexion of the two countries was originally established. Every true Irishman would say, Liberty with England, if England is so disposed; but at all events Liberty. The Irish nation were too high in pride, character, and power, to suffer any other nation to claim a right to make their laws. Was England ready to acknowledge the Independence of America, and would she refuse liberty to Ireland? If she was capable, after enabling his Majesty to repeal the Declaratory Act against America, of wishing to retain that against Ireland, the Irish nation was not capable of submitting to it."

‡ In this address the two Houses affirm, "That the crown of Ire-

Some days previously to the motion of Mr. Grattan, a royal message was delivered to the English House of Commons, "recommending to their most serious consideration the state of affairs in Ireland, in order to such a final adjustment as may give a mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms;" and, on the 18th of May, Mr. Fox, at the close of a long and able speech, moved for the repeal of the obnoxious act for securing the dependency of Ireland; which he called "a measure of necessity resulting, however unpleasant it might be to some, from the conduct of the late ministry, who had awakened the present spirit in Ireland, by refusing their most modest and reasonable requests.* This repeal, which passed both Houses without opposition, was considered as a virtual renunciation of the claim of legislating for Ireland; and so eminently gratified were the Irish Parliament and nation with the liberality of these cessions, that a vote of the House of Commons in that kingdom passed unanimously for raising twenty thousand seamen for the naval service of Britain.

On the 15th of April another message was delivered to the House from the King, stating, "That his Majesty, taking into consideration the supplies which have been given with so much liberality, and supported with such uncommon firmness and fortitude by his people in the present extensive war, recommended to his faithful Commons the consideration of an effectual plan of economy throughout all the branches of the public expenditure." An address of thanks was then moved for, and immediately agreed to by the House.

Mr. Burke's Reform Bill, which appeared to have undergone much retrenchment and reform since its first introduction to the House, was now a third time brought forward and passed with little difficulty.† In the Peers, however, the bill met with a violent opposition from the Lords Thurlow and Loughborough; but it finally passed by a great majority. A bill, from the Commons, for disfranchising certain voters of the borough of Cricklade, who had been proved guilty of bribery, was also impeded and embarrassed in all its stages by these law Lords. On the 3d of May, after a long debate, it was resolved by the House of Commons, "That all the declarations, orders, and resolutions of that House respecting the election of John Wilkes, Esq. be expunged from the journals of the House, as subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors in the kingdom." By the people, however, the case of the Middlesex election was now regarded with nearly as much indifference as that of any other elective decision.

Just afterwards, a subject of infinitely higher importance, was brought under the notice of the House, in consequence of a motion made by Mr. Pitt for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the representation of the people in Parliament.‡ The motion was warmly supported by Sir George Saville, and by Mr. Fox, who allowed the House of Commons to be a virtual representation of the people, yet this he observed was very different from, and far inferior to, a real one.§ The more distinguished opponents of the motion were Mr. Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Powys, and Mr. Thomas Pitt, the proprietor of the

---

land is an imperial crown, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the interest and happiness of both countries essentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof. In this right they conceived the very essence of their liberty to exist. It was a right which they, in behalf of all the people of Ireland, claimed as their birth-right, and which they could not yield but with their lives." They averred "that they considered the claims of the Parliament of Great Britain, in the act passed for better securing the dependency of Ireland, to be irreconcileable to the fundamental rights of that nation." They added, "that they had a high veneration for the British character, and the people of Ireland did not desire to share the freedom of England without likewise sharing her fate;—and it was their determination to stand or fall with the British nation."

* Mr. Fox, however observed, "that his own decided opinion had always been, that Ireland, being a part of the British empire, was entitled to the full and equal participation of all the benefits and immunities enjoyed in England, and which were consonant to the principles of the British constitution. His ideas of Ireland corresponded exactly with his ideas relative to America. He thought it absurd and unjust for any country to pretend to legislate for another, without, much less against, their consent and concurrence;—nor could it at any time so legislate to any good purpose. As to Ireland, he made no scruples, in the most express and unequivocal terms, to declare, that he considered her present claims to be substantially just, and that he felt himself inclined to move the resolution which he was about to propose in favour of Ireland, as much on the ground of justice as prudence."

† By this Bill, the Board of Trade, and the Board of Works, with the great wardrobe, were abolished; together with the office of American Secretary of State, now rendered useless by the loss of the American colonies;—the offices of treasurer of the chamber, cofferer of the household, the lords of police in Scotland, the paymaster of the pensions, the master of the harriers, the master of the staghounds, and six clerks of the board of green-cloth. But the regulations relative to the Principality of Wales, to the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, the Mint, and Ordnance offices, with other provisions contained in the former bill, were wholly omitted. By a clause of the present bill his Majesty was enabled to borrow a sum for the liquidation of a new arrear of three hundred thousand pounds, by a tax on salaries and pensions; for a debt to this amount had been again contracted, notwithstanding the addition of one hundred thousand pounds per annum recently made to the civil list.

‡ So struck was the late Earl of Chatham with the mischiefs arising from the present system, that he scrupled not to hazard a peremptory prediction, that the rotten boroughs would not survive the present century—and that, if Parliament did not reform itself from within, it would reform itself with a vengeance from without." Yet there were many wise and excellent persons, true and firm friends to liberty, whose minds revolted at the idea of new-modelling the representation of the country. They conceived that the actual advantages resulting from the constitution, when rightly administered, under the present form, were too great to risk any experiment, however plausible in theory, of such magnitude as to draw after it consequences which no human sagacity could pretend to trace or fathom. Early this year it had been resolved by the city of London, assembled in common-hall, "That the unequal representation of the people, the corrupt state of Parliament, and the perversion thereof from its original institution, had been the principal causes of the unjust war with America, and of every grievance of which the nation complained." Similar resolutions were passed by the county of York, and many other counties and cities.—In support of his motion, Mr. Pitt said, "that there was, he believed, no member of that House who would not acknowledge that the representation, as it now stood, was incomplete. It was perfectly understood that there were some boroughs under the influence of the Treasury, and others totally possessed by them. It was manifest that such boroughs had no one quality of representation in them. They had no share or concern in the general interests of the country, and they had in fact no stake for which to appoint their guardians in the popular assembly. There were other boroughs which had now, in fact, no actual existence, but in the return of members to the House. They had no existence in property, in population, in trade, or in weight of any kind. The few persons who possessed the right of voting for these boroughs were the slaves of others, who claimed the property of the boroughs, and who in fact made the returns. This also was no representation, nor any thing like it. Another set of boroughs and towns claimed to themselves the right of bringing their votes to market. Such boroughs were the most dangerous of all others. So far from the interests of their country in the choice which they made, they held out their borough to the best purchaser; and, in fact, some of them belonged more to the nabob of Arcot than they did to the people of Great Britain. They were towns and boroughs more within the jurisdiction of the Carnatic than the limits of the empire of Britain. Such boroughs were manifestly sources of corruption, they gave rise to an inundation of wealth, ill acquired and ill employed, by which no interest of the people of this country could be promoted, and such boroughs ought to be abolished. Foreign influence had ever been regarded as very dangerous to a nation; and if the nabobs of India had been able to obtain it, why might not a foreign power, at enmity with Great Britain, acquire the same influence by the same means? There was no man," he said, "in that House who had more reverence for the constitution, and more respect even for its vestiges than himself. But he was afraid that the reverence and the enthusiasm which Englishmen entertained for the constitution would, if not suddenly prevented, be the means of destroying it; for such was their superstitious awe, that they would not even remove its defects for fear of touching its beauty. He admired, for his own part, the constitution so much, that he wished to efface whatever affected its radical principles. This he considered not as innovating, but restoring. That a reform of the present Parliamentary representation was indispensably necessary, was the sentiment of some of the first and greatest characters in the kingdom: and he should always take the liberty to observe, that he well knew it to be the sentiment of his much honoured father, the late Earl of Chatham, that a reform of this nature was absolutely requisite for the security of British liberty."

§ Adverting to the bill for an equal representation, introduced by the Duke of Richmond into the House of Lords, he declared that he could not subscribe to it in all its parts, though he concurred sincerely in its general object. It had been suggested that the army and navy ought to be excluded from the House, but he was of a different opinion. It was his wish, in order to make that House perfect, that it should contain the landed, the navy, the army, the monied, and in short every interest. This was so far from being the case, in any just scale of proportion, that the county of Middlesex, though it contained one-eighth part of the population, and contained one-sixth part of the land tax, and a full third of all other taxes, did not possess more than a fifty-fifth part of the representation. Some reform, therefore was indispensably necessary, and he should vote for the present motion.

borough of Old Sarum.* On a division, Mr. Pitt's motion was negatived only by 161 against 141.†

The new ministry, though composed of heterogeneous materials, had hitherto conducted public affairs with the appearance of unanimity. By the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, however, (July 1st, 1782) in the meridian of his age, and at the very height of his political reputation, the state of affairs suddenly underwent a great and important change. On the very next day, the Earl of Shelburne was declared first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury; an assumption, which, without any previous communication with his colleagues in administration, was considered by the Rockingham party as equivalent to a declaration of political hostility on the part of his Lordship. Mr. Fox immediately resigned the seals as secretary of the northern department; Lord John Cavendish his office as Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Duke of Portland his government of Ireland; Lord Althrop, Lord Duncannon, Mr. Frederic Montague, &c. their seats at the boards of Treasury and Admiralty; and Mr. Burke his post of paymaster of the army. The seals of the southern department were consequently given to the Earl of Grantham, and of the northern to Mr. Thomas Townshend, late secretary at war; Sir George Yonge succeeded Mr. Townshend; Colonel Barré was made paymaster of the forces; the Lord Advocate of Scotland, in his room, Treasurer of the navy; and the Earl of Temple, eldest son of the late George Grenville, succeeded the Duke of Portland in the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. The promotion, however, which attracted most of the public attention was that of Mr. William Pitt, who, at the age of three-and-twenty, was constituted Chancellor of the Exchequer—an office which had been always supposed to require, less brilliancy of talents, than long previous study and experience, and confirmed habits of diligence, industry, and business.‡ On the 11th of July, Parliament was prorogued; the speech

* These gentlemen ridiculed the idea of equal representation, as extravagant, impracticable, visionary, and absurd. They maintained, also, that the origin and purpose of Parliament were to balance the power of the crown. "The members of the Lower House, however variously elected, stood individually and collectively as representatives of all the subjects of Great Britain; if they effected the great purpose of defending the people at large against the encroaching power and increasing influence of the crown; if, as faithful guardians, they held the public purse, if they preserved the laws of the country from violation, they answered every end of their institution, whatever irregularities a speculatist might fancy he discovered in their appointment; for that country truly enjoys the blessing of liberty, where the laws hold an equal course to all, not where all are equally represented. If the proposition now offered to the House were adopted, they must launch into a sea without a shore; a general enquiry without any defined or specific object; and inquisition into the state of every borough, which would alarm the feelings of every one interested in so extensive a consideration, while it held out to the public expectations which the House never meant to satisfy, nor ought to satisfy, nor could satisfy, were it ever so expedient. By instituting a committee of inquiry, Parliament would be converted into a general repository for the reception of all the projects of the wildest of projectors; the imaginations of the public would be let loose; the torrent could never be restrained, and the principle must either be carried to the utmost height, or abandoned. Representation of an inherent or natural, was an universal right; there was no medium. To countenance so vague, so undefined a measure, would be an act of madness and infatuation, tending only to tumult and disorder, and every confusion that expectation, followed by disappointment, could operate on the passions of the multitude."

† During the last session, as has been already remarked, the affairs of the East India Company had been the frequent subject of Parliamentary discussion. Early in the present year General Smith moved that the committee which had been appointed to inquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic should also be instructed to investigate the rise, progress, and present state of the Mahratta war. This was agreed to by the House; and, on the 19th of April, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Dundas, moved, "That the several reports which had been made from the secret committee appointed in the last and present session of Parliament, relating to the affairs of the East India Company, should be referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole House." On this occasion, the Lord Advocate, as chairman of the secret committee, entered into a long and able detail of the causes of those great calamities which had brought the company into its present critical and dangerous state; taking a retrospective view of Indian transactions from the æra of 1765, when Lord Clive went out a second time Governor; and reprobating the general system of policy recently pursued in India in terms of extreme severity. In remarking upon the state of the Company's finances, he affirmed, "That the revenue of Bombay fell short of its necessary civil and military investments 200,000*l.* annually, which was always drawn from Bengal. The revenue of the Madras presidency was, in time of peace, more than equal to defray the cost of that establishment. But the most lucrative of the British possessions in the East Indies were those of Bengal. Such, however, had been the enormous expence of the Mahratta war, that the Governor-General had been obliged to contract so large a debt, that it was doubtful whether the investments for England must be wholly or partially suspended. Mr. Hastings had no right whatever to fancy himself an Alexander, or an Aurengzebe, and to prefer frantic military exploits to the improvement of the trade and commerce of the country. Mr. Dundas's motion having been agreed to, on the following day General Smith, chairman of the select committee, moved, "that the reports of that committee should also be referred to a committee of the whole House." The General strongly corroborated the opinions and sentiments of Mr. Dundas, and joined him in affirming that, there had been a variety of great abuses in India, the particulars of which might be seen in the reports. The proposition being agreed to, the House resolved, on the 24th of April, on the motion also of General Smith, "That Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor-General of Bengal, and Sir Elijah Impey, Knight, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Fort William in Bengal, appeared to have been concerned, the one in giving, the other in receiving, an office not agreeable to the true intent of the act of the 13th year of his present Majesty, &c. which unjustifiable transaction between them was attended with circumstances of evil tendency and example." It was also resolved, "That the powers given to the Governor-General and council of Bengal, by the above-mentioned act, ought to be more distinctly ascertained; and that it would be proper to reduce into one act the several acts of Parliament made to regulate the East India Company, and further to explain and amend the same; and also to make new regulations and provisions to the same end." On the 28th of May, the House of Commons came to a variety of resolutions, grounded on the reports of the secret and select committees, and condemnatory of the whole system of Indian politics. As the result of the connected series of resolutions, it was finally resolved:—"That Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor-General in Bengal, and William Hornby, Esq. President of the Council at Bombay, having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expences on the East India Company, it is the duty of the directors of the said Company to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said Governor-General and President from their said offices, and to recall them to Great Britain." The purport of this resolution was approved and confirmed by the court of directors, who, on the 28th of October of this year, passed the following analogous resolution:—"That it is the opinion of this court, that a steady perseverance in the system of conduct so frequently enjoined by the court of directors, cannot be expected from those servants whose ideas of extension of dominion, either by negotiation or conquest, have led them to depart from orders so often enforced; and therefore that it is expedient to remove Warren Hastings, Esq. from the office of Governor-General of Bengal." The court of proprietors, however, refusing, by a great majority, to ratify this resolution, the whole proceeding passed gradually and silently into oblivion. In the course of the investigations of the secret committee, the conduct of Sir Thomas Rumbold, late Governor of Madras, at this time a member of the House of Commons, came under a severe review; and he was denounced in the reports of the committee as guilty of gross peculation, embezzlement, and oppression. A bill was in consequence introduced by the Lord Advocate, for restraining Sir Thomas Rumbold from leaving the kingdom for the period of one year, and for preventing the alienation or transportation of his property. This was preparatory to a bill afterwards brought into the House for inflicting certain pains and penalties on Sir Thomas Rumbold, for high crimes and misdemeanors. This bill, which at first excited great attention, and which was continued from session to session in a manner wholly unprecedented, was at last suffered to sink into neglect.

‡ A few days subsequently to his resignation, Mr. Fox stated in the House of Commons the grounds and reasons of his conduct. He observed, "That political differences of opinion had taken place of great importance in the cabinet, and that he had withdrawn himself from it to prevent that distraction in the public councils which he conceived to be ruinous to the public welfare. He had reason, he affirmed, to believe that the day was come when the system on which the administration of Lord Rockingham had been formed was to be abandoned, and a new system was to be substituted, or rather the old one revived, with the assistance of the old men, or indeed of any men that could be found. Nor should he wonder if, in a short time, they were joined by those very persons whom that House had precipitated from their seats. He therefore chose to resign, voluntarily relinquishing the pomps, the profits, and the patronage of office, as he could no longer continue in place with honour to himself, or benefit to the public." General Conway "lamented the defection of the distinguished characters who had recently withdrawn themselves from office, at a time when their country so much needed their support. He protested that he knew of no defalcation in the present ministers from those principles which they had originally professed; nor any diversities of opinion in the cabinet, beyond those shades of difference which must always arise amongst men of strong and independent minds." The Duke of Richmond expressed in the House of Lords similar regret at the late resignations. "So long, and so long only, as the noble Lord who now presided at the board of treasury should adhere to the principles on which the administration was originally formed, so long would he give him his cordial support. Whenever these principles were abandoned, he would be his most determined opponent." The Earl of Shelburne declared "his perfect satisfaction at being supported upon the terms stated by the noble Duke.

speech from the throne containing the welcome declaration, "That nothing could be more repugnant to his Majesty's feelings than the long continuance of so complicated a war; and that his ardent desire of peace had induced him to take every measure which promised the speediest accomplishment of his wishes."

Gibraltar still continued closely invested by the Spaniards, and the extraordinary defence of the garrison attracted the general attention of Europe. Towards the close of the preceding year, the works which had been erected by the Spaniards across the isthmus which connects the rock of Gibraltar with the continent were stormed and almost totally demolished. In less than half an hour, five batteries, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverse, were in flames —the magazines exploding one after another, as the conflagration successively reached them—the astonished Spaniards offering no other resistance, than a distant and ill-directed fire from the forts of St. Barbara and St. Philip.

Intelligence arrived early in the spring of the present year, that General Murray, Governor of Minorca, had been compelled, after a long and vigorous resistance, to surrender that island to the arms of his Catholic Majesty. The island of Nevis, in the West Indies, about the same time surrendered to the Marquis de Bouille and the Count de Grasse; by whom very liberal terms were granted to the inhabitants. Eight thousand troops, with a formidable train of artillery, were then landed on the important island of St. Christopher. Sir Samuel Hood, who commanded the British fleet on that station, made great efforts for its relief; and, notwithstanding his inferiority of force, he, in three successive encounters with de Grasse, obtained each time the advantage, and at length, by a dexterous manœuvre, gained possession of the enemy's anchorage at Basseterre Road. Admiral Hood then landed a considerable detachment of troops from Antigua under General Prescot. General Frazer, however, the commanding officer, was obliged to surrender the island on capitulation, after a siege of five weeks, on the 12th of February. In the same month, Demerary, Isequibo, and Montserrat, were captured by the French. The Bahamas were also reduced by a considerable force under Don Manuel de Cigagal, governor of the Havannah, to the obedience of the crown of Spain. On the 19th of February Admiral Rodney arrived in the West Indies with a strong reinforcement of ships from England, and resumed the command. Great preparations were now making, both by the French and Spaniards, for the invasion of Jamaica; and, as the combined force of these nations amounted to above sixty sail of the line, had a junction been effected, the island must have been lost. Sir George Rodney's first object was to intercept a large convoy of troops, provisions, &c. expected from Europe: but in this he was disappointed; the enemy found means to escape his vigilance, by making the island of Deseada, to the northward, and keeping close in shore under the high land of Guadaloupe and Dominique, and arrived safe at Fort Royal on the 21st of March. It was the intention of de Grasse to proceed to Hispaniola, and join the Spanish Admiral, Don Solano, who was awaiting his arrival, to make, in conjunction, the pre-concerted attack on Jamaica. On the 8th of April, at day-break, the French fleet left the harbour of Fort Royal: Admiral Rodney instantly made the signal for a general chace; and, early the next morning, he came up with the enemy under Dominique, where the van of the English engaged the rear of the French: the continued calms, however, prevented a general or close action. In the morning of the 11th a fresh gale sprang up; the chace was renewed; and, towards evening, the headmost ships of the van gained so much on one or two of the enemy's ships, damaged in the late action, that de Grasse thought it necessary to bear down for the purpose of protecting them. Sir George Rodney, who had eagerly watched and waited for this opportunity, now manœuvred the fleet with such skill, as to gain the windward of the enemy during the night, and entirely to prevent their retreat. At seven in the morning of the 12th, the two fleets, ranged in lines directly opposite, engaged with the greatest fury. The French ships being crowded with men, the carnage was prodigious; but no visible impression was made, or material advantage gained, till about noon, when Sir George Rodney in the Formidable, followed by his seconds the Namur and the Duke, successfully broke through the enemy's line, about three ships short of the centre, where the Count de Grasse commanded in the Ville de Paris. Promptly supported by the remainder of his division, Sir George wore round close upon the enemy, and actually separated their line, placing the central ships of the French between two fires. This manœuvre proved decisive. The French, however, continued to fight with the utmost bravery, and the battle lasted till sun-set. The Cæsar was the first ship which struck her colours, having lost her Captain, and being reduced to a wreck by her enemy's fire. Soon afterwards, she blew up, and all her crew perished. The Glorieux, the Hector, the Ardent, followed the example of the Cæsar; and the Diadem went down by a single broadside. The Ville de Paris still held out, and, though reduced to a wreck, seemed to prefer sinking rather than strike to any thing under a flag. Admiral Hood, in the Barfleur, approached him just at sun-set, and poured in a most destructive fire, which the Count sustained for some time, till having three men only left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, he struck. Night only closed the action: the shattered remains of the French fleet crowded all the sail they could make for Cape François, and in the morning they were out of sight. Sir Samuel Hood pursued them, and came up with five sail off Porto Rico, and captured the Jason and Caton ships of the line, and two frigates; the third with difficulty clearing the Mona passage. This was justly considered as one of the most glorious and decisive victories ever obtained by the naval prowess of Britain. The number of men slain in this action, and in that of the 9th, on the part of the French, is estimated at 3000 men, and the wounded were nearly double; so that, taking the prisoners on board the captured ships also into the computation, the French must have sustained a loss of ten or twelve thousand men. Their fleet had on board the land forces intended for the Jamaica expedition; and the whole train of artillery, with thirty-six chests of money destined for the use and subsistence of the troops, were found on board the Ville de Paris and the other captured ships. The designs of the confederated powers were thus completely frustrated, whilst the loss of men, including killed and wounded, on the part of the English, did not exceed 1100. Sir George Bridges Rodney was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Rodney, of Rodney Stoke in the county of Somerset, and a perpetual annuity of 2000*l.* was annexed to the title. A motion, over-ruled in the preceding session of Parliament, but intended to be revived by the present ministry, for an inquiry into the conduct of the naval and military commanders at St. Eustatius, was now lost sight of; and the Admiral received the

---

Duke. He lamented as much as any man the death of the late Marquis of Rockingham, and the loss sustained by the cabinet in the retreat of two persons so remarkably distinguished, one by the splendor of his abilities the other by the unimpeached integrity of his character. The office he now held, his Lordship affirmed, was within his grasp when the first arrangements were forming, but he had then given way to the noble Marquis, though he had now accepted the post, as that nobleman was no more; and this, he believed, was the only reason for which the late right honourable secretary had withdrawn himself. But if the monarch was divested of the power of appointing his own servants, he would be reduced to the condition of a

King of the Mahrattas, who had nothing of sovereignty but the name. He had been charged, his Lordship said, with inconsistency relative to America: but his opinion still was, as it ever had been, that whenever the Parliament of Great Britain acknowledged that point, the sun of England's glory was set for ever. Other Lords, however, thought differently, and the question would soon come under the full and impartial discussion of Parliament; but he repeated, that if Parliament conceded that point, he foresaw that England was undone; for that ruin and independence were linked together—the ruin not of England only, but of America."

unanimous

DEATH OF LORD ROBERT MANNERS.

Published by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.

unanimous thanks of both Houses for his eminent services.*

The leading object of Spain, during the whole of this war, was the recovery of the fortress of Gibraltar. After the reduction of Minorca, the Duc de Crillon, conqueror of that place, was appointed to conduct the siege; and, from the failure of former plans, it was resolved to adopt an entire new mode of operation. A project was formed by the Chevalier D'Arçon, and approved by the Spanish court, to construct a number of floating batteries on a model which, it was believed, would secure them from being either sunk or fired. Their keels and bottoms were made of an extraordinary thickness, and their sides defended by a sort of rampart, composed of wood and cork, and inclosing between them a thick layer of wet sand. The roof was constructed of strong rope-work netting, covered with wet hides, and calculated, by its inclined form, to prevent the shells and bombs from lodging, and to throw them off into the sea. The batteries, ten in number, were made of the hulls of large vessels cut down for the purpose, and mounted with heavy brass cannon; and by an ingenious mechanism, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the solid workmanship, so as to convey a continued succession of water to every part of the vessels. The preparations were enormous in other respects: about 1200 pieces of heavy ordnance had been brought to the spot, to be employed in the different modes of attack; above eighty gun-boats and bomb-ketches were to second the operations of the floating batteries, with a multitude of frigates, sloops, and schooners: and the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to fifty sail of the line, were to cover and support the attack, while they heightened the terrible grandeur of the scene. The numbers employed by land and sea against the fortress were estimated at more than one hundred thousand men. With this force, and by the fire of three hundred cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the adjacent isthmus, it was intended to attack every part of the British works at the same instant. The Count d'Artois and the Duc de Bourbon, the brother and cousin of the French monarch, and numerous other volunteers of high rank, had repaired to the Spanish camp to witness the inevitable fall of that famous fortress, which had so long bidden defiance to the power of Spain. Early on the morning of the 13th of September, the ten battering ships, commanded by Admiral Don Moreno, came to an anchor in a line parallel to the rock, at the distance of about 1000, or 1200 yards.—"The surrounding hills were covered with people, as though all Spain were assembled to behold the spectacle. The cannonade and bombardment on all sides from the isthmus to the sea, and the various works of the fortress were tremendously magnificent. The prodigious and unintermitted showers of red-hot balls, of bombs, and carcasses which filled the air, exhibited a scene perhaps unparalleled in military history. The whole peninsula, like some vast volcano, discharging on all sides its burning lava, seemed enveloped in a sheet or torrent of fire. The battering ships for many hours remained to all appearance unaffected; but about two in the afternoon the Admiral's ship was observed to smoke, and soon after that of the Prince of Nassau was observed to be in the same condition. The whole line of attack was now visibly disordered. At length, the day having closed, the two first ships appeared to be in flames, and others were beginning to kindle; and signals of distress were universally made. Captain Curtis, who commanded the English marine force in the Bay, to complete the confusion, having advanced to the attack with his gun-boats, and raked the whole line of batteries with his fire, the Spanish launches, which had been employed in bringing off the men, no longer dared to appear; but were compelled, after several had been sunk in the attempt, to abandon their ships to the flames, or to the mercy of the English. The distress of the enemy was now wrought up to the highest pitch of calamity; and the British officers and seamen, seeing all resistance at an end, exerted themselves to the utmost to save the vanquished foe, and their humanity was, at the close of this memorable conflict, no less conspicuous than their valour. Captain Curtis, in particular, exposed himself to the most imminent personal danger; and his pinnace was almost in contact with one of the largest batteries at the moment of explosion. In the end the floating batteries were all consumed; and the loss of the Spaniards by sea and land, was computed at 2000 men, whilst that of the garrison amounted to less than one hundred." At this time, Lord Howe, who commanded the grand fleet, consisting of thirty-four sail of the line, was on his passage from Portsmouth, to throw succours into the fortress. He arrived at Cape St. Vincent the 9th of October, and on the 11th he passed the Straits, where the combined fleets had for some time been stationed in order to intercept him; but a violent tempest drove them upon the Barbary coast, and prevented all possibility of attack. The St. Michael, of 72 guns, having separated from the fleet, ran on shore on the rock of Gibraltar, and was taken possession of by the garrison. After fully executing the purpose of his destination, Lord Howe set sail for England. The enemy making their appearance off Cape St. Vincent, October 20, the British Admiral lay-to, in order to receive them; but they kept at so great a distance, that the cannonade, which lasted from about five in the afternoon till ten at night, did little damage; and his Lordship having no pressing reasons for renewing the fight against so superior a force, continued his voyage without further molestation for Portsmouth. The Governor of Gibraltar, General Elliot, for his gallant and heroic defence of that fortress, was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Heathfield, and a pension annexed to the title, equal in amount to that which had been granted to Sir George Rodney. This was the last transaction of importance during the continuance of the war in Europe; and thus the military career of Britain though occasionally clouded by misfortune, in its progress, terminated with splendor and success.

All the belligerent powers were now inclined to listen to overtures of pacification. The Independence of America having been virtually recognised by England, and a resolution against offensive operations having passed the House of Commons, the war with the colonies might be considered as at an end. The original purpose of France having been accomplished, she could have no motive to persevere in a contest, the expence of which was enormous, and the further success uncertain. Spain, after extraordinary exertions, having failed in both her grand objects, the recovery of Gibraltar, and the conquest of Jamaica, had little reason to flatter herself that her future efforts would be more effectual than the past; and Holland would have neither the inclination nor ability to continue the war, single handed.

The negotiation with France and Spain had been protracted in consequence of the demand in which Spain for some time persisted of the cession of Gibraltar; but provisional articles of pacification between England and America were signed this year, the 30th of November, by which the Thirteen Provinces were declared free and independent States; and by a boundary line, very favourable to America, the whole country southward of the lakes on both sides of the Ohio, and eastward of the Mississippi, was ceded to the colonies, with a full participation of the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In re-

* In the month of June the Ville de Paris of 120 guns, the Centaur, Glorieux, Hector, Ramilies, and Canada, of 74 guns each, having been dispatched from Jamaica, to convoy the homeward bound fleet, were exposed to one of the most tremendous storms ever remembered. The Canada alone, commanded by Captain Cornwallis, reached England. The merchant vessels sustained proportionate damage. In the month of August the Royal George of 110 guns, with a thousand men on board, Admiral Kempenfelt, an excellent veteran officer, being himself of the number, foundered in Portsmouth harbour; having been overset by a sudden gust of wind when placed in an inclined position, for the purpose of undergoing a slight careen; a sloop which lay at a small distance was swallowed in the vortex—and the greater part of the crews of both vessels miserably perished.

turn, the Congress engaged to "recommend" to the several States to provide for the restitution of the confiscated estates of the loyalists; but this recommendation eventually proved nugatory and useless; and this unfortunate portion of his Majesty's subjects migrated in great numbers to the wilds of Nova Scotia and the Bahamas. The definitive treaty was not signed till the following year, at the close of which, New York, Charlestown, and Savannah, the only places in the possession of the English, were finally evacuated; and General Washington made his public entry into the first of these cities as soon as the royal army had withdrawn.*

Parliament was opened on the 5th of December, with a speech from the throne, in which the King declared, "That he had lost no time in giving the necessary orders for prohibiting offensive operations against America, and had been directing his views to a cordial reconciliation with her. Such being his own inclination, and such the sense of his Parliament and people, he had not hesitated to conclude with them provisional articles of peace, by which they were acknowledged Free and Independent States. He deplored this dismemberment of the empire, which had become a matter both of policy and prudence; but testified a hope that religion, language, interest, and affection, would yet prove a permanent tie of union between the two countries. He spoke with pride and satisfaction of the late gallant defence of Gibraltar: he recommended an immediate attention to the great objects of public receipt and expenditure, and above all to the state of the national debt. He applauded the liberal principles which had actuated the conduct of Parliament respecting Ireland; he pressed a revision of the whole system of trade, with a view to its fullest extension: and turning his attention to Asia, pointed out our vast possessions there as a most important object of regulation and care. He declared that the true spirit of the constitution would be the invariable rule of his conduct, and called upon Parliament to exercise their temper, wisdom, and disinterestedness." Addresses were voted in both Houses without a division; but some severe remarks having been made in the House of Peers on the inconsistency of the minister, who had at a former period so strongly opposed the recognition of American Independence, his Lordship declared "That he had exerted every effort to preserve America to this country;" adding, with great animation, "that he had not voluntarily yielded up this Independency—he had merely submitted to the controlling power of necessity and fate. It was not I (said he) that made this cession—it was the evil star of Britain—it was the blunders of a former administration—it was the power of revolted subjects, and the mighty arms of the House of Bourbon."

As it was not publicly known, whether the acknowledgment of Independency was absolute or conditional, and as Lord Shelburne declined to communicate any particulars of a negotiation which was actually pending, Mr. Fox moved, in the Commons, an address to the King, to lay before the House copies of such parts of the provisional articles as related to the same. This, however, was opposed as inexpedient and improper; and the motion was negatived by 219 against 46. On the 23d of December, the Parliament, after voting 100,000 seamen and marines for the service of the ensuing year, adjourned to the 21st of January, 1783—the day preceding which, preliminary articles of peace were signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain, which almost immediately after the recess (February 17) were submitted to the consideration of the two Houses.† (a) An address of thanks and approbation having been moved in the Peers by Lord Pembroke, and seconded by the Marquis of Carmarthen, a succession of able and eloquent speeches were made by the Lords Carlisle, Walsingham, Sackville, Stormont, and Loughborough, reprobating the preliminaries of peace as derogatory from the dignity, and in the highest degree injurious to the interests of the nation. The minister, however, defended himself with great vigour and ability;‡ and, on a division, the address was carried by 72 against 59 voices. A similar address was moved in

(a) A. D. 1783.

* The rejoicings on this occasion were celebrated with much enthusiasm; after which an affecting leave was taken by the General of the friends and companions of his warfare, who accompanied him on his return to his own province, to the banks of the North River. In every town and village through which the General passed he was received with the highest demonstrations of gratitude and joy. "When he arrived at Annapolis, he signified to Congress his intention to resign the command he had the honour to hold in their service, referring to them the mode in which it should be done. They resolved it should be in a public audience. When the day fixed for that purpose arrived, the hall of the senate-house was crowded with personages of the highest merit and distinction; and General Washington, addressing the president in a speech remarkable only for its dignified simplicity, 'demanded leave to surrender into their hands the trust committed to him, and, having finished the work assigned him, to retire from the great theatre of action to the tranquil scenes of private life, earnestly recommending to the protection of Almighty God the interests of his dear country, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping." To this address the president replied in words to the following purport:—'The United States in Congress assembled receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authority under which you have led our troops with success through a perilous and doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you—you have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes—you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and to transmit their fame to posterity. Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world, having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict and to those who feel oppression, you retire with the blessings of your country; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command—it will continue to animate remotest ages. May the Almighty foster a life so beloved with his peculiar care, and may your future days be as happy as your past have been illustrious!' 'The grand and interesting scenes which crowded upon the imagination of the General and the President almost deprived them of the power of articulation; and the mingled emotions of joy, regret, and admiration, which agitated the minds of the spectators, were expressed more forcibly by looks and gestures than they could have been by words. Immediately on this resignation, the late commander 'hastened,' to use his own words, 'with ineffable delight, to his seat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potowmac.'"

† By this treaty Great Britain guaranteed to France the island of Tobago, and restored that of St. Lucia; also the settlements of Goree and Senegal in Africa; and the city of Pondicherry, with her other conquests in the East, accompanied by some additions of territory. The claims of Britain respecting Dunkirk were expressly relinquished, and on her part, France agreed to restore, Tobago excepted, all her valuable and important conquests in the West Indies. Spain was allowed to retain Minorca and West Florida, East Florida being also ceded in exchange for the Bahamas. These islands had however already been recovered to the dominion of Great Britain, in consequence of the success of an adventurous enterprise, gallantly conducted by Colonel Deraux, without the knowledge or assistance of government. Holland having rejected the former pacific advances of the English, it was resolved that she should not escape with impunity: the British plenipotentiaries were therefore directed to offer the restitution of the Dutch settlements in the possession of England, with the important exception of Trincomalee, which their High Mightinesses declared they could not reconcile with the professions of moderation on the part of his Britannic Majesty. Holland on the other hand, demanded an indemnification for the losses and expences of the war—a pretension which the English negotiators peremptorily rejected. These opposite claims impeded the conclusion of the treaty with that power.

‡ His Lordship declared, "That peace was the object for which the nation at large had discovered the most unequivocal desire; the end he had in view was the advantage of his country, and he was certain that he had attained it. The vast uncultivated tract of land to the southward of the lakes (his Lordship said) was of infinite consequence to America, and of none to England; and the retention of it, or even the forts which commanded it, could only have laid the foundation of future hostility. If our liberality to Ireland was the subject of just applause, why act upon principles of illiberality to America? The refusal of the Newfoundland fishery would have been a direct manifestation of hostile intentions; and as it lay on their coasts, it was in reality impossible to exclude them from it by any restrictions; it is an advantage which nature has given them, and to attempt to wrest it from them would not only be unjust but impracticable. Of one objection his Lordship acknowledged that he deeply felt the force. His regret and compassion for the situation of the unhappy loyalists were as pungent as those of their warmest advocates. This objection admitted only of one answer, the answer which he had given to his own bleeding heart—'It is better that a part should suffer, rather than the whole empire perish.' He would have dashed from him the bitter cup which the adversities of his country held out to him, if peace had not been absolutely necessary—if it had not been

in the House of Commons by Mr. Thomas Pitt, and seconded by Mr. Wilberforce; on which Lord John Cavendish declared, "That he also professed himself an advocate for peace; but the question was not whether a peace were necessary, but whether a better peace might not have been obtained—this was a question which called for a serious deliberation. As the whole of the evidence proper to be produced was not before the House, it was expedient to pause and hesitate. He proposed therefore to annex to the address the following words: 'His Majesty's faithful Commons will proceed to consider of the treaties with that serious and faithful attention which a subject of so much importance to the present and future interests of his Majesty's dominions deserves; assuring his Majesty, nevertheless, of their firm and unalterable determination to adhere inviolably to the several articles for which the public faith is pledged.'" This amendment was seconded by Mr. St. John, member for the county of Bedford, and supported by Lord North. "The address," said his Lordship, "called for a vote of approbation, and he had no such vote to give; for he considered the peace as dishonourable and destructive. His Lordship wished not, however, to set negotiations aside which had been concluded under the sanction of prerogative, nor to put those who advised them under peril of punishment." Mr. Fox declared "his perfect concurrence with the sentiments expressed by the noble Lord; and in still more bitter terms reprobated the peace as the most disastrous and humiliating that had ever disgraced any country. He had been accused (he said) of having formed an union with the noble Lord whose principles he had opposed for several years of his life; but the grounds of their opposition were removed, and he did not conceive it to be honourable to keep up animosities for ever. He was happy at all times to have a proper opportunity to bury his resentments, and it was the wish of his heart that his friendships should never die. The American war was the source of his disagreement with the noble Lord; and that cause of enmity being now no more, it was wise and fit to put an end to the ill-will, the animosity, the feuds, and the rancour, which it engendered. It was a satisfaction to him to apply the appellation of friend to the noble Lord; he had found him honourable as an adversary, and he had no doubt of his openness and sincerity as a friend." This declaration was most indignantly received. Mr. Powys said, "this was the age of strange confederacies. The world had seen great and arbitrary despots stand forth as the protectors of an infant republic—France and Spain had combined to establish the rising liberties of America. The House now surveyed the counterpart of this picture—a monstrous coalition had taken place between a noble Lord and an illustrious Commoner—the lofty assertor of the prerogative had joined in alliance with the worshippers of the Majesty of the people."

On a division, the amendment was carried, by 224 against 208 voices. On the 21st of the same month, Lord John Cavendish moved a series of resolutions:—

"I. That, in consideration of the public faith, his Majesty's faithful Commons will assist him in rendering the peace permanent.

"II. That, in concurrence with his Majesty, they will endeavour to improve the blessings of peace to the advantage of the nation.

"III. That his Majesty, in acknowledging the Independency of America, has acted in conformity to the sense of Parliament, and to the powers vested in him by the act of the last session.

"IV. That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain by the provisional treaty, and the preliminary articles, are greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength."

On the last of these resolutions, the merits of the peace were anew discussed; and Lord North expressed "His amazement at the reflections which had been thrown out against him. He did not repent of his conduct while a minister; conscious of his own innocence, he bade defiance to censure or punishment. Proud as he was of the coalition to which he had been invited, it should be understood that he was not disposed to make any sacrifice of his public principles. He dreaded no accusation, and he dared his enemies, whatever might be their abilities, their influence, and their character, to be decisive, and to proceed against him." The question was carried against the ministry by 207 to 190.

It was now obvious that some change in administration must take place. More than a month, however, passed in a sort of ministerial interregnum. At length Mr. Coke, member for Norfolk, moved an address to the King, "that he would be graciously pleased to take into consideration the distracted and unsettled state of the empire, and condescend to a compliance with the wishes of this House, by forming an administration entitled to the confidence of his people." This was unanimously carried, and presented to the King, who replied, "that it was his earnest desire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wishes of his faithful Commons." This answer not proving satisfactory, Lord Surry moved another address,—"assuring his Majesty that all delays in a matter of this moment have an inevitable tendency to weaken the authority of his government; and most humbly intreating his Majesty that he will take such measures towards this object as may quiet the anxiety and apprehension of his faithful subjects." Mr. Pitt, however, declaring that he had resigned his office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that any resolution or address relative to a new arrangement of administration was unnecessary, Lord Surry consented to withdraw his motion.

In consequence of this resignation, the Duke of Portland was placed at the head of the Treasury; Lord John Cavendish was re-appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord North and Mr. Fox were nominated Joint Secretaries of State, the first for the home, the latter for the foreign department; Lord Keppel, who had recently resigned on account of his disapprobation of the peace, was again replaced at the head of the Admiralty; Lord Stormont was created President of the Council; Lord Carlisle was advanced to the post of Lord Privy-Seal; the Great Seal was put into commission—the Chief Justice Loughborough, being declared first Lord Commissioner; the Earl of Northington was appointed to the government of Ireland; Viscount Townshend was made Master-General of the Ordnance, Lord Sandwich Ranger of the Parks, and Mr. Burke reinstated in his former post of Paymaster of the forces.

The coalition ministry immediately became the theme of universal and passionate execration. The terms of the peace were generally deemed as good as there was any previous reason, from the relative situation of the belligerent powers, to expect; but the coalition of persons and principles radically hostile, and which no effort of art, or length of time, could assimilate, "was universally branded as a gross and palpable sacrifice of every sentiment of honour, consistency, and rectitude, on the altar of ambition, interest, and revenge."

Amongst the earliest measures of the new ministry was the passing of a bill, already pending, for the purpose of preventing any writs of error or appeal from the kingdom of Ireland from being received by any of his Majesty's courts in Great Britain; and of renouncing, in express terms, the legislative authority of the British

been called for with an unanimity and vigour that could not be resisted. No arts of address or negotiation had been neglected, but the American commissioners had no power to concede further. The Congress itself had not the power—for, by the constitution of America, every state was supreme, including in itself the legislative and judicial powers; its jurisdiction, therefore, was not liable to controul. In the mode of interposition, by recommendation alone could the Congress act. If, after all, the loyalists should not be received into the bosom of their native country, Britain, penetrated with gratitude for their services, and warm with the feelings of humanity, would afford them an asylum; and it would doubtless be wiser to indemnify them for their losses, than to ruin the nation by a renewal or prolongation of the calamities of war."

Parliament in relation to Ireland. Soon after this, a bill was introduced by Sir Henry Fletcher, chairman of the East India Company, "for suspending the payments of the Company now due to the Royal Exchequer, and for enabling them to borrow the sum of 300,000*l.* for their further relief." This bill passed with little difficulty.

In April, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his plan for raising twelve millions by loan; the most remarkable circumstance attending which was, that the money borrowed was funded at 3 per cent, at the rate of 150*l.* stock for every 100*l.* sterling; so that an artificial capital of six millions was created above the sum actually paid into the exchequer.

Mr. Pitt's former motion for an inquiry into the state of the representation having been negatived, he brought forward, May 7th, a specific plan of reform, comprized in the three following resolutions:

"I. That it was the opinion of the House that measures were highly necessary to be taken for the farther prevention of bribery and expense at elections.

"II. That for the future when the majority of voters for any borough shall be convicted of gross and notorious corruption before a select committee of that House, such borough should be disfranchised, and the minority of voters not so convicted should be entitled to vote for the county in which such borough shall be situated.

"III. That an addition of knights of the shire, and of representatives of the metropolis, should be added to the state of the representation."

A long and animated debate ensued; and, on a division, Mr. Pitt's resolutions were lost, by 293 against 149 voices.*

Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of July,† by a speech in which the King intimated his intention of calling them together at an early period, to resume the consideration of the affairs of India.

The definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America, were about this period signed with no material alteration; also preliminaries of peace with the States General, by which all the conquests of England were restored, except the town of Negapatnam on the coast of Coromandel, which their High Mightinesses found themselves, however reluctantly, at length compelled to cede.‡ Nearly, also, at this time, an ambassador from the United States of America, Mr. Adams, arrived in London. On his first audience at St. James's, his Majesty, addressing Mr. Adams with much courtesy, said, "that he had been the last man in his kingdom who had assented to the recognition of American Independence; but, now it was actually established, he would be the last man in the kingdom to violate it."§

* A bill for regulating the trade of the African Company having been introduced towards the close of the session, with a clause prohibiting the officers of the Company from exporting negroes, the Quakers embraced the occasion to petition the House of Commons, "That the clause in question might be extended to all persons whatsoever; professing themselves deeply affected with the consideration of the rapine, oppression, and blood, attending this traffic. Under the countenance of the laws of this country," the petitioners remark, "many thousands of these our fellow-creatures, entitled to the natural rights of mankind, are held as personal property in cruel bondage. Your petitioners regret, that a nation professing the Christian faith should so far counteract the principles of humanity and justice." This petition strongly excited the attention of the public, and laid the foundation of the subsequent efforts, to effect a total abolition of this commerce, and restore to the common rights of humanity that despised and unfortunate race.

† In the summer, the King issued an order in council, limiting the commerce between the continent of America and the British West India islands to ships British built.

‡ In the course of this year died Dr. Frederic Cornwallis, Primate of England, having filled the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury nearly fifteen years. He was succeeded by Dr. Moore, Bishop of Bangor—a prelate who, in difficult times and circumstances, acquired universal esteem.

§ At the close of this period of our history, it may not be improper to glance at the relative situations of the chief powers on the continent. The Elector of Bavaria died December 30, 1777. He was the last of the Ludovican line of electors, which had been in possession of the duchy and its appendages nearly five centuries. These dominions fell to the heir general of the deceased, Charles Theodore Elector Palatine; and as he was advanced in life, and had no issue, both electorates seemed likely to fall into the possession of the Duke of Deux-ponts, his nearest relation in the male Palatine line. Scarcely however, had the new elector arrived at Munich, when he found himself opposed by a most formidable rival. This was the emperor, who, advancing his claim to the whole of the Lower Bavaria, and to all those districts of the Upper which had been formerly fiefs of the kingdom of Bohemia, caused a vast army to enter the electorate, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Regency, who in vain pleaded the laws of the empire and the rights of sovereignty. Theodore, unable and unwilling to risk the contest, signed a convention with the Emperor in January, 1778, in which all the pretended rights of the court of Vienna were allowed and conceded. The Duke of Deux-ponts, however, formally protested against this invasion and dereliction of his rights, and called upon the Princes and co-estates of the empire, as members of the Germanic body, and guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, to interpose for the preservation of the constitution, thus openly violated. The King of Prussia assumed the lead in this concern. His several memorials, however, were extremely guarded and temperate, whilst the replies of the imperial court were haughty and supercilious in the extreme. The King of Prussia at length proposed to the Emperor to guarantee to him the cession of two considerable districts of the duchy of Bavaria, contiguous to the Austrian territories, on condition that the court of Vienna would relinquish her remaining claims. This being refused with disdain, his Prussian Majesty published a manifesto, (July 1778) stating "the unwarrantable and violent conduct of the imperial court, which, if suffered to proceed without control, would effect the total overthrow of the whole Germanic system." Saxony now joined the King of Prussia, who immediately entered Bohemia at the head of a large army on the side of Silesia, while another of nearly equal force, under his brother Prince Henry, penetrated the passes of the mountains which separate that kingdom from Saxony. The Emperor in person, assisted by Mareschal Lasci, commanding one army, and the famous Mareschal Laudohn the other; the whole plan and conduct of this campaign, which on the part of the Austrians was wholly defensive, being ascribed to the latter general. After a variety of movements and manœuvres, the King of Prussia, unable to bring the Austrians to a general action, was compelled to evacuate Bohemia with great loss; and, soon afterwards, a negotiation for peace was set on foot by the court of Vienna, whose councils the Emperor could no longer influence; the whole empire being firmly united in opposition to the imperial claims. Russia openly declared, by her ambassador at Ratisbon, that if the usurpation of Bavaria was not relinquished, she should be under the necessity of furnishing to Prussia the auxiliary troops stipulated by treaty; and even France declared to the Diet her resolution in no respect to deviate from her guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia. The motives for peace being thus urgent, the preliminary articles were signed at Teschen, May 13th, 1779, in conformity to which the whole electorate was restored to its rightful possessor, the district of Burghausen excepted. The Empress did not long survive the pacification she so anxiously sought, dying November 12th, 1780, much lamented by her subjects, whom she had governed for forty years with parental affection and indisputable ability. Joseph the Second, her son, commenced his reign with an act of beneficence, truly imperial, in the promulgation of letters-patent, granting the free exercise of their religion to the Protestants all over the Austrian dominions; and, by another edict, he declared all religious foundations in the Austrian Netherlands exempt from all foreign ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Other regulations were also adopted for the purpose of reducing the number of religious houses, and of discountenancing all monastic institutions. Pius VI. whose zeal was very great, declared to the Emperor his intention, notwithstanding his advanced age, to make a journey to Vienna, to confer with him on the subject of these innovations. On his arrival at Vienna, in the spring of 1782, he was treated by the Emperor with the highest demonstrations of respect and affection; but no alterations whatever as to public measures took place, in consequence of this visit. On his return to Rome, the holy pontiff had the mortification to find his journey the object of general ridicule.

The amicable relations between the Russian and Turkish empires had suffered great interruption, by the opposition of interests involved in the election of a Khan of the Tartars, respecting which neither power had any right to interfere. An explanatory agreement at length took place (March, 1779,) by which the Khan Sahim Guerari, elected through the influence of Russia, was acknowledged as lawful Khan of the Crimea, by the Turkish government. In 1782, however, these disturbances were revived, and the Czarina entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Emperor, in the expectation of an immediate war with the Porte. Soon after this the Khan of the Tartars, signified his resolution to resign his crown into the hands of the Czarina; and, after some pretended hesitation, her imperial Majesty declared, by a public manifesto, dated April, 1783, her acceptance of this resignation, and her determination to take the peninsula of the Crimea, with the island of Taman, and the province of Cuban Tartary, on the other side of the Streights of Caffa, extending to Circassia, under her immediate administration. The Turkish court, aroused by this unexpected event, replied to the Russian manifesto with unusual animation and energy; but without effect; and, consequently, a war appeared inevitable. Happily, however, for the interests of humanity, the courts of London and Versailles offered their mediation; and the Porte, at length, reluctantly consented to the session of the provinces in dispute, now actually in the possession of Russia. A treaty or convention to that purport was accordingly signed in January, 1784.

In February, 1777, died Don Joseph I. King of Portugal, whose reign had been marked by weakness and calamity; cruelty and blood. He was succeeded by his eldest daughter, Donna Isabella, married by virtue of a papal dispensation to Don Pedro, brother to the late King. At her accession the prison-doors were thrown open, and about 800 persons were restored to the blessings of liberty.

BOOK XXX.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. FROM THE GENERAL PEACE OF 1783, TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS, IN THE YEAR 1801.

32. GEORGE III.

A. D. 1783.] THE Parliament assembled on the 11th of November, when his Majesty stated, that "the utmost exertions of their wisdom would be required to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of those provinces." The address passed without opposition; and, on the 18th of November, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill for vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietary and the public."* This act was to continue in force four years, that is, till the year after the next general election;—and it was accompanied by a second bill, for the future government of the British territories in Hindostan. The astonishment excited by the disclosure of this plan was very great. "India, it was true," said Mr. Pitt, "wanted reform, but not such a reform as this;—it wanted a constitutional alteration, and not a tyrannical one, that broke through every principle of equity and justice." "The bill under consideration included a confiscation of the property, and a disfranchisement of the members, of the East India Company—all the several articles of whose effects were transferred by violence to strangers. Imagination was at a loss to guess at the most insignificant trifle that had escaped the harpy jaws of a ravenous coalition."—"The influence which would accrue from this bill—a new, enormous, and unexampled influence—was indeed in the highest degree alarming. Seven commissioners, chosen ostensibly by Parliament, but really by administration, were to involve in the vortex of their authority the patronage and treasures of India. The right honourable mover had acknowledged himself to be a man of ambition; and it now appeared that he was prepared to sacrifice the King, the Parliament, and the people, at the shrine of his ambition. He desired to elevate his present connexions to a situation in which no political convulsions, and no variations of power, might be able to destroy their importance, and put an end to their ascendency." These and similar arguments were also ably enforced by the Lord-Advocate, Mr. Jenkinson, Mr. Grenville, &c. On the other hand, Mr. Fox declared, "that he would risk upon the execution of this bill whatever was most dear to him—whatever men most valued: the character of integrity, of talents, of honour, of present reputation and future fame;—these he would stake upon the constitutional safety, the enlarged policy, the equity and wisdom of this measure. Make the commissioners removable at will, and you set all the passions of human nature afloat. Invest them with power upon the same tenure as the British Judges hold their station, removable upon delinquency, punishable upon guilt, but fearless of danger if they discharge their trust, and they will be liable to no seducement, and will execute their functions with glory to themselves, and for the common good of the country and mankind. Every word in this bill breathes suspicion. It supposes that men are but men; it confides in no integrity, it trusts to no character; it annexes responsibility to every action, every exertion of the various powers which it creates and confers."

During the progress of the bill, a petition was presented from the Company, representing the measure "as subversive of their charter, and operating as a confiscation of their property, without charging against them any specific delinquency, without trial, without conviction—a proceeding contrary to the most sacred privileges of British subjects—and praying to be heard by counsel against the bill." The city of London also presented a strong petition to the same effect; but the bill was carried through all its stages in the Commons by great majorities; and, on the 9th of December, Mr. Fox, attended by a numerous train of members, presented the bill at the bar of the Lords. Earl Temple immediately declared, "that he was happy to embrace the first opportunity of entering his protest against so infamous a bill—against a stretch of power so truly alarming, and that went near to seize upon the most inestimable part of our constitution—our chartered rights." The opposition in this House was violent. The second reading of the bill took place on the 15th of December, when counsel was heard in behalf of the Company. At eleven o'clock, the counsel solicited an adjournment for the conclusion of their evidence; and a motion to that effect was carried in opposition to the ministers by 87 against 79 voices. On the 17th, it was moved, That the bill be rejected; and, after a vehement debate, the motion of rejection was carried by 95 against 76.

Earl Temple, it appears, had held a conference with the King, on the 11th of December, in the course of which his Lordship explained the nature and tendency of this famous bill. The King's indignation was consequently excited in a high degree; his Majesty considering himself as having been duped and deceived; and a card was immediately written, stating, "That his Majesty allowed Earl Temple to say, that whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy: if these words were not strong enough, Earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger or more to the purpose." This affair becoming known, Mr. William Baker, member for Hertford, moved the House of Commons on the very day the bill was rejected by the Lords, "That it was now necessary to declare, that to report

* This celebrated bill proposed to take from the directors and proprietors the entire administration of their territorial and commercial affairs; and to vest the management and direction of them in the hands of seven commissioners, irremovable by the crown, except in consequence of an address of either House of Parliament. These were Earl Fitzwilliam, President of the board; Viscount Lewisham, eldest son to the Earl of Dartmouth; the Right Honourable Frederic Montague; the Honourable George Augustus North; Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir Henry Fletcher, Baronets; and Robert Gregory, Esq. These commissioners were to be assisted by a subordinate board of nine directors, to be named, in the first instance, by Parliament, and afterwards chosen by the proprietors. The bill empowered these commissioners and directors immediately to enter into possession of all lands, tenements, books, records, vessels, goods, merchandize, and securities, in trust for the Company.

any opinion or pretended opinion of the King upon any bill, or other proceeding, depending in either House of Parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, was a high crime and misdemeanor." Mr. Pitt represented it as unworthy of the dignity of the House to found any resolutions upon rumours and hear-says; but Earl Nugent, father-in-law to Earl Temple, declared "That the resolutions before them went to the utter annihilation of sovereignty. What! were not Peers by their rank and situation hereditary counsellors of the crown?—Would that House dare to derogate from the high dignity which the constitution had annexed to their station? Every Peer, and indeed every Commoner, under certain restrictions, had a right to address the sovereign. But the tendency of these resolutions was to make the monarch a kind of prisoner of state, and to shut him up from every species of information unacceptable to the existing administration. Were any relation of his, in a crisis of difficulty and danger, to convey truths to his sovereign of high importance to be known, though at the risk of incurring the utmost punishment which the indignation of that House could inflict, he should consider his conduct not merely as justifiable, but transcendently meritorious, and such as would transmit his name with honour to the latest posterity." The resolution, however, moved by Mr. Baker was carried by a great majority. But the affair did not end here. The quarrel between the crown and the ministers having become public, an entire change of administration was determined upon; and, at midnight, on the 18th of December, a royal message was sent to the secretaries of state, demanding the seals of their several departments. Early the next morning, letters of dismission, signed Temple, were sent to the other members of the cabinet. In the course of a few days, Mr. Pitt was declared first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Marquis of Carmarthen, and Mr. Thomas Townshend, created Lord Sydney, were nominated Secretaries of State; Lord Thurlow was reinstated as Lord Chancellor; Earl Gower, afterwards created Marquis of Stafford, as President of the Council; the Duke of Rutland was constituted Lord Privy Seal; Lord Howe was placed at the head of the Admiralty; the Duke of Richmond of the Ordnance; Earl of Northington was recalled from his government of Ireland, to which Lord Temple, who had retained the seals of secretary only three days, was again destined to succeed. The Earl of Shelburne was not included in the new arrangement of administration. The intelligence of this change was, however, received by the nation with transports of joy.

On the 22d of December, in a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Erskine moved, "That an address be presented to the King, stating, that alarming reports had gone forth of an intended dissolution of Parliament, and humbly representing to his Majesty the inconveniences and dangers of a prorogation or dissolution in the present conjuncture; and entreating the sovereign to hearken to the advice of that House, and not to the secret advice of particular persons who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of the King and people." This address was carried without a division; and the King, in answer, said, "It had been his constant object to employ the authority intrusted to him by the constitution to its true and only end—the good of the people; and he was always happy in concurring with the wishes and opinions of his faithful Commons. He trusted they would proceed in the important matters mentioned in their address with a convenient speed, assuring them that he should not interrupt their meeting after their adjournment by any exercise of his prerogative either of prorogation or dissolution."

The House now adjourned for the recess to the 10th of January, 1784, when the committee on the state of the nation was resumed; and several resolutions were brought forward by Mr. Fox, and agreed to by the House. On the 16th of the month a resolution was moved by Lord Charles Spencer, "That the continuance of the present ministers in trusts of the highest importance and respectability was contrary to the principles of the constitution, and injurious to the interests of the King and people." This was carried by 205 against 184. Soon afterwards, the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced a bill for the better government of India, on principles which left the commercial concerns of the Company in their own hands, and established a board of controul, consisting of certain commissioners appointed by the King, possessing a negative on the proceedings of the Company in all matters of government or politics. On the motion of commitment, however, this bill was negatived by 222 voices against 214. Startled at the new and dangerous circumstances of the nation, both parties seemed disposed to pause, and an idea, suggested by the independent interest in the House of Commons, of a new administration founded upon the widest and most comprehensive basis, was listened to with approbation. Lord North declared himself willing to retire if considered as the obstacle to a general union. The King, by a message to the Duke of Portland, expressed his earnest desire that an interview might take place between his Grace and Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of arranging a new plan of administration on a wide basis and on fair and equal terms. The Duke requested to be informed in what sense he was to understand the words "fair" and "equal;" but Mr. Pitt declined explanation, and the negotiation terminated. The House of Lords now stood forward; and on the motion of the Earl of Effingham their Lordships resolved:—

"I. That an attempt by any one branch of the legislature to suspend the execution of law by separately assuming to itself the direction of a discretionary power vested by act of Parliament is unconstitutional."

"II. That by the known principles of the constitution the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of the executive government was solely vested in the King, and that this House had every reason to place the firmest reliance on his Majesty's wisdom in the exercise of this prerogative."

These resolutions, in the form of an address, were presented to the King. The House of Commons (February 16) on their part, resolved, on the motion of Lord Beauchamp:—

"I. That the House had not assumed to itself a right to suspend the execution of law.

"II. That for them to declare their opinions respecting the exercise of any discretionary power was constitutional, and agreeable to established usage."

Several other addresses, still stronger in their terms, having been unavailingly tried, Mr. Fox on the 2d of March moved a representation to the crown, which stated "The dangerous and pernicious tendency of those measures and maxims by which a new system of executive government had been set up; which, wanting the confidence of that House, and acting in defiance of their resolutions, must prove at once inadequate by its inefficiency to the necessary objects of government, and dangerous by its example to the liberties of the people." The motion was carried by a majority of one; and here the contest may be said to have closed; for the Mutiny bill being brought forward on the following day, Mr. Fox abandoned his intention of moving its postponement, as a security against a sudden and premature dissolution. On the 24th of March, however, the Parliament was prorogued; the next day it was dissolved by proclamation; and a new Parliament convened to meet on the 18th of May.

At the general election which ensued, the Coalitionists were almost every where thrown out. Mr. Fox, notwithstanding, had a great majority on the poll for Westminster. The High Bailiff, however, refused to make the return in his favour,—for which an action was afterwards brought by Mr. Fox, in the court of King's Bench, and a verdict with large damages was given.

His Majesty, in his opening speech, expressed "great satisfaction at meeting his Parliament at this time, after having recurred in so important a moment to the sense of his people. He entertained a just and confident reliance

liance that they were animated by the same sentiments of loyalty and attachment to the constitution which had been so fully manifested in every part of the kingdom. He recommended to their most serious consideration to frame suitable provisions for the good government of our possessions in the East Indies. Upon this subject Parliament would not lose sight of the effect which the measures they adopted might have on our own constitution and our dearest interests at home." The proposed address contained strong expressions of approbation respecting the late dissolution, which Lord Surry, on the ground of unanimity, moved to omit; but Mr. Pitt declared, "That much as he was convinced of the importance of unanimity, he would not purchase a hollow unanimity by passing over a great constitutional measure which the circumstances of the times had made necessary and wise, and which had given the most entire satisfaction to every part of the kingdom." On a division, the amendment was rejected by a majority of 76 voices; so that, from this period, Mr. Pitt may be regarded as the constitutional and efficient minister of the nation.

The business which next occupied the attention of the House, was the complaint respecting the High Bailiff of Westminster, who had refused to make the return in Mr. Fox's favour, although he had, upon the face of the poll, a majority of 235 votes. Mr. Fox, however, through the interest of his friend Sir Thomas Dundas, was chosen member for the borough of Kirkwall, in the Orkneys.*

A motion was made by Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, (June 16) and seconded by Mr. Alderman Newnham, representatives of the city of London, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the representation of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament. Mr. Pitt supported the principle of the motion, but contended that the time was improper; and Mr. Dundas, who had supported the proposition last year, objected, that the committee now moved for was a select committee, whereas it was his opinion that it should be referred to a committee of the whole House. The motion was lost, by 201 to 127.

Mr. Pitt brought in a bill, (July 6) founded on the general principles of that rejected by the former Parliament, and to which the India Company had now given their reluctant assent.† Mr. Fox attacked the weak and exceptionable parts of this bill; but the utmost energy of his eloquence proved inadequate to excite the general attention of the public to the merits or demerits of the measure in question—prepossessed as they now almost universally were in favour of the minister with whom it originated. On the motion of commitment, the numbers were 276 to 61; and the bill was carried in triumph to the Peers, where after an opposition very feeble in numbers, it passed on the 9th of August. In a protest, however, it was severely branded, as a measure ineffectual in its provisions, unconstitutional in its partial abolition of the trial by jury, and unjust in its inquisitorial spirit.

The arrival of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal, who had been re-called by the King, in conformity to an address of that House, having taken place, Mr. Burke earnestly recommended it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to enforce the resolutions of that House respecting him; but Mr. Pitt unequivocally declined any concern in the affair. In consequence, Mr. Burke moved (July 28) that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the facts stated in the different reports relative to India. The motion having been negatived, by the order of the day, Mr. Burke, two days afterwards, brought forward a series of resolutions, intended as a foundation for an inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Pitt immediately rose, and asked, "How that House, as a House of Parliament, knew, as a fact, the transactions on which Mr. Burke grounded his motion? If the motion passed, from what office were the papers expected to proceed? To relieve the House from these embarrassments, he said, he should move the order of the day." Mr. Burke, indignant at this second interruption, now stood forward, and declaimed, with great warmth, against the insensibility of government to the foul enormities lately perpetrated, and still perpetrating, by our countrymen in the East. The cries of the native Indians, he said, were never out of his ears; an impression of horror had seized on his mind, which deprived him of sleep, and night and day, preyed upon his peace. The reality of the facts stated in the reports had been impeached. Why then would not the men who denied them stand forward and support their allegations? "Oh! what," said Mr. Burke, "would I not give to find the scenes of horror there described nothing more than a fiction! To me it would be a discovery more precious and grateful than the discovery of a new world." He declared, that "he wished it for the honour of humanity, from sympathy to millions of suffering and helpless individuals, from an anxious desire to retrieve the honour of the House, and of the country at large, from infamy and execration." He conjured Mr. Pitt "to reflect with seriousness on this business. The voice of India cried aloud for justice. He was at a loss," he said, "how to account for the callous insensibility of the minister, at a time of life when all the generous feelings of our nature are most lively and susceptible."—Proceeding in reflections very pointed and personal, the orator was loudly called to order; and was at length compelled to sit down, amidst the universal clamour and tumult of the House.

The attention of the House was now transferred to a bill for the more effectual prevention of the practice of smuggling, which had of late years arisen to a most alarming height. The most extraordinary part of the plan was the reduction of the duties paid by the East India Company on the importation of tea, which was affirmed to be the grand medium of the smuggling traffic; and the consequent imposition of a new duty on windows, to the amount of the deficiency, estimated

* A resolution was moved (May 24) by Mr. Lee, late Attorney-General, "That the High Bailiff of Westminster on the day upon which the writ of election expired ought to have returned two members to serve in Parliament for that city." A violent debate ensued; and the previous question having been moved by Sir Lloyd Kenyon, it was ordered that the High Bailiff should attend the House the next day. The pretext on which that officer rested his defence was, that, "having ground to suspect the validity of many votes taken in the course of a poll of six weeks' duration, he had granted a scrutiny, till the termination of which he could not, in conscience, make the return." After long pleadings by counsel at the bar of the House, on both sides, the motion was renewed, "that the High Bailiff be directed forthwith to make the return." This motion was strongly opposed, and finally negatived by 195 against 117. It was then moved and carried, "that the High Bailiff do proceed in the scrutiny with all practicable dispatch." Thus was this business laid at rest during the present session.

† By this bill a Board of Control, composed of a certain number of commissioners, of the rank of privy-counsellors, was established, the members of which were to be appointed by the King, and removable at his pleasure. This board was authorised to check, superintend, and controul, the civil and military government and revenue of the Company. The dispatches transmitted by the court of directors to the different presidencies were to be previously subjected to the inspection of the superior board, and counter-signed by them; and the directors were enjoined to pay due obedience to the orders of the board, touching civil and military government and revenues; "And in case such orders do, at any time, in the opinion of the directors, relate to points not connected therewith, they are empowered to appeal to his Majesty in council, whose decision is declared final." The bill further enacted, "that the appointment of the court of directors to the office of governor-general, president, or counsellor in the different presidencies, shall be subject to the approbation and recall of his Majesty." As to the zemindars, or great hereditary landholders of India, the present bill provided that an inquiry should be instituted, in order to restore such as should appear to have been irregularly and unjustly deprived. Further, a high tribunal was created for the trial of Indian delinquents, consisting of three judges, one from each court, of four Peers, and six members of the House of Commons, who were authorised to judge without appeal—to award, in case of conviction, the punishments of fine and imprisonment—and to declare the party convicted incapable of serving the East India Company. The management of their commercial concerns was left in the hands of the Company, who were divested only of that political power which they had abused, and of that civil authority to the due exercise of which they were incompetent. This authority was not transferred to persons who, like the commissioners of Mr. Fox, might attempt to establish an unconstitutional influence in Parliament, not merely independent of, but in direct opposition to, the regular and constitutional authority of the crown.

at six hundred thousand pounds per annum. This was stiled by the minister a commutation tax; and its equity was defended on the idea, that, teas being an article of universal consumption, the weight of the tax would be compensated by a proportional abatement in the purchase of the commodity. Mr. Fox asked, what connection there was between an impost upon tea and an impost upon windows, to entitle the latter to be denominated a commutation for the former? He affirmed it to be the essence of financial injustice and oppression to take off a tax upon luxury, and to substitute in its stead a tax upon that which was of indispensible necessity. The bill, however, passed by a great majority; and, in a commercial and financial view, it more than answered its intended purpose. The providing for the arrears of the unfunded debt left at the conclusion of the war, amounting to more than twenty millions, was disposed of partly in the four per cents, and partly in a new created five per cent. stock, made irredeemable for thirty years, or until twenty-five millions of the existing funds should be extinguished. In the course of the session, the sum of sixty thousand pounds was voted to his Majesty, to enable him to discharge the debt contracted in the civil list. This was the fourth grant for the same purpose since the accession of the present King. The last measure of the present session was a bill introduced by Mr. Dundas, for the restoration of the estates forfeited in Scotland in consequence of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745.* Parliament was prorogued on the 20th of August; the King returning his warmest thanks to both Houses for their zealous and diligent attention to the public service.†

On

* Mr. Dundas declared the measure to be worthy of the justice and generosity of Parliament. There was not one of the families comprehended in the scope of it, in which some person had not atoned for the crimes and errors of his ancestors, by sacrificing his blood in the cause of his country; and the sovereign had not, for a long series of past years, a more loyal set of subjects than the Highlanders of Scotland and their chieftains.

† Ireland, at this period, was in a very disturbed state. So long since as the 1st of July, 1783, the delegates of forty-five volunteer corps had assembled at Lisburne, in the county of Antrim, to consider of the measures proper to be adopted, to effect a Reform in Parliament. A committee was then appointed to meet at Belfast; by which letters were addressed to many persons of consequence in the sister kingdom, requesting their advice and opinion on this important subject.

The meeting at Lisburne was followed by an assembly of delegates at Dungannon, for the province of Ulster; at which the Earl of Charlemont, Generalissimo of the volunteer corps throughout the kingdom; Mr. Conally, considered as the first Commoner in point of property; and the Bishop of Derry, brother to the Earl of Bristol, nominated in the year 1766 to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, were present. The provinces of Lienster and Munster followed the example of Ulster, and a national convention was appointed to be held at Dublin on the 10th of November, 1783. This was the posture of affairs when the Parliament of Ireland, recently elected, met on the 14th of October. On the first day of the session the thanks of both Houses were voted to the different volunteer corps of Ireland for their public services; and a resolution, proposed by Lord Mountmorres, "That, in the present state of the kingdom, it was expedient that there should be a session of Parliament held every year," received the sanction of both Houses. On the 10th of November the national convention assembled, and the Earl of Charlemont was elected president. On the motion of the Bishop of Derry, a committee was forthwith appointed to digest a plan of reform, who in a short time reported their opinion. "That every Protestant freeholder, or leaseholder, possessing a freehold or leasehold for a certain term of years of forty shillings value, resident in any city or borough, should be entitled to vote in the election of member for the same: That decayed boroughs should be enabled to return representatives by an extension of franchise to the neighbouring parishes: That the suffrages of the electors should be taken by the sheriff or his deputies on the same day at the respective places of election: That pensioners of the crown, receiving their pensions during pleasure, should be incapacitated from sitting in Parliament: That every member of Parliament accepting a pension for life, or any place under the crown, should vacate his seat: That each member should subscribe an oath, that he had neither directly nor indirectly given any pecuniary or other consideration, with a view of obtaining the suffrage of any elector: Finally, that the duration of Parliament should not exceed the term of three years." This report was received with great applause, and resolutions to the same purport unanimously passed. The next day Mr. Flood moved the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in Parliament. Mr. Yelverton, Attorney-General, declared that "the question thus introduced did not deserve to be discussed, but that it ought to be regarded as an insult upon the House. If the bill originated, as it was notorious it did, with a body of armed men, they should decidedly set their faces against receiving it, They did not sit there to receive propositions at the point of the bayonet. He entertained an extreme reverence for the volunteers, for the essential services they had conferred on their country; but when they formed themselves into a political body, to discuss the modes of reforming Parliament, and to regulate the affairs of the nation—when they would probe the wounds of the constitution with the sword—he would be their most determined opponent. The question was now, Whether the national convention or the Parliament of Ireland were to legislate for the country? What phenomenon was it they had lately seen? Armed men drawn up in files, preparing the way for other armed men, resorting in fastidious pomp to a general assembly, and displaying all the ostentation of a real Parliament! Would they submit to this? Was it decent for Parliament to enter into any sort of compromise with this congress? Were the members of that House free in their deliberations while this military congress was sitting? No: it was necessary they should say to the volunteers—'You have obtained a constitution and commerce; and now, instead of dictating to the legislature of the kingdom, go to your own homes, change your attire, and turn your swords, no longer needed for the defence of your country, into ploughshares and pruning-hooks.' This speech, seconded by the efforts of Mr. Pelham, Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, and other zealous friends of government, was decisive; and notwithstanding the exertions of Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan, the motion was negatived, by 157 against 77. It was then moved by Mr. Yelverton, "that it was now necessary to declare that this House would support the rights and privileges of Parliament against all encroachments." This resolution was carried by a large majority; as was an address to the King, expressive of the sense felt by the House of the blessings they enjoyed under his auspices, and assuring him that they were determined to support inviolate the present constitution with their lives and fortunes. In this address the Lords concurred; but a protest, signed by the Earl of Charlemont and four other Peers, was entered against it in the journals of the House. Mr. Flood reported to the national convention, at their sitting of the 1st of December, the conduct of the House of Commons; when they merely passed a resolution, "that they would carry on individually such investigations as might be necessary to complete the plan of Parliamentary Reform." Their humiliation was still more apparent in the address voted on the following day to the King, on the motion of Mr. Flood, in the name of the delegates of all the volunteers of Ireland, "expressive of their duty and loyalty, claiming the merits of their past exertions, and imploring the King that their humble wish to have certain manifest perversions of the Parliamentary representation of that kingdom remedied by the legislature in some reasonable degree might not be attributed to any spirit of innovation, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of their fellow subjects, and to perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms." The convention then adjourned sine die. The Parliament of Ireland adjourned for the Christmas recess, on the 22d of December, 1783. Previously to their re-assembling, Mr. Pitt had taken the helm of government; and the Duke of Rutland had superseded the Earl of Nottingham in the viceroyalty of Ireland. On the 13th of March following, Mr. Flood, renewed his motion, for Parliamentary Reform. The new Attorney-General, Mr. Fitzgibbon opposed the motion with great zeal; but he allowed that, as it now came before the House in a regular and constitutional form, supported by numerous petitions from different parts of the kingdom, it was entitled to respect and attention. The motion was rejected by 159 against 85 voices. This decision gave secret satisfaction to those friends of reform who dreaded the emancipation of the Catholics still more than the present system. The Ulster volunteers presented on a subsequent occasion an address to their general, the Earl of Charlemont, expressing "their satisfaction at the decay of those prejudices which had so long involved the nation in feud and disunion, which, by limiting the rights of suffrage, and circumscribing the number of their citizens, had, in a great degree, created and fostered aristocratic tyranny, the source of every grievance, and against which the public voice now unanimously exclaimed." The Earl of Charlemont, in answer, profesed himself "free from every illiberal prejudice against the Catholics, but he could not refrain from the most ardent entreaties to the volunteers to desist from a pursuit that would fatally clog and impede the prosecution of their favourite purpose; and besought them not to indulge any opinion which must and would create disunion." This answer being circulated throughout the kingdom, heightened that disunion which it professed to deprecate; and the object itself seemed relinquished in despair.

The people of Ireland now loudly called for protecting duties, to foster the infant manufactures of that country, and to compel the inhabitants to consume the produce of native ingenuity and industry. On the 31st of March (1784) Mr. Gardiner, member for the county of Dublin, in an able speech, depicted the distresses of the kingdom; traced the cause; called upon the House to copy the conduct of England, of France, and other commercial countries, by protecting their manufactures at home; and moved for a high duty on woollens imported into the kingdom. This motion was negatived by a large majority; the whole system of protecting duties being ridiculed as visionary, and pernicious. The disappointment of the people now kindled into rage, and the short-lived popularity of the new viceroy, was, in the course of a month, entirely at an end.

So critical was the state of the Irish metropolis at this period, that it was thought necessary to countermand the embarkation of several regiments destined to the East Indies, and to furnish the garrison of Dublin, consisting of about 4000 regular troops, with thirty rounds of powder and ball per man. Before the end of the session an address was unanimously voted by the House of Commons to the Sovereign, representing the distressed state of the kingdom, and praying for the establishment of a more advantageous system of commerce between Ireland and great Britain; and on the 14th of May, the Parliament was prorogued. The last measure of the Parliament seemed, in some measure

On the 24th of January, 1785, the next session was opened by a speech, in which the King recommended to the two Houses of Parliament, "To apply their earnest attention to the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland as were not yet finally arranged." The Westminster scrutiny,* and Mr. Pitt's final plan of Parliamentary Reform, were the first subjects of importance which attracted the attention of the House of Commons.† Those points having been disposed of, Mr. Pitt brought in three several bills, for the better auditing and examining the public accounts, and for the regulation and reform of the public offices, which passed with great applause, and no material opposition. The remaining part of the floating arrear of debt, consisting of navy bills and ordnance debentures, was now funded on five per cent. stock; and the interest amounting to above 400,000*l.* per annum, was provided by fresh taxes; one of which, a tax on retail shops, calculated at 120,000*l.* per annum, proved particularly obnoxious. By way of compensation to the shop keeper, Mr. Pitt proposed to revoke and take away the licence from all hawkers and pedlars, whom he styled "a pest to the community, and a nursery and medium for the preservation of illicit trade." Mr. Fox, and others, powerfully pleaded in behalf of this friendless and unprotected description of men; and, in the sequel, the prohibition was changed to a heavy duty.

The next subject which engaged the attention of Parliament was the projected plan of commercial intercourse with Ireland. In the opening of this business, Mr. Pitt submitted some excellent observations on "the species of policy which had been long exercised by the English government in regard to Ireland, the object of which was, to debar her from the enjoyment and use of her own resources, and to make her completely subservient to the interest and opulence of this country. Some relaxation of this system had taken place indeed at an

measure, to calm the violence of the people. On the 7th of June an extraordinary meeting of the aggregate body of the citizens of Dublin was convened by the sheriffs, in which they came to resolutions declaratory of "The clear, original, and imprescriptible right of the people of Ireland to a frequent election, and an equal representation. They called upon the nation to unite with them in the measures necessary to its introduction, and in presenting petitions to the King for a dissolution of the existing Parliament. They asserted, that the force of the state consisted in the union of the inhabitants—that an equal participation in all the rights of a man and a citizen was proper henceforth, to engage all the members of the state to co-operate efficaciously for the greatest general good. Finally, that it would be of the happiest consequence to the prosperity of the state, and the maintaining of civil liberty, to extend to their brethren, the Roman Catholics, the right of suffrage, as fully as was compatible with the maintenance of the Protestant government." In an address to the people of Ireland, they proposed the election of five delegates from each county, city, and considerable town, to meet in Dublin, October 25th next ensuing, in National Congress. On the 9th of August, resolutions nearly similar were agreed to at the general meeting of the freeholders of the county of Dublin; and a petition was also voted by them to the King for a dissolution of the present Parliament. When application was made to the Lord-Lieutenant to transmit these petitions to England, his Grace immediately "declared it to be his duty so to do; but, at the same time he informed them that he should not fail to accompany them with his entire disapprobation, as they included unjust and indecent reflections upon the laws and the Parliament of Ireland, and as they tended to foment fatal dissensions among the people." Conscious of its strength, the government of Ireland did not long content itself with a cold expression of disapprobation. The 20th of September having been fixed upon as the day for electing five delegates to represent the city of Dublin in National Congress, a short time previously to the intended meeting, Mr. Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-General, wrote a letter to the sheriffs, expressing his astonishment at having read a public summons signed by them for this purpose—and declaring them responsible for such outrageous breach of their duty to the laws of their country, and signifying his resolution to proceed officially against them." The sheriffs, alarmed at this menace, refused to take any part in the business. Five delegates were, however, chosen, and a resolution passed, declaring the conduct of the Attorney-General to be a violation of Magna Charta. The Attorney-General, holding this resolution in contempt, filed informations against the high-sheriffs of various counties for convening and presiding at similar meetings. The National Congress, however, met on the 25th of October. After a session of three days only, finding their numbers on the return very incomplete, they adjourned to the 20th of January, 1785; having previously passed several resolutions, importing, that the appointment of that assembly, and the steps that had been taken, were in entire conformity with the constitution of Ireland. On the same day commenced the second session of the Parliament of Ireland; and in a short time Mr. Orde, secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, laid before the House, a series of commercial regulations, digested, during the recess, into a regular system. There were two plans, on which a permanent arrangement might be formed on the basis of equality:

I. A system of mutual prohibition.

II. A system of mutual admission.

The propositions, eleven in number, moved by Mr. Orde, were framed in conformity to the latter, and, unquestionably, the wiser, of these opposite systems. Much violent discussion ensued; but, ultimately, the propositions were joyfully received, and ratified by a decisive majority of the House.

Mr. Flood, (May 12,) presented, once more, his bill for effecting a reform in the representation, somewhat varied from that of the last year; but it was negatived, by 112 against 60.

* During a period of eight months, two parishes only had been scrutinized—the result was, that 105 votes had been struck off the poll of Mr. Fox, and 87 from that of Sir Cecil Wray, the examination of which was not yet closed. Fifteen parishes remained for investigation; and the High Bailiff had no power to summon witnesses, to impose an oath, or to commit for contumacy. Mr. Pitt maintained, however, "that the expediency of the scrutiny was amply justified by the experiment." Mr. Fox replied, "that he well remembered the day when he congratulated the House on the acquisition of Mr. Pitt's splendid abilities; it had been his pride to fight, in conjunction with him, the battles of the constitution; he had been ever ready to recognize in the right honourable gentleman a formidable rival, who would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory—but he had never expected that this rival would become his persecutor. He thought he had possessed an elevation of mind wholly incompatiable with so low and grovelling a passion. He considered the present measure, with regard to Westminster, as a succedaneum to expulsion. The case of the Middlesex election, so much reprobated, had, at least, the merit of being more manly; for the procedure now adopted accomplished the same end of expulsion, without daring to exhibit any charge against the person expelled." The motion of Mr. Welbore Ellis, "that the High Bailiff do attend at the bar of this House," was at length negatived, (February 9,) by 174 against 185 voices; a similar motion, soon after made by Colonel Fitzpatrick, was negatived by a majority of nine voices only; and on the 3d of March, being a third time repeated by Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, it was carried in the affirmative, by 163 against 124; leaving the minister in a minority. Mr. Fox then took his seat as member for Westminster.

† This was on the 18th of April. Mr. Pitt rose, he said, "With hopes infinitely more sanguine than he had ventured to entertain at any former period. There never was a moment when the minds of men were more enlightened on this interesting topic, or more prepared for its discussion. He declared his present plan of Reform to be perfectly coincident with the spirit of those changes which had taken place in the exercise of the elective franchise from the earliest ages, and not in the least allied to the spirit of innovation. So far back as the reign of Edward I. before which the component orders of the representative body could not be distinctly traced, the franchise of election had been constantly fluctuating. As one borough decayed and another flourished, the first was abolished and the second invested with the right. Even the representation of the counties had not been uniform. King James I. in his first proclamation for calling a Parliament, directed that the sheriffs should not call upon such decayed and ruined boroughs to send members to that Parliament. For this discretion, as vested in the crown, he was certainly no advocate; but he wished to establish a permanent rule to operate like the discretion out of which the constitution had sprung—that the principle on which it was founded should be rescued from the accident and caprice in which it was unhappily involved. He wished to bring forward a plan that should be complete, gradual, and permanent—a plan that not only corrected the inequalities of the present system, but which would be competent to preserve the purity it restored, and give to the constitution not only consistency, but, if possible, immortality. Without a Parliamentary Reform the nation will be plunged into new wars; without a Parliamentary Reform you cannot be safe against bad ministers, nor can even good ministers be of use to you." Mr. Pitt intended, that the actual number of the House of Commons should be preserved inviolate; that a certain number of the decayed and rotten boroughs should be selected, the right of representation attached to thirty-six of which should be transferred to the counties, in such proportions as the wisdom of Parliament might prescribe; that all unnecessary harshness might be avoided, a fund of one million should be applied to the purchasing the franchise of such boroughs, on their voluntary application to Parliament; after which, he proposed to extend the bill to the purchasing the franchise of other boroughs, besides the original thirty-six; and to transfer the right of returning members to large towns, hitherto unrepresented, upon their petitioning Parliament to be indulged with this privilege. It was also his wish to admit copyholders to an equality with freeholders, and to extend the franchise in populous towns, where the electors were few, to the inhabitants in general. This plan would give one hundred members to the popular interest in the kingdom, and extend the right of election to one hundred thousand persons, who, by the existing provisions of the law, were excluded from it. Mr. Fox remarked, "that government was not a property, but a trust," and he strongly objected to the idea of purchasing franchises of boroughs which from their insignificance were no longer entitled to send members to Parliament. He, however, bestowed upon the plan of the minister a just and liberal tribute of praise. On the other hand, it was ridiculed by Mr. Powys, as "the mere knight-errantry of a political Quixote; as an example, a precedent, an incitement, to the wildest and most paradoxical nostrums that speculative theorists could devise." At length, after a long debate, Mr. Pitt's motion was rejected by 248 against 174.

early period of the present century; more had been done in the reign of King George II. but it was not till within a very few years that the system had been completely revised. Still, however, the future intercourse between the two kingdoms remained for legislative wisdom to arrange; and the propositions moved by Mr. Orde in the Irish Parliament, and ratified by that assembly, held out (he said) a system liberal, beneficial, and permanent. If the question should be asked, whether, under the accumulation of our heavy taxes, it would be wise to equalize the duties, and to enable a country free from those taxes to meet us in their own market and in ours, he would answer, that Ireland, with an independent legislature, would no longer submit to be treated with as an inferior. A great and generous effort was to be made by this country, and we were to choose between inevitable alternatives. Our manufactures, however, were so decidedly superior to theirs, that the immunities proposed would be in fact, and for many years to come, productive of little alteration. It would require time for the acquisition of both capital and skill; and as these increased, the difference between the price of labour there and in this country would be incessantly diminishing. After all, there might, he admitted, be some branches of manufacture in which Ireland might rival and perhaps excel England. But this ought not to give us pain. We must calculate from general and not from partial views. Above all, we should learn not to regard Ireland with an eye of jealousy. It required little philosophy to reconcile us to a competition which would give us a rich customer instead of a poor one. The prosperity of the sister kingdom would be a fresh and inexhaustible source of opulence to us." For a considerable time, the vastness of the plan, and of the objects which it embraced, seemed to keep the public mind in a kind of suspence; and for nearly a month after its first introduction there were no indications discernible of serious or determined opposition. Mr. Fox, however, censured the precipitancy with which this business was urged, and contended for the necessity of calling the merchants and manufacturers to the bar of the House, in order that the House might be fully informed in a case of this momentous nature, before they should proceed to vote a definitive resolution. Accordingly, on the 14th of March, Mr. Eden moved, that the commissioners of customs and excise should be examined at the bar of the House; which was carried in the affirmative. On the same day, a petition was presented by Mr. Stanley, member for Lancashire, from the manufacturers of that county, praying to be heard by counsel against the bill. Petitions were also presented from Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, and every quarter of the kingdom; and, at the end of a long and tedious investigation, Mr. Pitt was compelled to acknowledge the necessity of making some material alterations and amendments in his original plan. On the 12th of May, he brought forward a series of propositions, so altered, as to exhibit what might well be considered a new system. Mr. Fox affected to hold the language of triumph on the occasion. The respective resolutions were carried, after a warm contest; and on the 30th of May they were sent up to the Lords, where they again underwent a long and laborious investigation; in the course of which various amendments were made. The resolutions were sent back to the Commons on the 19th of July; after much debate, the amendments were agreed to; and on the 28th of July an address was presented to the King, acquainting his Majesty with the steps which had been taken in this affair. The two Houses now adjourned to a distant day; and on the 30th of September, the Parliament was prorogued by proclamation.

The propositions having been transmitted to Ireland, Mr. Orde, (August 12) moved for leave to bring in a bill for establishing the system of commercial intercourse therein contained. He defended the variations which now appeared, by alledging the natural progress of a measure of this nature. On a comparison of the two sets of propositions, however, the magnitude and importance of the alterations strikingly appeared; and the fourth resolution in particular, by which England assumed a power of legislative regulation and commercial control with respect to Ireland, was rejected with a kind of horror. After much violent debate, the Secretary, to preclude a motion of censure framed by Mr. Flood, moved an adjournment; and Mr. Flood consenting to wave his motion, the adjournment was carried without a division; and public illuminations testified the joy excited by the sudden termination of this affair.

The English Parliament met on the 24th of January, 1786. The King declared to the House of Commons his "earnest wish to enforce economy in every department; recommended to them the maintenance of our naval strength on the most respectable footing; and above all the establishment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt." Nothing important passed until the middle of February, when the estimate of the ordnance was brought up in the Committee of Supply. Mr. Pitt then called the attention of the House to the plan laid before them in the course of the last session, under the sanction of the Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance, for fortifying the Dock-yards of the kingdom; the propriety of which it was then agreed to refer to a board of land and sea officers, whose report Mr. Pitt stated to be in the highest degree favourable to the plan of fortification submitted to their decision; but the report itself he declined, as a matter of too serious and delicate a nature, to lay before the House. After a considerable opposition, and delay, he moved a resolution, "That it appeared to the House, that to provide effectually for securing the dock-yards of Portsmouth and Plymouth by a permanent system of fortification was an essential object for the safety of the state, &c. &c." A very warm debate arose, in the course of which Mr. Sheridan, a gentleman who had been some time gradually rising in Parliamentary reputation, particularly distinguished himself. The division was rendered memorable by an exact equality of numbers, both the ayes and the noes amounting to 169. The Speaker, being obliged to give his casting vote, added his negative to those who had voted for the rejection of this system. Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding this defeat, after an interval of a few weeks, brought forward the question again, in a new form, by moving, "That an estimate of the expense of such part of the plan of fortification recommended in the late report, as might appear most necessary to be carried into immediate execution, be referred to a Committee of Supply"—the probable expense of which was estimated at only 400,000*l.*! This was received with extreme disapprobation; and Mr. Pitt at length withdrew the motion.

In the month of March, Mr. Pitt moved for the appointment of a select committee, by ballot, to report to the House the state of the public revenue and expenditure. The result of their inquiry was eminently satisfactory. "The amount of the revenue for the current year was estimated at 15,397,000*l.*—the permanent expenditure, including the civil list and the interests payable on the different funds amounted to 10,554,000*l.*—the peace establishment, allowing 18,000 men for the navy, and the usual complement of 70 regiments for the army, exclusive of life-guards and cavalry, was estimated at 3,924,000*l.*—in all, 14,478,000*l.*; in consequence there remained a surplus of more than 900,000*l.* Mr. Pitt observed, though this was stated to be the annual expenditure, a considerable interval must elapse before this reduction could take place; this term he fixed at four years. The exceedings of the army, navy, and ordnance, together with the sums necessary for the indemnification of the American loyalists, he calculated would not, during this period, fall short of three millions. The war from which we were just delivered had been most expensive and ruinous; these unavoidable exceedings were amongst the bitter fruits of it; but if during the first years of peace extraordinary expense were incurred, they afforded also extraordinary savings. There were sums appropriated during the war to different services,

vices, which had been expended; 450,000*l.* had already been paid into the Exchequer upon this account. There were, moreover, immense sums in the hands of former paymasters, which, it was expected, would soon be brought to account; these he conjecturally stated at the sum of one million. There was a balance of 600,000*l.* due to the government from the East India Company. When to these were added the improvements that might yet be made by judicious regulations in the different branches of the revenue, he was not, he hoped, too sanguine in affirming that we possessed resources equal to all our ordinary and extraordinary demands. The proposition which he now submitted to the House was, the appropriation of the annual sum of one million to be invariably applied to the liquidation of the public debt." The surplus of the revenue amounting to the sum of 900,000*l.* only, Mr. Pitt moved for an additional duty on spirits, on certain kinds of timber imported, and on perfumery, which would together be more than sufficient to make up the deficiency. "This annual million Mr. Pitt proposed to vest in the hands of certain commissioners, to be by them applied regularly to the purchase of stock; so that no sum should ever be within the grasp of any future minister large enough to tempt him to violate this sacred deposit. The interests annually discharged were, conformably to this plan, to be added to and incorporated with the original fund, so that it would operate with a determinate and accelerated velocity; being, in this respect, framed upon the model of the sinking fund formerly projected by Sir Robert Walpole. This fund was also to be assisted by the annuities granted for different terms, which would from time to time fall in within the limited period of twenty-eight years, at the expiration of which Mr. Pitt calculated that the fund would produce an income of four millions per annum. When a progress so considerable was made in the reduction of the debt, Parliament might with propriety pause, and adopt such new measures for the relief of the nation, and the extinction of the most oppressive and burdensome taxes, as to the legislative wisdom should seem meet. The commissioners to be nominated under the act were, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Master of the Rolls, the Governor and Deputy-governor of the Bank of England, and the Accomptant-general of the high court of Chancery. Such were the persons, Mr. Pitt said, whom he should propose to be appointed to this trust. This plan had long been the wish and the hope of all good men, and he felt inexpressible pleasure in being able to flatter himself that his name might be inscribed on that firm column, which was now about to be raised to national faith and national prosperity." In the progress of the bill, Mr. Fox suggested, "that whenever a new loan should hereafter be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or such proportion of it, as should be equal to the cash then in their hands; the interest and douceur annexed to which should be applied to the purposes of the sinking fund." This amendment, the only one of consequence offered, was well received by Mr. Pitt, who declared it to be "an auspicious omen of the ultimate success of the plan, that its propriety and necessity had been so obvious, as to overcome the spirit and prejudice of party, and create an unanimity of sentiment in persons who more, he was sure, from accident than inclination, were so frequently of different opinions." The bill finally passed with great and deserved approbation. Previously to that event, however, a message from the King to the House of Commons was delivered, stating, "that it gave him great concern to inform them, that it had not been found possible to confine the expences of the civil list within the annual sum, eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds, now applicable to that purpose. A farther debt had been necessarily incurred, and the King relied on the zeal and affection of his Parliament to make provision for its discharge." The money was ultimately voted; but not without considerable opposition.

Various petitions were presented in the course of the session for the repeal of the tax upon retail shops; and a motion was made by Sir Watkin Lewes, for that purpose, without effect, though the impost was somewhat mitigated by a reduction of the rates. An attempt was also made by Mr. Pulteney, to explain and amend the act of the last session, relative to hawkers and pedlars; particularly to repeal an oppressive clause, by which justices of the peace were empowered to imprison any person of this profession at their discretion. This was rejected, however, by a considerable majority. A bill for transferring part of the duties on foreign wines from the customs to the excise, (the duty having fallen off, Mr. Pitt stated, by the sum of two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, from what it had been in the middle of the century) was passed with general approbation; the terrible alarm, excited by Sir Robert Walpole's memorable attempt to extend the laws of excise, fifty years ago, having been, apparently forgotten.

The affairs of India next occupied the chief attention of Parliament. A bill was brought in by Mr. Dundas, which with some opposition passed into a law, to explain and amend the act of 1784.* Soon after this Mr. Pitt, stating certain exigencies arising from the peculiar situation of the East India Company, moved that they be empowered to raise the sum of two millions for the necessary increase of their capital. This also passed with little difficulty.

In the month of June, 1785, Mr. Hastings, late governor of Bengal, had arrived in England. The session being then far advanced, Mr. Burke gave notice of his intention to move, early in the next session, for a Parliamentary investigation into his conduct. When Parliament met after the summer recess, Major Scott, who had constantly distinguished himself as the friend and advocate of Mr. Hastings, challenged Mr. Burke, in pressing terms, to come to an immediate decision. Mr. Burke replied, "that he should imitate the conduct of the Duke of Parma, who came from the Low Countries to relieve the city of Paris, then besieged by King Henry IV. The King, impatient and full of ardour, urged the Duke to instant battle; but that experienced and celebrated commander replied, that he had not travelled so far to learn from his enemy the time when it was most proper to engage." On the 17th of February, however, (1786) Mr. Burke, desiring that the resolutions of May 28, 1782, might be read (resolutions moved by Mr. Dundas, as chairman of the Select Committee, declaratory of the culpability of Mr. Hastings, and the consequent necessity of his recall) expressed his "deep regret, that the solemn and important business of that day had not been brought forward in the plenitude of weight and efficiency, by the original mover of the resolutions now recited. There were various modes of proceeding which might be adopted. The first was a direction to the Attorney-General to prosecute; but independently of the apparent disinclination of Mr. Arden, the present Attorney-General, to exert his powers in this cause, he did not conceive that a trial by jury was well calculated for the purpose of obtaining justice against so elevated an offender. The second mode of prosecution was that by bill of pains and penalties. To this he had insuperable objections, as radically unjust, and as tarnishing, in no slight degree, the character of that House, the members of which would thus preposterously appear in the two-fold capacity of accusers and judges. The only alternative which remained was the ancient constitutional mode of proceeding by impeachment: as a necessary preparative to which, he concluded with moving for the papers necessary to substantiate the charge which he had now in immediate contemplation to bring forward against the late Governor-General Hastings." Mr. Dundas affirmed, "that though he had thought it expedient in

* This bill bestowed upon the Governor-General of India the high prerogative of deciding in opposition to the sense of the majority of the council. The offices of Commander in-Chief and Governor-General were in future united in the same person; and Earl Cornwallis, who had borne so conspicuous a part in the American war, and whose character stood high in the public estimation, was nominated to fill this important commission.

the year 1782 to recall Mr. Hastings from India, he now rejoiced that the resolutions moved by him had not taken effect. Since that period Mr. Hastings had rendered most essential services to the Company, and he should have extremely regretted to have been the means of depriving the Company of a servant so distinguished by his zeal and capacity. He had certainly moved a vote of censure on Mr. Hastings; but Mr. Hastings had since received the thanks of the Court of Directors, in which had he been a director, he would most willingly have concurred, from a thorough conviction that the thanks were merited." Some difficulties were suggested by Mr. Pitt, respecting the production of the papers called for; but, ultimately, they were granted, with only a few exceptions; and on the 4th of April, Mr. Burke solemnly charged Warren Hastings, Esq. late Governor-General of Bengal, with high crimes and misdemeanors in the execution of his office, exhibiting at the same time nine distinct articles of accusation, which in a few weeks were increased to the number of twenty-two. On the 1st of May, Mr. Hastings, at his own desire, and by the indulgence of the House, was heard in his own defence; and the minutes of his defence were ordered to lie on the table. The House then proceeded in the examination of evidence. The first article of the impeachment respecting the Rohilla war was brought before the House on the 1st of June; and after a very long debate, the question was decided in favour of Mr. Hastings, by 119 against 67. On the 13th of June, the second charge, relative to the Rajah of Benares, being brought forward, it was resolved by the House, on a division of 119 to 79 voices, "that this charge contained matter of impeachment against the late Governor-General of Bengal." On the 11th of July, an end was put to these proceedings for the present by a prorogation of the Parliament.*

In September, his Majesty appointed a new committee of Council, for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations. Of this board Mr. Charles Jenkinson, now created Lord Hawkesbury, and constituted Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was declared President. Under the auspices of this Board, a treaty of commerce was signed between England and France (September 26) on the basis of equality and reciprocity. The general principle was to admit the mutual importation and exportation of the commodities of each country at a very low ad valorem duty. The negociator of this treaty was Mr. Eden, who was afterwards raised to the Peerage, under the title of Baron Auckland, subsequently appointed ambassador to Holland.† About the same time a convention was signed with Spain, which finally terminated the long subsisting disputes respecting the settlements of the English nation on the Mosquito shore and the coast of Honduras.

The first object of debate which presented itself, on the meeting of Parliament (January 23, 1787) was the commercial treaty with France; on which, though it met with some opposition, an address of approbation to his Majesty was voted. Another very beneficial measure, though of inferior importance, was brought forward by Mr. Pitt for the consolidation of the customs, by the total abolition of all the existing confused and complex duties, and substituting in their stead a single duty on each article, amounting as nearly as possible to the aggregate of the various subsidies now paid; taking universally, instead of a fraction, the nearest integral number above it. By this means the revenue was considerably benefited, and the merchant relieved from a serious inconvenience. A regulation of finance, less generally approved, was also proposed, relative to the tax on post-horses, which Mr. Pitt affirmed to have been most grossly and scandalously evaded. Agreeably to his proposition, the tax has ever since been farmed by auction to the highest bidder, on the usual plan of the turnpike duty.

Mr. Fox some time afterwards moved for the repeal of the Shop Tax;‡ but the motion was negatived, by 183 against 147. Another unsuccessful motion, was that of Mr. Beaufoy, for amending, and in part repealing, the Corporation and Test Act; which, after a long discussion, was negatived by 178 against 100.

When the Prince of Wales came of age (1783) the sum of 50,000*l.* per annum, only, was allotted to him out of the civil-list revenue to defray the entire expense of his establishment. Considering the numerous salaries payable to the officers of his household, this sum was inadequate to the support of his rank and situation in life; and the then ministers (Mr. Fox and Lord North) strongly insisted upon the necessity of fixing his Royal Highness's revenue at 100,000*l.* per annum, which the late King had enjoyed as Prince of Wales, when the civil list produced 200,000*l.* per annum less than at present. To this the King positively objected; and the Prince, to prevent disagreeable consequences, declared, that he chose to depend upon the spontaneous bounty of the King. The result of this economy was, that the Prince, in the four years which had since elapsed, had contracted debts to a large amount. A report of a very serious nature had also gained general credit; viz. that the Prince had contracted a secret marriage with a lady (Mrs. Fitzherbert) of the Roman Catholic religion. Such a marriage, it is true, in whatever mode it was solemnized, could not, by the Royal Marriage Act, be regarded as legal; in addition to which, by a clause in the Act of Settlement, should the legality of the marriage be affirmed, the Prince, by marrying a papist, would, ipse facto, forfeit his right of succession to the crown. His situation, therefore, was, in the highest degree, critical. Finding his embarrassments continually increasing, the Prince, in the summer of the last year, applied to the King for assistance: but meeting with a refusal, he adopted the resolution of suppressing the establishment of his household, and he formally vested 40,000*l.* per annum of his revenue in the hands of trustees for the liquidation of his debts. His race horses, his hunters, and even his coach horses, were sold by public auction; and the elegant improvements and additions making to Carlton House, were suddenly stopped, and the most splendid apartments shut up. Things had remained in this state nearly a twelvemonth, when the Prince was persuaded to give his assent to a proposal for laying the state of his affairs before Parliament; and on the 20th of April, in the present year, Mr. Alderman Newnham, member for the city of London, gave notice that he would bring forward a motion for an address to the King, praying him to take the situation of the Prince into consideration, and to grant him such relief as he in his wisdom should think fit, and pledging the House to make good the same. This occasioned an interesting conversation; and Mr. Newnham was earnestly entreated to withdraw his motion, as

* Shortly after the rising of Parliament, as the King was alighting from his post-chariot at the garden entrance of St. James's Palace, (August the 2d) a woman decently dressed presented a paper to his Majesty; and while he was in the act of receiving it, she struck with a concealed knife at his breast. The King fortunately avoided the blow by drawing back; and as she was preparing to make a second thrust, one of the yeomen caught her arm, and the weapon was wrenched out of her hand. On examination before the privy council, it immediately appeared that the woman was insane. When asked, where she had lately resided, she answered "that she had been all abroad since the matter of the crown broke out." On being further questioned, as to what matter? she said, "that the crown was hers; and that if she had not her right, England would be deluged in blood for a thousand generations." When interrogated as to the nature of her right, she refused to answer, saying, "that her rights were a mystery." It appeared that this poor woman, whose name was Margaret Nicholson, had presented a petition ten days before, full of wild and incoherent nonsense. It had probably never been read, or the person of the petitioner would have been secured. The idea of prosecution was of course abandoned, and the maniac was sent to Bethlem Hospital. The Lord Mayor, Alderman, Sheriffs, and Common-Council of the city of London, went some days after in procession to St. James's to present an address to his Majesty on his happy escape; an example which was followed by nearly all the corporate bodies throughout the kingdom.

† On the 31st of October, died the Princess Amelia, last survivor of the issue of King George II. at the advanced age of 75 years. Her immense riches she devised to the Landgrave of Hesse, the nearest in blood of her German relations.

‡ It appeared, that the city of London and its environs paid forty-three shares in fifty-nine of this duty, the whole produce being estimated at only fifty-nine thousand pounds.

fertile of inconvenience and mischief. Mr. Pitt observed, "that by the perseverance of Mr. Newnham he should be driven to the disclosures of circumstances which he should otherwise have thought it his duty to conceal." Mr. Rolle averred, "that the investigation of this question involved in it circumstances which tended immediately to affect the constitution in church and state." Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan, and other gentlemen in the confidence of the Prince, declared that "there was nothing which the Prince of Wales less feared than a full and impartial investigation of his conduct; and nothing that his Royal Highness would more deprecate than a studied ambiguity, or affected tenderness, on the pretence of respect or indulgence." Mr. Rolle was called upon, though in vain, to explain the extraordinary language he had used. A few days afterwards Mr. Fox again called the attention of the House to the declaration of Mr. Rolle. "To what that declaration alluded," Mr. Fox said, "it was impossible to ascertain, till the person who made it thought proper to explain his meaning: but he supposed it must refer to that base and malicious calumny which had been propagated without doors by the enemies of the Prince, with a view to depreciate his character, and injure him in the esteem of his country." Mr. Fox further declared, "that the Prince had authorised him to assert, that, as a Peer of Parliament, he was ready in the other House to submit to any of the most pointed questions that could be put to him upon the subject, or to afford the King or his ministers the fullest assurance of the utter falsehood of the fact in question." Mr. Rolle now thought proper to acknowledge that the subject upon which Mr. Fox had spoken was the matter to which he had alluded, as affecting both church and state. "The reports," he said, "relative to this transaction had made a deep impression upon the minds of all men who loved and venerated the constitution. He knew that this thing could not have been accomplished under the formal sanction of law; but if it existed as a fact, it might be productive of the most alarming consequences, and ought to be satisfactorily cleared up." Mr. Fox replied, "that he did not deny the calumny in question merely with regard to the effect of certain existing laws, but he denied it in toto, in fact as well as in law. The fact not only could never happen legally, but never did happen any way, and had from the beginning been a vile and malignant falsehood." Mr. Rolle asked, "whether, in what he now asserted, Mr. Fox spoke from direct authority?" Mr. Fox said, he had "spoken from direct authority." In consequence of these asseverations, Mr. Rolle was loudly called upon to express his satisfaction; but this he obstinately refused, saying only, "that the House would judge for themselves of what had passed." Mr. Sheridan warmly declared, "that if Mr. Rolle persisted in his refusal, or otherwise to put the matter into such a state of inquiry as should satisfy him, the House ought to come to a resolution, 'that it was seditious and disloyal to propagate reports injurious to the character of the Prince.'" Mr. Pitt here interposed, and protested against so flagrant an attack on the freedom of speech and deliberation in that House.

Subsequently to this discussion, at the desire of the King, an interview took place between the Prince of Wales and Mr. Pitt, at Carlton House; and the Prince was informed, "that if the intended motion were withdrawn, every thing might be settled to his Royal Highness's satisfaction." This being acceded to, a message was delivered from the King to the House, stating his Majesty's great concern, "that from the accounts of the Prince of Wales it had appeared that he had incurred a debt to a very large amount, which, painful as it was to him to propose any addition to the burdens of his people, he was induced, by his paternal affection to the Prince, to desire the assistance of Parliament to discharge—on the well-grounded expectation, nevertheless, of the Prince's avoiding to contract any similar debt in future; with a view to which, the King had directed a sum of 10,000*l.* to be paid out of the civil list, in addition to his former allowance." The next day after the accounts referred to in the royal message were laid before the House, "and of which the dignified generosity of the House suffered not the inspection," an address was voted to the King, to request him to direct the sum of 161,000*l.* to be paid out of the civil list for the full discharge of the debts of the Prince of Wales, and the farther sum of 20,000*l.* to complete the repairs of Carlton House.

Mr. Hastings's impeachment having been resumed, Mr. Sheridan, on the 7th of February, opened the third charge respecting the Begum Princesses of Oude, with an eloquence and energy, which were perhaps never surpassed, and which in their consequences proved entirely decisive;* as, on a division, the numbers were, in favour of the motion 175, against it 68. On the 2d of March Mr. Pelham opened the charge relative to the nabob of Ferruckabad; which was carried, by 112 against 50. On the 10th of March the charge upon the subject of contracts was brought forward by Sir James Erskine; which was carried by 60 against 26. On the 23d of March the charge relative to Fyzoola Khan was brought forward by Mr. Windham; which was carried by 96 against 37. On the 2d of April Mr. Sheridan opened the charge upon the subject of presents; observing, "that the late Governor-General had, in every part of his conduct, exhibited proofs of a wild, eccentric, and irregular mind. He had been every thing by starts, and nothing long—now high and lofty, now mean and insidious—now artful and temporising, now rigid and inflexible—in pride, in passion, in all things changeable, except in corruption. His revenge was a tempest, a tornado blackening the horizon, and involving all within the sphere of its influence in one common destruction. But his corruption was regular and systematic, a monsoon blowing uniformly from one point of the compass, and wafting the wealth of India to the same port in one certain direction." This charge was confirmed by 185 against 54.

On the 19th of the month, the charge respecting the revenues was opened by Mr. Francis, who had formerly occupied the office of member of the supreme council in India, and who had recently taken his seat as a member of the House of Commons.† This charge was also confirmed

* Mr. Sheridan said, "that the conduct of Mr. Hastings respecting the Nabob and Begums of Oude comprehended in it every species of human offence. He had been guilty of rapacity at once violent and insatiable, of treachery cool and premeditated, of oppression unprovoked, of barbarity wanton and unmanly. So long since as 1775, the Begum Princess, widow of Sujah ul Dowla, had written to Mr. Hastings in the following moving terms:—'If it is your pleasure that the mother of the late nabob, that myself, his other women, and his infant children, should be reduced to a state of dishonour and distress, we must submit. But if, on the contrary, you call to mind the friendship of the late blessed nabob, you will exert yourself effectually in favour of us who are helpless.' Inflamed by disappointment at Benares, he hastened to the fortress of Chunar, to put in execution the atrocious design of instigating the nabob, son of this princess, to parricide and plunder. No sooner had Mr. Hastings determined to invade the substance of justice, than he resolved to avail himself of her judicial forms, and dispatched a messenger for the chief justice of India to assist him in perpetrating the violence he had meditated. Without a moment's pause, or the shadow of process instituted, sentence was pronounced. And thus, at the same time that the sword of government was converted to an assassin's dagger, the pure ermine of justice was stained and soiled with the basest contamination. It was clear to demonstration, that the Begums were not concerned in the insurrection of Benares. No, their treasures were their treason. If the mind of Mr. Hastings were susceptible of superstition, he might image the proud spirit of Sujah ul Dowla looking down upon the ruin and devastation of his family; beholding the palace which he had adorned with the spoils of the devoted Rohillas, plundered by his base and perfidious ally; and viewing the man whom on his death bed he had constituted the guardian of his wife, his mother, and his family, forcibly exposing those dear relations, the object of his solemn trust, to the rigour of the merciless seasons, or the violence of the more merciless soldiery.—Such were the awful dispensations of the retributive justice!—It was not given to that House to witness the tremulous joys of the millions whom the vote of that night would save from the cruelty of corrupted power. But the blessings of the people thus delivered would not be dissipated in empty air. No; they would lift up their prayers to Heaven, in gratitude to the power, which, by stretching its mighty arm across the deep, had saved them from ruin and destruction."

† Mr. Francis enumerated the different modes of managing the revenues of Bengal, adopted by Mr. Hastings in the course of thirteen

confirmed, by 71 against 55. On the 9th of May the report made by Mr. Burke from the committee, to whom it had been referred to prepare the articles of impeachment, was confirmed by the House; and, on the following day, it was voted that Mr. Hastings be impeached. Mr. Burke accordingly, "in the name of the House of Commons, and of all the Commons of Great Britain," repaired to the bar of the House of Lords, and impeached Mr. Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors—at the same time acquainting their Lordships, that the Commons would, with all convenient speed, exhibit articles against him, and make good the same. On the 14th of May, another charge respecting misdemeanors in Oude was added to the former by Mr. Burke, and voted without a division. On the same day the articles actually prepared were sent to the Lords; and on the 21st, Mr. Hastings, being conducted to the bar of that House by the serjeant at arms, was taken into the custody of the black rod, but, on the motion of the Lord Chancellor was admitted to bail—himself in 20,000*l.* and two sureties, Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Sumner in 10,000*l.* each: and he was ordered to deliver in an answer to the articles of impeachment in one month from that time, or upon the second day of the next session of Parliament.

The session was closed on the 30th of May, when the King delivered a speech, commending "the measures taken by Parliament respecting the reduction of the national debt, and the treaty of navigation and commerce with the most Christian King. He spoke of the general tranquillity of Europe, and lamented the dissensions which unhappily prevailed amongst the States of the United Provinces."*

Parliament assembled on the 27th of November; when

years. At the time of his accession to the government, the provinces had not perfectly recovered the effects of the dreadful famine which had taken place in Bengal at a very recent period; yet then did the committee of circuit, under the sanction of Mr. Hastings, raise the rents of the zemindaries to an unheard-of standard; and by the ensuing project of 1781, the whole landed property of the country was put up to a pretended auction; the proprietors were universally deprived of their estates; and banyans, cheats, and adventurers of all sorts, put into possession of their lands. Under this settlement, Cantoo Baboo, Mr. Hastings's banyan, held farms to the amount of 135,000*l.* per annum. The directors had ordered the persons composing the committee of circuit to be prosecuted, but Mr. Hastings had ordered the prosecution to be withdrawn. A committee of revenue was subsequently introduced, under the influence of Gunga Govid Sing, a notorious and adroit villain, which completed the ruin of the country. When Mr. Hastings came into possession of the Bengal government, he found it a fertile, populous, and prosperous country; it contained a regular gradation of ranks, like a pyramid, from a well ordered yeomanry to sovereign Princes: but these distinctions have been broken down—the whole nation has been pounded as it were by the oppression of the government into one mass—and the Prince was no otherwise discoverable from the peasant than by the superiority of his sufferings, and the more pungent bitterness of his humiliations." Mr. Francis concluded in these words:—"My particular labour is now at an end. An unremitting perseverance of thirteen years has at last conducted me to that issue which has been the object of all my efforts. Mr. Hastings must now be impeached—let him have a fair trial—I desire no more. In arriving at that object, I have secured every possible personal purpose that I ever had in view; the reputation of Sir John Clavering, Colonel Monson, and myself, is secure; your votes are my authority; the House of Commons are my compurgators. The only victory I ever aimed at was to clear my character from foul aspersion, and to establish, as I trust I have done, the integrity of my conduct in the estimation of my country."

* During the late war, the finances of France had been entrusted to the management of M. Neckar, a Genevan Protestant, a man of strict probity, but apparently destitute of those comprehensive views which distinguish the enlightened statesman. He conceived the romantic plan of raising the loans necessary for the service of the war upon the credit of funds to be created by economical savings in the public expenditure. The revenue of France was immense, equal, perhaps, to twenty-five millions sterling; but the civil, military, and naval establishments of that vast kingdom were also upon a vast scale. At the era of peace, however, M. Neckar was compelled to resign, and was succeeded by M. de Calonne, a man of great talents, but, who, immersed in dissipation, and intrigue, and neither able nor solicitous to reform the abuses of the government, proposed to supply the deficiency in the revenue in the usual way, by new and heavy imposts. The known derangement of the French finances, and the consequent indisposition of the court to involve itself in hostilities, probably emboldened the Emperor to venture upon measures which the most powerful of his predecessors would have regarded as presumptuous. Availing himself of the animosity subsisting between the maritime powers, he had during the late war formally cancelled the barrier treaty originally concluded with the guarantee of England, and had dismissed the Dutch garrisons from the frontier towns of the Low Countries. In the expectation of permanent amity with France, he had even dismantled the greater part of those important fortresses, thus leaving the country wholly exposed, in case of a future rupture, to the inroads of that formidable power. In the autumn of 1783, he suddenly demanded of the States General the appointment of a commission to meet at Brussels, for the accurate ascertainment of the boundaries of the Dutch and Austrian Netherlands. During the discussion of this demand, a detachment of the Austrian troops entered the Dutch territory, and seized upon two small forts in the neighbourhood of Sluys; and a new demand was made of the free navigation of the Scheld beyond Fort Lillo, as far as the land of Saftingen. Conferences were at length agreed upon to be held at Brussels, in order to the final settlement of these claims, and the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor delivered in to those of the States General, (May, 1784,) the entire demand of his imperial Majesty, "Purporting the enlargement of his boundaries on the side of Breda and Bois-le-Duc; the demolition of the forts Kruickshank and Frederic Henry; the inland navigation of the Scheld as far as Saftingen; the requisition of various sums of money pretended to have been due to the Emperor since the beginning of the present century; and the cession of the city of Maestricht, and the contiguous district of Outre Meuse, disjoined from the general mass of the Dutch possessions." Astonished and alarmed at these novel claims, the States were urgent to obtain the mediation of the court of Versailles. Since the termination of the war with England, Holland had been distracted with internal commotions. A great majority of the Dutch nation accused the Prince of Orange of gross and flagrant partiality to England during the war. Prince Louis of Brunswick, guardian to the stadtholder during his minority, and generalissimo of the Dutch forces, was even said to be a pensioner of England; and so high did the public clamour arise against him, that he found it necessary to resign his offices civil and military, and retire from the country. This was far, however, from satisfying the disaffected party, which seemed to increase. The authority of the Prince, as established by the constitution of 1747, was assailed in almost every province, by every possible mode of attack; and the very existence of the stadtholderate seemed to have become precarious. Under these circumstances, the Emperor again rose in his demands. In his ultimatum, (delivered August 23, 1784) his imperial Majesty observing "that divers difficulties had occurred in the discussion of his claims, and that a speedy termination of those differences was ardently desired by him, offered to depart from his just demand upon the city of Maestricht, and to moderate his other requisitions, in consideration of the free and unlimited navigation of the Scheld in both branches to the sea. His imperial Majesty, not doubting but the States would accept with eagerness so unquestionable a mark of his good will, had thought proper to regard the Scheld as open, and to declare its navigation free from the date of this paper; and he concluded, that on the supposition of any insult being offered to the imperial flag in the execution of these ideas, he should be obliged to consider it as a formal declaration of war on the part of the republic." This memorial was as a stroke of thunder to the States, who, in their answer, protested against this new claim, as the flagrant invasion of a right which they considered as the most valuable of their possessions. However, early in the month of October, (1784,) a small vessel sailed from Antwerp, with the intention of ascertaining this important point. On her arrival before the fort of Lillo, an account of her destination was demanded; on the refusal of the officer to answer, a single ball was fired; and no regard being paid to this intimation, a whole broadside was discharged, and the vessel immediately struck her colours. This proceeding on the part of the Dutch excited the utmost astonishment of the Emperor, who had treated the remonstrances of his minister, Prince Kaunitz, with contempt—repeatedly and peremptorily affirming, "that the Dutch would never dare to fire." The Emperor being in Hungary when this intelligence arrived, the Prince wrote to his imperial Majesty the following laconic letter of information—"But they have fired." The conferences at Brussels were immediately broken up, the imperial ambassador at the Hague was recalled, and hostile preparations were made on both sides. At this critical moment the court of Versailles interposed, so as to preserve the Dutch nation from the threatened ruin. A letter written with his most Christian Majesty's own hand to the Emperor, dated November 20, 1784, pointed out the essential distinction between the primary and ultimate demands of the Emperor. Respecting the former, the King of France declared himself neutral; but he protested against any violation of the rights of the States General respecting the navigation of the Scheld—a right exercised by them for nearly one hundred and fifty years under the sanction of a sacred treaty. His most Christian Majesty exhorted the Emperor, therefore, to listen to the voice of moderation and humanity, and to assent to a renewal of the conferences under his mediation. To enforce this amicable overture, "a great army was assembled in the vicinity of Luxemburg; the Marquis de Verac, who possessed the entire confidence of M. de Vergennes the French minister, was dispatched as ambassador extraordinary to the Hague; and the Mareschal de Maillebois, an officer of high reputation in the French service, was permitted to take the command in chief of the Dutch forces." At length, the Emperor thought proper to accept of the proffered mediation, provided the freedom of the Scheld, or the cession of Maestricht, were made the preliminaries of the negotiation. The Dutch now peremptorily refused to accede to either of these alternatives; and, after some delay, the Emperor submitted to the humiliating relinquishment of both these objects. He insisted, however, that the Dutch States should make a public submission, and apologize by a formal embassy for the insult offered to his flag at Lillo. In a short time a treaty of pacification was signed, importing "that the States should pay the sum of ten millions of florins as an indemnification for the

when his Majesty, in opening the sittings, observed, "That at the close of the last session he had informed them of the concern with which he observed the disputes unhappily subsisting in the republic of the United Provinces. Their situation soon afterwards became more critical and alarming. The King of Prussia having demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to the Princess of Orange his sister, the party which had usurped the government applied to the most Christian King for assistance; and that Prince having notified to

the claim of the Emperor upon Maestricht and its territory, and as a compensation for the damage done by the late inundations; the inland navigation of the Scheld was extended to the town of Saftingen, and the forts of Lietkinshoek and Lillo ceded to the Emperor." This treaty was immediately followed by a treaty of alliance and friendship between Holland and France; an event neither pleasant nor honourable to England.

While the issue of the negotiation respecting the Scheld was yet unknown, a negotiation of still greater importance was carried on by the Emperor with the Elector of Bavaria, for the exchange of that extensive and commodious territory for the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, which were for this purpose to be converted into a kingdom under the ancient and obsolete appellation of Austrasia. This design could not escape the notice of the King of Prussia; and, in order to counteract it, a treaty was signed at Berlin (July 1785,) by his Prussian Majesty, the King of Great Britain as Elector of Hanover, and the Elector of Saxony, to which the Duke of Deux-Ponts, the Margrave of Anspach, and other Princes afterwards acceded. This confederation was expressly affirmed to be intended for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire, the rights of the Germanic body in general, and of the respective states in particular. The court of Versailles, though at variance with England and Prussia respecting the internal affairs of Holland, was no less solicitous to oppose the aggrandizement of the Austrian power in the empire. The court of St. Petersburgh, indeed, no longer shewed itself, decidedly hostile to the annexation of Bavaria to the Austrian dominions. She had even formed recent and strict engagements with that of Vienna, which induced her to make a public declaration, professing at least to approve of this exchange; though in the progress of the business, and on the refusal of the Duke of Deux-Ponts, the Empress Catharine formally notified to the King of Prussia that she had no intention to enforce the execution of the project. The courts of Vienna and Munich were at length compelled, in the spring of 1785, publicly to contradict the report, and to assert that the convention between them had no farther object than the adjustment of the limits of their respective countries.

The dangerous contest in which Holland found herself involved with the court of Vienna, did not abate the domestic contentions of the republic. The Louvestein party, anciently in opposition to the house of Orange, and which consisted chiefly of the provincial aristocracies, or rather oligarchies, of the union, had been recently reinforced by an unnatural coalition with the zealous partisans of democracy, who equally wished for the total annihilation of the stadtholderian influence and authority. At this period a letter was addressed to the States General by the King of Prussia, signed at Berlin, September 17, 1785, strongly urging the interposition of their high mightinesses, that the Prince Stadtholder might peaceably enjoy the rights and incontestable prerogatives appertaining to his dignity of hereditary Stadtholder. This application produced not the least effect. The states of Holland, who assumed the lead in the opposition, ordered, as in contempt of this interference, the arms of the house of Orange to be taken out of the colours of the troops belonging to that province, and that the Swiss guards attendant on the person of the Prince should be disbanded. Rebellion, and mutual hostilities ensued; and the states of Holland proceeded (September 22, 1786,) to the violent resolution of suspending the Prince from his office of Captain General of the province, by a majority of sixteen out of nineteen voices, of which that assembly is composed. The Prince now declared "his office of hereditary Captain General of Holland and West Friesland to have been secured to him by the unanimous vote of all the members of the State, he affirmed, that as the resolution by which the office had been conferred, passed nemine contradicente, it could not, supposing it to be revocable, be cancelled or even suspended without the like unanimity." This change of tone may be attributed to an event which had recently taken place; that of the death of Frederic the Great, King of Prussia (August 17, 1786,) who was succeeded by his nephew Frederic William II. to whom the Prince of Orange was nearly allied by marriage to his sister, the Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia. This monarch entered with great zeal into the interests of the Prince. In a memorial presented by his Prussian Majesty's ambassador extraordinary to the States General (September 18, 1786,) he expresses without reserve "the warm part which he takes in the unhappy dissensions subsisting between some of the provinces and the Stadtholder, and the very extraordinary oppressions which that Prince is innocently obliged to suffer—and urging that a durable termination may be put to these differences, in order that his serene highness the Prince Stadtholder may return, with honour and propriety, to the Hague, and resume his high employments—insisting also upon the great interest he had, as the nearest neighbour of the United Provinces, that the government of the republic, conformably to the ancient constitution, should not be changed in any essential point." Just before the delivery of this paper, a memorial had been presented to the States on the part of the King of England, containing, in language somewhat more guarded, the same sentiments. Notwithstanding this powerful interference in behalf of the Prince of Orange, the States of Holland shewed themselves in the highest degree averse from every idea of accommodation. The States General at length came to a resolution, notwithstanding the opposition of that great and leading province, to invite the mediation of Great Britain and Prussia; but the States of Holland declared themselves determined rather to strike out their names from the union of Utrecht, than to suffer such a measure to

receive the sanction of the republic. The Prince having now removed his court to Nimeguen, an ineffectual negotiation was carried on during the winter of 1786-7. The Stadtholder became inflexible in his pretensions. Every thing, on the breaking up of these conferences wore the face of war. The Prince encamped near the city of Utrecht, opposite to the cordon formed by the troops of Holland. In the month of June (1787,) with a view, as was universally believed by the patriots, of exciting an insurrectionary movement, her royal highness the Princess of Orange, then resident at Nimeguen, adopted the bold and hazardous resolution of proceeding in person to the Hague, where the States General were assembled, accompanied only by the Baroness de Wassanaer and a few domestics. She was arrested in her progress at about a league beyond Schoonhoven, and forced back to Nimeguen. This incident brought matters to a crisis. On the 10th of July a memorial was addressed by the Prussian monarch to the States of Holland, in which he affected to consider the indignity offered to his sister as a personal insult to himself; and, to avenge this insult, the Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussian forces in the contiguous duchy of Cleves, entered Holland at the head of twenty thousand men on the 13th of September. The consternation of the Dutch nation was extreme, and the country seemed every where unprepared for resistance. Utrecht, distinguished for the violence of her democratic zeal, surrendered almost as soon as summoned. The troops of the garrison retired precipitately towards Amsterdam, and the commander suddenly disappeared. The march of the Prussian General now bore the appearance of a triumphal procession. Gorcum, Dort, Schoonhoven, and other towns in his route, tamely submitted. On the seventh day from the commencement of the invasion, the Prince of Orange made his public entry into the Hague. Amsterdam made only a shew of resistance; and, on the 10th of October, it opened its gates to the victor. Thus, that republic which maintained a contest of eighty years against the power of Spain, which contended for the empire of the ocean with England, and which repelled the attacks of Louis XIV. in the zenith of his glory, was over-run by the arms of Prussia in a single month.

The court of Versailles could not contemplate the termination of this great contest with indifference; but the distracted state of her own affairs, and the increasing discontents and disorders of the kingdom, in a manner compelled her reluctant acquiescence. The projects of the new minister of finance, M. de Calonne, proved unsuccessful and abortive. In the latter end of the year 1785, a loan of 3,330,000*l.* the acknowledged deficit of the current year, was negotiated; which the Parliament of Paris, after repeated remonstrances, at last registered only in pursuance of the King's positive commands. The hostile disposition of the Parliament, and the evident impossibility of obtaining their cordial concurrence, determined the minister to adopt a plan more suited to the boldness and extent of his views. In August, (1786,) he presented a memorial to the King, representing "The melioration of the finances to be essentially connected with public order; and averring that what the national benefit required could not be effected by partial operations, and that the reparation of the whole was necessary to prevent the ruin of the whole. Consequently, the project he had formed embraced all the parts of the monarchy, and was intended to bring them to a closer union. It would be an inexhaustible source of happiness for the people of France; it would set the monarch for ever at rest respecting the situation of his finances; it would raise his power higher than that of the most prosperous of his ancestors, and enrol his name with those of the most virtuous and enlightened legislators. In fine, what induced him to conjure his Majesty to adopt it was, that out of the circle of this reformation he could foresee nothing but calamity and ruin." This plan was no other than to convene, by royal authority and appointment, after the example of ancient times, an assembly of the most considerable and enlightened persons in the kingdom, under the denomination of notables, by whose influence and under whose sanction "A reformation might (to use the words of M. de Calonne) be effected of whatever was vicious in the constitution of the state." This memorial was received with approbation; and before the termination of the year summonses were issued for the meeting of the assembly of Notables at Versailles, on the 22d of February, 1787. It consisted of one hundred and forty-four persons, amongst whom were seven Princes of the blood, nine Dukes and Peers of France, eight field Mareschals, eight Counsellors of State, and eleven Bishops and Archbishops. The remaining members were chiefly selected from the different Parliaments and magistracies in the kingdom. The convention of Notables was opened in great state by the King in person, with a speech from the throne, in which he declared "that they had been chosen by him from the different orders of the state, to impart to them his designs, and to receive from them the observations of which they might think them susceptible. This, said the monarch, has been the custom of many of my predecessors, and particularly of the chief of my family, whose name remains still dear to every Frenchman, and whose example I shall always be proud to make the rule of my conduct." His Majesty then, in general terms stated "the views by which he was actuated—the improvement of the revenue—the equalization of taxes—the liberation of commerce—and expressed the fullest confidence in the zeal with which they were animated for his service." This was followed by an elaborate address from M. de Calonne, in which he accused his predecessor M. Necker of leaving at his dismission from office an arrear of 684,000,000 of livres totally unprovided for. The difference between the annual revenue and the annual expenditure he estimated at 80,000,000. The minister

to his Majesty his intention of granting their request, the King did not hesitate to declare that he could not remain a quiet spectator, and gave immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by sea and land; and in the course of this transaction he had concluded a subsidiary treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. In the mean time, the rapid success of the Duke of Brunswick enabled the provinces to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured; and all the subjects of contest being thus removed, an amicable explanation had taken place between the courts of London and Versailles." The addresses in answer to the speech were voted with great unanimity in both Houses; the subsidy to Hesse, by which twelve thousand men were retained for a term of years in the service of Britain, passed without a dissentient vote; and in a short time treaties of amity and alliance were concluded between the courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague, by which the two former guaranteed the stadtholderate in perpetuity to the serene house of Orange, as an essential part of the constitution of the United Provinces.*

The army establishment, which had been reduced from seventy to sixty-four regiments at the termination of the war, was now raised to the customary complement. A great naval promotion had also taken place, in the contemplation of a war with France; in which sixteen captains had been selected for flags, while a much greater number had been passed over in silence and neglect. A motion was consequently made in the House of Commons, "that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the conduct of the Admiralty in the business of the late promotion." This motion was negatived by a very small majority; and the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Howe, became the subject of very severe censure. His Lordship soon afterwards resigned, and was succeeded by the Earl of Chatham.†

Disputes having arisen, between the two Boards of Directors and Control, established by the India Regulation Bill, Mr. Pitt brought in his famous Declaratory Act, by which various new and important powers were conferred on the Board of Control, under pretext of explaining and determining the sense of the former bill.

Early in the session Mr. Hastings had delivered in his answer to the impeachment of the Commons, who immediately proceeded to the appointment of a committee of managers. It was also determined to institute a similar process against Sir Elijah Impey, chief-justice of the Supreme Court established by the Regulating Act of 1773. Six articles of impeachment were accordingly exhibited to the House by Sir Gilbert Elliot. On the 4th of February Sir Elijah was permitted to make his defence at the bar of the House; which he performed at great length, and with great ability. On the 28th of April (1786) Sir Gilbert Elliot entered upon his summary of the charge; and after much discussion, Mr. Pitt declared himself convinced of the innocence of the accused, and the motion of Sir Gilbert Elliot was negatived by 73 to 65.

Mr. Hastings's trial commenced on the 15th of February—Westminter Hall having been fitted up for the purpose with great magnificence. Mr. Burke occupied four successive days in his preliminary speech. On the 22d of February the Benares charge was opened by Mr. Fox; and it was concluded on the 25th by Mr. Grey, member for the county of Northumberland, whose talents had, at an early period of life, attracted the attention of the House. On the 15th of April, the charge relative to the Begums of Oude was brought forward by Mr. Adam; and the evidence on this charge was summed up by Mr. Sheridan, in a speech which lasted five days.

Towards the close of the session, a bill was brought into the House of Commons by Sir William Dolben, member for the University of Oxford, to regulate the transportation of slaves from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. Early in the year, a multitude of petitions had been presented from the different towns, cities, and counties of the kingdom, imploring the abolition of that traffic. A motion on the subject of these petitions was expected to be made by Mr. Wilberforce, member for Yorkshire; but in consequence of the long protracted indisposition of that gentlemen, Mr. Pitt on the 9th of May moved a resolution, importing that the House

minister proceeded to develope his plan for restoring energy and stability to the state by a grand reform of its abuses, of which he exhibited an interesting and curious detail. To preclude even the shadow of opposition, he had so organized the assembly, that forty-four suffrages should to all efficient purposes constitute the majority of one hundred and forty-four. "The assembly was with this view divided into seven sections or chambers, over each of which a Prince of the blood presided. Voting by sections, eleven votes in four of these chambers respectively, would, of course be counted as the majority of the whole, although, had the votes been individually taken, the majority might, very possibly, be converted into an insignificant minority." Notwithstanding these precautions, the notables soon displayed a very refractory disposition. Numerous objections were started to the plan laid before them. To the new territorial impost they positively refused their concurrence, unless the accounts and estimates of the government were submitted to their inspection. This was refused with disdain; and the King caused it to be signified to them, "that he was determined to introduce the impost, and that it therefore became them to debate, not the principle of the measure, but the most equitable form it could assume." This only rendered the discontent of the assembly violent and general. The enemies of Calonne seized this favourable opportunity to effect his ruin. The Count de Vergennes, who had supported the authority and credit of M. Neckar, had expired a few days only before the meeting of the Notables; but this event was not attended with any advantage to M. de Calonne. The whole of the Queen's party were active against him; they were zealously assisted by the numerous friends of M. Neckar; in the midst of their investigations, the assembly was adjourned from the 5th to the 12th of April for the Easter recess; and on the 8th M. de Calonne was dismissed from his employments. The public clamour and odium rising high against M. de Calonne, he was exiled to his estate in Lorraine; and he soon afterwards thought it expedient to take refuge in foreign parts. He was succeeded by M. Leomine de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, a leading member of the Assembly of Notables, and of great popularity in the kingdom at large. The sacrifice of M. de Calonne produced no concessions in favour of the court. The Assembly of Notables, in their next sitting, declared themselves utterly incompetent either to suggest different taxes, or to adopt and sanction those which had been proposed. The views of the court having been thus finally frustrated, the assembly was dissolved (May 25, 1787), with a cold acknowledgment from the King of the services which they had rendered to the public. In July (1787) the states of Holland presented to the States General a proposition for soliciting the mediation of the court of Versailles; soon after which, the French ambassador presented also a memorial to the States General, declaring that the King, his master, was highly sensible of this mark of the confidence of the republic, and was ready to co-operate by every means in his power for the restoration of harmony and peace. In September, France tardily professed her intention of assisting the Dutch, in case they were attacked by any foreign power. This only animated the court of London to act with the greater spirit, and vigorous naval preparations were made to support the King of Prussia, in opposition to the menacing declarations of France. The object of the Prussian expedition, however, being accomplished in a much shorter space of time than could have been imagined, the French court found itself disengaged from all obligations. The Duke of Dorset, ambassador at Paris, in consequence of the events which had taken place, presented (October 27) a memorial to the King of France, signifying, that "no subject of discussion, much less of contest, now remaining between the two courts, he was authorised to ask, whether it was the intention of his Most Christian Majesty to carry into effect the notification made by his Most Christian Majesty's plenipotentiary? which, by announcing that succours would be given to Holland, had occasioned the naval armaments on the part of his Britannic Majesty, which armaments have been reciprocal. If the court of Versailles is disposed to explain herself satisfactorily on this subject, the ambassador proposes, that all warlike preparation should be discontinued, and that the navies of the two nations should be again placed on the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the 1st of January of the present year." To this memorial the Count de Montmorin, the new minister for foreign affairs in France, replied, on the very same day, "that the intention of his Majesty not being, and never having been, to interfere by force in the affairs of Holland, the communication made to the court of London, on the 16th of the last month, having had no other object than to announce to that court an intention, the motives of which no longer exist, especially since the King of Prussia has imparted his resolution; his Majesty makes no scruple to declare, that he will not give any effect to the declaration above-mentioned; and agrees with pleasure to the proposal of mutually disarming, made on the part of his Britannic Majesty." Thus happily and honourably for England did this important business terminate.

* By the treaty between Great Britain and Prussia, each of the high contracting powers engaged, in case of attack, to furnish the other with a succour of sixteen thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, or an equivalent in money, within the term of two months from the date of the requisition.

† About the same time the Earl of Mansfield resigned the chief-justiceship of England, which he had held with high reputation thirty-two years. The vacancy thus made was supplied by the Attorney-General, Sir Lloyd Kenyon, created Lord Kenyon.

would early in the next session proceed to take into consideration the state of the slave-trade. The bill of Sir William Dolben, which was intended merely to establish a certain reasonable proportion between the number of slaves and the tonnage of the ships, was violently opposed by petitions from the merchants of London and Liverpool concerned in the African trade. Counsel was therefore engaged, and witnesses examined, when it appeared in evidence at the bar of the House," that five feet six inches in length, and sixteen inches in breadth, was the average space allotted to each slave. The lower deck of the vessel was entirely covered with bodies. The space between the floor of that deck and the roof above, in height about five feet eight inches, was divided by a platform, also covered with human bodies. The slaves were chained, two and two, by their hands and feet, and by means of ring-bolts fastened to the deck. In that sultry climate, their allowance was a pint of water each per diem; and they were usually fed twice a day with yams and horse beans. After meals they were compelled by the whip to jump in their irons, which by the slave dealers was called dancing. They had not, when stowed together, so much room as a man in his coffin, either in length and breadth. They drew their breath with laborious and anxious efforts, and many died of suffocation. The customary mortality of the voyage exceeded seventeen times the usual estimate of human life." Mr. Pitt declared, "that if, as had been asserted by the members for Liverpool, the trade could not be carried on in any other manner, he would retract what he had said on a former day, and, waving every farther discussion, give his instant vote for the annihilation of a traffic thus shocking to humanity. He trusted that the House, being now in possession of such evidence as was never before exhibited, would endeavour to extricate themselves from the guilt and remorse which every man ought to feel for having so long overlooked such cruelty and oppression." The bill was carried up (June 18th) to the House of Lords, where it encountered the determined opposition of Lord Thurlow. The Duke of Clandos predicted a general insurrection of the negroes in the West Indies, in consequence of the agitation of the present question; and Lord Sydney expressed in warm terms his admiration of the system of the slave laws established in Jamaica, and saw no room for any improvement. The bill was defended by the Duke of Richmond and Marquis Townsend; and it finally passed by a considerable majority.

The session was closed, July 11, by a speech from the throne, in which the King observed, "that his faithful subjects had every reason to expect the continuance of the blessings of peace; and the engagements which he had recently formed with the King of Prussia and the States General of the United Provinces, would, he trusted, promote the security and welfare of his own dominions, and contribute to the general tranquillity of Europe."*

Shortly after the prorogation, the King, who had been for some time indisposed, was advised by his physicians to try the mineral waters of Cheltenham, which he was believed to drink in too profuse a quantity. His health appeared, however, during his residence there, greatly improved; and he amused himself, by various excursions in the vicinity of that place, displaying much condescension and affability, and being every where received with loud acclamations. On his return to Windsor, late in the summer, his illness returned with new and alarming symptoms; and by the end of October, it could no longer be concealed that his malady was of a nature peculiarly afflictive and dreadful. A mental derangement had taken place, which rendered him totally incapable of the business attached to the regal office.

Parliament had been prorogued to the 20th of November; a few days previously to which, a circular was issued by the ministers, in which the impracticability of a farther prorogation was signified, and the attendance of the members earnestly requested. On the meeting of Parliament, the state of the King's health was formally notified to the House of Peers by the Lord Chancellor, and to the Commons by Mr. Pitt; and as the session could not be opened in the regular mode, an adjournment of fourteen days was recommended; at the end of which term, should the King's illness unhappily continue, it would be incumbent upon them to enter into the immediate consideration of the state of public affairs. On the re-assembling of Parliament, on the 4th of December, a report of the Board of Privy Council was presented to the two Houses, containing an examination of the royal physicians; and it was suggested, that, considering the extreme delicacy of the subject, and the dignity of the personage concerned, Parliament would do well to rest satisfied without any more direct and express information, especially as the examinations of council had been taken upon oath, which the House of Commons had no power to administer.

At this time, the Prince of Wales, into whose hands the government of the country seemed likely to fall, retained a deep resentment against ministers for their recent conduct respecting him, and took no pains to conceal his decided predilection for the person and politics of Mr. Fox. That gentleman, on the intelligence of the King's indisposition, had returned from an excursion to the continent with incredible expedition; and in contemplation of an approaching change, a new arrangement of administration was already believed to be formed, consisting of the principal members of the former coalition ministry, Lord North only excepted, and of which the Duke of Portland was to be, once more, the ostensible head. Doubts, however, were started by Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and others of the same party, whether Parliament could, in this momentous case, dispense with that sort of evidence on which they had been accustomed to proceed. The objection was very faintly contested, and a committee of twenty-one persons in each House, was appointed to examine and report the sentiments of the royal physicians. The report of the committee was laid upon the table of the House of Commons on the 10th of December; when a motion was made by Mr. Pitt, for the appointment of another committee to inspect the journals for precedents of such proceedings as had been adopted in former instances, when the sovereign authority was suspended by sickness, infirmity, or any other cause. Mr. Fox opposed the motion, as calculated only for delay. As to precedents, there were, he said, none which applied to the present case; and all that was requisite to their ultimate decision had been obtained by the report now lying on the table. He advanced, as a proposition deducible from the principles of the constitution, and the analogy of the law of hereditary succession, "that whenever the Sovereign was incapable of exercising the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive authority, in the name and on the behalf of the sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise." Mr. Pitt immediately rose, and with much warmth declared, "that the assertion which had been made by Mr. Fox was little short of treason against the constitution." And he pledged himself to prove that the heir apparent, in the instances in question, had no more right to the exercise of the executive power than any other person; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legislature to make such a provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper." Here it was remarkable, that Mr. Fox, the great advocate of the rights of the people, became the defender of prerogative; and Mr. Pitt, who had been loudly accused of deserting the principles of liberty, appeared in the light of their intrepid and zealous assertor. "When the regular exercise of

* Early in the present year (February 1) died at Rome, Charles Louis Casimir Stuart, eldest son of the late Pretender to the throne of Great Britain, at the age of sixty-seven years. Since the demise of his father he had taken upon himself the appellation of King, but this title was not acknowledged by any of the Sovereigns of Europe. He had married a Princess of the house of Stolberg, by whom he left no issue; but his property, which was considerable, he bequeathed to a natural daughter whom he had created Duchess of Albany. His brother, the Cardinal of York, was now the sole survivor of the Royal House of Stuart.

the powers of government," said he, "was from any cause suspended, to whom could the right of providing a remedy for the existing defect devolve but to the people, from whom all the powers of government originated? To assert an inherent right in the Prince of Wales to assume the government was virtually to revive those exploded ideas of the Divine and indefeasible authority of Princes which had so justly sunk into contempt and almost into oblivion. Kings and princes derive their power from the people, and to the people alone, through the organ of their representatives, did it appertain to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific or positive provision." At length, Mr. Fox not choosing to take the sense of the House, Mr. Pitt's motion for precedents was carried without a division. A similar motion was the next day made by Lord Camden in the House of Peers, and the doctrine of Mr. Fox was reprobated by his Lordship with great severity. Lord Stormont, however, concluded his speech with recommending an immediate address to the Prince of Wales, entreating him to assume the exercise of the royal authority. As it was seen that the discussion of the abstract question of right afforded a great and unexpected advantage to the ministry, the Duke of York, soon after this debate, expressed his wishes, in the name of the Prince, "that the question might be waved. No claim of right," said his Royal Highness, "had been advanced by the Prince of Wales;" and he was confident that his brother too well understood the sacred principles which seated the house of Brunswick upon the throne, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, that was not derived from the will of the people expressed by their representatives." Lord Thurlow, who had at first consented to take a part in the new administration, now spoke with great energy of his "sentiments of affection towards the King. Nothing could be more disgraceful than to desert the sovereign in his distressed and helpless situation. His own debt of gratitude was ample; and when he forgot his King might God forget him." These expressions were ill-naturedly whispered to be the result of certain intimations, which his Lordship had received, of the happy and not very distant prospect of the King's recovery. This was however, only a matter of speculation.

On the 16th of December, in the committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Pitt moved two declaratory resolutions:

"I. The interruption of the royal authority; and

"II. That it was the duty of the two Houses of Parliament to provide the means of supplying that defect."

A warm debate ensued; in the course of which Mr. Fox declared "the principles of the minister to be, that the monarchy was indeed hereditary, but that the executive power ought to be elective. The legal metaphysics that thus distinguished between the crown and its functions were unintelligible. The investigators should be schoolmen, and not statesmen, if a question that so deeply involved the existence of the constitution were to be thus discussed. Where (said he) is that famous dictum to be found, by which the crown is guarded with such inviolable sanctity, while its powers are left to the mercy of every assailant?" The resolutions were at length carried by 268 against 204; and on the 23d of December, a third resolution passed, empowering the Chancellor of Great Britain to affix the Great Seal to such bill of limitations as might be necessary to restrict the power of the future Regent. This mode of procedure was strenuously opposed by Lord North. "A person," said his Lordship, "is to be set up without power or discretion; and this pageant, this fictitious being, is to give the force of a law to the decision of the two Houses. Was it ever before heard of, that there could be a power of giving assent without the power of refusing that assent? Would any man seriously maintain that the third estate thus conjured up is really distinct from the other two?" An amendment was moved by Mr. Dempster, "That the Prince of Wales be requested to take upon himself the administration of the government during the royal incapacity;" but the amendment was negatived by 251 to 178. In the Lords, a similar amendment to that of Mr. Dempster was moved by Lord Rawdon; when, after a violent debate, the resolutions were confirmed.

On the 2d of January, 1789, died Mr. Cornwall, Speaker of the House of Commons; and on the 5th, the vacant chair was filled by Mr. Grenville, brother to Lord Temple. The plan of limitations, when ready to be introduced into the House, was obstructed by a motion of Mr. Loveden, (January 6) that the physicians be re-examined on the subject of the King's illness, and the probability of recovery. This motion was the result of various reports respecting the disagreement of opinion amongst the physicians themselves,—reports sufficiently corroborated by the subsequent examination, which left the House as much in the dark as ever as to the event. A letter had previously been written to the Prince of Wales, by Mr. Pitt, informing his Royal Highness of the plan meant to be pursued:—"that the care of the King's person, and the disposition of the royal household, should be committed to the Queen, who would by this means be vested with the patronage of four hundred places, amongst which were the great offices of Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, and Master of the Horse; that the power of the Prince should not extend to the granting any office, reversion, or pension, for any other term than during the King's pleasure, nor to the conferring any Peerage." The Prince in his answer, (dated July 2) said, "it was with deep regret that he perceived in the propositions of administration a project for introducing weakness, disorder, and insecurity, into every branch of political business—for separating the court from the state, and depriving government of its natural and accustomed support; a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service, from the power of animating it by reward, and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the kingly station, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity. He observed, that the plea of public utility must be strong, manifest, and urgent, that could thus require the extinction or suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme power or its representative, or which could justify the Prince in consenting, that in his person an experiment should be made to assertain with how small a portion of kingly power the executive government of this country could be conducted. In fine, the Prince declared, that his conviction of the evils which might otherwise arise out-weighed in his mind every other consideration, and would determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by that melancholy necessity which of all the King's subjects he deplored the most."

A series of propositions, respecting the limitations, were brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt, on the 16th of January. In one of the long and violent debates which ensued, Mr. Burke pronounced this to be no other than "a solemn mockery of royalty, when it was known to the whole world that Providence, in its inscrutable wisdom, had hurled the monarch from his throne, and had reduced him to a state in which he was the object of compassion to the meanest of his subjects."

The propositions at length passed the Commons by a large majority; but the contest in the Lords was extremely obstinate; and a protest was entered (January 23) upon the journals of the House, signed by the Dukes of York and Cumberland, and fifty-five other Peers, expressive of their highest indignation at the restrictions on the executive authority thus arbitrarily imposed. A committee appointed by the two Houses then presented the resolutions to the Prince, who, though evidently dissatisfied, declared his acceptance of them. He expressed himself sensible of the difficulties which must attend the execution of the trust reposed in him, in the peculiar circumstances in which it was committed to his charge, "of which," said his Royal Highness, "as I am acquainted with no former example, my hopes of a successful administration can-

not

not be founded on any past experience." He also expressed his confidence, "that the limitations on the exercise of the royal authority were intended by the two Houses only as a temporary measure, founded on the loyal hope in which he ardently participated, that his Majesty's disorder might not be of long duration." On the following day (January 31) Lord Camden, with a view to restore the efficacy of legislation, moved that the Lord Chancellor be directed, by authority of the two Houses of Parliament, to issue a commission in the name of the sovereign for opening the session, consisting of the Princes of the blood and all the great officers of state. This finally passed both Houses; but the Princes of the blood expressly refused to suffer their names to appear on this commission. However, the session was opened in form by the Lords commissioners upon the 3d of February; the bill, founded on the propositions already agreed upon, passed the House of Commons (February 12,) with some amendments and variations; the peerage clause, in particular, being limited to three years.

Happily for the nation, these extraordinary measures were arrested in their progress by an official information from the Lord Chancellor, that the King was declared by his physicians to be in a state of convalescence. An adjournment of all farther proceedings in the bill immediately took place; and for nearly three weeks a total suspension of all Parliamentary business ensued. This was followed by a declaration (March 10) that "his Majesty, being perfectly recovered from his indisposition, had ordered a commission to be issued for holding the Parliament in the usual manner." The news of the King's recovery diffused the most general and heartfelt satisfaction. A national thanksgiving was appointed, and his Majesty himself went in solemn procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, to offer up his grateful devotions on this event; which was celebrated throughout the kingdom by splendid illuminations, and every other demonstration of joy, to an unprecedented extent.

Parliament, as already intimated, was opened by commission; and, in the speech which was delivered by the Chancellor in the name of the King, his Majesty conveyed to the two Houses, his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of their attachment to his person, and their concern for the honour and interests of his crown. The late proceedings of the ministry were evidently acceptable to the sovereign; and those persons holding posts under the government, who had concurred in the measures of the opposition, were unceremoniously dismissed from their offices: amongst them were the Marquis of Lothian, the Duke of Queensberry, Lord Carteret, and Lord Malmesbury.

One of the first motions was that of Mr. Fox, for the repeal of the Shop Tax; and as Mr. Pitt did not choose any longer to refuse his assent, it was this time successful. Mr. Dempster at the same time moved for a repeal of the Hawkers' and Pedlars' Tax; a total repeal of which could not be obtained; but a bill passed to explain and amend the act, by which the more oppressive clauses were mitigated. Mr. Beaufoy also again renewed his motion, for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. This motion was supported by Mr. Fox, and opposed by Lord North, and Mr. Pitt; and, on a division, it was negatived, by 124 against 104. Lord Stanhope next introduced a bill into the House of Peers, for the repeal of a number of obsolete laws, inflicting penalties upon persons absenting themselves from the service of the church, speaking in derogation of the book of Common Prayer, &c. This bill, which experienced the most decided opposition from the Bishops,* was rejected.

Mr. Dundas, in conformity to the India regulation bill, made his annual statement of the finances of the Company, which he represented as in a prosperous and flourishing condition; concluding however, with a motion to empower the Company to raise the sum of one million, by way of increase of capital, to be subscribed by the present proprietors of East India stock. The bill, founded on this motion, passed both Houses without difficulty.

Towards the close of the session, Mr. Wilberforce brought forward his motion, relating to the abolition of the African slave trade;† and he concluded a long and excellent speech, by moving, a series of propositions,

* Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, declared that "The bill under their Lordships' discussion, if permitted to pass, would serve as a cover to every species of irreligion. If unrestrained speaking, writing, and publishing, on the subject of religion were tolerated, there was scarcely any mischief to the church or to civil society that imagination could frame which might not be effected. The very foundation of religion, as by law established, might be undermined and overthrown." Dr. Warren, Bishop of Bangor, observed, "that it remained for these days of licentiousness to call in question the propriety and wisdom of those regulations which their Lordships were now solicited to repeal. To compel men by penalties not to absent themselves from the public places of worship did not militate against any sort of religious liberty, since the dissenters were allowed to resort to their own congregations: and he who would not communicate with either, might well be supposed to hold doctrines injurious to the state, and which ought not to be tolerated." Dr. Halifax, of St. Asaph expressed himself to the same effect, and reminded the House of the institution among the Locrians, which obliged every man that proposed a repeal of an existing law to come into the assembly with a rope about his neck. Dr. Horseley, of St. David's, expressed himself in terms still more indignant. "The bill in question," he said, "was calculated to tear away the foundations of the church of England, and through her means to destroy the very being of the English constitution. The act of Elizabeth, imposing a fine upon the non-attendants on divine worship, was a salutary law. It was a mistake to suppose the right of private judgment in religion unlimited. The magistrate had a right to punish atheism as a crime against the welfare of society; and, by the same rule, to punish a contempt for the revelation of God in the Christian religion. There was, moreover, always danger in disturbing ancient laws, for the existence of which, at a distant period, no good reason could be given. Their wisdom, though not obvious at the period of the repeal, was generally proved by the mischief that ensued upon their annihilation." Lord Stormont complimented the bench of Bishops, declaring that they had that day done themselves infinite credit, and rendered their characters sacred in the public estimation.

† Mr. Wilberforce divided his subject into three parts—the nature of the trade as it affected Africa itself; the appearance it assumed in the transportation of the slaves; and the considerations suggested by their actual state in the West Indies. "What must be the natural consequence of a slave trade with Africa," said he, "with a country vast in its extent, not utterly barbarous, but civilized in a very small degree? Was it not plain that she must suffer from it? that her savage manners must be rendered still more ferocious, and that a slave-trade carried on round her coasts, must extend violence and desolation to her very centre? Such were precisely the circumstances proved by the evidence before the privy council." With respect to the mode in which the slaves were transported from Africa to the West Indies, he affirmed that "so much misery condensed into so small a compass was more than human imagination had ever before conceived. It was the constant practice to set sail in the night, that the slaves, wrung with distress at quitting for ever their native country, might not be sensible of the moment of departure. This dreadful event was marked with songs and tears of lamentation. It appeared in evidence, that a Captain, more susceptible than the rest, had threatened a woman with the terrors of the lash, because her song was too painful for his feelings. The mortality on board the ships was prodigious; and, including the subsequent seasoning, it did not amount to less than 50 per cent. On their arrival in the West Indies, astringents and washes were employed to hide their wounds, and make them up for sale—artifices at once fraudulent and fatal. This infamous traffic was also known to be the grave of sailors employed in it. Of 3170 seamen who sailed from Liverpool in 1787, only 1428 had returned." Wr. Wilberforce said, he "felt the wickedness of the slave trade to be so enormous, so dreadful, and irremediable, that he could stop at no alternative short of its abolition. He acknowledged that his mind had indeed been harassed with the objections of the West India planters, who had asserted that the ruin of their property must be the consequence of this regulation. He could not, however, help distrusting their arguments. He could not believe that the Almighty Being, who forbade the practice of rapine and blood, had made rapine and bloodshed necessary to any part of his creation. Light soon broke in upon his mind. His suspicions were confirmed by daily information, and the evidence he had now to offer upon this point was decisive and complete. The principle upon which he founded the necessity of the act was not indeed policy but justice; but though justice were the principle of the measure, he would pledge himself to prove it reconcileable with our truest political interest. From an induction of authentic facts, he shewed that the number of slaves had rapidly increased by natural means on those plantations—and many such he enumerated—where they had been treated on a plan of lenity and humanity; and that the enormous annual importation from Africa was rendered necessary merely by the prevalence of that system of cruelty and oppression which the abolition of the slave-trade must eventually subvert. But it was urged, that the interests of the masters would induce them in the usual course of things, to treat their slaves with kindness and humanity. He appealed to universal experience for the fallacy of this argument. It

tions, twelve in number, specifying the number of slaves imported from Africa into the British West Indies; the different descriptions of persons included in this aggregate number; the injury sustained by the seamen employed in the African trade; the causes of the mortality of the negroes; and the different items of calculation respecting the increase of population in Jamaica and Barbadoes; declaring, that no considerable or permanent inconvenience would result from discontinuing the farther importation. Mr. Pitt, at length, conceded, with the consent of Mr. Wilberforce, to the examination of witnesses on the part of the slave merchants and planters—"trusting that unnecessary delays would not be introduced, as he could by no means submit to the ultimate procrastination of so important a business." Evidence having been heard at the bar of the House for several successive weeks, it was at length, (June 23,) moved by Mr. Alderman Newnham, "that the farther consideration of the subject be deferred to the next session." This motion was carried without a division, and the temporary Regulation Act of Sir William Dolben was renewed for another year.

Mr. Grenville, Speaker of the House of Commons, having been advanced, upon the resignation of Lord Sydney, to the office of Secretary of State, and subsequently to a peerage, was succeeded by Henry Addington, Esq. who soon acquired great reputation for dignity, integrity, and impartiality, in the discharge of his office. The Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of August,* by a speech from the Lord Chancellor in the name of the sovereign: in which it was observed, that, "Although the good offices of the King and his allies had not been effectual for the restoration of the general tranquillity, the situation of affairs promised to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace."

Considering the important scenes which were at this time opening, in different parts of Europe,† the pacific assurances contained in the royal speech, were in the highest

was certainly the true and ultimate interest of the planters to adopt the system of lenity. But they consulted their apparent and immediate interest in imposing rigorous tasks, and in circumscribing within the narrowest limits their miserable allotments of food, of clothing, and of repose. To assert that men will of course act as their interest under the guidance of reason would dictate, is in effect to pronounce all men upright and virtuous; for virtue is the path to genuine happiness. But are not mankind enveloped in the mists of ignorance, of folly, and of passion? Was it not the grand and perpetual object of religion, of morality, and of all just and beneficent legislation, to enlighten the human mind, and to assist men in discerning their true interest; to warn them of the danger of departing from it, of being deceived by false and flattering suggestions,—in a word, to incite them, though too oft in vain, to the practice of what is right, and to deter them from the commission of that which is wrong, by motives the most powerful, by sanctions the most sacred?"

* An important operation of finance had been effected in the course of the session, in exchange of the heavy duties on tobacco from the customs to the excise. This measure experienced general approbation, and was of great advantage to the public.

† Ever since the memorable treaty of Westphalia, by which the independence of Holland had been recognized by Spain, the house of Austria had adopted, to the provinces which remained, a mild and lenient system of government; and, during all vicissitudes, the Austrian Netherlands had continued to flourish under the protection of their own laws, and the limitations of their own constitution. Of the provinces subject to Austria, by far the most considerable and extensive was Brabant; the constitution of which, like that of England, was compounded of three estates; and the executive authority was vested in the sovereign, as Duke of Brabant. This free form of government was not congenial with the views of Joseph the second; and, on the 1st of January, 1787, two imperial edicts were issued, formally suppressing the ancient institutions, and even the great council of Brabant; and establishing in their stead a new council of general government, assisted by tribunals erected on the severe and arbitrary model of those actually existing under the proper Austrian government. At the same time, the Emperor annulled the charter of the university of Louvain, and established a new general seminary for the study of theology—the professors to be nominated by the sole authority of the Emperor. Serious commotions instantly took place; the States of Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, assembling, forbade the people, in express terms, to pay any regard to the late edicts; all ranks of men enrolled themselves in military associations for their common defence; and deputies were dispatched to Vienna to represent their grievances, and to remonstrate with the Emperor against these atrocious and unprecedented violations of their rights. These measures proved effective; and, in a short time, the late proceedings of the Emperor were formally revoked

The advantages which had been acquired by Russia, from the treaty of 1784, excited the chagrin and envy of the Emperor Joseph; and the Turkish empire, at this period, presenting an easy prospect of conquest, a negotiation was set on foot with this view between the two imperial courts. In the spring of 1787 a conference took place between the Czarina and the Emperor at the new capital of Cherson, whither the Empress of the Russias had repaired, for her inauguration as sovereign of the Taurica. The Porte, apprized of the machinations of the imperial courts, immediately published a declaration of war against Russia—in the hope, it was supposed, of being able to conciliate the Emperor before his plan of hostility should be matured. The Emperor, however, ordered, after a short interval, a memorial to be delivered to the Porte, stating, "that he was compelled by treaty to assist his ally the Czarina with 80,000 men; and if this should be considered by the Porte as an act of hostility, he was prepared for every event." Not awaiting the answer, he made (Dec. 2, 1787) an attempt to surprise the fortress of Belgrade. Disappointed in this enterprise, he offered an apology for his conduct. The imperial declaration of war, at length appeared, February, 1788; and, contrary to the usual practice, the ambassadors of both the imperial courts were suffered to depart from Constantinople. The operations of the Germans were in the commencement of the war far from successful. Little impression could be made upon the Turkish frontier; and no sooner had the grand Vizier taken the command of the army, than the Turks became the assailants; and the Emperor, who commanded in person, after suffering repeated losses, was compelled to a precipitate retreat, leaving the Bannat and the Lower Hungary to the mercy of the enemy. On the western side, however, while Mareschal Laudohn commanded, the towns of Dubitza and Novi were reduced; and, on the eastern quarter, the city of Choczim surrendered to the united arms of Russia and Austria. Before the end of the year, the important fortress of Oczakow was carried by storm; the Russians marching to the assault over the frozen snow, with which the trenches were filled. A decisive superiority in the Black Sea was also obtained by the Russians over the celebrated Turkish Admiral, Hassan Pacha.

The King of Sweden, in the interim, actuated by ambition, and prompted by the King of Prussia, and the powers in alliance with him, and inimical to Russia, entered suddenly, at the head of a considerable army, the territory of Russian Finland, in the idea of passing by a direct and rapid march to St. Petersburgh. A subject of bitter chagrin, however, awaited him, in the absolute and pertinacious refusal of his officers to engage in offensive war, on the pretext, that the King had not, agreeably to the provisions of the constitution of 1772, obtained the previous consent of the States. The Czarina, on the first intimation of the attack from Sweden, had called for the aid and assistance of Denmark, conformably to the terms of the treaty of alliance subsisting between the two courts. The court of Copenhagen entered entirely into her views; and in the month of September (1788,) a large body of Danish troops, commanded by Prince Charles of Hesse Cassel, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark in person, passing over to Norway, were joined by a strong reinforcement of Norwegians. The combined forces suddenly and unexpectedly entered the Swedish province of Wermlandia, and advanced to the city of Gottenburgh with slight opposition. The King of Sweden repaired in person, with expedition almost incredible, to the defence of this important place, which, being attacked thus unprepared, seemed very unable to resist the force of the Danes. At this critical moment the courts of London and Berlin interposed their powerful mediation in favour of Sweden. Under these circumstances the resolution of the Prince was soon taken, and a suspension of arms was signed on the part of Denmark, (October 9, 1788,) which was subsequently converted into a treaty of neutrality. At the commencement of the following year, died the Grand Signor, Achmet IV. a Prince apparently of good understanding and of beneficent and upright intentions, but whose talents were totally inadequate to the task of restoring the declining empire of the Ottomans to its pristine prosperity and greatness. He was succeeded by his nephew, Selim III. son of the late Emperor Mustapha, whose first act of authority consisted in the deposition and consequent death of the Grand Vizier, Jossuph Pacha, who had conducted the operations of the campaign with great ability and success. His immense wealth, to the amount of a million sterling, was confiscated to the use of the sultan.

Joseph II. sinking under the pressure of disease and disappointment, had retired to Vienna; and Mareschal Laudohn having been appointed to the chief command, the operations of the war were renewed with great skill and vigour. After the reduction of Gradisca, this veteran commenced the siege of Belgrade; and on the 8th of October, (1789,) that important city, the bulwark of the Ottoman empire, surrendered on terms of honourable capitulation. The remainder of the campaign presented a series of rapid successes. Cladova, Semendria, Czernitz, &c. followed the example of Belgrade. Orsova only attempted a serious resistance, and it was not reduced till after a long investment and blockade. On the eastern side, the Prince of Cobourg, General of the Austrian army in Wulachia, after gaining a considerable advantage in an action fought near Foczan, attacked in conjunction with the Russian General Suwaroff, with a very inferior force, (September, 22, 1789,) the army of the new Grand Vizier, Hassan Pacha, at Martinesti, on the banks of the Rimnik, and gained a complete victory. This was attended with the immediate capture of Bucharest, the capital of Wulachia, and the almost entire reduction of the country north of the Danube. In the interim, Bielgorod on the Black Sea, and the city of Bender on the Tartarian frontier, surrendered to the arms of Russia, under Prince Potemkin. The war in the North was carried on little to the advantage of Sweden: for although the King of Sweden had entirely re-established his authority, and taken a severe vengeance on the individuals, who, by their audacious and inflexible contumacy, had arrested the progress of his arms,

highest degree satisfactory and grateful, to the feelings of the nation. The French Revolution—the more prominent features of which, at its commencement, are rapidly sketched in the note below*—was now in full activity, and the entire political horizon of Europe presented a stormy and portentous aspect. On the minds of the people of England, the impression made by the passing events in France, was various. The general opinion, however, was highly favourable to the Revolution; and even its most criminal excesses, seen through a dis-

arms, he could not so easily regain the advantages he had lost by that unexpected opposition. The immense power of Russia was now fully exerted; Sweden was reduced to act upon the defensive in Finland; and various naval encounters took place, in which the bravery and superior skill of the Swedes by no means compensated for the Russian superiority of force. In the ensuing campaign of 1790, the triumphs of the Russian arms over the Ottomans continued without any considerable interruption. The progress of these barbarous conquerors had been throughout marked with blood and desolation; but the capture, under General Suwarroff, of the city of Ismail, taken by storm December 22d, 1790, exceeded all in horror. The garrison, consisting of the flower of the Turkish army, was massacred in cold blood, and the inhabitants indiscriminately given up to the worse than brutal licentiousness of an enraged soldiery.

The successes of the Austrians, under Laudohn, excited the Emperor Joseph to renew his attempts against his subjects of Flanders and Brabant. Count Murray, distinguished by his lenity of temper, was succeeded in the government by Count Trautmansdorff; and the military placed under the command of General Dalton, an officer of approved skill, but of unrelenting and savage ferocity. The new system commenced with the revival of the former attempt against the university of Louvain: resistance being made, the rector and professors were expelled by the point of the bayonet, (August 1788) and many lives lost by the indiscriminate firing of the soldiery. Similar outrages and excesses took place at Antwerp, Mechlin, &c. in consequence of the orders issued by the government; military law, enforced by military execution, was in a manner proclaimed through the provinces; and a prodigious emigration of the principal inhabitants immediately succeeded. The emigrants, favoured and protected by the Dutch government, now under the influence of England and Prussia, assembled in numerous bodies on the frontier: in the autumn of 1789, they entered Austrian Flanders in great force, and in a very short time over-ran the whole country, a few fortresses excepted, the Austrians flying before them. The Emperor now once more offered, in the most flattering and conciliatory language, to restore to them their ancient constitution, and even to endow them with additional privileges; but his overtures were scornfully rejected. The States of Brabant assembling at Brussels, (December the 22d, 1789,) in concert with the deputies of the other provinces, formally disclaimed allegiance to the Emperor, and proceeded to the appointment of an administration. General Vandermersch, distinguished for his patriotism and bravery, was nominated to the command of the troops; M. Vandernoodt was declared prime minister, and M. Van Eupen secretary of state. In January, (1790) the plan of a federal constitution was formed by the Belgic States—the appellation which they now assumed—nearly resembling that of the United Provinces. The leader of the revolt, however, either little understanding or little regarding the essential rights of the people, had merely changed the imperial despotism to an aristocratical tyranny. The Catholic religion was established in its most intolerant form, the power of arbitrary imprisonment was assumed, the liberty of the press was disallowed, and the immunities of the privileged orders confirmed and even extended. In the midst of these transactions, died (February, 1790,) the Emperor Joseph, who was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his brother Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who now took upon him the style and title of King of Hungary. As the sovereign of a small state, this Prince had acquired the character of moderation, and even sagacity; but, in proportion to the elevation of his situation his faults became conspicuous, and his excellencies were unobserved.

* The appointment of Cardinal Leomine de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, which has been already mentioned, as successor to M. de Calonne, proved the source of equal disappointment to the court and to the nation. On his elevation, his patriotism seemed to vanish; and, by losing the confidence of the people, he deprived himself of the power of being serviceable to the monarch. The project of the court to obtain the sanction of the assembly of notables to the measures in contemplation had proved wholly abortive: it consequently became necessary to raise money by the King's edict alone; and the doubling of the land tax, the re-establishment of the third twentieth, and a stamp duty, were immediately proposed. To render these effective, however, it was absolutely necessary that they should be registered by the Parliament of Paris, on whose deliberations the eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned; but, instead of a ready compliance, as was expected, the Parliament exhibited a steady opposition, and even insisted, that a true account of the state of the finances, and of the purposes to which the sums in question were to be applied, should be previously laid before it. As soon as the King learned that the Parliament had refused to register the edict, he had recourse to a bed of justice, which met on the 6th of August, 1787, and registered the edict. The next day the Parliament entered a formal protest against the registration of the edict, declaring it to be prepared against its approbation and consent; and adding, that the first person who presumed to carry it into execution should be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the gallies! A few days afterwards, the King ordered the hall of the Parliament to be surrounded by a body of troops, and banished the members to Troyes, in Champagne. They were, however, recalled soon after; and, at nine o'clock in the morning of the 14th of November, the King visited the Parliament, and produced two edicts, which were required to be enforced, one of which indicated a new loan to the amount of about 19,000,000*l.* sterling. A discussion continued for nine hours, when his Majesty suddenly arose, and commanded the edicts to be instantly registered. This being considered as a direct violation of the forms of this assembly, the Duke of Orleans, anxious for popularity, protested against the proceedings, which, he said, had been rendered null and void by the unprecedented conduct of the sovereign. The King, in return, immediately sent the Duke into exile, and issued lettres de cachet against two other members. These proceedings occasioned warm remonstrances on the part of the Parliament, who at length declared, "That it was neither in their power, in that of the crown, nor of both united, to grant or to levy any new taxes upon the people!" At this moment, M. de Brienne, the prime minister, was secretly aiming a deadly blow at the power of the assembly, by the project of a cour pleniére, composed of Princes, Peers, Magistrates, and military men, devoted to the court, by which the royal edicts were henceforward to be registered. This produced a fresh remonstrance, containing an attack on the ministers, a protest against the plans in agitation, and a declaration, that "France is a kingdom governed by a King, according to the laws; and that the raising of subsidies is in the nation, represented by the States General duly convened." On this, the hall of the Parliament was again encircled by troops, and some of its members seized and confined. The King also held a bed of justice, on the 8th of May, 1788, in which he presented a number of edicts to be registered; among these was one for the establishment of the cour pleniére, and another for the diminution of the members of the Parliament of Paris, from one hundred and twenty, to sixty-seven, as had been done by Louis XI. The magistrates having entered a solemn protest, his Majesty was advised to shut up the place of their deliberations by means of an armed force; he at the same time suspended all the Parliaments throughout the kingdom;—a measure which was opposed by an address, signed by forty-seven Peers and Bishops, in behalf of themselves and the nation.

In consequence of these proceedings, commotions of an alarming nature ensued. In Brittany, the nobles and the people seemed to suspend their disputes on purpose to investigate public grievances; the intermediate commission of the states exhibited great firmness on this occasion; Rennes, the capital of the province, experienced an unusual degree of agitation. Of the members constituting the Parliaments of Toulouse and Grenoble, part were in exile and part in prison; and the inhabitants were so irritated, that they had driven the governor of Languedoc out of his capital; while the troops, hitherto the firm supporters of arbitrary power in every monarchy, and particularly in France, refused to fire upon the populace. At Grenoble, in Dauphiny, the peasants collected in large bodies from the neighbouring country, to assist the townsmen, if necessary, against the soldiery; and terror and indignation, rage and dismay, every where prevailed.

The court, seriously alarmed, now dismissed the ministers; and such was the deplorable state of the finances, that only part of the demands on the treasury was paid in cash, the remainder being liquidated by means of bills, due at the end of the year. The appearance of a partial bankruptcy was only avoided by a royal edict, enjoining all bankers, and others, to receive the paper of the caisse d'escompte as money. In addition to this, a scarcity was threatened, and many of the people were actually perishing for want of bread: the notion therefore became prevalent, that the States General alone could rescue the nation from impending ruin.

On the entreaty of M. Neckar, who had been recalled to the office of minister of finance, his Majesty consented to the convocation of the States General. An order of council was at length procured on the 27th of December, declaring that the deputies to the States General should amount to at least one thousand; that the number sent by each bailiwick should be in a ratio compounded of its population and taxes; and lastly, that the members of the third should be equal to the joint amount of the other two estates. Neckar, it should be observed, was brought up in the counting house of a banker, and having an education precisely calculated for such a situation, was utterly unacquainted with the science of government, and knew as little of the qualities and duties of a statesman, as of the forms and etiquette of a Chinese court. A foreigner by birth, a Calvinist by faith, and a republican in principle, he was one of the last men in the world who should have been entrusted with the destinies of a Catholic monarchy, at any time, but more particularly at a period when a turbulent spirit of innovation had gone forth, and when the people were ripe for every act of violence and outrage against persons and institutions, which, till now, they had been taught to respect, and accustomed to venerate.

The States General, after a lapse of one hundred and twenty-five years, at length assembled at Versailles, on the 5th of May, 1789. The ceremony commenced with an act of devotion; the representatives of the nation, preceded by the ministers of the altar, and followed by the King, repaired to the temple of the deity, amidst an immense crowd, who offered up vows for the success of their endeavours to reform and regenerate the state. After a long ceremonial, the King, seated in a magnificent alcove, with the Queen on his left hand, and the Princes and Princesses of the blood around him, delivered a discourse to the assembly, in which he expressed his hope, that the convocation of the States General would communicate new vigour to the nation, re-establish public credit, and open additional sources of happiness. The speech of his Majesty was listened to with profound attention, and hailed with repeated bursts of applause. The keeper of the seals followed, and M. Neckar succeeded

a distorting medium, were viewed, by the multitude, with a favourable aspect. Nor was this at all strange. Attachment to the British constitution naturally generates an abhorrence of despotism, under every possible form and shape. And to this principle may, probably, be attributed the praise which many men, of superior intellects, bestowed on, what they considered, the efforts of the French nation to shake off the shackles of tyranny, and to establish a new government, on the basis of civil liberty. But such men must have contemplated the Revolution

the keeper of the seals, in a pompous but unmeaning speech of great length, in which he wished to direct the attention of the assembly principally to the state of the finances, which he allowed to be deranged, but stated the actual deficit not to exceed fifty-six millions of French livres.

After this sitting, some disputes arose between the respective orders. The third estate, (the Commons,) to the number of 583, declared themselves the representatives of the nation; and their first act was to declare all the imposts illegal, because they had not been consented to by the nation. They, however, re-enacted them instantly in the name of their constituents, declaring, that they ceased on the very day on which the present assembly should be dissolved. All future proceedings were prevented in consequence of a step on the part of the King, who, on the 20th of June, declared, by a herald at arms, that the debates of the assembly were suspended, and that it was his Majesty's intention to hold a royal session on the 22d. The members of the assembly, thus finding themselves excluded from the national hall, by a guard of soldiers, now assembled in the tennis-court at Versailles, and the people, stimulated by the conduct of their deputies, in their turn excited new zeal by their plaudits. Some of the soldiery, even formed a guard of honour at the entrance, while one of the members, who had been confined to his bed, caused himself to be carried into the hall: and, as though actuated by one general impulse, all the deputies arose and took an oath never to separate until the constitution should be formed, and the regeneration of France accomplished.

The three orders were assembled by the King's command, in royal session, on the 23d of June. The speech which the King had been advised to deliver on this occasion, was little calculated to give satisfaction to the nation. After lamenting the disputes which had taken place, his Majesty insisted on maintaining the distinction of orders, and annulled the celebrated decree, by which the Commons had declared themselves the national assembly. He at the same time alluded to the benefits which he was preparing to confer on his people; but nothing positive was said relative to the liberty of the press, or the participation of the States General in the enaction of laws; on the other hand, he hinted at the retention of the most unpopular of all the prerogatives claimed by the crown—that of lettres de cachet, subject, however, to certain restrictions; and the continuance of the tyrannical privileges arising out of the feudal system.

The sittings of the assembly having been continued, an union of the orders took place, and on the 27th, 47 of the nobles, headed by the Duke of Orleans, repaired to the hall of the states, and the minority of the clergy and the majority of the nobles, at the express recommendation of the King, whose intentions were as good as his conduct was imbecile, followed their example.

Notwithstanding these appearances of cordiality, orders had been for some time issued by the court to collect a large body of troops; and as the French soldiery could not now be depended on, foreigners were necessarily employed. Thirty-five thousand men were already cantoned in the neighbourhood of the capital; twenty thousand more were expected; a formidable train of artillery was provided at a prodigious expence; camps began to be traced out; the commanding eminences were crowned with batteries; the roads and bridges were occupied by military posts; and the Marshal de Broglio was nominated to the chief command. The capital, ever jealous of the court, and alarmed at these formidable preparations, was now greatly agitated. The people assembled in prodigious multitudes in the gardens of the Palais Royal, and dividing into groups, were addressed by certain persons, whom they styled "orators," with a degree of eloquence that did not fail to please and even to fascinate. A large body of the soldiery began to make common cause with the inhabitants. Nor were other means of seduction wanting: they were loaded with presents and caresses; they were feasted for whole days and nights in the Palais Royal, the residence of the factious Duke of Orleans; and to the delights of wine, were added the fascinations of gold, and the allurements of the softer sex.

On the 12th of July, Neckar was suddenly deprived of his office, and sent into exile; and a new administration was formed, all the members of which were considered as the decided advocates of the ancient regime. Whilst the deputies, incapable of resistance, stood aghast, the citizens of Paris were taking measures to alter the destiny of the assembly, the monarch, and the empire. They began by carrying in triumph the busts of Neckar and the Duke of Orleans. They were attacked by a patrole of the Royal Allemande, and several persons were wounded, but the guard was at length obliged to take refuge in the Thuilleries. At this critical period, Gorsas, then a school master, and afterwards a deputy, with a stentorian voice, harangued a large body of citizens in one quarter; at the same time that Camille Desmoulins, a celebrated advocate, with a pistol in each hand, addressed an inflammatory oration to the surrounding multitude in another; and after being exhausted with fatigue, and rendered unable to proceed, still articulated the words,—"To arms! to arms!" Whilst the women and children, terrified at the first appearance of the troops, rent the air with their shrieks and lamentations, the alarm bell was rung in every parish; the theatres were shut; cannons were fired by way of signal; some of the citizens barricaded their houses, and prepared to defend themselves against the assailants; while the multitude, unprovided with any certain means of annoyance, rushed into, and seized all the arms to be found in the shops of the gun-smiths and armourers, and then proceeded towards the town-house. At this critical moment,

the Marquis de Valadi, formerly an officer in the French guards, repaired to the barracks, where he excited the passions, aroused the ambition, and subdued the fidelity of the troops. At nine o'clock in the evening, the guards accordingly sallied out, when, being joined by patroles of armed citizens, as well as by a mob, many of whom carried torches, they attacked and dispersed a company of the Royal Allemande. The fugitives having retreated to the main body of their regiment, posted in the Place de Louis XV. twelve hundred of the guards repaired to the Palais Royal, where they held a council of war, and at length determined, though destitute of both officers and artillery, to give battle to the "foreign troops."—They accordingly commenced their march, obtained a complete victory, obliged them to retreat, drove them before them to the Boulevards, and at length forced all the regular troops to evacuate Paris, and withdraw to Versailles. An extraordinary circumstance occurred at this moment, which tended not a little to produce and accelerate the catastrophe which ensued. Twenty thousand men of different nations, who had been employed in cutting roads over Montmartre, but who were now without bread, and without occupation, threatened to plunder the capital, which was itself rapidly approaching to a state of famine. These banditti had already approached to the suburbs, and after burning the outlet called the White Barriers, began to enter several houses.—To meet this emergency, it was resolved to form a city militia, and the citizens ran in crowds to inscribe their names, as the defenders of their country. Arms being still wanting, upwards of thirty thousand men ran to the hospital of the invalids, seized on the artillery, and obtained possession of about fifty thousand muskets, sabres, and pikes, which had been concealed there. The citizens were immediately marshalled, and more than sixty thousand enrolled and distributed into companies; patroles were established in every district; the serjeants and grenadiers of the French guards were appointed officers: cannon were immediately posted on the Pont Neuf, the Pont Royal, and in all the avenues leading to Versailles; while the Place Dauphine was provided with a numerous artillery, and became the head-quarters of the insurgent army.

On the morning of the memorable 14th of July, some unknown individual, after attracting the attention of the citizens, exclaimed—"Let us take the Bastile!" The cry of "To the Bastile!" instantly resounded from rank to rank, from street to street, from the Palais Royal to the suburbs of St. Antoine. An army, composed of citizens and soldiers, provided with pikes forged during the night, with muskets procured at the invalids, with gilded lances and battle-axes, snatched from the Garde Meuble, was immediately formed, and the French guards were prevailed upon to join this motley crew. Their first attempt was to enter the court by force; but they were told that, if they persisted, they would be fired upon; and, after some time had elapsed, a few musquets were fired from the castle, which had the effect of dispersing the mob. They soon, however, assembled again; and two men who pretended to be deputed by some of the district committees, one Belon, an officer, and Thurcot de la Roziere, an attorney, were admitted by the governor, who assured them that he had no hostile intentions, and should only defend himself, if attacked. He also, most imprudently, informed them, that the cannon were not loaded, and were even removed from the embrasures, a fact which he permitted them to ascertain. He went still further, and, as if intending to encourage the mob to attack him, he exacted an oath from his officers and men, in the presence of these deputed citizens, that they would not make use of their arms unless they should be attacked. The deputies professed to be satisfied; and promised to appease the mob; but the mob, during this parley, had increased so much that the deputies could not be heard, and they had nearly lost their lives in the attempt. During this truce, two men made their way from the top of a perfumer's house to a wall close to the first drawbridge, at the entrance of the Bastile; from thence they reached the guard-house, and leaped into the court. These men were followed by others, who immediately lowered the small drawbridge, for the admission of foot passengers; and proceeded to break the chain of the great drawbridge; by the fall of which one man was crushed to death, and another severely hurt. The mob rushed in, and, in a short time, completely pillaged the governor's house. M. de Launay might, with the greatest facility, have destroyed the whole body of insurgents, by firing on them with canister shot; but, wishing rather to frighten than to hurt them, he ordered a discharge of musquetry upon those who had entered the court, by which some of them were wounded, and the rest put to flight. Had this discharge been followed up by others, and a few cannon fired, not a man would have been left within sight of the Bastile. The mob, however, having brought the cannon which they had taken at the Invalids, renewed their attempt on the Bastile. The cannon played upon the castle; while the soldiers, who appeared on the walls, were shot from the tops of the neighbouring houses. In this manner was the garrison, consisting of a hundred and fourteen men, of which eighty-two were invalids, and thirty-two Swiss, attacked by thirty thousand of the rabble, assisted by a great number of the French guards. When they had succeeded in setting the governor's house, and the guard house, on fire, a deputation from the electors, at the town-house arrived, preceded by a white flag. The deputies, however, were prevented by the mob from advancing; and Monsieur de Launay, observing the flag to be stationary, ordered some musquets to be fired, which, however, did no execution. The mob, observing this, brought two pieces of artillery up, and planted them at the opening of the avenue to the castle. The governor then ordered

Revolution in the abstract, and have looked to remote consequences, which their ardent imagination represented to them as certain, without descending to any minuteness of enquiry into the motives in which it originated, the means by which it was accomplished, or the effects which it had actually produced. But while the love of freedom led many, certainly without due consideration, to admire the French Revolution, the admiration of others flowed from a very different source;—from a revolutionary ardour, and a fondness for innovation, which

---

ordered another volley of musquetry, and a cannon loaded with canister shot, to be fired from the top of one of the towers into the Rue d'Antoine, at the extremity of which the Bastile was situated. Another deputation was now sent from the town-house, headed by the Abbe Fauchet; but these deputies were as easily dissuaded as the former, from approaching the scene of action: and the Abbe Fauchet, having more effrontery than courage, magnified the danger which he feared, and returned to give a doleful account of the horrors which he had witnessed. A third deputation was now sent, which, as well as the second, had the following written instructions: "The permanent committee of the Parisian militia, taking into consideration that there ought to be no military force in Paris, but that of the city, charge the deputies, whom they send to the Marquis de Launay, commander of the Bastile, to ask him if he is disposed to receive the Parisian militia, to defend it, in concert with the troops already there, and to be under the command of the city. Done at the Hotel de Nille, July 14, 1789. Signed de Flesselles, Provost and President of the Committee; De la Nigne, President of the Electors, &c. &c." This deputation, however, like the others; returned without executing their commission. But had it made its way to the Bastile, it is perfectly clear that the commander must have rejected, with indignation, the proffered terms, which proposed to make one of the King's officers a leader of rebels; for those electors were as much in a state of rebellion, by raising an armed force, and deposing his Majesty's officers, as the French guards, and the rabble who were attacking his fortresses. The line of duty which Monsieur de Launay had to pursue, was so perfectly clear as not to admit of either hesitation or doubt. He had no alternative, consistently with his duty, but to defend himself to the last extremity, and rather to bury himself in the ruins of the castle, than suffer the royal flag to be lowered to the standard of revolt. But fear, or some other unworthy motive, made him adopt a different line of conduct. He caused the drums to beat a parley, and held out a napkin as an indication of his wish to capitulate. As the danger diminished, the fury of the mob increased, and this pacific signal was hailed with repeated vollies of musquetry and cannon. M. de Launay having appealed to his men, they requested him to stipulate only that they should not be massacred. A piece of paper was then passed to the mob, on which was written: "We have twenty thousand weight of powder, and if you do not accept our capitulation, we will blow up the garrison, and all the quarters about it." And an officer, at the same time, said, "We are willing to surrender, provided we are assured that the troops shall not be massacred." The answer to this was an unanimous exclamation: "On the faith of French soldiers we accept it, and will do you no harm; let down the bridge." Confiding in this assurance, M. de Launay caused one of the drawbridges to be let down, when some of the mob rushed in, and would have been followed by the rest, if some of the French guards, who were there, had not interposed to prevent them. The sentry, who opened the little gate, asked the first, who came up, what they wanted. "The Bastile to be surrendered," they answered, and, at the same instant, the great drawbridge was lowered, and before it was quite down, a grenadier of the French guards leaped in, and the populace followed him.

Although the ministers were culpable for not having taken any measures for averting the coming storm, the symptoms of which were too strong and decisive to be either mistaken or overlooked, M. de Launay was not the less reprehensible for having entered into any kind of compromise with a furious mob. Had he defended the Bastile, as he ought, the place was impregnable. Be that as it may, the unfortunate governor was amply punished for his misconduct. The people, in violation of their plighted faith, seized him, the instant they entered the Bastile, dragged him to the Place de Greve, where after having subjected him to every kind of insult and outrage, on the way, they cut off his head, fixed it on the head of a pike, and paraded it through the streets to the Palais Royal. Most of the invalids, too, who were in the Bastile, were murdered, without mercy, by the mob. The Bastile having been thus basely surrendered, it remained to release those victims of tyranny, with which this horrible den of despotism was always said to be crowded! But what was the surprise, and disappointment of the insurgents, when, on forcing their way into the towers, in which the prisoners were confined, they found only seven persons. The names of these persons were Pujade, Béchade, La Roche, La Caurege, the Count de Solages, Tavernier, and Whyt, the four first of them were committed on a charge of forgery; the Count de Solages was confined, at the request of his family, for offences not known, but which M. de Bertrand assures us, were of the most serious nature," and the two last were mad! The horrors of this memorable day were completed by the murder of M. de Flesselles, the Provost, who was shot by one of the rabble, at the instigation of that very body of electors whose president he was, on the vague charge of having corresponded with M. de Launay, which there was not the shadow of a proof to support, for which, indeed, there was not the smallest foundation. His head was severed from his body, and, being placed on a pike, was carried, with that of M. de Launay, about the streets of Paris. In this procession of civilized cannibals, appeared a private of the French guards, on a litter crowned with laurels, and wearing the cross of St. Louis. This man, whose looks betrayed his alarm at the unmerited and unwelcome honors thus unexpectedly showered upon him, had been drinking at a public house, in the vicinity of the Bastile, during the attack on that fortress; and did not repair to the scene of action, till an hour after its surrender. Some workmen mistook him for one of those who had been lately employed in the siege, decorated him, in the manner already described, much against his will, and, mistaking his reluctance for modesty, carried him in triumph to the Place de Greve. The man acknowledged, the next day, that he had suffered the most bitter anguish, till he escaped from these furies, for he fully expected that they were carrying him to the place of execution, and that his head, also, was destined to grace this horrible procession.

Astonished and intimidated at these proceedings, the King appeared in person the next day in the national assembly, and declared "that he had issued orders for the immediate removal of the troops." A burst of joy and acclamation succeeded; M. Neckar was almost immediately recalled and reinstated in his office; the Count d'Artois, Marshal Broglio, the Prince of Conde, and others of the noblesse were compelled to seek for safety in flight, and on the 17th of July, the King made his triumphal entry into Paris.

The assembly now proceeded without interruption in their labours; and, amongst the decrees, which they passed, were those which pronounced the annihilation of all feudal privileges; the abolition of all distinction of orders; the resumption of tithes and other ecclesiastical and monastic property; the dissolution of monastic institutions; the allotment of the kingdom into a new territorial division, under the name of departments, eighty-three in number, nearly equal in population and extent; finally, the extinction of the provincial Parliaments, and the establishment of departmental assemblies, of courts of justice, and the trial by jury in each department. The general principles on which the government of the kingdom was modelled were comprehended in a Declaration of Rights, drawn up in the following terms:—

"I. Men were born, and always continue, free and equal with respect to their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

"II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. And these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

"III. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty.

"IV. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another.

"V. The law ought only to prohibit actions hurtful to society.

"VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, without any other distinction than that created by their talents and virtues.

"VII. No man shall be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed.

"VIII. No one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence.

"IX. Every man is to be presumed innocent till conviction of guilt.

"X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even his religious opinions; provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order.

"XI. Every man may speak, write, and publish freely—being responsible for the abuses of this liberty in cases determined by law.

"XII. A public force is necessary only to give security to the rights of men and citizens.

"XIII. Public contributions ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their several abilities.

"XIV. Every citizen has a right, by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity and appropriation of public contributions.

"XV. Every community has a right to demand of its agents an account of their conduct.

"XVI. Every community, in which the separation of powers is not determined, nor a security of rights provided for, wants a constitution.

"XVII. The rights to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity legally ascertained, and upon condition of a previous and just indemnity.

"The National Assembly, desirous of establishing the French constitution on the principles which it has just now recognised and declared, abolishes irrevocably those institutions which are injurious to liberty, and equality of rights.

"There is no longer any nobility, nor peerage, nor hereditary distinctions, nor difference of orders, nor feudal governments, nor patrimonial jurisdictions, nor any of the titles, denominations, and prerogatives which are derived from them; nor any of the orders of chivalry, corporations, or decorations, for which proofs of nobility were required; nor any kind of superiority but that of public functionaries, in the exercise of their functions.

"No public office is henceforth hereditary or purchasable.

"No part of the nation, nor any individual, can henceforth possess any privilege or exception from the common rights of all Frenchmen.

"There are no more wardenships or corporations in professions, arts, or trades.

"The law recognises no longer any religious vow, nor any other engagement which would be contrary to natural rights, or to the constitution."

By

which led them to look on all resistance to power as commendable, to confound revolt with liberty, and to convert conspirators into patriots. Amidst this general predilection for the new politics of regenerated France, there were some few enlightened minds, who viewed the French rebellion with horror, who considered the principles broached by the leading members of the National Assembly, and adopted by the majority, as striking at the very root of society; and who foresaw that those outrageous proceedings, instead of producing such a change in the condition of the French people, as every friend to rational and well regulated freedom must desire, would bring forth the most calamitous consequences, and terminate either in popular anarchy, or in the establishment of unqualified despotism. Amongst its most ardent admirers, was an assemblage of persons, who had associated themselves for the purpose of commemorating the British Revolution of 1688; and who appear to have seen, in that event, nothing but what was revolutionary as deserving of their praise, and thence to have conceived an idea, that they were bound to stand forth the champions of every revolution in every country. The members of this "Revolutionary Society" were chiefly dissenters from the established church; but the president, at the period in question, was a British Peer, remarkable for the eccentricity of his mind. Dr. Price, a dissenting minister, equally eminent for his talents and his zeal, who was one of its most distinguished members, could not suffer the opportunity to escape, which an anniversary meeting afforded, (in November, 1789) for proclaiming his admiration of the new principles which had been promulgated at Paris and Versailles.—The committee laid down three fundamental principles:—

I. That all civil and political authority is derived from the people.

II. That the abuse of power justifies resistance.

III. That the right of private judgment, liberty of conscience, trial by jury, and the freedom of election, ought ever to be held sacred and inviolable.

They then resolved to congratulate the members of the Society "on the glorious success of the French Revolution," and to express "their ardent wishes that the influence of so glorious an example may be felt by all mankind, until tyranny and despotism shall be swept from the face of the globe;" the Doctor moved a congratulatory address to the National Assembly of France, which was unanimously adopted. In this address, the Society offered to the National Assembly of France, their congratulations on the revolution in that country, and on the prospect it gave to the two first kingdoms in the world of a common participation in the blessings of civil and religious liberty. They expressed the particular satisfaction with which they reflected on the tendency of the glorious example given in France to encourage other nations to assert the unalienable rights of mankind, and thereby to introduce a general reformation in the governments of Europe, and to make the world free and happy. The resolution of this club was accordingly transmitted to the National Assembly, whose President duly acknowledged the honour conferred upon them.

At the time that public opinion took this direction, Mr. Pitt, and his colleagues, remained perfectly quiescent, and contented themselves with a renewal of their assurances of continued amity with France, without expressing either approbation or disapprobation of the measures of internal policy, which the government, or rather the National Assembly, had thought proper to adopt.

A. D. 1790.] Such was the state of affairs, when the British Parliament assembled, on the 21st of January. The King's speech contained nothing remarkable. It slightly glanced at the affairs of France, in declaring "the internal situation of the different parts of Europe to have been productive of events which had engaged his Majesty's most serious attention." Early indications, however, appeared of the light in which the recent transactions in that kingdom were viewed by the English government. Lord Valletort, in moving the address, took occasion to contrast the tranquil and prosperous situation of England with the anarchy and licentiousness of France, and to denounce the revolution in that kingdom as an event the most disastrous, and productive of consequences the most fatal, which had ever taken place since the foundation of the monarchy.

Soon afterwards, upon the debate which took place on the army estimates, Mr. Burke observed, that, on a review of Europe, he did not find that we stood in the smallest danger from any one state or kingdom it contained; nor that any foreign powers, but our own allies, were likely to obtain a preponderance in the scale.—"France (said he) has hitherto been our first object in all considerations concerning the balance of power: but France is in a political light to be considered as expunged out of the system of Europe. Whether she could ever appear in it again, as a leading power, was not easy to determine: but at present he considered France as not politically existing: and most assuredly, it would take much time to restore her to her former active existence. It was said, as she had speedily fallen, she might speedily rise again. He doubted this. The fall from a height was with an accelerated velocity; but to lift a weight up to that height again was difficult, and opposed by the laws of physical and political gravitation. In a political view, France was low indeed; she had lost every thing, even to her name. He was astonished at it. He was alarmed at it. He trembled at the uncertainty of all human greatness. The French had shewn themselves the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto appeared in the world. In one short summer they had completely pulled down to the ground their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law, their army, and their revenue. Were we absolute conquerors, and France to lie prostrate at our feet, we should blush to impose upon them terms so destructive to all their consequence as a nation, as the durance they had imposed upon themselves. In the last age we were in danger of being entangled by the example of France, in the net of a relentless despotism—a despotism, indeed, proudly arrayed in manners, gallantry, splendor, magnificence, and even covered over with the imposing robes of science and literature. Our present danger, from the example of a people whose character knows no medium, is, with regard to government, a danger from licentious violence—a danger of being led from admiration to imitation of the excesses of an unprincipled, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy—of a people whose government is anarchy, and whose religion is atheism. What the French nation valued themselves upon was, in his opinion, a disgrace to them. They had gloried, and some

By this time, the National Assembly had acquired an ascendancy over the nation, and its popularity was daily increasing both in the capital and the provinces. Between the assembly and the court considerable jealousies existed, which were heightened by the introduction of a corps of Swiss guards into the metropolis. By the arts of the Duke of Orleans, a factitious famine was created; and the inhabitants of Paris were thrown into a state of violent agitation. The commotion began among the women, who, on the morning of the 5th of October, ran about the streets, crying out "Bread! Bread!" Seizing on a person of the name of Maillard, they forced him to become their conductor; and being joined by a multitude of armed men, and followed by a company of the volunteers of the Bastile, and several cannon, they set out for Versailles, the residence of the royal family. The national guards, actuated by a similar impulse, insisted on marching thither also; and La Fayette, after obtaining the sanction of the municipality, deemed it prudent to accede to the proposition. He was unable, however, to prevent the events that ensued; for some of the mob, having burst into the castle, sacrificed two of the body guards to their fury, and the life of the Queen was perhaps saved by the gallantry of a third, called Miomandre. The guards now, for the first time, placed the national cockade in their hats, and supplicated for mercy. On this, the popular fury seemed to subside, but the cry of "To Paris! to Paris!" clearly intimated their intentions, and his Majesty thought proper to comply. The King accordingly repaired thither, on the 6th of October, preceded by an executioner, between two wretches, each carrying a bloody head of one of the murdered guards on a pike, accompanied by an immense mob, a deputation of two hundred members of the national assembly, the troops of Paris, and the French guards, who had prevented much violence and bloodshed. His Majesty took up his abode in the Palace of the Thuilleries, which was totally unprepared for his reception; and, on the 19th of October (1789) the National Assembly held its first sitting in the capital.

people

people in England had thought fit to take share in that glory, in making a revolution. All the horrors and all the crimes of the anarchy which led to this revolution, which attend its progress, and which may eventually result from its establishment, pass for nothing. The French have made their way through the destruction of their country to a bad constitution, when they were absolutely in possession of a good one. Instead of redressing grievances, and improving the fabric of their state, to which they were called by their monarch and sent by their country, they had rashly destroyed all the balances and counterpoises which serve to fix the state and to give it a steady direction. These they had melted down into one incongruous ill-connected mass; and, with the most atrocious perfidy and violation of all faith among men, laid the axe to the root of all property, and consequently of all national prosperity, by the principles they established, and the example they set in confiscating all the possessions of the church. They had made and recorded a sort of institute and digest of anarchy, called 'A Declaration of the Rights of Man:' thus systematically destroying every hold of authority, by opinion, religious or civil, on the minds of the people. By this mad declaration they had subverted the state, and brought on such calamities as no country, without a long war, had ever been known to suffer. He felt some concern that this strange thing called a Revolution in France should be compared with the glorious event commonly called the Revolution in England. In truth, the circumstances of our Revolution, as it was called, and that of France, were just the reverse of each other in almost every particular, and in the whole spirit of the transaction. What we did was in truth and substance not a revolution made, but prevented. We took solid securities; we settled doubtful questions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the stable fundamental parts of our constitution we made no revolution; no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy. The nation kept the same ranks, the same subordinations, the same franchises, the same order in the law, the revenue, and the magistracy—the same Lords, the same Commons, the same corporations, the same electors. The church was not impaired: her estates, her majesty, her splendor, her orders and gradations, continued the same: she was preserved in her full efficiency, and cleared only of that intolerance which was her weakness and disgrace. Was little done then, because a revolution was not made in the constitution? No—every thing was done; because we commenced with reparation, not with ruin. Instead of lying in a sort of epileptic trance, exposed to the pity or derision of the world, for her wild, ridiculous, convulsive movements, the state flourished; Great Britain rose above the standard of her former self. All the energies of the country were awakened, and a new æra of prosperity commenced, which still continues, not only unimpaired, but receiving growth and improvement under the wasting hand of time."

Mr. Fox warmly expressed "his total dissent from opinions so hostile to the general principles of liberty; and which he was grieved to hear from the lips of a man whom he loved and revered—by whose precepts he had been taught, by whose example he had been animated to engage in their defence. He vindicated the conduct of the French army, in refusing to act against their fellow-citizens, from the aspersions of Mr. Burke, who had charged them with abetting an abominable sedition by mutiny and desertion—declaring that, if he could view a standing military force with less constitutional jealousy than before, it was owing to the noble spirit manifested by the French army, who, on becoming soldiers, had proved that they did not forfeit their character as citizens, and would not act as the mere instruments of a despot. The scenes of bloodshed and cruelty that had been acted in France, no man could hear of without lamenting. But when the grievous tyranny that the people had so long groaned under was considered, the excesses they had committed in their efforts to shake off the yoke could not excite our astonishment so much as our regret. And as to the contrast which Mr. Burke had exhibited, respecting the mode in which the two revolutions in England and France were conducted, it must be remembered, that the situation of the two kingdoms was totally different. In France, a free constitution was to be created: in England it wanted only to be secured. If the fabric of government in England suffered less alteration, it was because it required less alteration. If a general destruction of the ancient constitution had taken place in France, it was because the whole system was radically hostile to liberty, and that every part of it breathed the direful spirit of despotism."

Mr. Sheridan pronounced the French Revolution to be as just as our own, proceeding upon as sound a principle, and a greater provocation;—and he vehemently defended the general views and conduct of the National Assembly. He charged Mr. Burke with an unwarrantable freedom of speech respecting that assembly; and with having libelled those illustrious characters, M. Bailly and M. de la Fayette.

Mr. Pitt, without entering into the merits of the revolution, warmly applauded Mr. Burke, for the zealous and seasonable attachment which he had displayed to the principles of the British constitution.

Since the decision of the late session relative to the repeal of the Test Laws, the dissenters had not ceased their efforts, to increase the number of their friends in the House of Commons; and, in contemplation of the approaching general election, they had even recommended a preference in favour of those who had shewn themselves the friends and advocates of what they termed "equal and universal liberty." Instead of Mr. Beaufoy, Mr. Fox was now solicited to move the House a third time for the repeal of the acts in question; to which he readily assented. The nation at large were now led to believe this to be a matter of high and serious import; and counter meetings of the friends of the church were called, in which the repeal of the test was deprecated as fatal to its security. On the 2d of March, Mr. Fox brought forward his motion of repeal, which he supported with wonderful ability. The decision of the House, however, was less favourable than on the former occasion; the motion being negatived, by 294 against 105.

Mr. Flood, the Irish orator, who had sat some years almost undistinguished in the British Parliament, now brought forward a plan of Parliamentary reform, in conformity to which an additional number of representatives, to the amount of one hundred, was to be admitted into the legislative body, in a proportional ratio to the population of each county, by the election of the resident house-holders only. This motion was vehemently opposed by Mr. Windham, member for Norwich, the professed admirer of Mr. Burke; and by Mr. Pitt, who declared, "That, were the motion before them the precise proposition he himself had formerly offered, he should now vote against it, from a conviction of its actual impropriety. But at a more seasonable opportunity he would most certainly again submit his ideas upon the subject to the consideration of the House." The motion was, at length, withdrawn. This session, nothing of importance was effected, respecting the slave trade.

The trial of Mr. Hastings proceeded very slowly; in the entire course of the session, the court sitting only thirteen days. Towards the close of the session, a resolution passed the House, on the motion of Mr. Burke, that the House do authorize the managers to insist only upon such and so many of the charges as may appear to be conducive to the obtaining speedy and effectual justice." The affairs of the East India Company, under the auspices of Lord Cornwallis, appeared to be, at this time, in the most favourable state.

In the month of April Mr. Pitt presented his statement of the national revenue and expenditure; from which it appeared, that the receipt of the Exchequer had surpassed that of the year preceding in the sum of half a million. About a fortnight afterwards, however, (May 5.) a royal messsage was delivered by the minister, announcing circumstances which indicated the approach

proach of war. It appears, that the celebrated Captain Cook, in his last voyage of discovery, touching at several ports on the western coast of North America, purchased from the natives a number of valuable furs, bearing a high price in the Chinese market. To encourage this branch of commerce, a spot of ground was, in 1788, procured from the Indians, and a regular establishment, defended by a slight fortification, formed at a place called Nootka Sound, situated about the 50th degree of north latitude. This was regarded by the Spaniards as an encroachment on their exclusive rights of sovereignty; and, consequently, the Princessa, a Spanish man of war, dispatched for this purpose by the viceroy of Mexico, in the following spring, seised upon the fort, and captured the English vessels, Iphigenia, Argonaut, &c. trading on the coast. The Spanish commandant, hoisting the national standard, declared that the whole line of coast from Cape Horn to the 60th degree of north latitude belonged to the King of Spain. After much delay, and loss and vexation to the proprietors, the captured vessels were, however, restored by the viceroy, on the assumption, "that nothing but ignorance of the rights of Spain could have induced the merchants in question to attempt an establishment on that coast." Of these particulars the court of London had been regularly informed by the Spanish ambassador so long ago as the 10th of February; and his Excellency at the same time requested, "that measures might be taken for preventing his Britannic Majesty's subjects from frequenting those coasts, and from carrying on their fisheries in the seas contiguous to the Spanish continent, as derogatory to the incontestable rights of the crown of Spain." The claims of Spain, in relation to her right of dominion and sovereignty in America, were in the highest degree chimerical. Charles III. however, had died in December, 1788, and his son Charles IV. the succeeding sovereign of Spain, confiding in the justice of his claims, offered to submit the decision to any one of the kings of Europe, leaving the choice wholly to his Britannic Majesty. The reply of the court of London to the memorial of the Spanish ambassador is said to have been unnecessarily haughty; and an atonement was demanded for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain.

On the statement of the case in the royal message, the House of Commons unanimously voted an address to the King, assuring his Majesty of their determination to afford the most zealous and affectionate support in such measures as might become requisite for maintaining the dignity of the crown, and the essential interests of his Majesty's dominions. A vote of credit also passed the House for the sum of one million; and vigorous military and naval preparations were made in both kingdoms, in the contemplation of an immediate declaration of war.

The session closed on the 10th of June; and, on the 11th, the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

Unable to contend alone with England, Spain had, in an early stage of the negotiation, applied to France, for aid; but, finding her unwilling to interfere, she complied with the British demand of previous restitution and indemnification; and, on the 22nd of October (1790) a convention was signed at the Escurial, by which every point in dispute was conceded by Spain. The settlement at Nootka was restored; the free navigation and right of fishery in the Southern Pacific were confirmed to Britain; a full liberty of trade and even of settlement was granted to all the north-west coasts of America, beyond the most northerly of the Spanish settlements, unaccompanied, however, by any formal renunciation of their right of sovereignty; and the two powers were on the other hand, equally restrained from attempting any settlement nearer to Cape Horn than the most southerly of the settlements actually formed by Spain. An article was also inserted in this treaty: "That in all future cases of complaint, or supposed infraction of the present convention, no act of violence shall be committed, but an exact report shall be made of the affair to the respective courts, who will terminate such difference amicably."*

On opening the new Parliament, which assembled on the 25th of November (1790) the King expressed "his satisfaction that the differences with Spain were brought to an amicable termination; and observed, that, since the last session of Parliament, a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte—that a separate peace had actually taken place between Russia and Sweden; but that the war between Russia and the Porte still continued." The terms of the convention with Spain were approved and ratified in both Houses by great majorities—but not unanimously. To defray the expense of the armament, Mr. Pitt, with the resolution of suffering no permanent increase of debt, proposed various temporary taxes, which would discharge the incumbrance in four years—with the assistance of 500,000*l.* which he had it in contemplation to take from the unclaimed dividends lying in the Bank of England, the amount of which he estimated at 660,000*l.* This proposition, which excited alarm in all the great chartered companies, and in the commercial and mercantile world in general, was strongly opposed by Messrs. Fox, Thornton, and Whitbread; and the minister at length consented, by way of compromise, to accept of a loan of 500,000*l.* from the Bank, without interest, so long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in the hands of the cashier.

Mr. Burke soon afterwards moved (December 17) "that the House do resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the state of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq." He then made a second motion, "That an impeachment by this House, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, for high crimes and misdemeanors, is still pending." From this proposition, almost all the lawyers in the House declared their total dissent; and Mr. Erskine, in a very elaborate speech, endeavoured to shew that, in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament, the impeachment had abated. Upon this great question, in the decision of which the honour, the dignity, and the authority of the House were so deeply involved, the Speaker delivered his opinion; and, upon an extensive review of facts and precedents, he gave it

* This year, the Anniversary of the Revolution in France, dated from the fall of the Bastille (July 14), was celebrated throughout the country, particularly at Paris, with great magnificence. The King assisted in person, and took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution. The National Assembly and the armed citizens repeated it amidst the acclamations of innumerable spectators; and the whole kingdom, as it were with one voice, and almost at the same moment, swore to live free or die. In England, also, the French Revolution was commemorated by those who regarded it in a favourable light. Soon afterwards, Mr. Burke published a work, intituled "Reflections on the French Revolution," written with a force of eloquence and energy of declamation calculated to produce the most powerful effects. The object of this treatise was two-fold:

1. To expose to the public resentment and indignation those persons who had in this country manifested their approbation of the revolution in France; and

2. To place that revolution itself in an odious light, as an event to be deplored, detested, and deprecated.

In an appendix, he invited and exhorted all Christian princes to make, "a common cause with a just prince dethroned by rebels and traitors." The deluded people of France, to be rescued from the evils which they had brought upon themselves, must, as he affirmed, be subdued; and he recommended, that this war, or crusade, should be conducted on principles different from any former one. The members of the Revolution Society, and the other commemorators of the French revolution, he strongly inveighed against; and he charged Dr. Price in particular with having fulminated, in his revolution sermon, principles little short of treason and rebellion. This extraordinary production gave rise to numberless replies, of which the most memorable was "The Rights of Man," written by Thomas Paine. Not content with pointing out what he regarded as the misrepresentations of Mr. Burke, and the abuses and corruptions of the existing government, he daringly attacked the principles of the constitution itself, indecently describing it as radically vicious and tyrannical; and reprobating the introduction of aristocracy or monarchy, under whatever modifications, into any form of government, as a flagrant usurpation and invasion of "the unalienable rights of man." This tract unfortunately appeared at a time when a large proportion of the community were in a state of great irritation and discontent; and as it was written in a popular style and manner, innumerable converts were made to its sytem, and infinite pains were taken to circulate it amongst the body of the people. Political institutions were also formed in every part of the kingdom, professing to have in view the reform of the constitution, but which, with too much reason, were suspected really to aim at its subversion.

as his decided judgment, That the impeachment was still legally pending. In this opinion Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the most eminent Parliamentary authorities on both sides, concurred.

After a short interval Mr. Burke, adverting to the perpetual obstructions thrown in the way of this trial by the body of the law, made a third motion, (December 23) that the managers be instructed to proceed to no other parts of the impeachment, excepting such as relate to contracts, pensions, and allowances; which was carried, with slight opposition. After considerable delay, the Lords proceeded with the trial; and, on the 2d of June, 1791, Mr. Hastings opened his defence, in a speech occupying many hours.*

A. D. 1791.] Soon after the Parliamentary recess (February 21,) Mr. Mitford (now Lord Redesdale) moved, under the sanction and approbation of government, for a bill to relieve such of the English Catholics from the legal penalties still existing and in force against them, which bill passed through both Houses without a dissenting voice.

Mr. Fox next moved for a bill to ascertain the rights of juries in the matter of libel. It passed the Commons;† but, on its transmission to the Lords, it was opposed on the second reading by the Lord-Chancellor, on pretence of its being too late in the session to discuss a measure of such importance; and the bill was consequently postponed.

Mr. Wilberforce, on the 18th of April, brought forward his long expected motion for the abolition of the Slave Trade, which he introduced with a copious and masterly display of the arguments in favour of that measure. His specific motion was, "for a bill to prevent the further importation of African negroes into the British colonies;" but, unfortunately for humanity, it was negatived by a majority of seventy-five voices.

A discussion now incidentally arose, the result of which, in a political point of view, was of high importance. At the time that Canada was ceded to this country by France and became a British colony, the King had promised its inhabitants the benefits of the British constitution. The French settlers in that country, and the native Canadians, had been joined by a considerable number of British subjects, and by Royal emigrants from America; and these were most anxious to secure the advantages which the Royal promise had held out to their expectations. The ministers had, for some time, directed their attention to the subject, and it was recommended to the immediate notice of Parliament, by a message from the King in the present session. Accordingly, on the 4th of March, Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill for regulating the government of Canada, and he entered into a long and minute detail of every provision which he meant to propose. It was meant to divide the country into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, and to establish two distinct governments. The legislature of each province was to consist of a Council and House of Assembly, the members of the Assembly were to be chosen by freeholders possessing landed property to the amount of forty shillings a year, or occupiers of houses worth twenty pounds a year, and the members of the council were to hold their seats for life; with a reservation of a power to the crown, for annexing to certain honours, an hereditary right of sitting in the council. The Habeas Corpus act was to be rendered a permanent law of the colony. A provision was to be made for the Protestant clergy, by an allotment of lands. Appeals were to be allowed to the privy council, in the first instance, and from thence to the House of Lords. Great Britain renounced the right of taxation; no taxes were to be imposed but such as were necessary for the regulation of trade and commerce; and these only by the legislature of the country. The bill passed through its first stages without opposition, and almost without debate. It was read a first and second time; it passed the committee, and the report was received by the House; and nothing like disapprobation was shewn. But, to the surprise of every one, on the second consideration of the report, on the 8th of April, Mr. Fox who had hitherto given at least his tacit approbation to the bill, stood forth its determined opponent; "The great object of all popular assemblies," he observed, "was, that the people should be fully and fairly represented; but when the assembly of one province was to consist of only sixteen, and the other of thirty persons, they deluded the people by a mockery of representation. They seemed to give them a free constitution, when in fact they withheld it; and he hoped it would never be said, that the constitution of Canada was modelled after that of England. That these representatives should be elected for the term of seven years, he reprobated as equally inconsistent with freedom. Even in England, where the frequent return of elections was attended with so much real inconvenience, the propriety of the Septennial Bill was justly a subject of doubt; but in a country so differently circumstanced as Canada there could be no plausible objection to annual, or at most triennial, elections." Another strong ground of objection with Mr. Fox was, "that the legislative councils were unlimited as to numbers by any other restriction than the pleasure of the King, to whom a power was also reserved of annexing to certain honorary and titular distinctions an hereditary right of sitting in councils. As to hereditary honours, or hereditary powers, to say they were good or not, as a general proposition, was difficult —but he saw nothing so good in them as to warrant their introduction into a country where they were not known. He did not think it wise to destroy them where they existed; but to create them where they did not exist, he considered as exceedingly unwise. He could not account for it, unless it was that, Canada having been formerly a French colony, there might be an opportunity of reviving those titles of honour, the extinction of which some gentlemen so much deplored, and to revive in the West that spirit of chivalry which had fallen into so much disgrace in a neighbouring country."

On the re-commitment of the bill (May 6th) Mr. Burke enlarged upon "the importance of the act which they were now about to perform. The first consideration was the competency of the House to such an act.

* The summing up, by Mr. Hastings, was in the following terms:—"To the Commons of England, in whose name I am arraigned for desolating the provinces of their dominion in India, I dare to reply, that they are, and their representatives annually persist in telling them so, the most flourishing of all the states in India—it was I who made them so. The valour of others acquired; I enlarged, and gave shape and consistency to the dominion which you hold there. I preserved it; I set forth its armies with an effectual but economical hand through unknown and hostile regions, to the support of your other possessions: to the retrieval of one from degradation and dishonour; and of the other from utter loss and destruction. I maintained the wars which were of your formation, or that of others, not of mine. I won one member of the great Indian confederacy from it by an act of seasonable restitution: with another I maintained a secret intercourse, and converted him into a friend: a third I drew off by diversion and negotiation, and employed him as the instrument of peace. When you cried out for peace, and your cries were heard by those who were the object of it, I resisted this and every other species of counteraction by rising in my demands; and accomplished a peace, and I hope an everlasting one, with one great state; and I at least afforded the efficient means by which a peace, if not so durable more seasonable at least, was accomplished with another. I gave you all, and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace, and a life of impeachment."—"There is no object upon earth so near my heart as that of an immediate determination of this tedious prosecution. I am so confident of my own innocence, and have such a perfect reliance upon the honour of your Lordships, that I am not afraid to submit to judgment upon the evidence which has been adduced on the part of the prosecution."

† Mr. Fox observed, "that when a man was accused of murder, a crime consisting of law and fact, the jury every day found a verdict of guilty: and this was also the case in felony and every other criminal indictment. Libels were the only exception, the single anomaly. He contended, that if the jury had no jurisdiction over libels, the counsel who addressed them on either side as to the criminality of the publication were guilty of a gross and insolent sarcasm. It was admitted on all hands, said Mr. Fox, that a writing might be an overt act of treason. In this case, if the court of King's Bench were to say to the jury, 'Consider only whether the criminal published the paper—do not consider the nature of it—do not consider whether it correspond to the definition of treason or not'—would Englishmen endure that death should be inflicted without a jury having had an opportunity of delivering their sentiments, whether the individual was or was not guilty of the crime with which he was charged?" Mr. Fox wished to know, whether the modern doctrine of libels did or did not extend to high treason!

A body

A body of rights, commonly called the Rights of Man, had been lately imported from a neighbouring kingdom. The principle of this new code was, that all men were by nature free and equal in respect of their rights. If this code, therefore, were admitted, the power of the House could extend no farther than to call together the inhabitants of Canada to choose a constitution for themselves. The practical effects of this system might be seen in St. Domingo and the other French islands. They were flourishing and happy till they heard of the Rights of Man. As soon as this system arrived among them, Pandora's box, replete with every mortal evil, seemed to fly open, hell itself to yawn, and every dæmon of mischief to overspread the face of the country."—Mr. Fox defended his former sentiments respecting the French revolution; and repeated "that he thought it upon the whole one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind. In this assertion, however, he spoke of the revolution, not of the constitution, which still remained to be improved by experience, and accommodated to circumstances. The Rights of Man, which his right honourable friend had ridiculed as visionary, were the basis of the British constitution. Our statute book recoguized 'the original inherent rights of the people as men, which no prescription could supersede, no accident could remove or obliterate.' These had once been the principles of his right honourable friend, from whom he had learned them. His right honourable friend had said with equal energy and emphasis 'that he knew not how to draw a bill of indictment against a whole people.' Having been taught by him that no revolt of a nation was caused without provocation, he could not help rejoicing at the success of a revolution resting upon the same basis with our own—the immutable and unalienable Rights of Man."

Mr. Burke insisted "that the discussion of the Quebec bill was a proper opportunity to put the country on its guard against those dangerous doctrines which prevailed in France, and which had found so many advocates here. He had differed on many occasions from Mr. Fox, but there had been no loss of friendship between them. But there was something in the 'accursed' French constitution that envenomed every thing."—On hearing this, Mr. Fox abruptly exclaimed, "there was no loss of friendship." Mr. Burke said, "there was—he knew the price of his conduct; he had done his duty, and their friendship was at an end." Mr. Fox's feelings were now too powerful for utterance. Involuntary tears were observed to steal down his cheek, whilst a profound and expressive silence pervaded the House. At length, recovering himself, he said, "that however events might have altered the mind of his right honourable friend, for such he must still call him, he could not so easily consent to relinquish and dissolve that intimate connection which had for twenty-five years subsisted between them. He hoped that Mr. Burke would think on past times; and, whatever expressions of his had caused the offence, that he would at least believe such was not his intention." The concessions of Mr. Fox are said to have produced no visible impression on Mr. Burke; and from this day a schism took place in the politics of opposition.

On the 28th of March, Mr. Pitt had delivered a message to the House of Commons from the King, importing, "that the endeavours which he had used in conjunction with his allies to effect a pacification between Russia and the Porte, not having proved successful, his Majesty judged it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some further augmentation of his naval force." When this message was taken into consideration, Mr. Pitt, fully aware of the ambitious views of the Empress Catherine—who had avowed her resolution to interfere in the internal concerns of Poland, and had made no secret of her intention to place the imperial crown on the head of her grandson, Constantine, in the metropolis of the Ottoman empire—enlarged much on the necessity of attending to the preservation of the balance of power in Europe. "The influence of the Turkish empire (he observed) was of great effect in the general scale. Its present situation was such as to afford just cause of apprehension to other powers: and to Prussia in particular it must be highly injurious to suffer the Turkish empire to be diminished in force and consequence." He therefore moved an address, assuring his Majesty that his faithful Commons would make good such expences as might be found necessary." This address was vehemently opposed by the opposition; but it was carried, by 228 against 135 voices. On the 12th of April following, Mr. Grey moved a series of resolutions expressive of the impolicy and inexpediency of a war with Russia, on such grounds. The motion was negatived by 259 against 170; but, as a Russian war was evidently an unpopular measure, ministers at length relinquished the point in dispute; Oczakow and its district remained with Russia; and, in the course of the ensuing summer, preliminaries of peace between the two empires were signed at Gralutz, and afterwards ratified (January, 1792) at Yassi.*

The affairs of France, though unnoticed in the King's speech, at the opening of Parliament, were now in a very critical state. On the evening of September 2, (1790) Neckar, whose popularity had been long extinct, having received information from M. de la Fayette, that his life was in danger, and that the mob

* In the progress of the negotiation, not confining himself to the constitutional mode of opposing the ministers, in Parliament, he adopted the unprecedented measure of sending Mr. Adair, a gentleman known only as a distant relation of his own, to the court of St. Petersburgh, as "his" representative, and for the express purpose of counteracting the endeavours of his Majesty's accredited ministers to induce the Empress to accede to the proposals of the British Cabinet. This transaction cannot be so well described as in the language of Mr. Burke, who could not be suspected of entertaining any undue prejudice against one with whom he had long lived in habits of the closest intimacy, and of the most endearing friendship.

"The laws and constitution of the kingdom," says that eloquent writer, "entrusts the sole and exclusive right of treating with foreign potentates to the King. This is an indisputable part of the legal prerogative of the crown. However, notwithstanding this, Mr. Fox, without the knowledge or participation of any one person in the House of Commons, with whom he was bound by every party principle, in matters of delicacy and importance, confidentially to communicate, thought proper to send Mr. Adair as his representative and with his cypher, to St. Petersburgh, there to frustrate the objects for which the ministers from the crown were authorised to treat. He succeeded in this his design, and did actually frustrate the King's ministers in some of the objects of this negotiation. This proceeding of Mr. Fox does not, as I conceive, amount to absolute high-treason. Russia, though on bad terms, not having been then declaredly at war with the kingdom; but such a proceeding is, in law, not very remote from that offence, and is, undoubtedly, a most unconstitutional act, and a high treasonable misdemeanour. The legitimate and sure mode of communication between this nation and foreign powers is rendered uncertain, precarious and treacherous, by being divided into two channels, one with the government, one with the head of a party in opposition to that government, by which means the foreign powers can never be assured of the real authority or real validity of any public transaction whatsoever. On the other hand, the advantage taken of the discontent, which at that time prevailed in Parliament, and in the nation, to give to an individual an influence directly against the government of his country, in a foreign court, has made a highway into England for the intrigues of foreign courts in our affairs. This is a sore evil; an evil from which, before this time, England was more free than any other nation. Nothing can preserve us from that evil which connects cabinet factions abroad with popular factions here, but the keeping sacred the crown, as the only channel of communication with every other nation. This proceeding of Mr. Fox's has given a strong countenance, and an encouraging example, to the doctrines and practices of the revolution and constitutional societies, and of other mischievous societies of that description; who, without any legal authority, and even without any corporate capacity, are in the habit of proposing, and to the best of their power, of forming, leagues and alliances with France." The reception which this representative of Mr. Fox experienced at the court of St. Petersburgh, was of itself sufficient to prove that the nature of his instructions was highly agreeable to the Empress, and, of course, that the instructions were such as any subject of Great Britain should have been equally ashamed to dictate, to deliver, or to bear. Mr. Adair had always the post of honour assigned him, at the right hand of Catherine, whenever the British ambassador was present. The encouragement which this extraordinary mission afforded the Empress, made her persist in her claims on the Porte, and reject every proposal which the representative of the British monarch made her, in behalf of that power. The treaty of peace was concluded at Gralutz on the 11th of August, by which Russia acquired the important fortress of Oczakow, and all the country between the Boag and the Niester, with the free navigation of the latter river. The presents made to Mr. Adair, on this occasion, were more costly than those which were made to the King's representative.

which

which had been very riotous during the day, designed to attack his house in the night, he fled, in alarm, to his country house, at St. Ouen; and, when there, his fears were so strong, that he dared not go to bed, but wandered, till morning, in the neighbouring valley of Montmorenci. The next day, he sent a farewell letter to the assembly, and left Paris, on his way to Switzerland. In the course of the ensuing month, the King of France communicated to M. Bouillé the design he had formed, of quitting Paris, and retiring to one of the frontier towns, where he meant to collect around him such of his troops and subjects as still retained their fidelity. And in case other means should fail, to call in the assistance of his allies, for the restoration of order and tranquillity in the kingdom. The King declared, that with respect to this plan he acted in perfect concert with the Emperor, and his other allies, who insisted on his being at liberty before they took any steps in his favour. M. Bouillé declared himself totally adverse to the project, as fraught with danger, and probably with ruin. At the latter end of January, however, (1791) the King notified to M. Bouillé, that he hoped to accomplish his departure from Paris in the month of March or April.

On the 22d of January, following, the King of France communicated to the Assembly a letter from the Emperor of Germany, containing strong protestations of amity towards France; but intimating, that, to consolidate that friendship, the revocation of the decree of August 4, 1790, would be necessary; that all innovations in virtue of that decree be abolished, and matters put upon their ancient footing.* The Assembly immediately voted a large augmentation of military force, regardless of the intimation, that the Emperor had acted only in an official capacity, in conformity to the decrees of the diet.

On the 18th of April, his Majesty being on the point of setting out from Paris to the palace of St. Cloud, to pass the Easter festival, the royal carriage was stopped by an immense crowd, chiefly of the lowest rank, under the apprehension of an intended escape, and consequent counter-revolution. Notwithstanding the exertions of M. de la Fayette, who attended the King's person, and pledged himself for his security, he was finally compelled to return to the Thuilleries: and though, on a complaint of this insult to the Assembly, the president made a respectful apology to the King, it was not thought expedient to revive the design of visiting St. Cloud.

A transient but fallacious calm succeeded. In a declaration, signed by the Emperor Leopold at Mantua, May 20th, and immediately transmitted to Paris, information was conveyed to the King and Queen, "That the plan concerted for effecting a counter-revolution was in great forwardness, and that 100,000 troops, to be furnished by the several courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Turin, with the aid of the circles of the empire and the Swiss cantons, would be ready to enter France at the latter end of July, to act in conjunction with the regiments remaining loyal, the armed volunteers, and all the mal-contents of the provinces." On the night of the 20th of June, the King, Queen, Dauphin, and Princess Elizabeth, sister to the King, also the Count and Countess de Provence, suddenly disappeared, from the palace of the Thuilleries. Eluding the vigilance of the guard, Monsieur and Madame took the road to Mons; the rest of the royal family that of Montmedi. The King left behind him a paper, in which he formally revoked all his past declarations, as the effect of compulsory influence, prohibiting the ministers from signing any order, and enjoining the keeper of the seals to send them to him when required in his behalf. On the discovery of this event, the King's arms and effigies were taken down, and broken by the populace of Paris. A proclamation of the Assembly, however, soon restored order. The royal authority was formally suspended by a decree of the Assembly, and a provisional executive council appointed. The national guard were instantly in arms; and deputations from all the different public bodies appeared at the bar of the Assembly, with the strongest and firmest professions of patriotism and obedience. Almost immediately, however, it was announced that the King and Queen had been arrested in their progress, at a place called Varennes, near the frontier. They were quickly brought back to Paris, and again consigned to the palace of the Thuilleries. Their entrance into the metropolis, and their slow and mournful procession through the principal streets of the city, exposed to the scornful gaze and bitter taunts of the multitude, formed a spectacle deeply affecting. The Queen, whose morning and meridian way through life had been strewed with roses, and myrtles, now appeared to feel the fatal reverse of her fortune with exquisite sensibility; and perhaps, with a dark and dreadful foreboding of the future.

Commissioners from the Assembly having waited upon the King, to receive his written declaration respecting the late event, his Majesty asserted, "That he had no intention of leaving the kingdom, but meant merely to fix at Montmedi, till the vigour of government should be restored, and the constitution settled." It was said, that the King had long carried on a secret correspondence with M. Bouillé, governor of Metz, and commandant of the forces on the German frontier, who had sent a detachment to escort the King to Montmedi—a position to be maintained only by force, and whence, in case of necessity, he could easily retreat to the Austrian territory of Luxemburg. The accidental arrest of the King entirely disconcerted these measures; and M. de Bouillé made his escape into Germany, where he published a strong declaration against the Assembly.†

Some of the more violent members of the Assembly now proposed, that they should declare an abdication, and place the Dauphin on the throne. Milder and more moderate counsels, however, prevailed; and the King remained at the Thuilleries, vigilantly guarded, till the completion of the constitution. On the 3d of September, the "constitutional act" was presented to the King, who signified his acceptance of it in writing, September 13; and on the following day he appeared at the Assembly, introduced by a grand deputation of sixty members, to consecrate the assent he had given; concluding with an oath "to be faithful to the nation and to the law, and to employ the powers vested in him for the maintenance of the constitution." On the 30th of the same month, the Constituent National Assembly, as it was termed, after an uninterrupted session of two years and four months, terminated its existence, by a spontaneous dissolution.

* This was the decree which annihilated all feudal and seignorial rights, in the provisions of which several of the petty Princes of Germany, possessing fiefs in Lorraine and Alsace, were comprehended. So far as the right of property was affected by the decree, compensations had been offered by the Assembly, and by the Duke of Wirtemberg and Deux-ponts, the Princes of Lowenstein, Hohenloe, &c. actually accepted. Others, however, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation.

† The following letter was also dispatched to all the different courts of Europe, by the Emperor Leopold:—

"*Circular of Padua, issued July 6, 1791.*

"Before the King's acceptance of the constitution, France presents to Europe the spectacle of a legitimate King compelled by atrocious violence to fly, solemnly protesting against the concessions which had been extorted from him, and soon after arrested, and detained prisoner by the people. His imperial Majesty, therefore, invites the powers of Europe to declare:

"I. That they all regard the cause of his most Christian Majesty as their own.

"II. They demand that the King and his family may be instantly set at liberty, and that the inviolability and respect may be observed towards them, which the rights of nature and the institutions of man loudly call for from subjects towards their sovereigns.

"III. That they will unite for the purpose of inflicting dreadful vengeance, in case of any future restraint being imposed, or any farther indignity offered to the King or the royal family.

"IV. That they will acknowledge no laws to be established in France, unless sanctioned by the voluntary consent of the King in a state of perfect and absolute freedom.

"V. If these proposals are not acceded to by France, that they will employ every means in their power to put an end to the existence of the evil in France, and to prevent its spreading into their own dominions."

The French Revolution was this year again celebrated in England; particularly at Birmingham, where on the 14th of July, the celebrated Dr. Priestley, with a party of his political friends, to the number of ninety, had a public dinner at the Hotel. Previously to the meeting, a most inflammatory hand bill was circulated by some friend of the parties, whose zeal was evidently greater than his judgment.* As party spirit ran very high at Birmingham, as the Dissenters were numerous, and somewhat clamorous, and as the majority of the inhabitants were firmly attached to the church and to the King, such a hand-bill naturally excited a great fermentation in the town. A considerable number of persons assembled round the house at which Dr. Priestley and his friends were to meet, and hissed them as they entered. These symptoms of discontent induced the company to depart at a very early hour; and, after they were gone, the mob became riotous, and demolished all the windows in front of the house, notwithstanding the personal interposition of the magistrates. On the next day, Friday, July the 15th, the mob assembled in still greater numbers, and, there being no adequate force at hand to oppose them, became ungovernable. They destroyed Dr. Priestley's meeting house, and dwelling house, another meeting house, and several other houses belonging to Dissenters, in the town and neighbourhood. These disgraceful riots continued from the evening of Thursday to the evening of Sunday, when a party of light horse, who had marched with incredible rapidity, arrived at Birmingham, to the great joy of the inhabitants of every description. The mob then dispersed, all mischief ceased, tranquillity was restored, and some of the ring-leaders were secured. In an early part of the business, the magistrates had offered a hundred guineas reward for the discovery of the author of that inflammatory hand bill, which was the true cause of all those riotous proceedings. A greater reward was afterwards offered by government, for the same purpose, but without effect. The author was never discovered, so as to subject him to the punishment which he so richly deserved. The rioters, who were apprehended, were put on their trial, at the ensuing assizes, and two of them were executed. At Dr. Priestley's house, his philosophical apparatus, his library, and his manuscripts, were destroyed. The loss, of course, was considerable, and, in some respects, irreparable. The losses sustained by Dr. Priestley, as well as by the other sufferers, from those licentious outrages, were made good by the hundred, in the way which the law directs, and in which all similar losses are made good.† But the jury having made considerable deductions from the Doctor's estimate, he vented his complaints in a letter which he addressed to the people of Birmingham.‡

Previously to this period, societies had been formed, in different parts of the kingdom, upon the plan of the Revolution society; and, although they had not yet proceeded to those extremities to which they soon after had recourse, their avowed principles, and promulgated sentiments, were sufficient to arouse the government to vigilance, if not to fill them with alarm. A regular correspondence was carried on with the revolutionary societies in France, from which even delegates were sent to compliment the associated sons of French liberty in this country.

A. D. 1792.] The English Parliament assembled on the 31st of January, when the King announced "the marriage of his son the Duke of York with the Princess Frederica, daughter of the King of Prussia; and informed the two Houses that a treaty had been concluded, under his mediation and that of his allies, between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte, and preliminaries agreed upon between the latter of those powers and Russia. The general state of affairs in Europe, he said, promised a continuance of peace; and he was induced to hope for an immediate reduction of the naval and military establishments." On the 17th of February, Mr. Pitt exhibited an interesting picture of national prosperity. "The amount of the permanent revenue, with the land and malt duties annexed, from January 1791, to January 1792, he estimated at 16,730,000*l.* being 300,000*l.* more than the aggregate

* The following is a copy of the bill here alluded to:—

"*My Countrymen,*

"The second year of Gallic liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished, that every enemy to civil and religious despotism would give their sanction to the common cause, by a public celebration of the anniversary.

"Remember that on the 14th of July, the Bastile, that high altar and vastle of despotism, fell! Remember the enthusiasm, peculiar to the cause of liberty, with which it was attacked! Remember that generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of insulted rights, to spare the lives of oppressors! Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations, and let your members be collected, and sent as a free will offering to the National Assembly! But is it possible to forget that your own Parliament is venal, your ministers hypocritical, your clergy legal oppressors; the reigning family extravagant, the crown of a certain great personage becoming, every day, too weighty for the head that wears it, too weighty for the people that gave it; your taxes partial and oppressive; your representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of property, religion, and freedom? But, on the 14th of this month, prove to the sycophants of the day, that you reverence the Olive branch, that you will sacrifice to public tranquillity, till the majority shall exclaim, 'The peace of slavery is worse than the war of freedom!' of that day let tyrants beware!"

† In Cobbett's works, Vol. I. p. 157, we find the following account of the issue of Dr. Priestley's action for damages against the hundred. "The Doctor laid his damages at 4122*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* of which sum, 420*l.* 15*s.* was for works in manuscript, which," he said, "had been consumed in the flames. The trial of this cause took up nine hours; the jury gave a verdict in his favour, but curtailed the damages to 2502*l.* 18*s.*—It was rightly considered that the imaginary value of the manuscript works ought not to have been included in the damages, because, the Doctor being the author of them, he, in fact, possessed them still, and the loss could be little more than a few sheets of dirty paper. Besides, if they were to be estimated by those he had published for some years before, their destruction was a benefit, instead of a loss, both to himself and his country. The sum then of 420*l.* 15*s.* being deducted, the (alledged) damages stood 3701*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* and it should not be forgotten, that even a great part of this sum was charged for an apparatus of philosophical instruments, which, in spite of the most unpardonable gasconade of the philosopher, can be looked upon as a thing of imaginary value only, and ought not to be estimated at its cost, any more than a collection of shells, or insects, or any other of the frivola of a virtuoso."

‡ Dr. Joseph Priestley was born at Fieldhead in Yorkshire, in 1733, and educated in the academy of Daventry, under Dr. Ashworth. At the age of twenty-two he became assistant minister to the independent congregation of Needham market, in Suffolk, after which he was chosen pastor of a congregation at Nantwich, in Cheshire, where also he kept a school. In 1761 he removed to Warrington as tutor in the belles lettres in the academy there. His connection with that institution ended in 1768, when he accepted an invitation from the Dissenters at Leeds, where he published several theological works which attracted considerable notice and controversy. In 1770 he went to reside with the Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, as Librarian and Philosophical companion. In 1775, he published his examination of Dr. Reid, on the Human Mind; Dr. Beattie on Truth; and Dr. Oswald's Appeal to Common Sense; in which he treated those gentlemen with great ridicule and contempt. His Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit, printed in 1777, excited great surprise, even among the author's admirers, as therein he explicitly denied the soul's immateriality. At this time he also appeared as a champion for the doctrine of philosophical necessity, in which he had his friend Dr. Price for an opponent. While thus engaged in metaphysical and theological disputations, he pursued his philosophical enquiries with ardour, the result of which appeared in the Philosophical Transactions, and in separate publications, particularly his Experiments and Observations on Different kinds of Air, 2 vols. 8vo. The term of his engagement with Lord Shelburne having expired, Dr. Priestley, with a pension of 150*l.* a year, retired to Birmingham, where he became pastor of a congregation of Unitarian Dissenters, in 1780. He there published several of his works; as, Letters to Bishop Newcome on the Duration of Christ's Ministry, and the History of the Corruptions of Christianity, 2 vols. 8vo. This last brought him into a controversy with Dr. Horsley, since Bishop of St. Asaph. The history was also answered and refuted in the Monthly Review. Dr. Priestley, however, still persevered, and published his History of Early Opinions concerning the person of Christ. After the Birmingham riots, related above, Dr. Priestley retired to London, and for some time officiated to the congregation at Hackney, of which Dr. Price had been minister. He had also a situation in the dissenting college, at Hackney. But his mind being greatly soured by late events, he went to America in 1794, and settled at Northumberland, in the state of Pensylvania, where he died in 1804. Dr. Priestley was a fellow of the Royal Society, and of other learned bodies in different parts of the world. He lived to see his phlogistic system of chemistry universally exploded, yet he persisted in defending it to the last. He was also equally tenacious of his Socinianism, and had a controversy on the subject with Dr. Linn, of Philadelphia. His writings are too various to be enumerated. The principal and best are his Charts of History and Biography; his History of Electricity; the History and Present State of Discoveries relating to Vision, Light, and Colours; Lectures on the Theory and History of Language, and on the principles of Oratory and Criticism.

of

of the preceding year. The permanent expenditure, including the interest of the debt, the annual million applied towards its extinction, the civil list, and the military and naval establishments, he calculated at 15,810,000*l.* leaving a clear surplus of more than 900,000*l.* In this state of things he thought himself authorised to propose the repeal of a part of the more burdensome taxes, to the amount of about 200,000*l.* per annum; and at the same time to apply the sum of 400,000*l.* to the reduction of the national debt, in aid of the annual million appropriated by Parliament. This would still fall far short of his estimate of the national ability, and there was good ground to believe that we had not reached by many degrees the summit of our prosperity. When the debentures to the American loyalists should be discharged, which would happen in about four years, an addition of near 300,000*l.* would accrue to the revenue. In consequence of the general improvement of credit, the three per cents. would soon rise so high as to enable the Parliament to effect a reduction of the four, and, as soon as by law redeemable, of the five per cents. which would add the sum of 700,000*l.* or little less, to the sinking fund. The indefinite additions which might be expected from the increasing produce of the existing taxes, the result of our rapidly increasing commerce, must mock all calculation. Our exports had risen one-third in value since the year 1783, *i. e.* from 14,741,000*l.* to 20,120,000*l.* and our internal trade had increased in at least an equal proportion. Thus should we be enabled to make a swiftly accelerated progress in the essential work of liquidating the national debt, and in a very short space of time to reach a point, which, perhaps, not long since, was thought too distant for calculation. On the continuance of our present prosperity it was indeed impossible to count with certainty; but unquestionably there never was a time, when, from the situation of Europe, we might more reasonably expect a durable peace than at the present moment."

On the 2nd of April, in a committee on the slave-trade, Mr. Wilberforce moved, a second time, the question of abolition. Mr. Dundas, who had been advanced to the dignity of Secretary of State, by the resignation of the Duke of Leeds, recommended the adoption of a middle and moderate plan, such as would reconcile the interests of the West India islands with the eventual abolition of the trade; and moved, that the word "gradual" might be inserted, before "abolition."

Mr. Pitt declared his decided disapprobation of the amendment proposed by his right honourable friend; and conjured the House not to postpone even for an hour the great and necessary work of abolition. The amendment, however, was carried, by a majority of 68; on which Mr. Dundas moved, "that the importation of negroes into the British colonies should cease on the 1st of January, 1800." This, on the motion of Lord Mornington (now Marquis Wellesley) was, after great difficulty and debate, altered to January 1, 1796. A series of resolutions founded on this basis were then agreed to, and sent up for the concurrence of the Lords; where the Duke of Clarence, the third son of the King, commenced his Parliamentary career with a violent declamation against the abolition and its advocates. The Lord Chancellor moved, "that evidence be heard, not before a select committee, according to the proposition of Lord Grenville, but at the bar of the House." This motion having been carried, very little more was done in the business during the remainder of the session.

Mr. Fox's renewed motion, for a repeal of the Test Laws; and Mr. Whitbread's motion for an inquiry into the subject of the Birmingham riots, were subsequently negatived, by large majorities. The Libel Bill, however, introduced in the last session by Mr. Fox, and lost in the Lords, was this session triumphantly carried through both Houses, and passed into a law—notwithstanding the opposition of the law Lords, Thurlow, Kenyon, and Bathurst. A Bill introduced into the House of Peers by Lord Elgin, for the relief of the Scottish episcopalians, who had long been subject to heavy penalties on the ground of disaffection to the Revolution establishment, was also passed.

In addition to the political societies already noticed, it was thought proper, by many of the professed advocates of constitutional liberty, about this period, to institute a society under the name of the "Friends of the People," for the alledged purpose of effecting a reform in Parliament, on the principles formerly enforced by Mr. Pitt. About thirty members of Parliament, besides other persons of note, entered their names as members of this association. When Mr. Grey, one of the members, gave notice of his intention to move, in the course of the ensuing session, for an enquiry into the state of the representation, Mr. Pitt warmly declared "his total disapprobation of introducing, at a period so critical and dangerous as the present, a discussion of such difficulty and importance. This he affirmed was not a time for experiments; and if he was called upon either to risk this, or for ever to abandon all hopes of reform, he would say he had no hesitation in preferring the latter alternative. He saw with concern the gentlemen to whom he alluded, virtually united with others who professed the reform of abuses, and meant the subversion of government."—A royal proclamation was immediately afterwards issued against the public dispersion of all seditious writings, and against all illegal correspondences—exhorting the magistrates to vigilance, and the people to submission and obedience. The proclamation having been laid before the House of Commons, (May 25), and an address moved of approbation and support, it was opposed by Mr. Grey with much warmth, and the proclamation itself condemned in severe terms as a measure insidious and pernicious. The "diligent enquiry," said the opposition, "enjoined by the proclamation after the authors and distributors of 'wicked and seditious writings,' could only tend to establish an odious and arbitrary system of espionage. This was the system which had made the old government of France so much the object of general detestation, and it was a system unworthy of the sovereign of a free people to recommend. The real object of the proclamation was merely to discredit the late association in the view of the public." This Mr. Pitt explicitly disclaimed, and expressed his high respect for many of the members of the association in question, declaring "that he differed from them only in regard to the time, and mode which they had adopted for the attainment of their object. The association in question did not come within scope and purview of the proclamation, which was levelled against the daring and seditious principles which had been so assiduously propagated amongst the people, under the plausible and delusive appellation of the Rights of Man."—The address was finally carried, without a division, and, receiving the concurrence of the Upper House, was presented in form to the throne. It was followed by addresses from all parts of the kingdom: and the ministry commenced prosecutions against a number of offenders, amongst whom Thomas Paine stood most conspicuous. Notwithstanding the professional ability of Mr. Erskine, as his advocate, he was found guilty of the charge; but foreseeing the probability of this event, he had effected his escape to France.

The trial of Mr. Hastings occupied twenty-two days of the present session. The attention of Parliament, towards the close of the session, was also drawn to the situation of India.*

On the 15th of June, Parliament was prorogued; his Majesty

* From the peace of Mangalore, concluded with Tippoo Saib in 1784, the power of that prince had been very formidable. He was devotedly attached to the interests of France, to which country he had, soon after that event, sent a splendid embassy. France, however, was now occupied with other and greater objects, and Tippoo might be safely punished for his perfidies and oppressions. The Dutch East India company had, in the last century, conquered from the Portuguese two forts, serving as advanced posts to their favourite settlement of Cochin, and situated within the territory of Mysore, called Cranganore and Acotah, to which Hyder Ally had formerly advanced

Majesty expressing "his great concern at the actual commencement of hostilities in different parts of Europe, assuring them that his principle care would be to preserve to his people the uninterrupted blessings of peace." It is proper, also, to remark, that as soon as it was known that there was a war on the continent, a proclamation was published by the King, prohibiting all his subjects from taking any part in it, by accepting commissions from either party, fitting out privateers or letters of marque, by virtue of such commission, or serving on board any ship of war belonging to one of the belligerent powers, against the other.*

At

advanced pretensions. These they had recently disposed of by purchase to the Rajah of Travancore, an ally of the English company. Tippoo Saib, resenting the conduct of the Dutch, who had refused to listen to proposals from him, and affirming that the Rajah had no right to make any such purchase within the limits of his territory, without his consent, as sovereign of Mysore, marched a considerable military force, in the summer of 1789, against Cranganore, with a professed intent to reduce it to his dominion. The conduct of the Rajah, in making the purchase in question, on so precarious and invidious a title, was severely censured by the government of Madras; and Mr. Holland, the president, warned him to desist from his ambitious designs. On the farther advance of Tippoo and his army, at the close of the year, into the territory of Travancore, he received, however, a strong remonstrance from the British presidency; and, in consequence of the powerful mediation thus interposed, Tippoo withdrew his troops, though still asserting his claim to the feudal sovereignty of the forts, and offering to submit his pretensions to any impartial arbitration. On the first of May, 1790, however, the Rajah, relying, on the support of the superior presidency of Bengal, made an attack on the army of Tippoo; and the war having thus commenced, the English government felt itself bound to defend its ally. This the Company were the better enabled to do, not merely from their knowledge of the state of France, but from the treaties they had actually formed with the Nizam of the Decan and the Mahratta states, for the express purpose of humbling the power of Mysore. The grand Carnatic army immediately assembling, under the command of General Meadows, marched through the southern or Coimbetore country, and, penetrating the Ghauts, or passes of the mountains, advanced towards the city of Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. On the western side, the Bombay army, under General Abercrombie, after reducing Cannanore and several other places on the coast, entered the kingdom of Mysore. The Sultan defending himself with great resolution, and no mean display of military skill, General Meadows found himself under the necessity of retreating to the vicinity of Madras; where, in December (1790), Lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the army in person. A grand effort was now resolved on to force a passage to Seringapatam, through the country westward of Madras. On the 21st of March, 1791, the important town of Bangalore was taken by storm, with little loss on the part of the British, but with a dreadful carnage of the unresisting garrison. On the 13th of May, the army, by extraordinary exertions, arrived in sight of the superb capital of Mysore, defended by the Sultan in person; and on the next day an action took place, in which Tippoo was defeated. The swelling of the Cavery, however, in an island formed by the branches of which Seringapatam is situated, with the want of provisions, compelled Lord Cornwallis to commence his retreat to Bangalore, almost before his victory could be announced. General Abercrombie, who had advanced through the Ghauts on the opposite side, with a view to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis, was now also obliged to lead back his army, over the mountains they had lately passed. In the interim, the troops of the Nizam and the Mahrattas kept aloof, leaving the burden of the war almost entirely to the British. The ensuing campaign, for which Lord Cornwallis had made unremitted preparations, opened early in February, 1792. The eastern and western armies, resuming their former plan of operations, effected, before the end of the month, a junction under the walls of Seringapatam; and the forces of the Peishwa and of the Nizam, encamped also at a small distance, and furnished to the British army a plentiful supply of stores and provisions. On the 7th of February a general attack was made by moon-light, the troops marching in grand and awful silence to their respective posts, on the lines of the Sultan, which was attended with very important effects—Tippoo being compelled to relinquish his former advantageous position, which covered his capital; and Seringapatam was, in consequence of this defeat, closely and completely invested. The situation of Tippoo being now almost hopeless, he thought proper to send a vakeel to the camp of Lord Cornwallis to sue for peace; which the British General granted on the hard terms,

1. Of his ceding one half of his dominions to the allied powers.

2. Of paying three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification for the expences of the war.

3. The release of all prisoners; and,

4. The delivery of two of his sons as hostages for the due performance of the treaty.

On the 26th of February, the Princes, each mounted on an elephant magnificently caparisoned, proceeded to the British camp, where they were received by Lord Cornwallis with all possible demonstrations of kindness and affection. The eldest, Abdul Kalic, was about ten; the younger, Mirzaud-Deen, about eight years of age. The Princes were attired in white muslin robes, with red Turbans richly adorned with pearls, and they conducted themselves with a politeness and propriety which astonished the spectators. On the 19th of March the definitive treaty, signed by the Sultan, was delivered by the young Princes, with great solemnity, into the hands of Lord Cornwallis; but the sums specified in the second article not being actually paid, the Princes still remained under the safeguard and custody of his Lordship.

* The second National Assembly of France met October 1, 1791. By an act of gross absurdity, most pernicious in its consequences, the late Assembly had decreed that no person should be eligible to two successive legislatures. The present Assembly was consequently destitute of the experience, talents, and integrity of the former,; and, having been chosen at a period when the national rage was at the highest pitch, they were of a much more republican complexion. The opening speech of the King was received with applause: and the president expressed the united wish of the Assembly to comply with the benevolent and patriotic views of the King. But this fair prospect was soon overcast. By the King's desire, on the acceptance of the Constitutional Act, a decree of indemnity had passed respecting the emigrants, without any exception, on the condition of their returning to their country within a limited time. The agent, however, deputed on this commission to the refuge princes at Coblentz, in the electorate of Treves, was not only treated with contempt and insult, but actually imprisoned, on pretence of his want of passports. In consequence of this outrage, and of the continuance of the hostile preparations of the emigrants, a decree passed the Assembly early in November, 1791, declaring Prince Louis Stanislaus Xavier to have forfeited, in case he do not return to the kingdom in two months, his eventual claim to the throne; and, by a subsequent decree, the Assembly pronounced the French hostilely assembled on the frontier guilty of a conspiracy against their country, in case they did not return before the 1st of January, 1792; incurring thereby the forfeiture of their estates during their lives, but without prejudice to their children. On the 18th of November a severe decree passed the Assembly against the nonjuring clergy, who were accused, of seditious and incivic practices. To both these decrees the King opposed his veto. In the mean time, the emigrants armed at Coblentz, and a political crisis evidently approached. The Assembly addressed the King to take effectual measures to prevent the dangers which menaced the country; and the King, in reply, assured the Assembly, that the Emperor had done all that could be expected from a faithful ally, by forbidding and dispersing all assemblages of emigrants within his states: he had also acquainted the elector of Treves, that if he did not before the 15th of January, put a stop to all hostile dispositions, he should be obliged to consider him as the enemy of France.

It subsequently appeared, that, on the 24th of August, 1791, the Emperor Leopold, the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Saxony, had met at the castle of Pilnitz, in Lusatia, belonging to the Elector, where they remained to the 28th. On the 27th, the Emperor delivered the following declaration to the Count d'Artois, who assisted at the conferences, and who had, in the month of May preceding, been admitted to a personal interview with the Emperor at Mantua.—"His Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, having heard the desires and representations of Monsieur and of his Royal Highness the Count d'Artois, declare jointly that they regard the situation in which his Majesty the King of France actually is as an object of common interest to all the Sovereigns of Europe. They hope that this concern cannot fail to be acknowledged by the powers whose assistance is claimed; and that in consequence they will not refuse to employ jointly with their said Majesties the most efficacious means, in proportion to their forces, to place the King of France in a state to settle, in the most perfect liberty, the foundations of a monarchical government, equally suitable to the rights of Sovereigns and the welfare of the French. Then, and in that case, their said Majesties are decided to act quickly, and with one accord, with the forces necessary to obtain the common end proposed. In the mean time they will give suitable orders to their troops, that they may be ready to put themselves in motion." This paper was signed by the Emperor and King, whose project was, to form a league between all the powers of Europe, to surround France on every side with their armies; and then to publish a manifesto requiring the French government to restore the King and royal family to their liberty, to re-instate his Majesty in his dignity, and to re-establish the monarchy on a solid basis and upon reasonable principles. Threats of an invasion and an attack upon all points were to be held out, and to be executed in case of refusal. The Emperor declared to M. Bouille "that the sanction extorted from the King of France to the new constitution was of no validity, and would permit his Majesty to retract all he had done." That nobleman was requested to bring with him to Pilnitz a plan for the disposition and operation of the foreign armies upon the different parts of the French frontier; which, having completed, he submitted to the previous inspection of the council of princes at Coblentz, by whom it was approved. The Kings of Sweden, Spain, and Sardinia had also engaged to co-operate; the latter, by an invasion of the southern provinces; and his Catholic Majesty had agreed to advance fifteen millions of livres tournois towards the expense of a Swedish expedition. In consequence of the acceptance of the constitutional act by the French monarch; he, however, had written a circular letter to the powers whom he had invited to confederate, proposing to suspend the efforts of the league; and it was agreed between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, according as circumstances should determine, either to make the claims of the German princes in Alsace a subject of negotiation, or a pretext for war. But the popularity of the King of France had now vanished never to return. Addresses were presented to the Assembly from every quarter of the kingdom, indicating their dissatisfaction with the court. The republican party gained great strength; and forming themselves into a club, or society, assembling at the convent of the Jacobine Friars, recently dissolved, they acquired the then popular but since infamous appellation of Jacobins. The friends of monarchy, on the other hand, had, from a similarity of circumstances, obtained the name of Feuillants.

At this period, France was not the only European state which attracted the notice of the political observer. In Poland, a country always bordering on a state of anarchy, and subject to the undue influence of the neighbouring powers, the efforts of a patriotic King, and of a nobility and clergy, prepared to make every sacrifice for the promotion of the public welfare, were rendered abortive when executed for the laudable end of meliorating the condition of every class of people, by the unjust and unwarrantable interference of Prussia, and Russia. The latter power, in particular, whose ambition carried her to the most unjustifiable lengths, assumed a tone of command, and a conduct correspondent therewith, utterly incompatible with the independence of the state to which it was addressed. The alterations which the Poles made, in the internal government of their country, affected only themselves, and were adopted with the free consent of all the parties who had authority to adopt them. They were the result of no arbitrary assumption of power, either by the King, or by any class of his subjects; but were the friends of the combined and deliberative wisdom of the constitutional representatives of the nation, and were not, in any degree, calculated, either by their influence or

---

Warlike preparations continued to be made by the German powers; and the correspondence between the courts of Paris and Vienna being laid before the National Assembly on the 2d of March, it appeared that the Imperial troops in the Netherlands would shortly amount to 90,000 men. The dispatch of Prince Kaunitz (February 17) avowed the concert which had been formed with other powers for preserving unimpaired the monarchy of France. The Assembly, irritated by this intelligence, precipitately, and without any investigation of facts, impeached M. de Lessart, the King's Minister, for criminal concealment and unconstitutional practices; and that gentleman was succeeded by the celebrated M. Dumouriez. On the 1st of March, died suddenly, of a malignant fever, the Emperor Leopold II. He was scceeded by his son Francis II. under the title of King of Hungary: he was, after a short interval, elected Emperor of the Romans. This event produced not the least change in the system of continental policy. Scarcely was the new monarch seated on his throne, when he communicated to the court of Berlin his determination strictly and literally to adhere to the terms of the treaty or convention of Pilnitz. The negociation proceeded slowly and heavily. At length, the French ambassador, M. Noailles, was ordered to require from the Imperial court a distinct specification of its ultimate objects. The reply was contained in a short note from M. Cobentzel, stating the conditions of peace to be the re-establishment of the monarchy on the basis of the royal session of Louis XVI. held June 23, 1789. All hope of reconciliation being now at an end, war was, in conformity with a message from the King, on the 20th of April, formerly declared against Austria. About this time, a letter was written by the King of France to the King of England, expressing his obligations to his Britannic Majesty for his impartial conduct, and making eager advances to the formation of a treaty of amity and alliance. To this letter an answer was returned (July 8) after an interval of twenty days; intimating that, "In the existing circumstances of the war now begun, the intervention of his Britannic Majesty's councils or of his good offices, could not be of use unless they should be desired by all the parties interested." War having been declared, the National Assembly published an address, which tended not a little to inflame the minds of the people, and infuse a martial spirit into the nation. This address was immediately succeeded by offers of voluntary contributions from numerous classes of society, and demands from some of them to be sent to the posts of the greatest danger, "in order that Kings, their valets, and princes, might know the men of the 14th of July." The next concern of the Assembly was to provide a sufficient force for the exigencies of the state; and for this purpose a vote was passed, by which it was enacted, that the army should be increased to 450,000 men, and that a sum of money amounting to 300,000,000 livres, in government paper, called assignats, should be placed at the disposal of ministers, to support and uphold that large military establishment. The command of the French army destined to act against Germany consisted of three separate bodies of troops, extending from Switzerland to Dunkirk, and was confided to three commanders of approved talents. The Marshal Rochambeau, who had acquired renown in the seven year's war, commanded an army of from 30 to 35,000 men in the north, and took up his head quarters at Valenciennes, having under his command d'Arville, Biron, Delbeck, and D'Aumont. The Marquis de la Fayette, commanded the army of the centre, and while he occupied Nancy, Thionville, and Luneville, established his head-quarters at Mentz, having at his disposal an army of 20,000 men, and under his command De Wittgenstein, De Bellemont, Crillon, Parquet, and Defranc. While the army of the Rhine, consisting of 50,000 men, was placed under the command of Marshal Luckner, a foreigner, extending itself from Landau to the frontiers of Switzerland, and in which army Berthier, Lameth, and Jary had subordinate stations. On the 1st of May, General Dillon, with a force consisting of ten squadrons of cavalry, marched from Lisle towards Tournay; this force was opposed by a body of Austrians under Count d'Happencourt, and the French troops, unaccustomed to sustain the fire of regular soldiers, were soon thrown into disorder. Their general did what he could to rally them, but in vain. Struck with an universal panic, the whole body fled precipitately, and were pursued to the gates of Lisle. No sooner had General Dillon entered that city, than he was murdered by his fugitive soldiers, and his dead body torn in pieces by the mob, under pretence of his having betrayed his troops to the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Berthois, of the engineers, shared the same fate, and the surviving officers were stigmatized as "aristocrats." On the same day another expedition, consisting of ten thousand men, under Lieutenant General Biron, directed their march towards Mons.—They took possession of Quievrain without opposition; but when they arrived in sight of Mons, they found the heights before the city occupied by a considerable body of Austrians. This determined Biron to wait for news of the attack upon Tournay, before he proceeded to action. But a part of his right wing were attacked about five o'clock in the evening by the Austrians, whom they repulsed.

Notwithstanding this success, two regiments of his cavalry mounted their horses, without orders, about ten o'clock, and moved off to the left of the camp. The general observing this, rode after them alone and unarmed. But they being on a quick trot, carried him along with them for more than a league:—nor could he procure a hearing, while they all cried out that they were betrayed. At length, however, they were prevailed with to listen to him, and he succeeded so far as to bring them all back to the camp, except about forty or fifty, who proceeded to Valenciennes, reporting that the whole army was betrayed by their general, who had deserted to the Austrians. Next morning, which was the 30th of April, Biron having been informed of the failure of Dillon, began his retreat; and leaving a part of his army to keep possession of Quievrain, he led the rest to a camp which he had formerly occupied in that neighbourhood. The party who had been left in Quievrain were soon driven thence by a body of Hulans. Biron, finding his camp not tenable, while the enemy was in possession of that place, determined to attempt the recovery of it, which he effected. But not being able to keep it without reinforcements, he was obliged to give it up; and leaving his camp and his whole train of artillery to the enemy, he retreated with the utmost precipitation to Valenciennes. In this expedition the French lost a number of men, by hunger and fatigue, as well as by the sword of their opponents. A third expedition consisted only of fourteen hundred infantry, and two hundred and fifty horse, under the command of M. Carl. These presented themselves before Furnes; and upon their declaring that they came not to make war upon the Flemings, but to treat them as brethren, the magistrates offered them the keys of their gates. But the failure of the general plan obliged Carl also to retreat: and he arrived at Dunkirk without effecting any thing of importance. La Fayette, who had the command of the main army, had orders to proceed to Givet, where he was to be on the 30th of the month; and they, with the other armies under Dillon, Biron, and Rochambeau, were to form a general rendezvous in the heart of the Austrian Netherlands. La Fayette having collected a train of seventy-eight pieces of cannon, sent it off with a large convoy, under the command of M. Narbonne, who marched fifty-six leagues in the space of five days; himself followed with the rest of the army, and arrived on the day appointed; but the failure of Dillon and Biron rendered this expedition also in a great measure abortive, though La Fayette continued to keep his ground. The Austrian army, on the contrary, was a considerable time before they were able to act on the offensive, and it was not till the 17th of May that they made an attack upon Bavai, and took the garrison prisoners. As soon as the French were informed of this, M. Noailles was sent against them with a van-guard of cavalry, accompanied by Marshal Luckner himself.—Mashal Rochambeau followed with a body of infantry to support him; but before their arrival, the Austrians had retreated, carrying with them a considerable quantity of forage, which seems to have been their principal object. In the month of June, the armies of France made some progress in the Netherlands. They obtained possession of Courtenay, Ypres, Menin, and some other places of less importance. But they did not long enjoy these conquests. Being informed that the Austrians and Prussians were bearing down upon them in two columns, with a force much superior to their own, they retreatad to Valenciennes and Givet.

At this time, the French cabinet was distracted by angry contests, which terminated in the resignation of Marshal Rochambeau, the commander-in-chief of the northern army, and of M. de Grave, the minister for the war department; the former of whom was succeeded by Luckner, and the latter by Servan. The determination of the king not to give the royal assent to the decree for embodying 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris, and his refusal to discard his confessor, who had refused to recognize the new order of things, produced an intemperate letter from Roland to his majesty, which led not only to his removal from the cabinet, but also to the dismissal of Servans and Clavieres; and after some other changes, they were succeeded by a new administration of the Feuillant party.

In the mean time, a great change had taken place in the public mind in Paris, and the conduct of the King had given rise to suspicions, which the dismission of Roland, one of the Girondists, or Brissotins, had tended considerably to increase. On the 20th of June, the suburbs of St. Antoinie were perceived to be in commotion: and one Santerre, a brewer, who placed himself at the head of the mob, produced a petition to the King for the dismission of the new administration, and the withdrawing of the veto, by means of which he had been persuaded to suspend the execution of several decrees. An immense multitude then commenced their march, armed with pikes, preceded by two pieces of cannon, and accompanied by a crowd of women. "Tremble, tyrant, thy hour is come!" was the murderous threat displayed on one of their banners; and a reeking heart, stuck on a pike, inscribed, "The heart of an Aristocrat," affording a convincing proof of the disposition to carry such a threat into execution. Increasing as they advanced, they at length reached the assembly,

or example, to excite commotions in the neighbouring states, or to afford any reasonable ground of offence or uneasiness to their rulers. There existed, therefore, no pretext for interference, except what arose out of views too unjust to acknowledge, and out of designs too dishonourable to reveal. The principal change thus effected in the constitution of Poland, was the substitution of an hereditary for an elective monarchy; a change highly favourable to the national independence constitutional stability, and social order. The destined successor of Stanislaus was the Elector of Saxony, a Prince to whom no national objection could be raised by any one. The King communicated the result of this bloodless revolution to the Emperor Leopold, and to the King of Prussia, both of whom expressed their general approbation of the event, and their particular congratulations on the wise choice which had been made of a successor. The Empress of Russia, however, indignant of every attempt to remove the shackles which she had imposed on this devoted country, openly expressed her high displeasure at the presumption of its King, and its representatives, in their resolution to assert their own independence,

assembly, and having halted some time, deputed a few persons to require permission to present their homage, and file through its hall. They then proceeded to the palace, which was shut; but they soon forced their way, in spite of every opposition, and arrived in the presence of his Majesty, to whom they read their petition.—Louis XVI. exhibited on this occasion a degree of courage, which had been supposed wholly incompatible with his character; neither the threats nor howlings of this insolent mob could prevail upon him to alter his intentions, or withdraw his veto; but he was under the necessity of wearing the red cap, the symbol of the jacobins, which was placed on his head by the hands of a man inebriated with liquor, and ejaculating the most terrible oaths. At length, in consequence of a long and animated speech, delivered by Vergniaux, who placed himself on the shoulders of one of the mob, and a few words from Petion, Mayor of Paris, the populace was persuaded to retire. This visit to the Thuilleries was but a prelude to one far more terrible; for though the Girondists, who only wished for a popular administration, always exhibited a laudable aversion to the shedding of blood; yet it was otherwise with the Robespierrean party, their rivals, who now began to display a degree of ferocity hitherto unexampled in any age or country. On the 14th of July, the day of the federation, when Louis approached the altar to renew his oath, a thousand tongues denounced him as a perjured prince; and it was with some difficulty that the Swiss guards, and the national grenadiers could insure his safety, amidst the immense and exasperated crowd which surrounded him. Brissot, Vergniaux, and the other popular leaders, repeatedly invoked the assembly to depose him; but the jacobins, in conformity to the violence of their character, were for recurring to more desperate measures.

On the 29th of April a declaration of war against France, had been promulgated in the names of Maria Christina Princess Royal of Hungary and Bohemia, and Albert Casimir, Prince Royal of Poland and Lithuania, the Governor-General of the Austrian Low Countries. This proclamation was followed, on the 5th of July, by a counter-declaration against France, on the part of Francis II. King of Hungary and Bohemia; and on the 26th of the same month, Frederic-William II. published a concise exposition of the reasons which determined Prussia to take up arms against France. It was at this crises, that the armies of the allied sovereigns, amounting to 80,000 of the best troops in Europe, accompanied by a formidable band of expatriated nobles, were about to enter France under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, a leader who had served with distinguished reputation under Frederic the Great, and who had gained fresh laurels by the sudden conquest of Holland. On the arrival of the Duke at Coblentz, with the first division of his army, he was proclaimed Generalissimo, and on the 25th of July, he put forth a manifesto, explanatory of the reasons which actuated the alled sovereigns in taking up arms against France, and pointing out the line of conduct which would be pursued by the invading army towards that nation. Such of them as are found in arms against the troops of the allied powers are threatened to be punished as rebels to their King, and destroyers of the public tranquillity; and the city of Paris, in case the King, Queen, and royal family, are not immediately set at liberty, is menaced with the horrors of military execution, with avenging punishments and total destruction. Speaking of the arrest as Varrennes, the manifesto declares, "that the King was obliged to return to Paris, there to be suspended from his authority by a decree of the usurping assembly—as if any power on earth had the right of passing so infamous and odious a sentence. To regain his power, the King signed an acceptance of the constitution: but his hands was in chains, and the act which he performed was invalid. All powers, filled with indignation at this horrid spectacle, had already concerted measures for avenging the honour of the diadem. His late imperial Majesty, Leopold II. by his circular letter, written from Padua, inviting all the powers of Europe to form a confederation for this purpose. The Convention of Pilnitz determined those circumstances which made their Imperial and Prussian Majesties have recourse to arms."

It was not doubted that the King had authorized the use thus made of his name, and matters were almost immediately brought to a crisis. On the 3d of August, M. Petion, at the head of the sections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, to demand the decheance or dethronement of the King. A petition of the same tenor was presented by a countless multitude on the 6th, and the Assembly had appointed the 10th of August to decide upon this grand question; but the discussion was dreadfully anticipated. Early on the morning of that day, the palace of the Thuilleries was attacked by the Parisian populace; and, being valiantly defended by the Swiss guards, whose first volley covered the Place de Carousel with dead bodies, a most bloody conflict took place, which terminated in the total defeat and destruction of the guards, and the complete triumph of the Parisians. The King at the commencement of the engagement had retreated across the gardens of the Thuilleries, with the Queen, to the hall of the assembly, who continued there sitting in the midst of this unexampled scene of terror and confusion, and the incessant noise of musketry and cannon. All freedom of deliberation was now at an end. A decree now passed without debate, declaring the executive power suspended, and summoning a national convention to meet on the 20th of September. The King and Queen meanwhile were committed close prisoners to the temple. A justificatory declaration of the measure of suspension was published by the Assembly, concluding with these words: "We have discharged our duty in seizing with courage on the only means of preserving liberty that occurred to our consideration; we shall be spared remorse at least; nor shall we have to reproach ourselves with having seen a means of saving our country and not having embraced it." On the following day a new provisional executive council was appointed, consisting of Roland, Servan, and Claviere, dismissed by the King; to whom was added M. le Brun, as minister of foreign affairs. M. Luckner, M. Dumouries, now acting in the capacity of general in the army, and the other commanders, submitted with readiness to the authority of the Assembly. La Fayette alone attempted resistance; but, finding himself wholly unsupported by his troops, he was obliged to make a precipitate escape. Being intercepted in his flight, and delivered up to the Prussians, he was committed close prisoner to the fortress of Magdeburg, and treated with uncommon severity.(a)

The combined armies in the mean time made a rapid and alarming progress. The town of Longwy surrendered on the 21st of August, and in a few days afterwards that of Verdun. The country was now prounced to be in danger; notwithstanding which, the National Assembly declared war against the King of Sardinia, who had given repeated proofs of his attachment towards the royal family.

Subsequently to the deposition of the King, the prisons had been

(a) M. P. J. R. Y. G. Motier, Marquis de la Fayette, so distinguished in the annals of the French Revolution, was born in Auvergne, and descended from an ancient family. He was educated in the college of Louis le Grand, at Paris, and received a commission in the Mousquetaires; soon after which he married a lady of the family of Noailles. When only nineteen, he repaired to America, where he acquired considerable reputation by his military achievements. When the French Revolution occurred, La Fayette prepared to act a distinguished part. In 1789 he became a member of the states-general, as a deputy from the nobility of Riom, in Auvergne; he had already been a member of the notables, in 1789, and his attack on the administration of Calonne is said to have contributed to the downfal of that minister. He was the first to propose to the national assembly a plan for a "declaration of rights," and after the recal of Neckar, was unanimously elected commander-in-chief of the national guards. In this capacity he presided at the grand confederation on the 14th of July, as the generalissimo of a greater body of troops, perhaps, than had ever been commanded by any other man since the days of Xerxes. No sooner was the constitution organized, than he resigned his power, and retired to one of his family estates, whence he did not return until a war against Austria had been resolved upon. He was at that period a major-general, but soon obtained the rank of lieutenant-general, and finally that of marshal of France, with a red-rib-band.—Having been invested with the command of the armies of the Meuse and the Moselle, he left his head-quarters soon after the 20th of June, 1792, on purpose to complain of the indignities to which the King had been exposed in the course of that day. Subsequently to this period he expressed his abhorrence of the catastrophe of the 10th of August, and his determination to support the "nation, the law, and the King;" but a decree of accusation being at length voted against him, he was forsaken by his troops, and deemed it prudent to seek an asylum in a foreign land.—Being seized, though on neutral ground, he was considered in the light of a prisoner of war, and conveyed to Luxembourg, where he was exposed to the emigrants, who saw in him one of the prime authors of the Revolution. He was afterwards delivered up to the King of Prussia, who caused him to be removed to Wesel, and afterwards to Magdebourg, where he remained a year in a dungeon; but when Prussia made peace with France, the prisoner was restored to the Austrians, who sent him to Olmutz, where he was treated with still more rigour than at Magdebourg. A long illness however, compelled the physicians to request that his captivity might be mitigated, and then Dr. Bollman and the young Huger, the son of the man with whom La Fayette had originally lived in America, executed the bold project of having him carried off, when he was led out to take the air; but eight leagues from Olmutz he was re-taken and confined more strictly than before, which increased his illness, and during the severe illness of 1794, he was without light, and even without linen, but at the end of the year 1795, his wife and daughters obtained permission to share his captivity. At last, after three years and five months of imprisonment, he obtained his liberty in August, 1797, at the repeated request of the directory, and of General Buonaparte. He then withdrew to Hamburgh; and afterwards returned to France to his estate in Auvergne, which was restored to him.

filled

pendence, to consult their own happiness, and to act for themselves. The rebellious nobles of Poland, who would not submit to a curtailment of their own power for the general good, she assembled around her in the capital of her empire. Nothing could exceed the wisdom, temperance, and judgment displayed by Stanislaus throughout the whole of these events. He encouraged the timid, he restrained the violent, he was the first to make sacrifices, and the last to claim privileges or power. But the arrival of a minister plenipotentiary from France, a M. Descorches, who was lately the Marquis de St. Croise, but who seemed to have lost his honour with his titles, gave courage to the few violent and factious men at Warsaw, who wished to avail themselves of the present disposition to change, in order totally to subvert the constitution, and to introduce a new order of things after the French. The prudence of the King, however, defeated their efforts, in a great degree, though, through their influence, one measure was carried, which gave great disgust to the nobility; this was the sale of the stanosties, or fiefs, of the crown, by which the power, both of the crown and of the aristocracy, was considerably abridged. The new constitution was confirmed by the Dictines, which assembled in the spring of 1792. The popular voice was decidedly in its favour. Nothing, therefore, was wanting to insure its stability, but the support, or even acquiescence, of the neighbouring states. But, before the commencement of the year 1792, a material change had taken place in the situation of Europe, and in the sentiments of Austria and Prussia. The rapid progress of French principles had excited a well founded alarm in the minds of all the continental powers. The Emperor of Germany, and the King of Prussia, were the first to express their apprehensions of the rising danger, and the Empress of Russia had lately warned her subjects, emphatically and successfully, against the fatal contagion. These apprehensions had led the two first of these powers to dread any, and every, change, in the constitutions of adjoining states, to regard the cry of liberty as the watchword of insurrection; and, consequently, to extend their fears to the late revolution in Poland, which, till now, they had viewed with a favourable eye. The Imperial Catherine, who, in her late proclamation against French principles, had artfully asserted, that they "would soon ruin Poland," would have been equally hostile to the new Polish constitution, if the French Revolution had never occurred. Every thing which tended to give stability and permanence to the government of that unhappy country; and, consequently, every thing which went to establish its perfect independence on foreign Potentates, was certain to incur the most marked opposition on the part of the Empress, because they were calculated to disappoint her ambitious hopes, and to frustrate her unprincipled plans of conquest and aggrandizement. Her hatred of French principles was natural, but she afforded not the smallest proofs of its sincerity; for, while she anxiously stimulated other powers to take up arms against France, she never contributed, herself, a single man, or a single ruble to the support of that cause which she affected to have so much at heart. But Catherine had too much sagacity not to perceive, that the new constitution of Poland differed, most essentially and radically, from the revolution in France, in every one of its features, in its object, its end, its means, and its principle. Her dread, therefore, of the effects of French principles, in Poland, was assumed, for the purpose of giving a colour to the most unjust and tyrannical interference in the internal concerns of an independent state, which unprincipled despotism ever enforced or attempted. She had long resolved that Poland should not be free, should not be independent; and she now determined to destroy, by force, what, in vain, she assailed by argument. On the 18th of May, her Envoy, at the court of Poland, Mr. Non Bulgakow delivered a declaration to the Diet, by order of his Sovereign, couched in the most insolent and most insulting terms. Catherine did not scruple to make the partial change in their own constitution, without consulting her pleasure, the subject of complaint and reproach to the Poles. The advocate for monarchy in France, she did not blush to avow herself the champion of republicanism in Poland; an absolute sovereign herself; she did not hesitate to reprobate the union of power in one single hand as utterly incompatible with republican principles." In possession of an hereditary throne, she dared to tax, as an audacious violation of the laws, the conversion of the elective throne of Poland, into an hereditary throne; and, lastly, while she punished, with the most rigorous severity, every reflection of her subjects upon her own government, she openly encouraged the seditious and rebellious Poles, and appealed from the lawful rulers of the state to the people! In short, a more flagrant, outrageous, and unprincipled interference with the internal polity of a foreign state, history does not exhibit. In this declaration, too, which it is impossible to characterize in terms of adequate strength, she accused all those

---

filled with persons accused or suspected of disaffection to the existing government; and, a sort of phrenzy seizing the populace on the unexpected approach of the Duke of Brunswick, the prisons were forced open on the night of the 2d of September, and a most inhuman and infamous massacre of the prisoners took place. It is said that, application being made on this occasion to M. Danton, minister of Justice, to interpose his authority, in order to put a stop to these detestable enormities, he replied, "When the people have done their part, I will perform mine." A considerable number of persons, confined at Orleans for various state offences, being brought to Versailles, by order of the Assembly, for trial, were met by the same band of assassins at their arrival, (September 3.) and put indiscriminately to the sword—the military escort regarding the bloody scene as passive spectators, while the inhabitants of Versailles stood stupified with horror. Amongst these victims of madness and anarchy were the ex-ministers Montmorin and De Lessart, and M. de Brissac, commandant of the King's life-guards. On the 20th of September the National Convention met at Paris, and a decree was immediately passed by acclamation for the eternal abolition of royalty in France. It was now the fate of the allied armies to experience a severe reverse. Of the five passes of the forest of Argonne, those of Croix-aux-Bois and Chene Popnleux to the eastward, were, after many ineffectual attempts, forced by General Clairfait; on which General Dumouriez abandoned the important defile of Grand-Pre, to avoid being inclosed, and after a series of admirable manœuvres retreated without loss to the strong camp of St. Menehould. The passes of Chalade and Islettes, on the great road from Verdun, commanded by the heights of Bienne, were heriocally defended by General Dillon. On the 16th of September the Prussians entered the Grand-Pre, and took post on the heights of La-Lune, between the enemy and Chalons. A fierce cannonading, followed by a severe but partial conflict, or succession of conflicts took place. But the position of the French army being adjudged, after much deliberation, impregnable, and the attempt to proceed to Paris, leaving a force, now increased to 60,000 men, in the rear, appearing to the Prussian General, in the highest degree, rash and dangerous, no alternative remained. The French army receiving continual reinforcements, and the Prussians beginning to experience the evils of sickness and famine, in addition to the ordinary sufferings of war, the Duke of Brunswick was reduced to the necessity of commencing his retreat on the 1st of October, and by the 18th the Austrian and Prussian armies had completely evacuated France. At this time indeed, the French arms were triumphant in every quarter. General Montesquieu, entering Savoy on the 20th of September, was received with acclamation at Chamberri, the capital, and the whole country submitted almost without resistance. On the other side, the fortress of Montalban and the entire county of Nice, were conquered by General Anselm. On the banks of the Rhine, General Custine reduced successively the cities of Worms, Spire, Mentz, and Frankfort. On the 20th of October, a decree passed the National Convention, declaring "that the republic was saved, and the country no long in danger." Early in November Dumouriez entered the Austrian Netherlands; and on the 5th of the month, he attacked the Austrian entrenchments at Gemappe near Mons. He gained a complete and signal victory, the consequences of which were decisive as to the fate of the Netherlands. Mons instantly surrendered. Tournay, Ostend, Ghent, and Antwerp, soon followed; and on the 14th the French General made his triumphal entry into Brussels; the Archduchess Christina, governess of the Low Countries, quitting that place with the utmost precipitation, a few days previously to this event. Before the end of the year the whole of the Austrian Low Countries, Luxemburg only excepted, with the city and territory of Liege, were subjected by the victorious arms of France. Elated by this unexampled series of triumph, the following decree was passed by acclamation in the Assembly, November 19, 1792. "The National Convention declare, in the name of the French nation, they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty. And they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people; and to defend citizens who have suffered, and are now suffering, in the cause of liberty." This decree, was productive of very serious consequences. Two other decrees of the Assembly also require to be mentioned: the one passed November 27, erecting the duchy of Savoy into an 84th department of the French republic, contrary to a fundamental article of the constitution, by which she renounced all foreign conquest: the other, on the capture of Antwerp, declaratory of the freedom of navigation on the river Scheld.

Poles who had sworn obedience to the constitution, and who had formed, at least, nine-tenths of the whole population of the country, with perjury; and she expressed her resolution to send an army into Poland, for the purpose of restoring, by force, the ancient order of things. The King of Prussia, at the same time, determined to remain neuter, though in direct violation of an existing treaty with Poland, concluded in 1790; and the Emperor of Germany adopted the same lime of conduct;—so that Catherine had now nothing to fear from the unequal efforts of a people, whom she exerted every art to divide. The Polish government had no difficulty in confuting the fallacies and the falsehoods which the Russian Empress had stooped to adopt in the declaration of her minister. Their answer was firm, temperate, and dignified, and an animated address, from the King to his subjects, was published about the same time, which produced the desired effect. But the ability to make the necessary preparations for opposing so powerful an enemy, was by no means equal to the public spirit which prevailed. The Empress poured one formidable body of troops into the Ukraine, and another into Lithuania, in neither place was there any force adequate to a successful resistance. The Poles, however, notwithstanding their inferiority, fought bravely and skillfully; but numbers soon prevailed over courage, and, in less than two months, the Russians, having advanced to within three days march of the capital, compelled the King to save his throne, by consenting to the abolition of the new constitution. This compulsory act took place on the 23d of July, when an armistice was immediately concluded. And the command of the Polish troops consigned to a Russian General.

During the exhibition of this disgraceful scene in Poland, Sweden had been the theatre of another exhibition, not less disgraceful, and still more atrocious. Gustavus, the heroic monarch of that country, who had taken a deep interest in the fate of the unhappy King of France, and who had it in contemplation to lead a body of six and thirty thousand Swedes and Russians into his territories, in order to co-operate with the allies, for restoring him to liberty, was assassinated, on the 16th of March, 1792, at a masquerade at the Opera House, in Stockholm, by a person named Ankerstrom, who had formerly been an officer of the guards, and who was one of a band of conspirators who had taken offence at some part of the public conduct of the King, and had long had this deed in contemplation. The King met his death with the firmness, resignation, and temper of a Christian. With his dying breath, he pardoned the traitors who had deprived him of life, except the immediate perpetrator of the deed, who, on the representation of the destined regent, the Duke of Sudermania, was reserved as a victim to offended justice. This Prince, who possessed many great and heroic qualities, had rendered his country infinite service, by curtailing the power of a corrupt and turbulent nobility, by increasing the comforts of his people, and by shaking off the degrading yoke of dependance, in which the Russian Outocrat had long kept the court and cabinet of Stockholm. The tears of the virtuous and the good consecrated the memory of Gustavus, while it was further honoured by the loud exultations which the leaders of the French revolution manifested at his premature death.

The functions of royalty having been suspended in France, by the transactions of the 10th of August, and the virtual deposition of the French monarch, Lord Gower, the English ambassador at Paris, received orders from the court of London to quit the kingdom. M. Chauvelin, the French ambassador, however, still remained in London, though from this period unacknowledged in any public or authorized capacity. The deposition of the French monarch, and the provocations and injuries which preceded and produced that event, naturally wrought upon the minds of the generality of the people, in England, and completely alienated their minds from the revolution, and struck them with terror at the idea of innovation. In this feeling, an association, openly countenanced by, though not originating with government, was formed in London, "for the protection of liberty and property against republicans and levellers;" and a multitude of judicious pamphlets, in the popular form of letters, dialogues, and narratives, were circulated by this means throughout the country, inculcating due submission to government. The spirit of this association spread rapidly through the kingdom; and in every county, and almost every town, resolutions were subscribed strongly expressive of loyalty and attachment to the King and constitution, of their dread of innovation, and abhorrence of all levelling and republican doctrines.

Previously to this period, the violent zealots of pretended liberty in England had been accustomed to transmit addresses to the National Convention, declaratory in high-flown terms of their applause and admiration. The most remarkable of these, intituled "An Address from several Patriotic Societies in England," was presented, November 7th, at the bar of the Convention, containing, in addition to the usual complimentary expressions, the most indecent and indefensible reflections upon the government and constitution of their own country.* The president of the Convention, in his answer to this insolent effusion, had the mischievous folly to use expressions full of respect and complacency; and, to crown the absurdity, copies of the address were ordered to be sent to all the armies and departments of the republic. On the 28th of November, a deputation from the "Society for Constitutional Information" presented an address at the bar of the Convention, congratulating that assembly "on the glorious triumph of liberty on the 10th of August," and declared, "that, notwithstanding the hireling pens which might be employed by the power of government to contradict them, they spoke the sentiments of a majority of the English nation." In the prefatory speech of the deputies, "citizens" John Frost and Joel Barlow, were expressions yet more seditious and offensive than in the address. They took upon them to predict, "that, after the example given by France, revolutions would become easy. Reason (say these enlightened patriots) is about to make a rapid progress; and it would not be extraordinary, if, in a much less space of time than can be imagined, the French should send addresses of congratulation to a National Convention of England." The French president, in reply, paid the highest compliments to the English nation, as having afforded illustrious examples to the universe. "The shades of Hampden and of Sydney (exclaimed he) hover over your heads; and the moment, without doubt, approaches, in which the French will bring congratulations to the national convention of Great Britain. Generous republicans! your appearance among us prepares a subject of history."—The speech, the address, and the answer of the president, were ordered to be printed, and sent to the eighty-three departments, and translated into all languages! On the same "auspicious day" a deputation from the British and Irish resident at Paris appeared at the bar, and, amidst loud and reiterated plaudits, they declared their belief, "that the disgraceful memory of those 'pretended governments,' the offspring of the combined fraud of priests and tyrants, would in a short time alone remain. Our wishes, citizen legislators, render us impatient to behold the happy moment of this great change, in the hope that, on its arrival, we shall see an intimate union form-

* "Whilst foreign plunderers ravage your territories, (say these addresses) an oppressed part of mankind, forgetting their own evils, are sensible only of yours, and address their fervent prayers to the God of the Universe, that he may be favourable to your cause, with which theirs is so intimately connected.—Degraded by an oppressive system of inquisition, the insensible, but continual, encroachments of which quickly deprived this nation of its boasted liberty, and reduced it almost to that abject state of slavery from which you have so gloriously emancipated yourselves.—five thousand English citizens, fired with indignation, have the courage to step forward to rescue their country from that approbrium which has been thrown on it by the base conduct of those who are invested with power. We see with concern that the Elector of Hanover unites his troops to those of traitors and robbers; and the King of England will do well to remember that England is not Hanover. Should he forget this, we will not forget it."

ed

ed between the French republic, and the English, Irish, and Scottish nations. Nor are we alone animated by these sentiments:—we doubt not that they would be equally conspicuous in the great majority of our fellow countrymen, if the public opinion were to be consulted there, as it ought, in a National Convention." Again, the president answered in a strain of inflated rhetoric. —"Principles are waging war against tyranny, which will fall under the blows of philosophy. Royalty in Europe is either destroyed, or on the point of perishing on the ruins of feudality; and the declaration of rights, placed by the side of thrones, is a devouring fire which shall consume them. Worthy republicans! congratulate yourselves on thinking that the festival which you have made in honour of the French revolution is the prelude to the festival of nations."

On the 1st of December, a royal proclamation was issued, announcing, that, notwithstanding the late proclamation of the 21st of May, the utmost industry was still employed by evil disposed persons within the kingdom, acting in concert with persons in foreign parts, with a view to subvert the laws and constitution; and that a spirit of tumult and disorder, thereby excited, had lately shown itself in acts of riot and insurrection—and that, these causes moving him thereto, his Majesty had resolved forthwith to embody part of the militia of the kingdom." On the same day another proclamation was issued for convening the Parliament (which stood prorogued to the 3rd of January, 1793,) on the 13th of December; the law requiring, that if the militia be drawn out during the recess of Parliament, Parliament shall be assembled within the space of fourteen days. At the same time, troops were marched to the metropolis, the guard at the Bank was doubled, and the fortifications of the Tower of London were repaired.

On the meeting of Parliament on the day appointed, the expressions of the first proclamation were repeated in the royal speech; towards the conclusion of which, the King expressed himself as follows:—"I have carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the Continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal government of France: but it is impossible for me to see without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which have appeared there, of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies the States General measures which were neither conformable to the law of nations nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties. Under these circumstances his Majesty thought it right to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which he was entrusted by law, and to make some augmentation of his naval and military force." On moving the address, a warm debate arose; in the course of which, Mr. Fox asserted "That there never was a period when this country had so much reason to wish for peace. Never was there a period less favourable to a system of hostility." He afterwards moved an amendment, simply pledging the House that enquiry should be made into the facts stated in his Majesty's speech. The amendment was negatived, by 290 against 50. In the Lords, the address was carried without a division; but the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lords Lansdowne, Rawdon, and Stanhope, strongly opposed the address.

By this time, the opposition had suffered a serious defection; in the Upper House, of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Portland, and Lords Fitzwilliam, Spencer, and Loughborough, who, on the resignation of Lord Thurlow, at this period, was advanced to the Chancellorship; and in the Lower House, Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Mr. Anstruther, &c. who by their secession acquired the appellation of Alarmists. On the bringing up the report, on the succeeding day, however, the debate was resumed; and Mr. Fox moved an amendment, "beseeching his Majesty to employ every means of negotiation consistent with the honour and safety of this country, to avert the calamities of war." Mr. Burke affirmed, "that to send an ambassador to France would be the prelude to the murder of our sovereign." Mr. Pitt was not at this time a member of the House, having vacated his seat by the acceptance of the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, void by the death of the Earl of Guildford. In his absence, Mr. Dundas entered into a long and able vindication of the measures of administration, and the amendment was negatived without a division. Mr. Fox, however, on the 15th of December, moved, "that a minister be sent to Paris to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the executive government of France." This motion was also negatived, without a division.

One of the earliest measures of precaution which Mr. Pitt next deemed necessary for the preservation of public order, was a bill, for subjecting Aliens to particular regulations and restrictions. The motive which gave rise to this bill, was the influx of Frenchmen into the kingdom, who came hither for the purpose of maintaining a closer communication with the seditious clubs, and for directing the efforts of their members to the subversion of the constitution; a task for which they were eminently qualified. This bill, though supported by the most respectable members of the opposition in both Houses, was strenuously resisted by Lords Guildford, and Lauderdale, in the Upper House, and by Mr. Fox, in the Lower House. It occasioned some further declaration of sentiment, on the part of Mr. Fox, and of those who had seceded from his party, respecting the present state of public affairs, both in England and in France. This only served to confirm the difference which was already known to exist between them. Mr. Burke most clearly proved that the exultation which Mr. Fox had manifested, on the success of the French, was totally inconsistent with the dread which he had expressed of the aggrandisement of France; because her aggrandisement was both the object and the consequence of her successes. He expatiated, with his usual energy, on the nature of French fraternization, and of that liberty which the revolutionists were so anxious to propagate throughout Europe, by plunder and the sword; and which he truly characterized as a liberty without property, without honour, without morals, without order, without government, and without personal security. These apostles of liberty had boasted of having destroyed the Bastile, while they had converted every man's house in Paris into a Bastile. Mr. Burke quoted the speech of M. Dupont in the Convention, to shew that Atheism was the first fruits of French liberty. This man had profligately declared, the religion of Jesus Christ to be unfit to be tolerated in a republic, because it was a monarchical religion, and preached subjection and obedience to God! And the Convention received the declaration with loud applause. He pathetically deplored the natural effects of such systematized profligacy, which went to deprive man of all happiness in life, and of all consolation in death. He considered the Alien bill, as calculated to save the country; for, although the number of suspicious Aliens in the kingdom at this time might be small, yet it should be remembered, that the horrid massacres at Paris, in the preceding autumn, had been perpetrated by a body of men, not exceeding two hundred. He averred that, at that very moment, three thousand daggers, of a peculiar construction, were manufacturing at Birmingham, under the orders of an individual. How many of these were intended for exportation, and how many were designed for home consumption, had not yet been ascertained. He then produced one of these daggers, and threw it on the floor, exclaiming,—"These are the presents which France designs for you.—By these would she propagate her freedom and fraternity. —But may Heaven avert her principles from our minds, and her daggers from our hearts." The debates on the bill were renewed, in its different stages, when Mr. Fox took the lead in opposing it; but it was finally carried, by a decisive majority.

A. D. 1793.] These measures of the British Parliament appear to have had as little influence as a regard for justice, or attention to existing laws, on the minds

of the French, who had dethroned their sovereign, and usurped his authority. After a mock trial, in which the forms of justice, and all the principles of law, were violated without scruple, and without reserve, the virtuous Louis was doomed to the scaffold. His execution took place on the 21st of January, and in his last moments he displayed that christian patience, resignation, and fortitude; which a consciousness of innocence, and a firm confidence in the promises of God, are alone competent to inspire.* After this atrocious deed, which fixes

* Ever since the massacre of the 2d of September, 1792, the Mountain, or Anarchists, as they were called, had been labouring to wash away the remembrance of their own guilt on that fatal day, in the blood of their sovereign; and in the month of October various motions were introduced into the convention, and carried by overwhelming majorities, sometimes by acclamation, for the purpose of bringing the King to trial and punishment; and though these measures were generally opposed by the Girondist party, their eloquence and influence were found insufficient to restrain that implacable and sanguinary disposition which had taken possession of the breasts of their rivals, and communicated itself to a great part of the population of the metropolis. About this period a discovery was made, which heightened the popular resentment against the unfortunate sovereign, and led to the most important consequences. A workman, who had been employed to form an iron chest or closet in the wall of the Thuilleries, revealed the fact to Roland, the minister of the home department, and conducted him to the place which contained the sacred deposit.—This chest was found to contain a great number of correspondences; and a committee consisting of 24 members of the convention was therefore chosen to inspect the papers, and prepare the act of accusation. On the 6th of November, Valaze read the report; the discussion upon which was immediately followed by the introduction of a question, the most embarrassing to his accusers, and to the convention: viz. whether the King was not by the constitution invested with perfect and legal inviolability; and whether, consistently with justice, he, whom the law had solemnly pronounced to be above the reach of any legal process, could be brought to trial. This objection was strangely and most unjustly over-ruled by the convention, who in this instance established the precedent, always so fatal to liberty, of an ex post facto law, and evinced to the eyes of Europe their inattention to those "rights of man," which the nation had so solemnly proclaimed. Immediately on the act of accusation being passed, the King was forcibly separated from his family, and the whole of the unhappy prisoners in the temple were guarded with redoubled vigilance; and, contrary to the practice in all criminal cases, in almost every civilized country, it was decreed that Louis should be brought before the Convention without previous notice or preparation. On the 11th of December, the unfortunate monarch was ordered to the bar of the convention, and the act of accusation having been read, he was required by the president, Barrere, to answer to each separate charge. The following extract of the proceedings of the National Convention, on the 11th of December, 1792, will best elucidate the nature of this unprecedented trial:—

"Louis came to the bar: a profound silence reigned in the Assembly. The President said to him,

"'Louis, the people of France accuse you; the National Convention has decreed that you shall be tried, and that its members shall be your judges. You shall now hear the declaration of the crimes imputed to you. Louis, sit down.'

"The King seated himself. A secretary read the accusation, and the President then said,

"'Louis, you are to answer the questions I am commissioned by the National Convention to propose to you.—Louis, you are accused of having committed a multitude of crimes to establish your tyranny by destroying liberty. On the 20th of June, 1789, you committed an outrage against the sovereignty of the people, by suspending the Assemblies of its representatives, and by driving them with violence from their place of meeting. The proof of this is in the verbal process, drawn up in the Tennis Court at Versailles, by the members of the Constituent Assembly. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I acted against no law then in existence.'

"*President.* 'On the 23d of June, 1789, you attempted to impose laws upon the nation; you surrounded the sitting of the Constituent Assembly with troops, presented them with two royal declarations, subversive of all liberty, and you commanded them to separate.'

"To this the King gave the same answer as to the preceding question.

"*President.* 'You ordered an army to march against the citizens of Paris; their blood was shed, you did not withdraw your troops till the Bastile was taken, and a general insurrection taught you that the people were victorious. The answers you returned to the deputations of the Constituent Assembly, on the 9th, 12th, and 14th of July, shew what your intentions then were; and the massacre at the Thuilleries also deposes against you. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I had at that time the power to employ my troops where I thought the circumstances required; but I never had any intention to shed blood.'

"*President.* 'After these events, notwithstanding the promise made by you in the Assembly on the 15th, and in the Hotel de Ville on the 17th, you persisted in your projects against the national liberty. You long evaded sanctioning the decree of the 11th of August, for abolishing personal servitude, feudal rights, and titles; you at first refused to acknowledge the declaration of the rights of man; you doubled the number of your body-guards, and ordered the regiment of Flauden to Versailles; during the festival at that place, you permitted the national cockade to be trampled under foot before your face, the white cockade set up, and the nation to be blasphemed. In short, you rendered a new insurrection necessary, and occasioned the death of many citizens. It was not till after the defeat of your guards, that you changed your language, and renewed your perfidious promises. The proofs of these facts are in your own observations of the 18th of September on the decree of the 10th of August, in the verbal process of the Constituent Assembly, on the events which took place at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October, and in the answer you returned to the Constituent Assembly, namely, 'That you would be guided by their counsel, and never separate yourself from them.' What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I made the observations which occurred to me, as just and necessary upon the decrees presented to me. The charge respecting the cockade is false. I was witness to no such scene.'

"*President.* 'At the federation of the 14th of July, 1790, you took an oath which you did not adhere to, but endeavoured, on the contrary, to corrupt the public mind through the agency of Talon in Paris, and the influence of Mirabeau in the provinces. You lavished millions to corrupt the public mind; you attempted to make popularity itself an engine against the people. These facts are evident from a memorial of Talon's, verified by your own hand, and by a letter which La Porte wrote to you on the 19th of April, in which, speaking of a conversation he had with Rivarol, he informs you that the sums you had been advised to distribute had produced nothing.'

"*Louis.* 'I don't exactly remember what passed at that time; but all these are circumstances which occurred previously to my accepting the constitution.'

"*President.* 'Was it not in consequence of a plan formed by Talon, that you went to the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, distributed money amongst the poor workmen, telling them that you could do no more for them?'

"*Louis.* 'I had no greater satisfaction than in giving to those who required relief. In this I had no insidious design.'

"*President.* 'Was it not in consequence of the same project that you feigned an indisposition to prepare the public mind for your journey to St. Cloud, or to Rambouillet, upon pretext that the country air was necessary for your health?'

"*Louis.* 'This accusation is quite absurd.'

"*President.* 'You had long meditated the design of escaping. A plan for that purpose was presented to you on the 23d of February, 1791, which you verified by your own hand writing; and, on the 28th, a considerable number of officers and nobles assembled in the palace of the Thuilleries in order to favour your escape. You attempted to go from Paris to St. Cloud, on the 11th of April; but the opposition of the citizens convinced you, that your design was suspected by the public. You endeavoured to dissipate this distrust by communicating to the Assembly the letter in which you make a declaration to foreign powers, that you had freely accepted the constitution. Notwithstanding this, you made your escape by means of a false passport, on the 21st of the month of June following, leaving behind you a declaration against this very constitution. You ordered the ministers not to sign any acts which came from the National Assembly; and you prohibited the minister of justice from sealing them with the seal of the state; the public money was lavished to ensure the success of this treason; and you ordered Bouillé to assist you with an armed force; that same officer who commanded at the massacres of Nancy, to whom you wrote on that occasion, 'endeavour to preserve your popularity, it may be useful.' These facts are founded on the memorial of the 23d of February, verified by your own hand; and on the declaration of the 20th of June, entirely in your own hand-writing; on your letter of the 4th of September, 1790, to Bouillé; and on a note from him, giving you an account of the employment of 993,000 livres which you had given him, and which he had partly expended in corrupting the troops that were to escort you. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I know nothing of the memorial of the 23d of February. With respect to my journey to Varennes, I refer to the answer I at that time made to the Constituent Assembly.'

"*President.* 'After you were stopped at Varennes, your executive power was for some time suspended, but you still conspired; and on the 17th of July, the blood of the citizens was shed in the Champ de Mars. A letter in your own hand, addressed to La Fayette, 1790, proves that a criminal coalition existed between you and him, to which Mirabeau had also agreed. All kinds of corruption were employed by you. You paid the expence of publishing libels, pamphlets, and journals, which tended to pervert the public opinion, to discredit assignats, and to support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septeuil state what enormous sums were expended for these profligate purposes. You affected to accept the constitution of the 14th of September, you declared yourself willing to maintain it, yet you laboured to overthrow it before it was completed. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'What passed on the 17th of July cannot be justly attributed to me. As to the other charges I have no knowledge of them.'

"*President.* 'A convention took place at Pilnitz, on the 24th of July, between Leopold of Austria and Frederick William of Brandenburg, for the purpose of re-establishing absolute monarchy in France, with which you were acquainted, yet you concealed it from the National Assembly, until it was known to all Europe. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I made it known as soon as I knew it myself; besides, by the constitution, it was the business of the ministers.'

"*President.* 'Arles raised the standard of revolt; you favoured it by sending commissioners, who, in place of endeavouring to check the counter-revolutionists, encouraged them by justifying their attempt. What do you answer?'

"*Louis.*

fixes an indelible stain on the national character of the French people, it was not possible to suffer the representative of the deceased monarch, to continue his residence at the British court. M. Chauvelin was, therefore, ordered to quit the kingdom, within eight days.

Immediately afterwards, a memorial was presented by Lord Auckland, ambassador at the Hague, to the States General, in which his Lordship affirmed to their High Mightinesses, "That not four years ago, some wretches assuming the title of philosophers, had the presumption

---

"*Louis.* 'The commissioners' instructions will evince the nature of the orders with which they were intrusted. I knew none of the commissioners when my ministers proposed them to me.'

"*President.* 'Avignon and Venaissin had been re-united to France; but you did not execute the decree till a month afterwards; during that interval, a civil war desolated the country, and the commissioners you sent completed the devastation. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'That charge cannot personally affect me. I know not what delay attended the execution of the decree; but those who were intrusted with it are alone responsible.'

"*President.* 'Nismes, Montauban, Mendes, and Jales, experienced violent commotions in the commencement of liberty. You did nothing to extinguish these sparks of counter-revolution till the moment when the conspiracy of Saillans broke out. What do you answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I gave the orders upon that occasion which were proposed to me by my minister.'

"*President.* 'You sent two battalions against the Marseillois, who were marching to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I must see the papers which regard this affair before I can answer to the charge.'

"*President.* 'You gave the command of the south to Weigenstein who wrote to you, on the 21st of April, after he had been recalled, in these terms: 'A few moments longer, and I should have surrounded your Majesty's throne with millions of Frenchmen, rendered once more worthy of the wishes you form for their happiness.' What have you to answer.'

"*Louis.* 'This letter, by the statement of the charge, is posterior to his recall. He has never been employed since. I recollect nothing of the letter.'

"*President.* 'You paid your disbanded body-guard at Coblentz, as the registers of Septeuil testify; and various orders, signed by you, confirm your having remitted considerable sums to Bouillé, la Vauguyon, Choiseul Beauprè, d'Hamilton, and the woman Polignac.'

"*Louis.* 'I no sooner received intelligence that my body-guards had assembled in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, than I ordered their pay to be stopped. I remember nothing respecting the rest.'

"*President.* 'Your brothers, enemies of the state, have called emigrants around their standard; they have raised regiments, borrowed money, and contracted alliances in your name; you did not disavow them, till you were well assured that you could not injure their plans. Your correspondence with them is proved by a note in the hand-writing of Louis Stanislaus Xavier, signed by both your brothers, as follows:

"I have written to you, but it was by the post, so I could say nothing. We are here two, but in mind only one; the same principles, the same sentiments, the same ardour to serve you animates us both. We still keep silence; we should injure you by breaking it too soon, but shall speak out when assured of general support, and that moment is near. If they speak to us on the part of those people, we will listen, but never alter our course; if, therefore, they should exact that you make some declaration to us, make it without hesitation; be easy with regard to your safety; we only exist to serve you: we shall ardently exert ourselves for that purpose, and every thing will go well. Even your enemies have too much interest in your preservation to commit an useless crime which would complete their ruin. Adieu.

"L. S. XAVIER, et
"CHARLES PHILLIPPE."

'What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'As soon as I heard of my brothers' proceedings, I disavowed them as the constitution prescribes. I have none of their letters.'

"*President.* 'The troops of the line, who ought to have been kept up to the war establishment, amounted only to one hundred thousand men at the end of December; you had thus neglected to guard the safety of the nation. Narbonne, your agent, had required, that fifty thousand additional troops should be raised; but he stopped the levies at twenty-six thousand, declaring that every necessary provision for national defence was made; yet nothing was prepared. Servans proposed to form a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris; the Legislative Assembly decreed this, but you refused to give your sanction to the decree. A patriotic emotion prompted many citizens, in the most distant provinces, to march to Paris: you issued a proclamation, the tendency of which was to stop their march; meanwhile our armies were deficient in soldiers; Dumouriez, who succeeded, declared that the nation was not sufficiently provided with arms, ammunition, or subsistence for the troops; and that the frontier towns were not in a state of defence. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I gave to the minister the orders necessary for the augmentation of the army; the statements were laid before the Assembly; if there were errors in them, it was no fault of mine.'

"*President.* 'You gave directions to the commanders of the troops to relax the discipline of the army, to excite whole regiments to desert, and to pass the Rhine in order to join your brothers, and Leopold of Austria. This fact is proved by a letter of Toulongeon's, commander in Franche Comté. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'There is not a word of truth in this accusation.'

"*President.* 'You commissioned your diplomatic agents to encourage a coalition between your brothers and foreign powers against France, particularly to strengthen the peace between Turkey and Austria; that the latter, by withdrawing her troops from the Turkish frontiers, might be enabled to direct a greater force against France, as is proved by a letter from Choiseul Gouffier, ambassador to Constantinople. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'M. Choiseul has not spoken the truth; there is no foundation for such an idea.'

"*President.* 'You neglected to provide for the safety of the nation at a most dangerous crisis; you delayed till the Legislative Assembly required of the minister Legard to point out the means of defence, and then, but no sooner, you sent a message to the Assembly, proposing a levy of forty two battalions. The Prussians were advancing to our frontiers; your minister was ordered, on the 8th of July, to give an account of our actual situation with regard to Prussia; you answered on the 10th, that fifty thousand Prussians were on their march against us, and that you gave that information to the Assembly as directed by the constitution. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I had no knowledge of the fact until the tenth; all diplomatic correspondence was carried on by the ministers.'

"*President.* 'You placed Dabancourt, the nephew of Calonne, at the head of the war department; and such was the success of your treachery, that Longwy and Verdun were delivered up as soon as the enemy appeared before them.'

"*Louis.* 'I did not know that M. Dabancourt was the nephew of Calonne; it was not I who dismantled those towns; I would never have authorised it.'

"*President.* 'Who dismantled Longwy and Verdun?'

"*Louis.* 'If such was their situation, I know nothing of it.'

"*President.* 'You have destroyed our navy; so many of its officers emigrated, that there hardly remained a sufficient number for the service; nevertheless, Bertrand continued to grant passports, and when the legislative body represented to you, on the 8th of March, his criminal conduct, you answered, that you were satisfied with his services.'

"*Louis.* 'I did every thing in my power to retain the officers in the service. The National Assembly produced no charge that appeared to me of a criminal nature against Bertrand, therefore I did not think it just to dismiss him.'

"*President.* 'You countenanced absolute government in the colonies; your agents fomented disturbances, and the counter-revolution there, at the same time that it was to have taken place in France.'

"*Louis.* 'If any persons called themselves my agents in the colonies, they did it without authority from me. I gave no countenance to any thing of the nature you mention.'

"*President.* 'The national tranquillity was disturbed by fanatics; you shewed yourself their protector, and manifested an evident intention of recovering your former power by their means. What do you answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I have no answer to make to this charge. I had no knowledge of any such design.'

"*President.* 'The Legislative Body, on the 29th of November, passed a decree against seditious priests, but you suspended the execution of it. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'The constitution allowed me the free power of sanctioning or rejecting decrees.'

"*President.* 'Disturbances increased; the minister declared, that he knew no existing laws by which the guilty could be punished. The Legislative Body passed a new decree; you suspended the execution of that also.'

"*Louis.* 'The same reply.'

"*President.* 'The bad conduct of those guards which the constitution had given to you, was such, that the Assembly was under the necessity of decreeing, that they should be disbanded; the day after, you wrote a letter to the Assembly, declaring your satisfaction, and yet you continued to pay them, as is proved by the accounts of the treasurer of the civil list.'

"*Louis.* 'I only continued their pay until they should be re-established according as the decree required.'

"*President.* 'You retained your Swiss guards about your person in contradiction to the constitution, and after the Legislative Assembly had ordered their departure. What do you answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I conformed to the decree on that subject.'

"*President.* 'You authorised d'Augremont and Gilles secretly to maintain private companies in Paris, for the purpose of exciting commotions favourable to your plans of counter-revolution. The receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to organize a company of sixty men, will be presented to you. What have you to answer?'

"*Louis.* 'I am quite ignorant of those schemes attributed to me. The idea of a counter-revolution never entered my head.'

"*President.* 'You endeavoured by considerable sums to bribe several members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies. This fact is proved by letters from Dufresne, Saint Leon, and many others which will be produced.'

"*Louis.* 'Such plans were frequently presented to me, but I rejected them.'

"*President.* 'Who were the members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies whom you corrupted?'

"*Louis.* 'I never sought to corrupt any. I know of none.'

"*President.* 'Who were the persons that presented plans to you?'

"*Louis.* The plans were so absurd, that I do not recollect.'

"*President.*

presumption to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society. In order to realize that dream of their vanity, they found it necessary to overthrow and destroy all received notions of subordination, manners, and religion, which have hitherto formed all the security, happiness, and consolation, of the human race. Their destructive projects have but too well succeeded. But the effects of the new system which they endeavoured to introduce, served only to shew the imbecility and villany of its authors. The events which

50

" *President.* ' To whom did you promise money?'

" *Louis.* ' To none.'

" *President.* ' You suffered the French nation to be degraded in Germany, Italy, and Spain; by not exacting reparation for the insults offered to the French in those countries. What have you to answer?'

" *Louis.* ' The diplomatic correspondence proves the contrary. At any rate, that was the business of the ministers.'

President. ' On the 10th of August, you reviewed the Swiss guards at five o'clock in the morning, and they fired first on the citizens. What have you to answer?'

" *Louis.* ' I that day reviewed all the troops that were assembled near me. The constituted authorities, the mayor of Paris, &c. were present. I had even requested a deputation might be sent me from the National Assembly, that they might advise me how I should act in that emergency; and I afterwards took refuge in the Assembly, with my family.'

" *President.* ' Why did you cause the Swiss guard to be doubled, in the beginning of August?'

" *Louis.* ' All the constituted authorities knew that the palace was to be attacked. As I was one of the constituted authorities, I had a right to defend myself.'

" *President.* ' Why did you send for the Mayor of Paris on the evening of the 9th of August?'

" *Louis.* ' Because of the rumours that were spread.'

" *President.* ' You caused the blood of Frenchmen to be shed.'

" *Louis.* ' No, Sir, it was not I.'

" *President.* ' Did not you authorise Septeuil to undertake a commercial speculation in grain, sugar, and coffee, at Hamburgh, and in other towns? This is proved by Septeuil's own letters.'

" *Louis.* ' I know nothing about what you mention.'

" *President.* ' Why did you put a veto on the decree ordering a camp to be formed round Paris?'

" *Louis.* ' The constitution gave me full powers to sanction decrees or not. At that time I ordered a camp nearer the frontiers at Soissons.'

" *President.* ' Louis, have you any thing to add in your defence?'

" *Louis.* ' I demand a copy of the act of accusation, and that I may be allowed counsel to conduct my cause.'

" *Valaze,* who sat near the bar, presented and read to Louis Capet the pieces, viz. The memoir of Laporte and Mirabeau, and some others, containing plans of a counter-revolution.

" *Louis.* ' I disown them.'

" *Valaze* next presented several other papers, on which the act of accusation was founded, and asked the King if he recognised them. These papers were the following:—

" Letter of Louis Capet, dated June 29, 1790, settling his connections with Mirabeau and La Fayette, to effect a revolution in the constitution.'

" *Louis.* ' I reserve to myself to answer the contents.' (Valaze read the letter)—' It is only a plan, in which there is no question about a counter-revolution; the letter was not to have been sent.'

" *Valaze.* ' Letter of Louis Capet, of the 22d of April, relative to conversations about the jacobins, about the president of the committee of finances, and the committee of domains; it is dated by the hand of Louis Capet.'

" *Louis.* ' I disown it.'

" *Valaze.* ' Letter of Laporte, of Thursday morning, March 3, marked in the margin, in the hand-writing of Louis Capet, with March 3, 1791, implying a pretended rupture between Mirabeau and the jacobins.'

" *Louis.* ' I disown it.'

" *Valaze.* ' Letter of Laporte without date, in his hand-writing, but marked in the margin by the hand of Louis Capet, containing particulars respecting the last moments of Mirabeau, and expressing the care that had been taken to conceal from the knowledge of men some papers of great concern which had been deposited with Mirabeau.'

" *Louis.* ' I disown it as well as the rest.'

Valaze. ' Plan of a constitution, or revision of the constitution, signed La Fayette, addressed to Louis Capet, April 6, 1790, marked in the margin with a line in his own hand-writing.'

" *Louis.* ' These things have been blotted out by the constitution.'

" *Valaze.* ' Do you know this writing?'

" *Louis.* ' I do not.'

" *Valaze.* ' Your marginal comments?'

" *Louis.* ' I do not.'

" *Valaze.* ' Letter of Laporte of the 19th of April, marked in the margin by Louis Capet, April 19, 1791, mentioning a conversation with Rivarol.'

" *Louis.* ' I disown it.'

" *Valaze.* ' Letter of Laporte, marked April 16, 1791, in which it seems complaints are made of Mirabeau, the Abbé Perigord, André, and Beaumetz, who do not seem to acknowledge sacrifices made for their sake.'

" *Louis.* ' I disown it likewise.'

" *Valaze.* Letter of Laporte of the 23d of February, 1791, marked and dated in the hand-writing of Louis Capet; a memorial annexed to it, respecting the means of his gaining popularity.'

" *Louis.* I know neither of these pieces.'

" *Valaze.* ' Several pieces without signature, found in the castle of the Thuilleries, in the gap which was shut in the wall of the palace, relating to the expences to gain popularity.'

President. ' Previously to an examination on this subject, I wish to ask a preliminary question.—Have you caused a press with an iron door to be constructed in the castle of the Thuilleries, and had you your papers locked up in that press?'

" *Louis.* ' I have no knowledge of it whatever.'

Valaze. ' Here is a day-book written by Louis Capet himself, containing the pensions he has granted out of his coffer from 1776 till 1792, in which are observed some douceurs granted to Acloque.'

" *Louis.* ' This I own, but it consists of charitable donations which I have made.'

" *Valaze.* ' Different lists of sums paid to the Scotch companies of Noailles, Gramont, Montmorency, and Luxemburg, on the 9th of July, 1791.'

" *Louis.* ' This is prior to the epoch when I forbade them to be paid.'

" *President.* ' Louis where had you deposited those pieces which you own?'

" *Louis.* ' With my treasurer.'

" *Valaze.* ' Do you know these pension-lists of the life-guards, the one hundred Swiss, and the king's-guards, for 1792?'

" *Louis.* ' I do not.'

" *Valaze.* ' Several pieces relative to the conspiracy of the camp of Jales, the originals of which are deposited among the records of the department of L'Ardeche?'

" *Louis.* ' I have not the smallest knowledge of them.'

" *Valaze.* ' Letter of Bouillé, dated Mentz, bearing an account of 993,000 livres received of Louis Capet?'

" *Louis.* ' I disown it.'

" *Valaze.* ' An order for the payment of 168,000 livres, signed Louis, endorsed Le Bonneirs, with a letter and billet of the same?'

" *Louis.* ' I disown it.'

" *Valaze.* ' Two pieces relative to a present made to the wife of Polignac, and to Lavauguyon and Choiseul?'

" *Louis.* ' I disown them as well as the others.'

" *Valaze.* ' Here is a note signed by the two brothers of the late King, mentioned in the declaratory act.'

" *Louis.* ' I know nothing of it.'

" *Valaze.* ' Here are pieces relating to the affair of Choiseul-Gouffier, at Constantinople.'

" *Louis.* ' I have no knowledge of them.'

" *Valaze.* ' Here is a letter of the late King to the Bishop of Clermont, with the answer of the latter, of the 16th of April, 1791.'

" *Louis.* ' I disown them.'

" *Pres.* ' Do you not acknowledge your writing and your signet?'

" *Louis.* ' I do not.'

" *Pres.* ' The seal bears the arms of France.'

" *Louis.* ' Several persons made use of that seal.'

" *Valaze.* ' Do you acknowledge this list of sums paid to Gilles?'

" *Louis.* ' I do not.'

" *Valaze.* ' Here is a memorandum for indemnifying the civil list for the military pensions; a letter of Dufresne St. Leon, which relates to it.'

" *Louis.* ' I know none of these pieces.'

" The President then addressing the King, said:—

' I have no other question to propose, have you any thing more to add in your defence?'

" *Louis.* ' I wish to have a copy of the accusation, and of the papers on which it is founded. I also wish to have counsel of my own nomination.

" *Pres.* ' Your two first requests are already decreed, and the determination respecting the other will be made known in due time.' "

It was agreed by the convention, after some deliberation, that counsel should be allowed to the King; and his choice fell upon M. Tronchet, Lamoignon-Malesherbes, and Desèze. On the 26th of December, the King appeared for the last time at the bar, and M. Desèze read a defence which the counsel had prepared, replete with sound argument, and exhibiting a master-piece of composition. At the close of the defence, the King arose, and with a firm voice and dignified manner, expressed himself as follows:—

" CITIZENS,

" You have heard my defence; I now speak to you, perhaps for the last time, and declare that my counsel have asserted nothing but the truth; my conscience reproaches me with nothing; I never was afraid of having my conduct investigated; but I observed with great uneasiness, that I was accused of giving orders for shedding the blood of the people on the 10th of August. The proofs I have given through my whole life of a contrary disposition, I hoped, would have saved me from such an imputation, which, I now solemnly declare, is entirely groundless."

On the 16th of January the trial closed; and after a sitting of nearly thirty-four hours, the punishment of death was awarded. When all the members had voted, the President rose to pronounce the result of their deliberations. A profound and awful silence ensued, while he declared, that out of seven hundred and twenty votes, three hundred and sixty-six were for death, three hundred and nineteen for imprisonment during the war, two for perpetual imprisonment; eight for a suspension of the execution of death till after the expulsion of the Bourbons; twenty-three for not inflicting the punish-

so rapidly followed each other since that epoch, surpass in atrocity all which have ever polluted the pages of history. Property, liberty, security, even life itself, have been deemed playthings in the hands of infamous men, who are slaves to the most licentious passions—of rapine, enmity, and ambition."

---

ment of death, unless the French territory should be invaded by some foreign power; and one was for death, but with commutation of punishment. "In consequence of this decision," said the President, "I declare that the punishment decreed against Louis Capet is death!" At this period of the sitting, the King's counsellors were admitted to the bar, when M. Desèze addressing the Convention, said:—"Citizens, representatives, the law of the nation, and your decrees, have intrusted to us the sacred functions of the defence of Louis. We come, with regret, to present to you the last act of our function. Louis has given to us his express charge to read to you a letter, signed with his own hand, of which the following is a copy:

"I owe it to my honour, I owe it to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence, which declares me guilty of a crime, of which I cannot accuse myself. In consequence, I appeal to the nation from the sentence of its representatives; and I commit by these presents to the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the National Convention this appeal, by all the means in their power, and to demand that mention of it be made in the minutes of their sitting.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

This appeal was rejected, and only one effort more remained to be made in favour of the unfortunate monarch, which was to press for the respite of the sentence of death. The appeal-nominal on this important question was terminated at midnight, on Saturday, the 19th of January. The members were required to give their votes simply yes or no, without arguing the point; and on the scrutiny, 310 votes appeared in favour of the respite, and 380 for the execution of the sentence in twenty-four hours, the time prescribed by the law against criminals; and the executive council were accordingly instructed to prepare the devoted Louis for his fate. At the request of the King, the Abbé Edgeworth, grand vicar of the diocese of Paris, and confessor of the Princess Elizabeth, an ecclesiastic of an Irish family, was permitted to attend him as his confessor; and the following particulars are given on his authority:—

"It was not till the 20th of January, at four o'clock in the afternoon, that the Abbé was sent for to the Thuilleries, by the executive council, who were assembled at that place. This summons he instantly obeyed, and on entering the apartment, Garat, the minister of justice, said, "Louis Capet desires to see you, will you go to the Temple?" "Unquestionably I will," replied the Abbe, "the King's request is an order in my eyes." "Follow me then," said the minister, and ordering his carriage, they drove off to the Temple. After remaining some time in the hall, where his pockets were searched, and his snuff-box examined to see that it did not contain poison; the Abbe was shewn to the apartment of the King, whose countenance exhibited the utmost serenity. He sunk on his knees, kissed his Majesty's hand, and bathed it with tears. The King, equally affected, raised him, saying: "None but the most unrelenting of men have been allowed to approach me of late. My eyes are accustomed to them, but the sight of a man of humanity, a faithful subject, affects my whole soul, and melts me as you see." Being in some measure recovered, he led the Abbe into his closet, and having made him sit down, he read his last will twice over to him, with a firm tone, and proper emphasis, his voice faultering only at those parts where mention is made of the Queen, his children, and the Princess Elizabeth. After this he rose, saying, "I must now go and see my family for the last time. This will be the severest trial of all. When that is over, I will fix my mind solely on what concerns my salvation." Leaving the Abbe in his closet, the unhappy monarch went to the room where his family were already assembled, and which was separated only by a door from that in which were two commissaries constantly on duty; this door was of glass, so that these men could see all that passed. In such horrible circumstances, and in this dismal room, did the King of France meet his deploring family, now rendered more dear to him than ever by his own approaching fate, and their unexampled misfortunes. Here passed a scene of woe far beyond the power of description, to which the mind of sensibility alone can do justice. In such a moment the monarch must forget his crown, and the regrets of ambition must be unfelt amidst the anguish which overwhelms the broken heart. The anguish was not confined to the bosom of the King, the Queen, and his sister: the Princess, his daughter, had attained that age when the heart is perhaps the most susceptible of strong impressions, and its sensibility the most exquisite. Even the young Prince, who was only in his ninth year, partook deeply in the general sorrow, and while his eyes were bathed in tears, he cried sobbing to Santerre, "Ah, laissez moi courir les rues! j'irai aux districts—j'irai à toutes les sections, demander grâce pour mon papa."—"Oh let me run through the streets, I will go to the districts—I will go to the sections, and beg for my papa." At the close of this agonizing interview, which lasted more than an hour, the King returned to his own room, in a state of emotion that cannot be expressed. "Why," said he, addressing the Abbe, after he had recovered himself, "why do I love with so much tenderness; and wherefore am I so tenderly beloved? But the painful sacrifice is over, let me now turn my thoughts to the care of my salvation alone." Having thus expressed himself, he remained for some minutes in silent meditation, interrupted by sighs, accompanied with tears, and then began to converse on the great truths of religion; and astonished his confessor as much by the extensive knowledge he displayed on that subject, as he had before edified him by his piety. About ten

On the 28th of January, his Majesty sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, informing them, that he had given directions for laying before them copies of several papers, which had been received from M. Chauvelin, by the Secretary of State, and the answers thereto, and likewise a copy of an order made by his Majesty in council,

---

o'clock the King took a slight supper, which being over, the Abbe asked him whether he would not like to hear mass, and to receive the communion. The King replied, that he most ardently desired it; but he shewed, at the same time, that he had little hope of that favour being granted him. "I must have permission," said he, "from this council in the Temple, who have hitherto granted me nothing, but what it was impossible to withhold." M. Edgeworth went directly, and signified the King's request to the council sitting in the Temple. He met with many difficulties. "There are examples in history," said a member of the court, "of priests who have mixed poison with the hostie."—"I have been sufficiently searched," said the Abbe, "to satisfy you that I have no poison about me: but to render yourselves still more certain, you have only to furnish me with the hosties; and if it should prove poisoned, the blame will not be imputable to me." To this the council made no immediate answer: but the members went into the room where they usually held their meetings. The King's demand was formally deliberated on; after which, the Abbe being called in, the President said: "Citizen, minister of worship, that which Louis Capet requests not being contrary to law, we have agreed to grant it on two conditions: first, that you sign the request; and secondly, that the ceremony you intend to perform shall terminate before seven o'clock to-morrow morning; as at eight o'clock, Louis Capet must go hence to the place of execution." The Abbe Edgeworth submitted to these conditions, and went to inform the King, who expressed the highest satisfaction at the hope of once more having the consolation of hearing mass, and of receiving the communion. When his confession was ended, M. Edgeworth, seeing the King exhausted by the anguish and fatigue he had undergone, advised him to go to bed, and endeavour to obtain a little repose. With this advice, the King thought proper to comply.

Having slept with tranquillity, Louis called for Clery, his valet, early next morning, to assist him in dressing. He heard mass, and received the communion with the most profound devotion. After having finished his prayers, he said to M. Edgeworth, "How happy am I in having retained my faith in religion. Yes! I shall be enabled to shew them that I do not fear death."

A noise being heard at the door, the Abbe was agitated. He thought the fatal moment had already arrived. The King, without betraying the least emotion, maintained his usual serenity. It was the guards who resumed their posts. "Here they come, however;" said the King, calmly, on hearing some persons ascending the stairs. It was the commissaries of the commune, with a priest at their head, called Jacques Roux. They came to announce that the hour was at hand. "It is enough," said the King, "I will join you directly: but I wish to pass a few moments alone with my confessor." They retired. His Majesty shut the door, and said, falling on his knees, "All is consummated. Give me your last benediction."

Fear of the danger to which M. Edgeworth might be exposed, in accompanying the King to the place of execution, had prevented his Majesty from making such a proposition; and he supposed that they were now about to separate: but when he found that it was the fixed determination of this venerable man, worthy of the sacred functions he exercised, to abide by him to the last, his Majesty was at once moved by tenderness, and filled with satisfaction. Having thrown open the door,

"Marchons," (let us go) said he with a firm tone of voice, to Santerre, who waited without.

Here the King offered to Roux, the priest, a pacquet, containing his testament, desiring that he would deliver it to the commune. He refused to take it, saying, that it was his duty to conduct him to the scaffold, but nothing else. One of his companions, however, took the pacquet, and remitted it carefully to the commune.

Before they came to the stair of the Temple, the King, perceiving that the commissaries were covered, desired Clery to bring his hat, which he immediately put on his head; and being escorted by a very numerous detachment of national guards, he walked through the first court of the Temple, and found the carriage provided for him in the second. Two men belonging to the gendarmes stood at the door. One of them got into the carriage, followed by the King, and M. Edgeworth. The other gendarme placed himself by his comrade.

A profound silence reigned among the people all the way from the Temple to the place de Louis XV. All the streets were lined with national guards under arms. Nothing was heard but the sound of drums. His Majesty continued reading with the utmost devotion, till the carriage stopped near the scaffold. The executioners having opened the door, the King said to the two gendarmes, "Gentlemen, I recommend M. Edgeworth to your protection." As they made no immediate answer, he added, with greater earnestness, "I conjure you take care that no harm befall him after my death."

"Well, well, give yourself no further trouble; we shall take care of him;" answered one of them, in a harsh and ironical tone of voice.

The King having thrown off his coat, was going to ascend the scaffold, when they seized his hands, on purpose to tie them behind his back. As he was not prepared for this last insult, his first movement was to repel it with indignation; but M. Edgeworth, sensible that all resistance would be useless, and would expose the King to outrages still more violent, persuaded him into compliance, by saying: "Sire, this new humiliation is another circumstance in which

council, and transmitted by his Majesty's commands, to the said M. Chauvelin, in consequence of the accounts of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris. In the present situation of affairs, his Majesty thought it indispensably necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land; and relied on the known affection, and zeal, of the House of Commons, to enable him, to take the most effectual measures, in the present important juncture, for maintaining the security, and rights, of his own dominions; for supporting his allies; and for opposing views of aggrandisement and ambition on the part of France, which would be, at all times, dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but were peculiarly so, when connected with the propagation of principles, which led to the violation of the most sacred duties, and were utterly subversive of the peace, and order, of all civil society.

On the 1st of February, the very day on which a decree was unanimously passed by the National Convention, declaring "The republic of France at war with the King of Great Britain, and the Stadtholder of

---

your Majesty's sufferings resemble those of that Saviour, who will soon be your recompence."

As he was mounting the scaffold, supported by the Abbe Edgeworth, this servant of God addressed the King in this sublime expression, "Offspring of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!"

As soon as he came upon the scaffold, advancing with a firm step to the part which faced the palace, he desired the drums to cease, and was immediately obeyed, in spite of the orders that had been received. He then pronounced, with a voice loud enough to be heard at the gardens of the Thuilleries,

"I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed——"

He was continuing, when Santerre pushed furiously towards the drummers, and forced them to beat without interruption. The executioners, at the same time, laid hold on their victim—his head was placed on the block—the fatal instrument of death descended—and the horrid deed was completed!

As soon as the King's head was severed from his body, a young man, appointed to that service, seized it by the hair, and holding it up to the people, exclaimed repeatedly, Vive la nation! To which some of the populace replied, Vive la république! but the majority appeared to be struck dumb with horror, while the affections of many led them to bathe their handkerchiefs in his blood, and his hair was sold in small parcels, probably to those, whose piety and tenderness would esteem it an inestimable relic. The body was conveyed in a cart to the parish church of St. Madelaine, and laid among the bodies of those, who had been crushed to death on the place de Louis XV. when Louis XVI. was married, and of those, who had fallen before the chateau of the Thuilleries, on the 10th of August. The grave was filled with quick lime; a guard was placed over it, till the corpse was consumed; and the ground was then carefully levelled with the surrounding earth.

The subjoined last will and testament of this ill-fated sovereign was written in the immediate prospect of death:—

"The last Will and Testament of
LOUIS XVI.

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This day, the 21st of December, 1792, I, Louis the Sixteenth, King of France, having been for more than four months shut up with my family in the Tower of the Temple, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of every communication, even with my family, since the eleventh of this month; and being moreover involved in a trial, of which, from the passions of men, it is impossible to foresee the event, and for which neither pretext nor precedent can be found in any existing law; having no witness of my thoughts but God, and no one but him to whom I can address myself, I here declare, in his presence, my last will and sentiments.

"I recommend my soul to God, my Creator, beseeching him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge me according to my merits, but according to the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord, who offered himself as a sacrifice to God his Father for the human race, unworthy as we are, I myself in particular. I die in the communion of our Holy Mother, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, which holds its power by an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom Jesus Christ intrusted it. I firmly believe all that is contained in the Apostles' Creed, and in the commandments of God, and the church; in the sacraments and mysteries, as the Catholic church teaches, and has always taught. I have never presumed to make myself a judge of the different manners of explaining the doctrines, which divide the church of Jesus Christ, but I have always adhered to, and if it please God to prolong my life, shall always abide by, the decisions which the superior ecclesiastics, in union with the holy church, have given, according to the discipline observed since Jesus Christ. I lament with my whole heart, those of my brethren of mankind who are in error, but do not presume to judge them; and I do not the less love them all in Jesus Christ, as Christian charity enjoins. I implore God to pardon all my sins. I have endeavoured scrupulously to know them, to detest them, and to humble myself in the presence of the Almighty. Not having it in my power to avail myself of the ministry of a Catholic priest, I pray God, to receive the confession which I have made to him; above all, my deep repentance for having signed my name (although against my will) to acts contrary to the discipline and belief of the Catholic church, to which my heart has ever been sincerely united. I beseech God to accept my firm resolution of taking the first opportunity in my power, of making a full confession of my sins to a Catholic priest, and of receiving the sacrament of penitence. I beg all those whom I have offended, through inadvertency, (for I do not recollect having ever intentionally offended any one) and also those to whom I may have given a bad example, to forgive me, for the evil which such conduct may have produced. I beseech all those who are endowed with charity, to join their prayers with mine, to obtain of God the pardon of my iniquities. I pardon, with my whole heart, those who have become my enemies without cause, and I pray God to pardon them; as also those who, from false or mistaken zeal, have done me the greatest injuries.

"I recommend to God, my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are attached to me, by the ties of blood, or in any manner whatsoever. I earnestly intreat of God, to cast the eyes of mercy on my wife, my children, and my sister, who have for a long time suffered with me; and, in case of their losing me, that he may be their support and consolation, as long as they shall remain in this perishable world.

"I recommend my children to my wife. I never doubted her maternal tenderness; and I recommend, above all, that she will carefully endeavour to make them good Christians; to teach them to consider worldly grandeur as dangerous and perishable, and to fix their minds on eternity, where alone solid and lasting glory is to be found. I entreat my sister, to continue her tenderness to my children, and that she will be to them as a parent, if they should have the misfortune to lose their mother. I beseech my wife, to forgive me all those hardships she has undergone on my account, and all the uneasiness I may have given her in the course of our union; and if she should think that she has any cause to reproach herself, on account of any part of her conduct towards me, she may rest assured, that I retain nothing on my mind unfavourable to her.

"I recommend, with the greatest earnestness, to my children, after what they owe to God, which must ever be considered as their first duty, to remain always united to each other, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for the pains and care she takes of them; and I conjure them, for my sake, that they will respect their aunt as a second mother.

"If my son should ever have the misfortune to be established on the throne, I anxiously recommend that he should devote himself to the happiness of his countrymen; that he ought to divest himself of all resentment and animosities, particularly those which have a reference to my misfortunes and miseries. He can ensure the happiness of the people only by reigning according to the laws; although, at the same time, a King cannot make himself respected, and do all the good which is in his heart, without a necessary degree of authority; without which he must be confined in his operations; and when he cannot inspire respect, he necessarily becomes more hurtful than useful.

"I recommend to my son, to take care of all those persons who have been attached to me, as far as the circumstances in which he may find himself shall afford him opportunity. He ought ever to regard this as a sacred debt, which I have contracted towards the children or parents of those who perished for my sake, or have been rendered miserable on my account. I know there are several persons, amongst those who were attached to me, who have not behaved towards me as they ought to have done, and who have even shewn ingratitude: but I forgive them (for, in times of trouble and effervescence, men are not always masters of their conduct;) and I beseech my son, should he find an opportunity of serving them, to reflect only upon their misfortunes.

"I wish it were in my power openly to express my gratitude to all, who have shewn me a truly disinterested attachment: but if I have been painfully affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of those to whom I have always acted with kindness, I have likewise had the consolation of receiving services and strong marks of attachment from several of my subjects, on whom I never had bestowed any favour. I beg that all those persons will accept my grateful acknowledgments. In the present situation of things, I fear that I should injure them by being more explicit on this subject: but I particularly exhort my son to seek opportunities of making them a suitable return. I think, however, that it would be calumniating the nation to express any fear of openly recommending to my son, M. de Chamilly and M. Hue, whose sincere attachment to me has induced them to shut themselves up along with me in this melancholy abode, and who have been frequently in danger of becoming victims to their generosity. I also recommend to them Clery, with whose attention I have had every reason to be satisfied since he has been with me; and as he has remained with me to the last, I beg of the commune to give to him my clothes, my books, my watch, my money, and all the other effects belonging to me, which have been deposited in the hands of the council of the commune.

"I most willingly pardon those who have guarded me, for the harshness of their conduct, and the constraint which they thought necessary to impose upon me. I have found in the Temple some persons of feeling and humanity: may they long enjoy that serenity of mind, which such dispositions naturally produce!

"I beseech Messrs. de Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Desèze, to receive my most grateful thanks, and cordial acknowledgments, for the pains and labour they have taken for me.

"I conclude by declaring, before God, being ready to appear in his presence, that I do not reproach myself with any of those crimes which have been charged against me."

"LOUIS."

Holland,

Holland, this message was taken into consideration by the House of Commons. Mr. Pitt entered into a copious and luminous illustration of French principles, and took an extensive view of the subjects, both foreign and domestic, to which the message related. In the course of his speech, and in illustration of the sentiments and designs of the French rulers, Mr. Pitt read a letter from one of them, Monge, addressed to the friends of liberty, in the different sea-ports of France, and bearing date the 31st of December, 1792, only four days after a communication from Chauvelin, to Lord Grenville, in which that same council had complained that a harsh construction had been put, by the British ministry, on the conduct of France, and at the same time, professed the strongest friendship for Great Britain. In this letter England and Spain were represented as two tyrannical governments, which, after persecuting the patriots in their own territories, thought they should be able to influence the judgment to be pronounced on the tyrant Louis. But the people of France would not suffer laws to be dictated to them by a tyrant. "The King and his Parliament mean to make war against us! Will the English republicans suffer it? Already these free men shew their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers, the French. Well! we will fly to their succour, we will make a descent on the island; we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren: the tyranny of their government will soon be destroyed. Let every one of us be strongly impressed with this idea." Such was the declaration of the sentiments of the minister of the Marine; a declaration which separated not only the King, but the King and Parliament, from the people, who were called republicans. What faith could be put in assurances, given on the part of France by Chauvelin, on the 27th of December, when, in four days after, a member of the French government was found writing such a letter? It was highly proper, therefore, to reject such explanations as those which had been offered only to deceive. The state of the negotiation, then, appeared to be this, the conduct of France was inconsistent with the peace and liberty of Europe, the French had given no satisfaction with respect to the question at issue; they had, indeed, offered what they called explanations, but their principles, and the whole tenour of their conduct, were such, that no faith could be put in their declarations. Their conduct gave the lie to their public professions; and, instead of giving satisfaction on the distinct articles, on which we had a right to claim a clear and precise explanation, and instead of shewing any desire to abandon those views of conquest and aggrandisement, to return within their ancient limits, and to set barriers to the progress of their destructive arms, and to their principles, still more destructive; instead of doing this, they had, by way of explanation, avowed their determination to persist in those practices which constituted the very ground of complaint. If France was really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must shew herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression, and aggrandisement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights. Unless she consented to these terms, whatever might be the wishes of the British nation for peace, the final issue must be war. But, as to the time, as to the moment, when the war was to commence, if there were yet any possibility of satisfactory explanation, and security for the future, it was not to the last moment precluded. Mr. Pitt said, however, that he should disguise his sentiments to the House, if he stated, that he thought an accommodation in any degree probable. The country had always been desirous of peace, it was so still, but of such a peace as might be real and solid, and consistent with the interests and dignity of Britain, and with the general security of Europe. War, whenever it came, would be preferable to peace without honour, without security, and incompatible either with the external safety, or internal happiness, of the country. Mr. Pitt, after he had fully developed his sentiments, on the important question at issue, moved an address, thanking his Majesty for his communication; offering him the heartfelt condolence of the House, on the atrocious act lately perpetrated at Paris; expressing their sense of the aggressive and ambitious conduct of France; declaring their opinion of the necessity of a vigorous opposition to such conduct, and to the principles out of which it arose; and promising to make the necessary provision for a further augmentation of the national forces by sea and land.

A very animated debate ensued, in the course of which, Mr. Fox declared his opinion of the nonexistence of any danger to this country, and strongly deprecated a war. The address, upon this occasion, was carried without a division. A few days afterwards, the intelligence was received that France had declared war against Great Britain and Holland; and on the 11th of February, 1793, a royal message was delivered to the two Houses of Parliament, announcing, "That the Assembly, now exercising the powers of government in France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his Majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and have since, on the most groundless pretences, actually declared war against his Majesty and the United Provinces. Under the circumstances of this wanton, and unprovoked aggression, his Majesty has taken the necessary steps, to maintain the honour of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people. And his Majesty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual support of the House of Commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war; and in endeavouring, under the blessing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the progress of a system, which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice. In a cause of such general concern, his Majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers, who are united with his Majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe." Upon this occasion, Mr. Pitt contented himself with examining the several articles of the French declaration; and he concluded with asserting, that he found in it nothing but pretexts and allegations too weak to require refutation. "We had in every instance observed the strictest neutrality with respect to France. We had pushed to its utmost extent the system of temperance and moderation. We had waited to the last moment for satisfactory explanation." He then moved the address to the throne. Mr. Fox contended, that every step on our part had seemed to indicate a desire to break with France. To have continued Earl Gower at Paris after the event of the 10th of August, would have implied no recognition of the validity of the government which succeeded to the monarchy, nor approbation of their proceedings: and it was certainly more eligible to treat in a direct, than an indirect mode, with those who exercised the powers of government. As the prohibition of exporting corn to France, when it was allowed to other countries, was a positive infraction of the subsisting treaty; and the order received by M. Chauvelin to depart the kingdom was an act of open hostility on our part; he could not allow the declaration of war to be an unprovoked aggression on that of France. He moved, therefore, an amendment to the proposed address; but it was negatived, without a division.

In the House of Peers during this session, the debates were too similar to those of the Commons, to render a relation of them necessary. By the great defection experienced by the Whig party, however, the numbers of the opposition were now very low. In the Commons, on the 15th of March, the Attorney-General, Sir John Scott, introduced his "Traitorous Correspondence Bill," by which it was not only, according to precedent, declared to be high-treason to supply the existing government

ment of France with military stores, &c. but to purchase lands of inheritance in France, or invest money in any of the French funds: also to prevent the subjects of Britain, from going from this country to France, without a license under the great seal. It likewise prohibited the return of such as were already there, unless on giving security to the government. This bill met with much opposition, and several of its more obnoxious clauses were modified in the course of its progress.

About this period, Mr. Pitt brought forward his annual statement of finance. Scarcely had the war commenced, when a debt of six millions was incurred and funded,—the temporary taxes imposed for defraying the expence of the Spanish armament, being made permanent, as a provision for the interest of this new capital. Soon afterwards, Parliament adjourned for the Easter recess.*

On the 2d of April, M. Le Brun, minister of foreign affairs

* In the winter of 1792, General Dumouriez had proposed to the executive council to take possession of Maestricht, without which he alledged neither the passage of the Meuse, nor the territory of Liege could be defended; engaging, by manifesto, to restore it to the Dutch at the end of the war. As soon as war had been decided upon, General Dumouriez hastened to put into execution the plan he had formed, to advance with a body of troops posted at the Moerdyke, and masking Breda and Gertruydenburg on the right, and Bergen-op-zoom, Klundert, and Williamstadt, on the left, to effect a passage over an arm of the sea to Dordt, and thus penetrate at once into the heart of Holland. General Miranda had directions, leaving General Valence before Maestricht, to march with all expedition to Nimeguen, in order to oppose the expected invasion of the Prussians on that side. Dumouriez, assembling his army in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, entered the Dutch territory on the 17th of February, 1793. On the 24th, Breda surrendered, through the cowardice or treachery of its governor, Count Byland, almost on the first summons. The fort of Klundert was taken, after a brave defence, on the 26th. Nine days afterwards, Gertruydenburg followed the example of Breda; but Williamstadt made an obstinate resistance; and while the French troops were still engaged in the siege of this little fortress, intelligence arrived from the eastern frontier of the Netherlands, which materially changed the aspect of the war. On the 1st of March, General Clairfait having suddenly passed the Roer in the night, attacked the French posts on that side, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loss of 2000 men. Next day, the Archduke Charles, brother to the Emperor of Germany, carried several batteries, and took nine pieces of cannon. On the 3d, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, who had highly distinguished himself in the war with the Turks, obtained a signal advantage over General Valence, and his army, driving them from Aix-la-Chapelle to the vicinity of Liege, with the loss of more than 5000 men, and twenty pieces of cannon. The siege of Maestricht was immediately raised; and, at midnight, on the 4th, General Miranda gave orders for retreating to Tongres, whence the French armies were again compelled to fall back to St. Tron, where Miranda was joined by General Valence, who had by this time evacuated Liege, and its territory; and on the 8th they moved towards Tirlemont. Dumouriez now arrived to take the command in person, leaving the conduct of affairs on the northern frontier, to General de Flers. The Prussians advanced by way of Bois-le-duc. A corps of 12,000 Hanoverians, reinforced by several thousand British troops, with the Duke of York at their head, arrived nearly at the same time in Holland; and the siege of Williamstadt was raised. Instead of proceeding to Dordt, De Flers was compelled to throw himself into Breda, the main body of the army retiring precipitately to Antwerp. On the 18th of March a general engagement took place on the plains of Neerwinden, which continued from morning till evening, when the French were totally routed, with considerable loss. The French continued retreating; and, on the 21st, General Dumouriez was posted near Louvain. Here a virtual suspension of hostilities took place, and the French army was allowed to march back to their own frontier without molestation, on condition of evacuating Brussels, and all the other towns of Brabant, &c. in their possession. On the 27th, General Dumouriez held a conference with an Austrian officer of distinction, Colonel Mack, to whom, he intimated his design of marching against Paris, with a view of re-establishing the constitutional monarchy of 1791: and it was agreed that the Imperialists should act merely as auxiliaries, in the accomplishment of this plan; not advancing, except in case of necessity, beyond the frontier of France: and that the troops to be eventually furnished by the Prince of Cobourg should act entirely under the direction of General Dumouriez. The designs of Dumouriez did not, however, pass unsuspected at Paris. Three commissioners from the executive power had therefore been dispatched to Flanders, under the pretence of conferring with the General concerning the affairs of Belgium. In this interview Dumouriez expressed himself with great violence against the jacobins "They would ruin France," said he; "but I will save it, though they should call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." He styled the Convention, "a horde of ruffians;" and declared, "that this Assembly would not exist three weeks longer; that France must have a King:" adding, "that since the battle of Gemappe, he had wept over his success in so bad a cause." On the return of the commissioners to Paris, Dumouriez was summoned to appear at the bar of the Convention, and M. Bournonville was appointed to supersede him. Four new commissioners also were deputed to the army of the north, with powers to suspend and arrest all officers who should fall under their suspicion. On their arrival at Lisle, (March 28) the commissioners transmitted their orders to General Dumouriez, to appear before them, and answer the charges against him. The General, however, had fully arranged his plan; and he replied, "that, in the present exigent circumstances, he could not leave the army for a moment; that when he did enter Lisle, it would be in order to purge it of traitors; and that he valued his head too much to submit it to an arbitrary tribunal." The commissioners now resolved to proceed to the camp; but they soon found how dangerous was the attempt to seize the person of a General at the head of his army. On the 1st of April they arrived, in company with M. Bournonville, at St. Amand, the head quarters of General Dumouriez; and, being admitted to his presence, explained to him the object of their mission. After a long conference, the General finding them inflexible in their purpose, gave the signal for a body of soldiers who were in waiting, and ordered M. Bournonville and the four commissioners, in the number of whom was the noted M. Camus, immediately to be conveyed to General Clairfait's head-quarters at Tournay, as hostages for the safety of the royal family of France. Notwithstanding the popularity of Dumouriez, symptoms soon appeared in the army, of high dissatisfaction at this act of violence. On the morning of the 3d, Dumouriez repaired to the camp of Maulde, and addressed the troops, amidst the murmurs of many of the battalions. On the next day he departed with his suite for Conde, which fortress, with Valenciennes, he had engaged to put into the hands of the Austrians: but on the road he received intelligence, that it would not be safe for him to enter the place; and, in making his retreat, he fell in with a column of volunteer guards, who called to him to surrender: but, trusting to the swiftness of his horse, he made, with great difficulty, his escape to the quarters of General Mack, through a dreadful discharge of musquetry. His example was followed by General Lamorliere, the Duc de Chartres, son of the Duke of Orleans, and some hundreds of private soldiers. On the following day appeared a proclamation from General Dumouriez, containing a recapitulation of his services to the French republic, an animated picture of the outrages of the jacobins, and of the mischiefs to be apprehended from a continuation of anarchy in France; concluding with an exhortation to the French to restore the constitution of 1791, and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for that purpose. This proclamation was accompanied by a manifesto on the part of the Prince of Cobourg, now commander-in-chief of the armies of Austria; announcing, "That the allied powers were no longer to be considered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries, in the war; that they had no other object than to co-operate with the General, in giving to France her constitutional King, and the constitution she formed for herself." By this time, however, Antwerp, Breda, and the other conquests of France on the Dutch frontier, were evacuated; and a considerable change had taken place in the aspect of affairs. On the 8th of April, a grand council was held at Antwerp, at which were present the Prince of Orange, accompanied by the grand pensionary Vander Spiegel, the Prince of Cobourg, Counts Metternich, Staremberg, &c. also the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan ambassadors. The whole plan of operations was now changed. At the same time, a memorial was presented by Lord Auckland, (April the 5th) to the States General, in which his Lordship stated, in allusion to the capture of M. Camus, and the other conventional commissioners, "That the divine vengeance, for the atrocious crime which had been by their High Mightinesses with horror foreseen, seemed not to have been tardy. Some of these detestable regicides are now," said his Lordship, "in such a situation, that they can be subjected to the sword of the law; the rest are still in the midst of a people, whom they have plunged into an abyss of evils, and for whom famine, anarchy, and civil war, are about to prepare new calamities. In short, every thing that we see happen, induces us to consider as not far distant, the end of these wretches, whose madness and atrocities have filled with terror and indignation all those, who respect the principles of religion, morality, and humanity. The undersigned, therefore, submit, to the enlightened judgment, and wisdom, of your High Mightinesses, whether, it would not be proper to employ all the means in your power, to prohibit from entering your states in Europe, or your colonies, all those members of the pretended National Convention, or of the pretended executive council, who have directly or indirectly, participated in the said crime; and, if they should be discovered and arrested, to deliver them up to justice, that they may serve as a lesson and example to mankind."—To this memorial the Dutch government declined any reply.

General Dampierre, an officer distinguished by his conduct and valour, was now provisionally appointed to the chief command; and in a short time he was enabled to lead his troops with confidence into action. From the middle of April to the 8th of May, a variety of partial, though sharp and bloody, engagements took place between the two armies, in which no decisive advantage was gained. On that day General Dampierre advanced in person to dislodge a large body of the enemy posted near the wood of Vicoigne; but, exposing his person to the enemy's fire, his thigh was carried off by a cannon ball, and he died the following day, deeply regretted. In this action the English troops were engaged in the field for the first time in this war, and behaved with all their characteristic intrepidity: but by the inexperience of the Duke of York, their commander, being ordered to the attack of a strong post in the wood, where they were exposed to the fire of some masked batteries, they suffered so much, that it was not thought expedient to make any official return of the killed and wounded. The siege of Valenciennes being now in contemplation of the Prince of Cobourg, it was determined by the allies, to attempt an attack upon the fortified camp of Famars, which protected and covered that important fortress, Conde being already invested. At day-break, on the 23d of May, the British and Hanoverians under their royal commander, and the Austrians and German auxiliaries under

SIEGE OF VALENCIENNES.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row.

affairs in France, addressed a letter to Lord Grenville, stating, "That the French republic was desirous to terminate all its differences with Great Britain, and to end a war dreadful to humanity, and requesting a passport for a person vested with full powers for that purpose to the court of London;" and, in a separate letter, he named M. Maret as the proposed plenipotentiary of France, should this intimation produce the desired effect. The present state of affairs, however, was not such as to permit the British government to accede to such an overture. On the contrary, a treaty was about this time concluded with the King of Sardinia, by which England bound herself, "To furnish to his Sardinian Majesty a subsidy of 200,000*l.* per annum, to be paid three months in advance," and also "not to conclude a peace with the enemy, without comprehending in it the entire restitution of all the dominions belonging to this monarch previously to the commencement of the war."

When Parliament met, after the recess, its attention was attracted by the unusual number and extent of the bankruptcies, which had taken place since the commencement of the war. A select committee was immediately appointed to report their opinion to the House, on the best means of applying a remedy to this evil. The report of the committee stated, "that it would be adviseable to issue Exchequer bills, to the amount of five millions, to commissioners nominated for the purpose, for the assistance and accommodation of such mercantile persons as might apply, and who should give proper security for the sums that might be advanced on interest, for a time to be limited." This relief proved extremely beneficial, and commerce soon returned to its accustomed channel, without the slightest national loss.

On the 25th of April, Mr. Sheridan called the attention of the House to the late memorial of Lord Auckland to the States General; which, in his view of the subject, implied that the war was carried on for the purpose of extermination. He accordingly moved, an address to his Majesty, expressive of the displeasure of the House at the memorial in question; and stating, that the minister who presented it had departed from the principles on which the House had concurred in the measures for the support of the war. Mr. Pitt defended Lord Auckland, and maintained the right of Britain to repel the unjust attacks of France—to chastise and punish her; and to obtain indemnification for the past, and security for the future. The motion of Mr. Sheridan was rejected by 211 against 36.—Lord Stanhope's motion, in the Peers, similar to Mr. Sheridan's, ended in an amendment, by Lord Grenville, pronouncing the memorial conformable to the sentiments of his Majesty, and consonant to those principles of justice and policy which it became the honour and dignity of the nation to express; which was carried without a division.

On the 2d of May, Mr. Grey brought forward his promised motion for a reform in the representation. The debate occupied two days; when the motion, for referring the numerous petitions which had been presented on the subject to a committee, was negatived, by 282 against 41.

In the course of the session, Mr. Dundas brought in a bill, which, soon after, passed into an act, to renew the charter of the East India Company for twenty years, upon terms which varied little from the former charter.* On the 21st of June the King prorogued the Parliament; on which occasion his Majesty noticed "The rapid and signal successes which had, in an early period of the campaign, attended the operations of the combined armies; the respectable and powerful force which he had been enabled to employ by sea and land; and the measures which he had concerted with other powers for the effectual prosecution of the war; all of which afforded the best prospect of a happy issue to the important contest in which we were engaged.†"

The

under the Prince of Cobourg, and General Clairfait, made a joint assault upon the advanced posts of the French. The contest was severe; but the French were evidently worsted, and, in the course of the night, they abandoned their camp, retreating towards Bouchain and Cambray. This success enabled the allies to lay siege in form to Valenciennes. On the 1st of June General Custine arrived to take the command of the armies of the North and the Ardennes; but he deemed himself unequal to the task of rendering effectual relief to that fortress, before which the trenches were opened on the 14th of that month; and, towards the beginning of July, the besiegers were able to bring 200 pieces of heavy artillery to play upon it. Mines and counter-mines innumerable were formed also in the course of this siege, both by the assailants and the garrison; and many fierce subterranean conflicts were carried on with various success. On the night of the 25th of July, however, those under the glacis and horn-work of the fortress were sprung, on the part of the besiegers, with complete success, and the English and Austrians seized the favourable moment for attacking the covered way, of which they made themselves masters. On the next day, the place surrendered on honourable terms of capitulation, the Duke of York taking possession of it, in behalf of the Emperor of Germany. Nearly at the same time the garrison of Conde yielded themselves prisoners of war, after enduring all the rigours of famine; and Mentz submitted, not without a long and resolute resistance, to the arms of Prussia. On the 8th of August, the French were driven from the strong position they occupied behind the Scheldt, which was known by the name of Cæsar's Camp: after which a grand council of war was held, wherein it was determined that the British, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Hessians, should separate from the Austrians, and form a distinct army, not dependent upon the co-operation of the Austrians. This was strongly opposed by the Prince of Cobourg, and General Clairfait.

The British army, however, conducted by the Duke of York, immediately decamped; and, on the 18th of August, arrived in the vicinity of Menin, where some severe contests took place, and the post of Lincelles, lost by the Dutch, was recovered at the point of the bayonet, with a signal display of spirit and intrepidity, by the English, though very inferior in force, led on by General Sir John Lake. Moving, with little resistance, towards Dunkirk, the trenches were opened before that fortress on the 24th; and the Duke of York, having entertained a secret correspondence with the Governor-General, O'Moran, flattered himself with obtaining speedy possession of the place. On the other side, General Clairfait invested the town of Quesnoy; and the Prince of Cobourg, who commanded the covering army, having defeated a body of troops which had been sent for its relief, the place surrendered on the 11th of September. The Austrians then laid siege to Maubeuge; but the French, under General Jourdan, attacked them in their trenches, on the 15th of October, and after sustaining a great loss, forced them to raise the siege. Various incursions were afterwards made by the French into Maritime Flanders, but, unable to establish a footing there, they were compelled, once more, reluctantly, to retire within their own frontier. In the course of the year, Pondicherry, and all the French settlements in the east, were reduced by the British arms; and the island of Tobago, in the West Indies, besides some other possessions of less importance, were likewise wrested from their power.

* The trial of Mr. Hastings was resumed on the 15th of February, and during the session, the court sat twenty-two days, in which time the counsel for the prisoner completed the defence set up by them on the three last articles, viz. begums, presents, and contracts; after which Mr. Hastings addressed the court, praying, "That he might obtain from their Lordships this only grace; that they would order the trial, now past its legal process, to continue to its final conclusion during the present session." The farther proceedings, however, were adjourned till the ensuing session.

† On the 10th of January, the Parliament of Ireland was convened at Dublin by the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom. The English cabinet, conceiving that some measures of redress must now be adopted in relation to the Catholics, instructed Lord Westmoreland, in the course of his speech to the two Houses at the opening of the present session, thus to express himself:—"I have it in particular command from his Majesty to recommend it to you to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be the most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his Majesty's Catholic subjects in support of the established constitution. With this view his Majesty trusts that the situation of his Majesty's Catholic subjects will engage your serious attention, and in the consideration of this subject he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his Parliament." Early in March the Bill of Relief was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Hobart. Its chief enacting clause enabled the Catholics to exercise and enjoy all civil and military offices and places of trust or profit under the crown, under certain restrictions,—that it should not be construed to extend to enable any Roman Catholic to sit or vote in either House of Parliament, or to fill the office of Lord Lieutenant or Lord Chancellor, or Judge in either of the three courts of Record or Admiralty, or keeper of the privy-seal, secretary of state, lieutenant or custos rotulorum of counties, or privy-counsellor, or master in Chancery, or a general on the staff, or sheriff or sub-sheriff of any county, &c. The bill at length, passed with few dissentient voices into a law: and though it stopped short of full emancipation, it was supposed to be all that the executive government could, at this time, without too violent an exertion, effect; and upon this account it was received with gratitude and satisfaction. As a farther concession to Ireland, a Libel Bill passed, similar to that of Mr. Fox in England; the power of the crown to grant pensions on the Irish establishment was limited to the sum of 80,000*l.* and certain descriptions of placemen and pensioners were excluded from the privilege of sitting in the House of Commons. Also the King declared his acceptance of a limited sum fixed at 225,000*l.* for the expences of his civil list, in lieu of the hereditary revenues of the crown.

Alien

The English revolutionary societies were at this time extremely active, throughout the kingdom. In Edinburgh, the seditious had proceeded to reduce their principles to practice, and had actually, in October, holden that kind of convention which the President of the French Convention had anticipated in his answer to one of the English addresses. This meeting was attended by delegates from the London Corresponding Society, and from other societies of the same description in different parts of England and Ireland. The London Corresponding Society restricted its delegates to its original avowed object, the obtaining, by lawful means, universal suffrage and annual Parliaments; but it instructed them, at the same time, to enforce the duty of the people, to resist any act of the Legislature repugnant to the original principles of the constitution, as every attempt would be to prohibit associations for the purpose of reform. The Edinburgh convention adopted all the forms, names, and proceedings of the French Jacobin clubs, with such difference and omissions only as their peculiar circumstances rendered necessary. The members hailed each other by the republican denomination of citizen; they divided themselves into sections; appointed committees of organization, of instruction, of finance, of secrecy, and of emergency; called their meetings sittings; granted honours of sittings, and dated their proceedings in the first year of the British convention, one and indivisible. They, at first, assumed the distinctive appellation of the General Convention of the Friends of the People, but they afterwards took the name of the British Convention of the Delegates of the People, associated to obtain universal suffrage, and annual Parliaments. They adopted means for assembling the delegates, at any time, when it should be deemed necessary, in consequence of any measures of precaution or coercion which the government might adopt, for the societies to act, and they were fully prepared to carry their doctrine of resistance into effect. When they were thus emboldened, by their increased numbers, openly to avow their designs, the government thought it time to interrupt their proceedings. On the fifth and sixth of December, the magistrates of Edinburgh repaired to two of their places of meeting, where they seized the papers, and took the secretary, and some of the leading members into custody. Three of these were afterwards brought to trial, William Skirving, the secretary, and two of the delegates from the London Corresponding Society, Maurice Margarot, and Joseph Gerald, before the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland, and, being all found guilty, they were sentenced to be transported for fourteen years.*

We must now briefly advert to the affairs of France.—Whilst that country appeared in such imminent danger from enemies, she was also exposed to all the horrors of intestine war. To effect the complete subversion of the foreign republican government in France it was proposed, to excite, by a bold and simultaneous effort of the royalist party, who lay concealed in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the ancient provinces of Britanny and Poicton, now termed La Vendée, and La Loire. Notwithstanding the severe decrees of the convention, immense numbers of emigrants had secretly repaired thither in the winter of 1792, and the vicinity of these departments to the sea, afforded every facility for receiving supplies of men and military stores, as well as admitted of the co-operation of the naval powers. The first disturbances in these departments were considered, by the convention, as a mere momentary effervescence, from the dislike of the populace to the new mode which had been adopted for filling the ranks of the army; but before the latter end of March the insurgents had assumed a more formidable apearance, as to numbers, and their proceedings appeared to be the result of previous arrangement. They professed to act by the authority of Monsieur, the brother of the King, who had assumed the title of Regent: on the 23d of March, the convention was informed, that the insurgents had made themselves masters of the districts of Cholet, Montaigne, and Clisson, and had defeated General Marce, who had been sent to quell them. The city of Nantz was besieged by them, and the number of royalists encamped before that city, was estimated at not less than 40,000. In the beginning of April General Berruyere was appointed to command against the insurgents, but notwithstanding all the exertions which the French revolutionary government could make, the insurgents, before the end of April, possessed themselves of more than fifty leagues of the country, had defeated the republicans in two engagements, and taken a great number of prisoners, with an immense quantity of artillery and military stores.

Ever since the deposition of the King, two powerful parties, the Gironde, and the Mountain, had divided the convention. Brissot, Petion, Vergniaux, and their associates, almost all distinguished by their talents, formed the party of the Gironde. Republicans in principle, they had contributed to weaken the constitutional throne, but they had taken no active part in the conspiracy, by which it was overturned. The revolutionists of the 10th of August, Danton, Robespierre, Chabot, Barbaroux, Fabre d'Eglantine, Couthon, and Collot d'Herbois, assumed the name of the Mountain. These aspired to reap the fruits of their treason, and to govern the republic which they had founded on the ruins of the throne. In the month of March, that infamous court, the revolutionary tribunal, was established. The office of this tribunal was to take cognizance of all offences against the safety of the state: it was to be fixed at Paris. The Judges were to be chosen by the convention, and the Jury from the commune of Paris. From its decision there was no appeal; and on the 7th of April, a committee of Public Safety was instituted by the convention, invested with almost unlimited power, a power which was soon abused to the worst of purposes, and laid the foundation of a tyranny the most sanguinary and atrocious the world had ever witnessed. The defection of Dumouriez contributed in no small degree to the overthrow of the Gironde party, and the destruction of the members of the Bourbon family, remaining in the power of the republicans. On the 7th of April, it was decreed by the convention, that all the members of the Bourbon family should be detained as hostages for the safety of the arrested deputies, and that all the members of that family not already in the temple should be removed to Marseilles: the ci-devant Duke of Orleans, though a member of the convention, was included in this decree. A considerable part of the month of April was spent in discussing and digesting the declaration of rights which was to serve as a preface to the new constitution. On the 10th of May the convention took possession of their new hall in the Thuilleries, and on that day decreed the first article of the new constitution; viz. "the French republic is one and indivisible." In the mean time, the divisions which had so long subsisted between these two parties, approached rapidly to open and avowed hostility. The Mountain party had secured the attachment of the populace of Paris, and the jacobin club had become devoted to this faction. Even the virtues of the Girondists tended to accelerate their ruin: their humane attempt to save the life of the devoted Louis, was urged against them as an unpardonable crime, and as manifesting a culpable indifference to the cause of freedom. To these causes may be added the manifest incapacity they evinced in the conduct of public affairs; the neglect of the army, and their tardiness in presenting the nation with a constitution. On the 15th of April, a petition was presented to the communes of the 48 sections of Paris, at the bar of the convention, demanding, that twenty-two of the deputies of the Gi-

---

Alien and Traiterous Correspondence Bills, analogous to those of England, were also passed; as was a bill "To prevent the election or appointment of assemblies, purporting to represent the people, or any description or number of the people, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, &c. to the King, or either House of Parliament, for alteration of matters established by law, or redress of alledged grievances in church or state."

* Skirving was tried on the 6th of January, Margarot on the 13th and 14th of the same month; and Gerald on the 10th, 13th, and 14th of March, 1794.

ronde

ronde party should be impeached. This party, however, continued to have a preponderance in the convention, and Marat, a furious and fanatic leader of the Mountain party, was accused by the convention, and committed to the abbey prison, but in a few days he was acquitted by a jury, and returned to the hall of the convention in triumph. An explosion at length took place. The Mountain party, alarmed at a proposal which had been made to remove the convention to Bourges, and surround it with a guard from the departments, aroused the populace of Paris to a state of insurrection. At four o'clock in the morning of the 31st of May, the tocsin was sounded, and the alarm gun was fired; the barriers were shut, and the commotion every-where visible throughout the capital, denoted an approaching crisis. Henriot, the commander of the national guard, a man entirely devoted to Robespierre, instead of taking the proper measures for the protection of the convention, was a party in the plot against it. Surrounded without by an outrageous multitude, and assailed within by a party of the Mountain, many of the representatives were alarmed for their own safety. At length, after the tumult had continued a considerable time, a deputation from the revolutionary committees appeared at the bar, and demanded the immediate suppression of the commission of twelve, which had been nominated on purpose to restrain anarchy; a revolutionary army of sans-culottes; a decree of accusation against twenty-two legislators; and a diminution in the price of bread. They also insisted that certain deputies should be dispatched to the south, on purpose to put a stop to the counter-revolution that prevailed there; and they at the same time suggested the arrest of Claviere, the minister of public contributions, and Le Brun, the minister for foreign affairs. The enmity, however, was chiefly directed against the principal members of the Gironde, whom they termed the accomplices of Dumouriez and the coalesced powers; they attributed to them the intention of dividing the nation into federate republics; and, with an incongruity of malice that would have appeared contemptible at any other period, they at the same time denounced them as having entered into a plot to place the Duke of Orleans on the throne. But notwithstanding the entreaties and even threats of factious committees, supported by the municipality, the administrators of the departments, the populace of the suburbs, the seditious vociferations of the spectators, and the tumultuous cries of the Mountain, the convention still refused to sacrifice the victims demanded by the conspirators. This, however, was the last effort; for two days afterwards, the legislature, finding itself besieged and imprisoned in its own hall, was at length intimidated into compliance, and not only decreed the arrest of all the obnoxious deputies (36 in number) but proscribed those who endeavoured to avoid death by flight. The vanquished party had wished for a republican form of government, founded on the immutable basis of virtue. The triumphant faction, on the contrary, conceding to popular opinions, still maintained all the forms of a commonwealth, but, under the veil of liberty, introduced the most terrible despotism; and although they immediately drew up a new and seductive constitution, they contrived to suspend all its benefits until the return of peace.

Several of the departments in the mean time took the alarm, and determined to avenge the outrages committed against their deputies. The city of Caen resolved not to acknowledge the convention, or receive any of its decrees, until the imprisoned members were restored to their functions. This body at the same time received notice, that no sooner had an account of their late proceedings reached Bourdeaux, than cries of indignation resounded from every quarter; and the president of the administration of Isle and Valaine transmitted a letter, in the name of the constituted authorities, to announce their resolution "to send an armed force to Paris, on purpose to rescue the legislature from the state of oppression in which it languished, under the dominion of a handful of anarchists." The departments of Calvadoes, the Rhone, and the Loire, also publicly avowed their determination to disown the convention; and the first of these actually imprisoned three of the jacobin deputies, who had been sent thither with a view of propagating their tenets, and supporting their cause. At this critical moment too, a complete counter-revolution took place at Lyons; Marseilles was threatened with commotions; Toulon exhibited manifest symptoms of disaffection; and the cause of the Mountain for a moment appeared desperate. Several of the proscribed deputies, having escaped from their confinement, now sought an asylum at Nantes, Rennes, Bourdeaux, Caen, and Evreux. Others, abandoning an assembly, in which cruelty and injustice preponderated, fled from Paris and joined them. Considered as the martyrs of liberty, they were every-where received with the most lively transports of joy, and a general insurrection of the provinces against the capital was immediately agreed upon. Many of the cities nominated commissioners for the purpose of concerting with the deputies from the districts, relative to the measures which the present critical state of affairs seemed to render necessary. Succours of men and of money were promised by all; and the archives of the capital of the Gironde, in which the most zealous of their partizans resided, are said to have contained decrees of adhesion and support on the part of no fewer than seventy-two departments. But this plan, alike destitute of uniformity and foresight, while it added to, and seemed to countenance, the ferocity of the jacobins, distracted and nearly proved fatal to the republic. After the passions of the people were permitted to subside, few could be prevailed upon to embark in so desperate a cause, and a civil war soon began to appear odious to all, and peculiarly impolitic at such a critical period.

Notwithstanding many of the departments declined to declare openly, yet commissioners from the Gironde, Isle, Vilaine, and Finisterre, assembled, and resolved to march to Paris with their fellow-citizens, to restore the proscribed members, ensure the liberty of the convention, and obtain the punishment of the guilty. No sooner did the indignant provinces begin to think of avenging the common cause, than a number of the accused deputies assembled for the purpose of directing their movements. Buzot and Gorsas, who had not been seized, and Barbaroux and Petion, who escaped from arrest, were already at Caen, and headed the insurrection of the west. Louvet, who had distinguished himself by the energy of his writings and his speeches, flying from Paris, rejoined his friends, and found that eight coalesced departments had already nominated their commissioners; that Wimpffen, the gallant defender of Thionville, had been chosen as their leader, while De Puisaye was appointed by him to act as Adjutant-General. Conscious that the success of their plan depended chiefly on the celerity of their motions, the Girondists wished the troops to begin their march immediately, and even proposed to advance to the capital, where they knew that their friends were both numerous and formidable, at the head of the Bretons and Normans alone. But the General insisted on organizing his army, and pointed out the advantages likely to ensue from a delay that would enable him to increase the number of their partisans, by the junction of the troops expected from the south, and thus render success inevitable. He accordingly contented himself with dispersing proclamations; and on being summoned to give an account of his conduct by the faction that had assumed the reins of government, he replied, that "he would disclose his motives and intentions at the head of sixty thousand men."

The proscribed deputies began to suspect that Wimpffen and De Puisaye were not only royalists, but secretly attached to the interests of a neighbouring nation, by means of which they wished to place one of the Bourbons on the throne of their ancestors. The former of these at last disclosed his mind freely, and proposed a junction with the army of La Vendée. On being pressed to advance directly to Paris without waiting for the arrival of the departmental forces, Wimpffen at length marched towards Vernon, at the head of a small body of troops. The jacobins, who had assembled some forces

in that town, immediately sallied forth, and received them with a discharge of artillery. On this, the whole of the insurgents betook themselves to flight, except a single battalion of four hundred men from Finisterre: which, on seeing itself abandoned, retired in good order to Evreux, where the fugitives at length rallied. After this they were all re-conducted to Caen, which the General now proposed to fortify, that they might there wait for the quotas of troops promised by the neighbouring departments. But the exiled deputies, disgusted with his conduct, and seeing no prospect of success, refused their assent. The armed citizens, actuated by the same motives, marched towards their respective districts: Wimpffen and De Puisaye concealed themselves; the forlorn representatives betook themselves to flight; some perished by the guillotine; others by fatigue and famine; while the victorious party stained their triumph by a series of cruelty, injustice, and bloodshed.

Early in the month of July an insurrection broke out at Lyons. A congress of the department was convoked at that city, in which it was resolved to march a considerable force for the reduction of Paris: the Mountain party was declared to be outlawed; and the provisions destined for the armies were intercepted. The cities of Marseilles and Toulon followed the example of Lyons, and entered into that famous confederacy for dissolving the convention, which has since been distinguished by the name of Federalism. On the 12th of July, the Marseillois issued a manifesto to the French nation, in which they declared that the situation of Paris was equivalent to the declaration of war against the whole republic, and they urged the people to join their standard, and assist in reducing the faction, which had usurped the powers of the republic. On the 8th of July, the committee of public safety produced its report concerning the imprisoned deputies of the convention. It charged Brissot, Petion, and some others, with being the constant favourers of royalty. It alledged that they had conspired to place a new monarch on the throne, some of them in the person of Louis Capet, and others in that of the Duke of York. Petion was accused of having signed the order on the 10th of August, to fire on the people from the Thuilleries; and Roland was accused in general terms of persecuting the republicans. On these charges, the convention declared those who had fled from the decree of arrest, traitors to their country, and they were put out of the protection of the law. These outrageous proceedings on the part of the Mountain junto, necessarily produced a considerable re-action, which, in one memorable instance, was fatal to one of the most violent of these incendiaries. A female, of the name of Charlotte Corday, enthusiastically attached to the Gironde party, in the beginning of July proceeded from Caen, in Normandy, to devote her life to what she considered as the cause of liberty and her country. Her object was the death of Marat, which, without much difficulty, she effected, though at the expense of her own life.* The leaders of the faction, who thought every measure good that could be made subservient to their purpose, found this event too replete with favourable circumstances to be neglected.—Marat, whom they had thrown aside to die at leisure, was now restored to more than his ancient honours, was proclaimed a martyr, and his death ordered to be lamented as an irreparable loss to the republic. The conspirators declared that no farther doubt of the federalism of the departments remained. The death of Marat was the point of conviction.—Every member of the Mountain was to be assassinated in his turn, and the traitors of the departments had their accomplices in Paris, who had whetted their poniards to involve the city in destruction.

The formidable union which had taken place between the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon, still subsisted, and threatened the speedy overthrow of the ruling tyranny.—This expectation proved fallacious. A considerable force was dispatched against those insurgents, under General Carteaux, in the latter end of July; and in the beginning of August, the Marseillois were driven from the department of Vaucluse, which they had previously occupied. On the 24th of August, the republicans attacked and took the town of Aix; and immediately upon this success, the Marseillois opened their gates and submitted. But the people of Toulon, and the French Vice-Admiral Trugoff, entered into a negociation with the English Admiral, Hood, who was then cruizing in the Mediterranean, for the delivery of the port and fleet into the hands of the English in trust for Louis the XVIIth. a negociation which after some difficulties was completed and carried into effect, and on the 23d of August, fifteen hundred men were landed from the English fleet, who immediately took possession of fort Malgue, by means of a detachment under Captain Elphinstone, as well as of the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. On this the French ships were warped into the inner road according to agreement, and the Spanish Admiral having joined next day, the combined squadrons anchored in the outer road; after which one thousand Spaniards were sent on shore to augment the English garrison; Rear-Admiral Goodall was declared governor, and Rear-Admiral Gravina command-

* Charlotte Anne Marie Corday was a native of St. Saturnin, in the department of the Orne. She appears to have lived in a state of literary retirement with her father, and by the study of ancient and modern historians to have imbibed a strong attachment to liberty. She had been accustomed to assimilate certain periods of ancient history with the events that were passing before her, and was probably excited by the examples of antiquity to the commission of a deed, which she believed would deliver and save her country. Being at Caen when the citizens of the department were enrolling themselves to march to the relief of the convention, the animation with which she saw them devoting their lives to their country, led her to execute, without delay, the project she had formed. Under pretence of going home, she came to Paris, and the third day after her arrival obtained admission to Marat. She had invented a story to deceive him; and when he promised her that all the promoters of the insurrection in the departments should be sent to the guillotine, she drew out a knife which she had purchased for the occasion, and plunged it into his breast. She was immediately apprehended, and conducted to the abbey prison, from which she was transferred to the Conciergerie, and brought before the revolutionary tribunal. This intrepid female acknowledged the deed, and justified it by asserting that it was a duty she owed her country to rid the world of a monster whose sanguinary doctrines were framed to involve the country in anarchy and civil war, and asserted her right to put Marat to death, as a convict already condemned by the public opinion.—She trusted that her example would inspire the people with that energy which had been at all times the distinguished characteristic of republicans; and which she defined to be that devotedness to our country which renders life of little comparitive estimation. Her deportment during the trial was modest and dignified. There was so engaging a softness in her countenance, that it was difficult to conceive how she could have armed herself with sufficient intrepidity to execute the deed. Her answers to the interrogatories of the court were full of point and energy. She sometimes surprised the audience by her wit, and excited their admiration by her eloquence. Her face sometimes beamed with sublimity, and was sometimes covered with smiles. At the close of her trial she took three letters from her bosom, presented them to the judges, and requested they might be forwarded to the persons to whom they were addressed. Two were written to Barbaroux, in which with great ease and spirit she related her adventures from her leaving Caen to the morning of her trial. The other was an affectionate and solemn adieu to her father. She retired while the jury deliberated on their verdict; and when she again entered the tribunal, there was a majestic solemnity in her demeanor which perfectly became her situation. She heard her sentence with attention and composure; and after conversing for a few minutes with her counsel, and a friend who had sat near her during the trial, and whom she requested to discharge some trifling debts she had incurred in the prison, she left the court with the same serenity, and prepared herself for the last scene. She had concluded her letter to her father with this verse of Corneille:

"C'est la crime qui fait la honte, et non pas l'échafaud."

It would be difficult to conceive the heroism which she displayed in the way to execution.—The women who were called furies of the guillotine, and who had assembled to insult her on leaving the prison, were awed into silence by her demeanor, while some of the spectators uncovered their heads before her, and others gave tokens of applause. There was such an air of chastened exultation thrown over her countenance, that she inspired sentiments of love rather than sensations of pity. She ascended the scaffold with undaunted firmness, and, knowing that she had only to die, was resolved to die with dignity. She had learned from her jailor the mode of punishment, but was not instructed in the detail; and when the executioner attempted to tie her feet to the plank, she resisted, from an apprehension that he had been ordered to insult her; but, on his explaining himself, she submitted with a smile. When he took off her handkerchief, the moment she bent under the fatal stroke, she blushed deeply; and her head, which was held up to the multitude the moment after, exhibited this last impression of offended modesty.

ant of the troops. The condition on which this valuable arsenal was put into the hands of a British admiral was, that it was only to be considered as a deposit to be preserved for the use of the French King, Louis XVII. the inhabitants of Toulon declaring their intention of rejecting the constitution recently completed by the convention, and of adhering to that decreed by the constituent assembly of 1789. It was further stipulated that when peace should be re-established in France, "The ships and forts which should be put into the hands of the English, should be restored to the French nation in the same state they were in when the inventory was delivered." The English immediately adopted the most efficient means for placing Toulon in a state of complete defence. Finding that the forts Faron, Balaguier, La Malgue, and L'Equillete, were overlooked, and commanded by the adjacent hills, these heights were crowned with redoubts, the cross-fire from which seemed to interdict all approach. A new fort was also constructed at Malbousquet; encampments were formed at St. Roch, at Equillete, and at Balaguier; the last of which was termed the grand camp by the English, and Little Gibraltar by the French. The redoubts were all defended by heavy artillery, taken from the lower decks of the French line of battle ships; a body of infantry from the Spanish army in the Rouissillon entered the place at this period, while two thousand of his Sicilian majesty's best troops, under the command of Brigadier-General Pignatelli, arrived on board a small squadron, and more were expected daily; a considerable detachment from the army of the King of Sardinia, consisting entirely of grenadiers and chasseurs, was also sent to the succour of the garrison at the same time.

The surrender of this important sea-port induced the national commissioners to press the siege of Lyons with redoubled vigour. After a most obstinate and gallant resistance that city was obliged to surrender, having sustained a siege of fifty-four days, and suffered almost as much from famine as the sword.

Collot d'Herbois, Couthon, Maignet, and Chateauneuf-Randon, having refused to grant any terms until the leaders of the insurrection had been delivered up, the chiefs, both civil and military, several of the principal inhabitants, and all those who considered themselves as proscribed by the jacobins, to the amount of about ten thousand, sallied forth from the city, to seek an asylum in a foreign land. A few waggons, containing the remnant of their scanty fortunes, and some four-pounders, followed this little army of fugitives, in the midst of which was to be seen a great number of females, determined not to abandon their husbands, and who, with their children in their arms, resolved to share their fate. Scarcely, however, had they entered the defiles of St. Cyr and St. Germain, when they found themselves surrounded by nearly fifty thousand men; and although they exhibited prodigies of valour upon this occasion, all resistance became vain. The greater part perished with arms in their hands; about five hundred men and women, chiefly covered with wounds, experienced a worse fate by falling alive into the hands of their enemies; for they were transferred from dungeon to dungeon, and ended their days by different kinds of punishment; about sixty only escaped, and found an asylum among the neighbouring peasants.

Nor was the fate of a great number of the inhabitants, who trusted to the mercy of the conquerors, more tolerable. One-fourth of the buildings had already been destroyed by the besiegers. The still more ferocious commissioners, not content with this, ordered the demolition of all the principal edifices; measures were actually taken to transport a large portion of the population to another place; and a decree enjoined that the miserable remnant of this ancient city, hitherto so famous throughout all Europe on account of its rich manufactures, was no longer to be recognized by its former name, but received that of Commune Affranchie. In addition to this, orders were given to erect a column with the following inscription, to perpetuate the resistance and disgrace of Lyons, as well as the vengeance of its enemies:—"Lyons made war upon the republic: Lyons is no more!"

The rage of the victors was not confined to the destruction of houses and temples. The deputy Freron, on entering the devoted town, ordered a number of guillotines to be erected, and announced "that terror was the order of the day." But he was surpassed in cruelty and ferocity by Collot d'Herbois. His proconsulship in the south was one continued series of bloodshed. A chosen band of Parisian jacobins, and a column of the revolutionary army, marched into Lyons, as the precursors of his fury. The process of the axe was deemed too slow for his insatiable vengeance; sometimes the bayonets of the infantry, and sometimes the sabres of the cavalry, were employed as more conformable to the celerity of his vengeance; but at length grape-shot and artillery were recurred to, and the principal square, the theatre of his sanguinary exploits, was strewed with the dying and the dead, and became deluged with the blood of his victims.

The siege of Toulon was carried on after the reduction of Lyons, with increased vigour. On the 14th of October, an action took place between the garrison, who had marched out to the defence of the redoubt of Malbousquet, and the army of General Cartaux, in which the English and their allies lost about forty men, and the French about thirty. No return was made of the Toulonese who fell in the action. In the beginning of November, General Cartaux was ordered to the command of the army in Italy, and General Dugommier was appointed commander-in-chief, and as the speedy capture of this great naval arsenal greatly depended on the judicious management of the immense artillery employed against it, great pains were taken by the commander to find an engineer of ability, and unfortunately for Europe and the world, he fixed on Napoleon Buonaparte, a native of Corsica, then a subaltern in the artillery, and who by his able conduct in the siege, laid the foundation of that military fame which afterwards enabled him to trample on the liberties of his country, and to give the law to continental Europe. About this period, General O'Hara arrived from Gibraltar at Toulon, having been appointed governor and commander-in-chief.

The new engineer, aware that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the principal outposts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, immediately opened a strong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the heights of Arenes, which annoyed that position exceedingly, by means of an incessant fire of shot and shells. As it became necessary to take immediate and effectual measures for the security of so important a post, Governor O'Hara determined to destroy the new works, termed the convention-battery, and bring off the artillery. Having accordingly obtained a reinforcement of seamen from the fleet, to defend some redoubts whence he proposed to withdraw the soldiers, at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th of November, he sent a detachment consisting of four hundred British, three hundred Sardinians, six hundred Neapolitans, six hundred Spaniards, and four hundred French, under the command of Major-General David Dundas. Notwithstanding these different bodies were all obliged to cross a river on a single bridge, to divide afterwards into four columns, to march across olive grounds, and to ascend a very considerable height cut into vine terrasses, they were fortunate enough to surprise the redoubt. Not content with this success, by which they had fully effected all the objects of the expedition, the troops, flushed with victory, and trusting to their good fortune, rushed forward, and descended the hill after a flying enemy. This unlucky incident was not overlooked by the French generals, who immediately advanced with a considerable body of troops, attacked the assailants, now in disorder by the rapidity of their pursuit, and the unevenness of the country, and obliged them in their turn to retire with precipitation. The gallant Lieutenant-General O'Hara, on this occasion, received a wound in the arm, and being rendered faint by the loss of blood, was obliged to sit down under a wall, where he was taken prisoner;

prisoner; several other officers also fell into the hands of the French. The events of this day, added to the capture of the brave officer, who had acted both in the capacity of governor, and military commander, contributed not a little to raise the expectations of the besiegers; they now began to make nearer approaches to the place, and, by means of their batteries, not only attacked the posts of Malbousquet, Le Brun, and Fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier, at the same time, but threatened a general assault. Nor were these events to be despised. The garrison at this period was reduced to the most alarming situation; and the enemy, whose force was constantly increasing, amounted to nearly forty thousand men, commanded by an able general, while the batteries were managed under the direction of one of the best engineers of his age. On the other hand, the allied troops, composed of five different nations and languages, never exceeded twelve thousand rank and file. With these, now greatly diminished by death and disease, a circumference of fifteen miles, for the defence of the town and harbour, was to be occupied and defended, by means of eight principal and several intermediate posts, which alone required nearly nine thousand men. The French being determined to push on the siege with increased vigour, relieved such of their troops as were fatigued, by fresh ones, and at two o'clock in the morning, opened two new batteries on Fort Mulgrave, and from these and the three former ones continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which killed many of the troops, and destroyed the works. As the weather proved rainy, they afterwards found means to assemble a large body of forces secretly, with which they stormed the fortification, and entered with screwed bayonets by that side defended by the Spaniards. On this the British, and such of the other troops as had not been killed during the assault, were obliged to retire towards the shore of Balaguier. At day-break, another attack took place on all the posts occupied by the garrison on the mountain of Faron. They were repulsed however on the east side, by about seven hundred men commanded by Colonel Le Jermagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who perished upon this occasion; but they found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, although eighteen hundred feet high, and deemed inaccessible, so as to occupy the side, which overlooks Toulon. In the course of this day's fight, all the English troops conducted themselves with great bravery; while the French, invigorated by zeal, and trusting to their numbers, charged with unusual intrepidity and success.

A council of flag and general officers now assembled; and as it was deemed impracticable to regain the posts that had been taken, and the town was not tenable while they remained in possession of the enemy, it was determined to evacuate Toulon. The troops were accordingly withdrawn, and in the course of that evening the combined fleet occupied a new station in the outer road. Early next morning, the sick, wounded, and British field artillery, were sent off; the Neapolitans, after abandoning the port of Micissey without orders, embarked at noon, and measures were taken to withdraw the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, amounting to about seven thousand men, during the night. As the enemy now commanded the town as well as some of the ships by their shot and shells, it became necessary that the retreat should take place as speedily as possible. Lord Hood accordingly gave orders for the boats of the fleet to assemble by eleven o'clock near Fort Malgue for that purpose. He had also settled a plan for destroying all the French men of war and the arsenal, but was prevented, by the sudden and unexpected evacuation that took place, from carrying his intentions fully into execution. Having entrusted that service to Sir Sydney Smith, the latter on entering the dock-yard found that the artificers had already substituted the three coloured cockade for the white one, while about six hundred galley slaves, who had broken their fetters, were jealous of his operations, and would have exhibited a determined resistance, had he not pointed the guns of two vessels, on purpose to keep them in awe. After this, he set fire to ten ships of the line and the arsenal, as well as to the mast-house, the great storehouse, and other buildings; but the calmness of the evening prevented much of the effect expected from the conflagration. In the mean time, the Spaniards, instead of scuttling and sinking, set fire to the powder ships, and they as well as the English were foiled in the attempt of cutting the boom, and destroying the men of war in the bason, in consequence of repeated volleys of musquetry from the flag-ship, and the wall of the royal battery. The Hero and Themistocles were however set on fire, and the party left for this purpose, after a most desperate service, effected their retreat; by day-light next morning all the British, Spanish, and Sicilian ships, crowded with the unfortunate inhabitants, were out of the reach of the enemy's vengeance. Rear-Admiral Trogroff, on board the Commerce de Marseilles, with the Puissant and Pompée, two other ships of the line, and the Pearl, Arethusa, and Topaze, frigates, with several corvettes, formed part of the English fleet, with which Lord Hood proceeded to Hieres bay, and soon after landed the men, women, and children, with which his decks were encumbered. Of thirty-one ships of the line which the English found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, nine were burnt at Toulon, and one at Leghorn; and four Lord Hood had previously sent away to the French ports of Brest and Rochfort, with 5000 republican seamen, whom he was afraid to trust. Britain therefore obtained only three ships of the line and five frigates, which were all that the admiral was able to take off.

Thus, after a siege of about three months, and an incessant assault of five successive days and nights, Toulon was restored to France; the besieging army, which had provided four thousand ladders for an assault, having entered it at seven o'clock in the morning subsequent to the evacuation. Of the inhabitants who had borne arms against their country, or favoured the cause of the allies, some still remained, and these either put an end to their existence by a voluntary death, or perished by the guillotine or the musquet. Here, as well as at Marseilles and Lyons, the most cruel punishments were inflicted on the royalists; and the conquerors not only sullied their victory, but disgraced themselves, by a terrible and indiscriminate carnage; workmen were actually invited from all the neighbouring departments to destroy the principal houses; the population became visibly decreased by the daily butchery that took place; the name of Port de la Montagne, was substituted for that of Toulon, and a grand festival decreed in honour of the French army.*

The Mountain party were now become the sole rulers of France. This dreadful despotism was composed of

* Buonaparte, who, in conformity with the republican fashion, had adopted a new prefix to his name, particularly distinguished himself at this period. By a deceitful proclamation, all the inhabitants who had employment under the English, during their occupation of Toulon, who had served or lodged any Englishman, or who had been suspected to have favoured their entry and the capitulation of that city, either directly or indirectly, were ordered, under pain of death, to meet in the grand square, called Le Champ de Mars, on a fixed day and hour. Upwards of fifteen hundred men, women, and children assembled there in consequence of this proclamation. Buonaparte then desired all those who wished to escape punishment and death, to cry out 'Vive la Republique.' With one voice the unfortunate persons called out "the Republic for ever!" This was the signal for their destruction. Cannons loaded with grape-shot killed some and maimed and wounded others, who were dispatched with swords and bayonets. The official report of this ferocious performance is contained in the following letter from Buonaparte, addressed to Barras, Freron, and Robespierre the younger, representatives of the people, dated Toulon, the 29th Fremaire, year 2, (December 24th, 1793).

Toulon, December 1793.

"Citizens Representatives. Upon the field of glory, my feet inundated with the blood of traitors, I announce to you, with a heart beating with joy, that your orders are executed, and France revenged. Neither sex nor age has been spared; those who escaped, or were only mutilated by the discharge of our republican cannon, were dispatched by the swords of liberty and the bayonets of equality.

"Health and admiration,
"Brutus Buonaparte.
"Citizen Sans Culotte."

two

two councils, one of which was denominated the "committee of public safety," the other the "committee of general safety." The members ought to have been renewed every month; but the convention, intimidated by an armed mob, had entrusted these committees with the fatal power of imprisoning and judging its members: any deputy therefore who should have been hardy enough to propose any change in these committees would have been denounced as a traitor, and sent to the revolutionary tribunal, which was the antichamber of death, and the very threshold of the grave.

The reigning party now proceeded to atrocities of which no former despotism afforded an example. Its object appeared to be the extermination of all that was great and valuable in society. It attempted to reduce the community to one level, to degrade, that it might the more severely tyrannize over its victims. Even moderation itself became a crime, to be expiated only by death, and virtue received the reward due to atrocious crimes. If the father afforded any support to his exiled son; if the daughter wrote to her mother from her dungeon, the revolutionary tribunal doomed them to the scaffold. The external profession of the Christian religion was abolished by public decree, and an attempt was made to substitute for Christianity, a sort of metaphysical Paganism. The reason, which they had so grossly abused, and the liberty, which they had so dreadfully outraged, were exalted as ideal deities for the maddened populace to worship. Those ecclesiastics, who had seats in the convention, publicly abjured their creed, and were not ashamed to declare, that they had hitherto deceived the world. The archbishop and clergy of Paris renounced the Christian religion, declaring that they owned no temple but the sanctuary of the laws; no God but liberty, no gospel but the constitution. The revolutionary tribunal condemned without distinction, and without inquiry, all the victims whom the tyrants marked out for destruction. Proscriptions daily increased, and France was filled with accusers, prisons, and executioners. The number of persons who perished during this "reign of terror," cannot be ascertained by any authentic documents; but the prisons were filled and emptied with a horrid rapidity, and the scaffolds flowed daily with blood. The victim first in rank, if not in time, was the ill-fated consort of Louis XVI. Queen Marie Antoinette; her trial had been immediately preceded by that of General Custine, who was charged with maintaining a secret correspondence with the enemy, and with leaving the garrison of Mentz unprovided with necessaries; with having disobeyed the orders of the convention, and with not having exerted himself to prevent Valenciennes from falling into the hands of the allies. On these charges he was found guilty, and received sentence of death, which was carried into effect within twenty-four hours. Having brought their Queen to the scaffold,* they pursued their bloody work, and on the 24th of October, the accused deputies of the Gironde party were brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and after a trial in which both the principles and the forms of law were equally violated, were declared guilty of a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, and condemned to the guillotine. One of the deputies, Valazé, after hearing his sentence, stabbed himself at the bar of the tribunal. On the 30th of October, twenty-one of these deputies, viz. Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonne, Duprat, Lehardi, Ducos, Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchalet, Sillery, Fauchet, Dufriche, Duperel, La Source, Carra, Beauvais, Mainville, Antiboul, Vigée, and Lacaze, were conveyed to the Place de la Revolution, and executed. Among these names, were several of those who were most active in dethroning the King, and establishing a republic. Valazé, who stabbed himself at the bar of the tribunal, was the member who prepared the charges against the unfortunate Louis. Manuel, who had been so active in the dethroning of the King, on the 10th of August, and afterwards evinced so much solicitude to preserve his life, was soon after brought to trial, and executed.—The trial of General Houchard immediately succeeded that of Manuel; he was accused of not cutting off the retreat of the British forces from West Flanders. With the revolutionary tribunal, accusation was synonimous with condemnation, and he also suffered by the guillotine. The veteran General Lucner, Bailly, the first mayor of Paris after the revolution, the accomplished Barnave, and Rabaut St. Etienne, also perished.

The condemnation of the Duke of Orleans, who had assumed the fantastical name of Philip E'galité, appears to have produced no sensations either of horror, or of commiseration, in any party; so completely does a profligate life extinguish the respect, and excite the indignation of mankind. This wretched and unworthy member of the Bourbon family was executed on the evening of the 6th of November, and bore, with a magnanimity which would have done honour to a better character, the insults and reproaches of the populace. The celebrated Madame Roland was brought to the scaffold two days after the execution of the Duke of Orleans. Her attachment to the party of the Gironde was the only crime alledged against her.†

The

* This ill-fated victim of the revolution was removed on the night of the 1st of August from the Temple, to a small and miserable apartment in the Conciergerie, where she remained until she was brought before the revolutionary tribunal. In this gloomy dungeon, a gend'arme watched her night and day, and she was sheltered only by a screen from the eye of the goaler, when she undressed herself to pass the night on a decayed flock bed. On the 3d of October, Billaud-Varennes sent orders to the revolutionary tribunal to take charge of the trial of the queen; about ten days after, Fouquier Tiville desired her to prepare for her trial; and on the 15th she appeared before the tribunal, to take her trial, or to speak more correctly, to hear her doom pronounced. The act of accusation consisted of several charges, the substance of which was—that she had contributed to the derangement of the national finances, by remitting from time to time considerable sums to her brother, the Emperor Joseph—that since the revolution, she had continued to hold a criminal correspondence with foreign powers—that in every instance she had directed her views to a counter-revolution, particularly in exciting the body guards, and others of the military, at Versailles, on the 1st of October, 1789—that, in concert with Louis Capet, she had distributed counter-revolutionary papers and writings—that in the beginning of October, 1789, by the agency of certain monopolists, she had created an artificial famine—that she was a principal agent and promoter of the flight of the royal family, in June, 1791—that she instituted private councils in the palace, at which the massacres, as they were termed, in the Champ de Mars, at Nancy, &c. were planned—that in consequence of these councils, she had persuaded her husband to interpose his veto against the decrees concerning the emigrants and the refractory priests—that she influenced him to form a body guard, composed of disaffected persons, and induced him to give employments to the refractory priests. One of the most singular charges was, that in conjunction with the Gironde faction, she induced the King and the assembly to declare war against Austria, contrary to every principle of sound policy, and the public welfare. The act proceeds to state, that she communicated to the enemy plans of the campaign, and other intelligence—that the affair of the 10th of August was the consequence of a horrible conspiracy against the nation formed by her intrigues—that she was also a principal agent in the internal war with which France had been distressed—The last charge was the most infamous, and the most incredible, viz. that, like Agrippina, she had held an incestuous commerce with her own son. The unfortunate Marie Antoinette heard the accusation with calmness, and the facts alledged against her by the several witnesses, particularly Lecourtre de Versailles and Hebert, who accused her of having lavished incestuous caresses on her son. As she continued silent, the president called upon her for a reply; with great dignity she answered, "I held my peace because nature forbids a mother to reply to such a charge: but since I am compelled to it, I appeal to all the mothers who hear me, whether it be possible."

After consulting for about an hour, the jury found her guilty of the charges. With an unchanged countenance, she heard the sentence of death pronounced, and left the hall without uttering a single word, without addressing herself either to her judges or the audience. On the 16th of October, at about 11 o'clock, she was taken to execution in the same manner as the other victims of this dreadful tribunal, on a cart, with her hands bound, accompanied by a constitutional priest in a lay habit, and escorted by numerous detachments of military. She had on an undress of white quilting. When the procession reached the Place de la Revolution, the spot where the unfortunate Louis had so recently suffered, her eyes were directed towards the Thuilleries, and for a moment she appeared strongly agitated, but she soon regained her composure, and ascended the scaffold with a firm and unhesitating step, and her behaviour at the awful moment of dissolution was decent and composed. The executioner, seizing the head by the hair, exhibited it to the multitude, exclaiming, "Long live the republic," and the cry was echoed by the furies who surrounded the scaffold. Thus perished, by the hands of the executioner, Marie Antoinette, the sister of an emperor, and the wife of a King!

† This celebrated female suffered death with a heroism which extorted the admiration even of her ferocious and unmanly enemies.

On

The convention at this time decreed a new calendar, which was afterwards abolished by Buonaparte. The year was divided into twelve months, of thirty days each, with five intercalary days, which were dedicated to national festivities. Each month was divided into decades, and the day of rest was appointed for every tenth day, instead of every seventh.

In consequence of a report from the committee of public safety, all Frenchmen were now declared, by a solemn decree of the convention, to be at the service of their country, until its enemies should be chased from the territories of the republic. "The young men shall march to the combat; (said this decree), the married ones shall forge arms and transport the provisions; the women shall fabricate tents and clothes, and attend the military hospitals; the children shall make lint to serve as dressings for the wounds of the patriots; while the old men shall cause themselves to be carried to the public squares to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach the unity of the republic, and inspire hatred against Kings." To supply the wants of the immense armies now about to be collected from all quarters, measures of a new and extraordinary kind were adopted. Assignats were not only fabricated and expended in immense quantities, but their value was maintained for some time at a rate nearly equivalent to that of gold; and when this resource began to fail, revolutionary taxes were imposed. The system of requisition was at length recurred to, and all the necessaries of life appertaining to citizens in easy circumstances, were seized upon in the name of the republic, and for the support of its troops, while the great cities were crowded with manufactures of salt-petre, the towns were converted into founderies, and the ancient palaces metamorphosed into arsenals to supply the elements of destruction. At the very moment that the idea of a nation's rising en masse was ridiculed throughout Europe, the convention, on the proposition of the committee of public safety, had either augmented or created eleven distinct armies, which seemed to form a chain round the frontiers of France. All the unmarried males, from eighteen to forty years of age, were put in permanent requisition, and a draught of three hundred thousand made at one time. These immense resources enabled them to strengthen and new model the army of the north, extending from Dunkirk to Maubege; that of the Ardennes, reaching from Maubege to Longwy; that of the Moselle, from Longwy to Bitche: that of the Rhine, from Bitche to Porentrui; that of the Alps, from the Aisne to the borders of the Var; that of Italy, from the Maritime Alps to the mouth of the Rhone; the army of the Oriental Pyrenees, from the mouth of the Rhone to the Garonne; the army of the Western Pyrenees, from the department of the Upper Pyrenees to the mouth of the Gironde; the army of the coasts of Rochelle, from the mouth of the Gironde to that of the Loire; the army of the coasts of Brest, from the mouth of the Loire to St. Maloes; and lastly, that of the coasts of Cherbourg, from St. Maloes to the northern department.

A. D. 1794.] Parliament assembled on the 21st of January; and never did it meet at a more interesting period; at a time when more subjects of great importance pressed upon its attention. The King, in his opening speech, observed, that he and his subjects were engaged in a momentous contest, on the issue of which depended the maintenance of the constitution, laws, and religion of the country, and the security of all civil society. Having mentioned the advantages obtained by the arms of the confederate powers, he added, that the circumstances by which their farther progress had been impeded, not only proved the necessity of vigour and perseverance, but confirmed the expectation of ultimate success. Their enemies, his Majesty observed, had derived the means of temporary exertion from a system which had enabled them to dispose arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous people; but these efforts, productive as they had been of internal discontent and confusion, tended rapidly to exhaust the national and real strength of the country. He regretted the necessity of continuing the war; but he thought he should ill consult the essential interests of his people, if he desired peace on any grounds exclusive of a due provision for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe. Referring to the "true grounds of the war," he begged Parliament to recollect, that an attack had been made on him and his allies, founded on principles tending to the destruction of all property, to the subversion of the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to the general introduction of a horrible system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety. The address was warmly supported by Lord Auckland. The Earl of Guildford wished for a speedy negociation, as we had rushed into the war without necessity; and he proposed an amendment for that purpose. The Duke of Portland justified the war as strictly defensive, and as necessary for the preservation of the Christian religion, political and civil liberty, law and order. Earl Spencer, and the Earl of Coventry, pursued the same line of argument. The Duke of Norfolk asserted, that he had as strong a zeal for the support of our constitution as any Peer of the realm, but he was not impelled by that zeal to an encouragement of the war, as he did not conceive that our happy establishments were endangered by the proceedings of the French. Lord Grenville endeavoured to show, from the convulsed state of that country, the fallacy of all hopes of a successful negociation. On a division, the address was carried, by 97 against 12. In the Commons, the address was moved by Lord Clifden, and supported in a very luminous speech by Lord Mornington, who was followed by Mr. Windham, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt. It was carried by 277 against 59.

On the 29th of January, Lord Arden brought forward a motion for a supply of 85,000 seamen, including 12,115 marines, for the service of the present year, and on the 3d of the following month, he further moved that the land forces should consist of 60,244 men, including 3382 invalids, both of which motions were carried.

On the 17th of February, the Marquis of Lansdowne moved an address, "to represent to his Majesty the extreme improbability of conquering France; that the dismemberment of France, if attainable, would augment the strength of the powers most to be dreaded; that opinions cannot be controlled by arms; that experience has demonstrated the futility of every attempt to interfere in the internal government of France, even if the justice were problematical; and that we must incur the keenest reproaches, if we encouraged farther revolts in a country where we had been unable to save those who put confidence in us from extermination and ruin—therefore to implore his Majesty to declare, without delay, his disposition to make peace upon such just, disinterested, and liberal terms, as were calculated to render the peace lasting; and that he would signify this intention to his allies, that a stop might be put to the effusion of human blood." The Duke of Grafton seconded the motion; but it was strenuously opposed by Lord Grenville, and ultimately negatived, by 103 against 13.

A royal message, essentially connected with the interests of this country, was some time afterwards delivered. It referred to the seditious practices of demo-

On her way to the scaffold she was not only composed, but occasionally assumed an air of gaiety, in order to encourage a person who was condemned to die at the same time, but who was not armed with the same fortitude. To be the first victim on these melancholy occasions was considered as a privilege, and had been allowed to Madame Roland as a female, but when she observed the dismay of her companion, she said to him, "Go first, let me at least spare you the pain of seeing my blood shed." She then turned to the executioner, and begged that this sad indulgence might be granted to her fellow sufferer. The executioner told her that he had received orders that she should perish first; "But you cannot, I am sure," said she with a smile, "refuse the last request of a lady." The officer of death complied with her demand. When she mounted the scaffold, and was tied to the fatal plank, she lifted up her eyes to the statute of liberty, near which the guillotine was placed, and exclaimed, "Ah liberty, how thou hast been sported with!" Her husband, the late minister of the interior, was shortly after found lifeless in a wood, near the high-road between Paris and Rouen; unable to bear the sad reflections which crowded upon him, he had put a period to his existence.

cratic

cratic societies, and intimated the necessity of taking measures for baffling their dangerous designs. The papers belonging to these clubs were examined by a committee; and in a report subsequently presented by Mr. Pitt, it was affirmed, as the result of the inquiry, that the 'Society for Constitutional Information,' and the 'London Corresponding Society,' under the pretence of reform, aimed at the subversion of the government; that other associations, in different parts of the kingdom, pursued the same object; that they had endeavoured to promote a general convention of the people; that they had provided arms for the more effectual prosecution of their nefarious purposes; that meetings of popular delegates took place at Edinburgh, in 1792, and the following year; that their proceedings were regulated on the French model; and that, after the dispersion of this convention, the two leading societies exerted their efforts to procure a similar meeting in England, which should supersede the authority of Parliament. The minister, in consequence, proposed that the habeas corpus act should be suspended in cases of treason and sedition. Mr. Fox was of opinion, that this stretch of power was not justified by the evidence which had been adduced against the associations; and Mr. Sheridan deprecated, as unconstitutional and dangerous, the grant of an arbitrary power of imprisonment. Mr. Burke, however, felt convinced that the power in question would not be abused, and that it would be attended with salutary effects; and Mr. Windham advised the strongest measures of coercion. The bill of suspension was rapidly enacted; and after spirited debates, an address was voted, promising the strenuous co-operation of the two Houses with the executive power for the suppression of all seditious attempts, treasonable conspiracies, &c.

The state trials, pending at this crisis, heightened the alarm which universally prevailed. At the Lancaster spring assizes, this year, Mr. Thomas Walker, of Manchester, a strenuous advocate for Parliamentary reform, at whose house meetings for political purposes were occasionally held, was indicted for conspiring with nine other persons to overturn the constitution by force of arms, and to assist the French in case of invasion. To establish this charge, involving in its consequences, not only the character, but the life of the accused, the principal evidence adduced, was a person of the name of Dunn, whose testimony was so contradictory and absurd, that the prosecution was abandoned, by the counsel for the crown; and Mr. Walker was honourably acquitted, without being put upon his defence, while his accuser was committed to prison, to take his trial for perjury.

In the month of September, the trial of two persons at Edinburgh, who had been committed on a charge of high treason, took place under a special commission. On the 3d of that month, Robert Watt, a government spy, was tried and convicted of high treason. It appeared, that he had formed a romantic project for seizing by force, upon the castle of Edinburgh, as well as upon the persons of the principal judicial and municipal officers of that city, together with the bank and the excise-office. This intention he had communicated to several persons, who all refused to come into his plans, except David Downie, an illiterate mechanic. That Watt had conspired to levy war against the King, there could be no doubt, but as he had not actually levied it, it was contended that his offence did not come within the legal construction of the statute of Edward III. The prisoner, in his defence, asserted, and produced letters in court from Mr. Secretary Dundas, in support of that assertion, that he had been retained as a spy in the service of government, and had received money from them, for his services. The prisoner's counsel, therefore, contended, that what their client had done was with no other view than to arrive more completely at the knowledge of the secrets of those persons whose conduct he was to observe, and by appearing zealous in the same cause to cover his real intentions, of betraying these counsels, and bringing to punishment the enemies of their sovereign. The jury, however, pronounced the prisoner guilty, the judge passed the sentence of death upon him, and he was consequently executed. Downie was also convicted; but the jury recommended him to mercy, which he had the good fortune to obtain.

A dreadful rumour was at this time suddenly raised, of a design to assassinate the King. The persons implicated were Le Maitre, an apprentice to a watch-maker, in Denmark-street; William Higgins, apprentice to a chemist, in Fleet-street; and a man of the name of Smith, who kept a book stall in the vicinity of Lincoln's Inn. Their accuser was a young man of the name of Upton, an apprentice to a watch-maker. The conspirators were apprehended by a warrant from the Duke of Portland, on the 27th of September, and underwent several examinations before the privy council. The charge, resting on the evidence of Upton, was to the following effect. "An instrument was to have been constructed by the informer, Upton, in the form of a walking-stick, in which was to have been inserted a brass tube, of two feet long; through this tube a poisoned dart or arrow was to have been blown by the breath of the conspirator, Le Maitre, at his Majesty, either on the Terrace at Windsor, or in the play house. The poison prepared was to have been of so subtile a nature, that if the point but glanced upon the King, it was to have produced instantaneous death." This story for some time obtained credit, and the persons accused were committed for trial; but after a long and severe imprisonment, the evidence against them was found so inconsistent, absurd, and incredible, that the affair fell into contempt, under the popular designation of the "pop-gun-plot," and the men were liberated, without trial.

More important proceedings were now about to take place in the Sessions House, at Clerkenwell, on which the attention of the whole country was rivetted with intense anxiety. On the 25th of October, Thomas Hardy, a shoe-maker, in Piccadilly, who had acted as secretary to the London Corresponding Society; Daniel Adams, the secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information; John Horne Tooke, the philologist; the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, preceptor to Lord Mahon; John Thelwall, the political lecturer; Thomas Holcroft, the dramatist; J. A. Bonney; Steward Kyd; John Richter; and John Baxter, were all arraigned at the Old Bailey, before the president of the Special Commission, Lord Chief Justice Eyre.

The indictment was of an uncommon length, and contained no less than nine overt acts of high treason, all resolving themselves into the general charge, that these persons did conspire to summon delegates to a national convention, with a view to subvert the government, to levy war against the existing authorities of the country, and to depose the King. The court, at the request of the prisoners, determined that they should be tried separately, and Mr. Hardy was the first of the number put upon his trial. The opening speech of Sir John Scott, the Attorney-General, occupied nine hours in the delivery, and consisted chiefly of a recapitulation of the facts set forth in the reports of the secret committee of the House of Commons. The written evidence consisted principally of advertisements, addresses, &c. published in the news papers, and of several private letters, which had been seized among the papers of the prisoners. Many of these papers were written in an intemperate and even inflammatory style, with respect to ministers and other persons in authority, but none of them could by fairness of construction be construed into high treason. On the parole evidence, the Attorney-General drew a very candid, and necessary distinction. —"Some of the witnesses (he observed) were above all exception; and some were persons employed by the government to watch over the proceedings of these societies." The grand object at which these associations ostensibly aimed, was a reform in Parliament, upon the principles of the Duke of Richmond—universal suffrage and annual elections; and as these societies contained a large portion of converts to the doctrines of Paine, many of the members, in the height of their enthusiasm, contemplated the establishment of a democratic government.

An attempt was made, on the part of the crown-lawyers, to show that the associations in question had armed themselves against the government; but in this they did not succeed. The defence of Mr. Hardy, by Mr. Erskine, was considered as a model of forensic eloquence. After a number of witnesses had been called by the prisoner's counsel, principally for the purpose of proving that the prisoner was of irreproachable character, and that he was a peaceable and inoffensive man; the defence was concluded very ably by Mr. Gibbs. The trial was protracted to the length of seven days, and the evidence being closed, the jury after a short deliberation returned a verdict of Not Guilty.

Eleven days afterwards, Mr. John Horne Tooke, formerly and for many years a clergyman of the Established Church, a man possessed of extraordinary intellectual talents, but of a peculiar kind, and mixed with a considerable alloy of eccentricity, was brought to the bar. On the trial it appeared, to the general surprise of the court, that Mr. Tooke had been a remarkably guarded and temperate advocate of reform—that he very rarely attended the meetings of the societies—and had even incurred their suspicion and dislike on that account. He had frequently declared his attachment to the House of Peers, as an useful and necessary branch of the constitution; and had uniformly reprobated the Duke of Richmond's plan of reform; in proof of which it appeared, that in a conversation with Major Cartwright on the subject of reform, he made use of the following familiar, but expressive illustration: "You would go to Windsor, but I should chuse to stop at Hounslow." Some difficulty having arisen in the course of the trial concerning the identity of the prisoner's hand writing, Mr. Tooke offered himself to identify it whenever it appeared, adding:—"I protest I never have done an act—I protest I have never had a sentiment—I protest I have never had a thought of any political nature, which taken fairly, I have the smallest degree of disposition not now to admit. I am anxious that my life and character should go together, and I wish to admit all that I have said, done, or written." In the course of Mr. Tooke's trial, Mr. Pitt was examined on the part of the prisoner, in order to prove that the meeting at the Thatched House Tavern, in 1782, of which he was a member, had the same objects in view as the seditious societies of the present time. His evidence, however, totally failed to establish this laboured point. Mr. Pitt recollected that Mr. Tooke had been present at one of those meetings, the sense of which was to use means to recommend a petition to Parliament, in order to procure a reform, but there was no such idea as a convention of the people, or affiliated societies; and he did not consider that as a meeting of persons authorized to act for any but themselves. The evidence having been closed, on the 22d of November, the jury retired, and in a few minutes returned a verdict of Not Guilty. An involuntary burst of acclamation instantly filled the court, and was re-echoed by the populace without, who, as on the former occasion, escorted the counsel, Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs, to their chambers. The prosecution of the members of the Constitutional Society ended with the trial of Mr. Tooke; and on Monday, the 1st of December, a jury being empannelled pro forma, Messrs. Bonney, Joyce, Kyd, and Holcroft, were acquitted and discharged. The trial of Mr. Thelwall commenced on the same day, and terminated in the same manner as the other state trials. No new evidence was adduced against him, except some intemperate expressions, which he was said to have used at a meeting at Chalk Farm, and in his lecture room, but the evidence of these expressions resting on the authority of Lynam and Taylor, reputed spies, whose testimony was rendered nugatory by that of two other witnesses, he was acquitted. All the other prosecutions were then abandoned by the crown lawyers, and those who had been indicted were liberated from confinement.

That the jury acted most conscientiously in acquitting the prisoners of the charge of high treason there can be no doubt; but the result of the investigation, by the Grand Jury, who found true bills against the prisoners, was a sufficient justification of the prosecutions. Whoever is acquainted with the nature of the evidence required to convict a British subject of so heinous a crime, will be slow to draw the hasty inference that the prisoners were all perfectly innocent. It is impossible to read the printed account of the trials without being impressed with a conviction of the existence of a treasonable conspiracy, which had for its object the utter subversion of the constitution and government. The Jury, indeed, were fully satisfied of the existence of such a conspiracy; and had the parties been tried for a misdemeanour, there cannot be a doubt that they would have been convicted. There is reason to believe, that there existed a difference of opinion amongst the friends of ministers, if not amongst the ministers themselves, as to the nature of the charge, on which they should be tried. Their acquittal raised the spirits of the disaffected, who openly triumphed in the victory which they had obtained, not perceiving that this victory was the highest eulogy that could be pronounced on the British laws; and when the proceedings against persons charged with political crimes in France, were compared with these trials, the comparison could not fail to excite, in the breast of every honest Briton, the proudest feelings of exultation.

The trials which had taken place in Scotland, particularly those of Mr. Muir, and the Reverend Fysche Palmer, the former a Scotch barister, and the latter a Unitarian preacher at Dundee, who had been convicted of sedition in the autumn of 1793, and sentenced to transportation, excited considerable alarm among their friends and associates in England, and attracted the attention even of some members of the British senate, who professsed to condemn their conduct while they deplored their fate. Mr. Adam, a barrister of some eminence, had given notice early in the session, of his intention to move for permission to bring in a bill for subjecting the sentences of the Scotch judges, in criminal cases, to an appeal to the British House of Lords. He accordingly brought forward his motion, on the 4th of February; but it was negatived, by 126 against 31.—It was next treated as a matter of doubt, whether the Court of Justiciary had not exceeded the limits of their power in substituting the punishment of transportation for that of banishment, imposed by the act of Queen Anne, for the offence charged upon the above-named persons, whose characters in private life, however mistaken in their public opinions and conduct, were admitted to be in the highest degree respectable. Mr. Adam therefore moved (March 10th), for a copy of the record to be laid before the House, upon the ground of which he meant to question the legality of the sentence; and if his arguments prevailed with the House, as no appeal could lie from the conviction, he should propose an address to his Majesty in favour of these unfortunate men. Mr. Pitt, however, insisted, that "no doubt could be entertained, either of the legality of the trials, or the propriety with which the Lords of Justiciary had exercised their discretion on that occasion;" and the question was lost, on a division, by 172 against 32 voices. On the 25th of March, Mr. Adam introduced a third motion, supported by a long chain of facts and reasonings, relative to the regulation of the justiciary courts of Scotland, purporting to bring their general practice nearer to that of the English courts. Mr. Secretary Dundas, however, contended, that the Scottish nation was very happy under its own laws; that the alterations proposed would be a violation of the articles of the union; and that the reform really wanting, was to assimilate the English law of sedition, in a certain degree, to that of Scotland.—The motion was negatived by 77 against 24.

Among the military plans in agitation at this time, was a projected expedition to the coast of France, with a view to co-operate with the loyalists in Britanny, and in the neighbouring districts, and a body of Hessian troops, in the pay of England, was destined for this service. As, however, the preparations were not in a sufficient state of forwardness when these troops arrived from

from the continent, and sickness would be produced by detaining them on board the transports, till every thing was ready for carrying the plan into effect, it was deemed proper to land them, and to put them into temporary quarters, at Portsmouth, in the Isle of Wight, and in other convenient places, near the coast. This circumstance was communicated to Parliament, in a message from his Majesty, on the 27th of March. As many similar cases had occurred at different periods, and as the cause and necessity of the measure were so perfectly obvious, it was concluded, that the usual communication of the fact to Parliament would be satisfactory. The opposition, however, contended, that the minister ought to have moved for a bill of indemnity; and he was charged with having violated the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement. Mr. Grey, on the 10th of February, moved, as a resolution of the House, "that to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into the kingdom, without the consent of Parliament first had and obtained, is contrary to law." This motion was negatived, by 134 against 35. The subject was afterwards renewed, in both Houses, but with no better success.

Mr. Wilberforce's Bill for abolishing that part of the slave-trade which related to the supply of foreign plantations, passed the House of Commons, under the patronage of Mr. Pitt, but was thrown out in the Lords, in consequence of the avowed disapprobation of Lord Grenville, who considered it to be ill-timed, pending the inquiry instituted in that House respecting the general question.

A message was delivered from the King, purporting, that the avowed intentions of the enemy to invade this country made an increase of the land-forces necessary; and an address was voted by the House, assuring his Majesty "of their zealous concurrence in every exertion which became a brave and loyal people in the prosecution of this just and necessary war." A great augmentation of the militia, and an addition of volunteer fencible corps, were accordingly voted, and the expedient of soliciting voluntary contributions, by a formal letter written by the Secretary of State to the Lords-Lieutenants of the several counties of the kingdom, was successfully resorted to.

Mr. Whitbread moved (March 6) an address to the King, strongly expressive of disapprobation of the conduct of ministers, and of those measures which had preceded and succeeded the declaration of war;—lamenting that his Majesty should have been advised to make a common cause with powers whose objects were undefined, but who, as there was much ground to fear, prosecuted the war with views, and for purposes, solemnly disavowed by his Majesty, and abhorrent to the principles of a free nation; and requesting his Majesty to extricate himself from his present engagements, as they prevented his concluding a separate peace. This motion was negatived by a great majority; as was a similar motion made by the Earl of Guildford, in the House of Lords.

The situation of General La Fayette and his companions, La Tour Maubourg and Bureaux de Pusy, already stated, exciting the compassion of many respectable persons, General Fitzpatrick moved in the House of Commons, on the 17th of March, for an address to the throne, beseeching his Majesty to intercede with the court of Berlin in their favour. It appeared that the King of Prussia being applied to for the release of La Fayette, had answered, that he was not his prisoner alone, but that of the Confederate Powers jointly, and that he could be set at liberty only by the consent of all. Mr. Pitt opposed the motion, as equally improper and unnecessary, and denied that M. la Fayette's conduct had ever been friendly to the genuine cause of liberty. He affirmed, that the interference required would be setting up ourselves as guardians of the consciences of foreign states. The motion was negatived, by a large majority.

On the 10th of April, Major Maitland, brother to the Earl of Lauderdale, moved for a committee of the whole House to inquire into the causes of the failure at Dunkirk, and the evacuation of Toulon, which he enforced by a speech containing severe animadversions on the conduct and policy of administration. Mr. Pitt objected to the motion, on account of the great inconveniences of inquiry, which he affirmed to be of such magnitude that they ought never to be hazarded except when the failures were of a nature to attach incapacity to the character of ministers, or to occasion distrust of the general system which they had adopted: but the failures which had taken place, he submitted to the House, were far from amounting to this. The motion was negatived.

About this time, Mr. Harrison brought forward a motion respecting sinecure places and pensions, all of which above two hundred pounds per annum he proposed to tax, during the continuance of the war, in a certain specified and gradual scale of proportion. Mr. Burke treated this proposition with great disdain, and compared the measure to those which had occasioned the ruin of France. As a measure of resource, he said, it was trifling and inadequate; as a measure of policy, mistaken. The motion was negatived by 119 against 50.

A bill, the object of which was to enable Frenchmen to enlist in his Majesty's service on the continent, or, in other words, for employing the French emigrants in a military capacity, occasioned, at this period of the session, much and sharp discussion; but the measure was carried by a large majority.*

On the 28th of April, Mr. Dundas delivered a message from the King, announcing a treaty of subsidy with the King of Prussia, and a convention with the States General. Mr. Pitt stated the terms to be as follows: "That his Prussian Majesty had agreed to furnish 62,000 troops, for which his Britannic Majesty had agreed to pay him 50,000*l.* per month; 100,000*l.* per month for forage, 400,000*l.* to put the army in motion, and 100,000*l.* on their return; of the aggregate of which sums the States General were to pay 400,000*l.* as their proportion." Over the troops subsidized at this expence, the direction and command were still vested in the King of Prussia. The motion of Mr. Pitt for the sum of 2,500,000*l.* to be raised by way of loan on exchequer bills, in addition to the supplies of the current year, for the purpose of making good this engagement, after being warmly opposed in every stage, ultimately passed by a great majority, as usual.

In consequence of the provision which had been made in the course of the session for embodying a numerous corps of French emigrants, Mr. Sheridan moved for leave to bring in a bill for a new military test, containing merely a declaration of allegiance, such as might admit the whole body of English Dissenters, Catholic and Protestant, to serve their country in a military capacity; to which he said that he presumed the House would allow them to be at least as competent as an army of French Papists. Mr. Sheridan objected to all the tests and disqualifying laws; but, confining himself on the present occasion to what he thought might probably be granted, he extended his motion only to military and naval tests, leaving all civil employments to remain as they were. The previous question, however, was moved by Mr. Dundas, and carried without a division.

Shortly afterwards (May 30) the Duke of Bedford, who had already distinguished himself as a speaker, called for the attention of the Peers on the important subject of peace. His grace submitted a series of propositions, fourteen in number. With respect to the question, how a "permanent" peace was to be made with France, his grace professed himself at a loss to comprehend the force of the epithet. As applied to treaties between nations, no peace had ever been, or could ever be permanent, which it suited the interest or

* The debate upon this question was remarkable for being the last in which Mr. Burke, who soon afterwards vacated his seat in Parliament, took any active part, and in which he discovered no diminution of those extraordinary powers which had so long excited the admiration of the world.

inclinations

inclinations of either party to break; and a peace concluded at the present time was as likely to be permanent as at any other.

Lord Hawkesbury opposed the motion upon the ground of its being an improper interference with the royal prerogative. There were, he said, no hopes of a permanent peace with the French; the speediest method of obtaining it would be by a change in that government. We were justified in our endeavours to effect this object in every practicable way; and their making war upon us unprovoked, undoubtedly gave us new rights; and this, none who understood the law of nations, could possibly call in question. The resolutions were disposed of, by a motion of adjournment, which was carried.

Mr. Fox, on the same day, introduced into the House of Commons a series of resolutions precisely similar to those moved by the Duke of Bedford in the House of Lords; but the motion was lost, in favour of the previous question, by 110 against 57.

Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of July,* by a speech from the throne, in which the King urged his two Houses of Parliament to persevere with increased vigour and exertion, in the present arduous contest, against a power irreconcileably hostile in its principles and spirit to all regular and established governments.†

The system of terror, in France, had given to the rulers of that land, an absolute dominion over the persons of its inhabitants, and over every thing which it contained. Resolved to extend their sway over the neighbouring countries, to enlarge their own boundaries, and to obtain, by plunder, the means of supporting those gigantic efforts which they were thus enabled to make, they had armed, at the close of the year 1793, nearly one million of men, three hundred thousand of whom were employed on the northern frontier of the republic. To these the allies had not more than one hundred and forty thousand men to oppose. Besides the superiority of numbers, the French army had the advantage of being subject to the orders of one chief, as it were, while the allies, composed of different nations, were commanded by various leaders, who were very far from acting with that cordial spirit of co-operation which was so essentially necessary, not merely to ensure success, but to prevent defeat. As early as the 6th of January, the Duke of Brunswick addressed a remarkable letter to the King of Prussia, in which he announced the resignation of his command, stating, as his motive, "The unhappy experience that want of connection, distrust, egotism, and a spirit of cabal, had disconcerted the measures adopted during the two last campaigns." In a subsequent part of the letter, he says,—"When, instead of the prevalence of an unanimous sentiment and the same principle, each army acts separate and alone, of its own accord, without any fixed plan, without unanimity and without principles, the consequences are such as we have seen at Dunkirk, at Maubeuge, and Landau. Heaven preserve your Majesty from great misfortunes!"

It has been conjectured, that the King of Prussia, from the disappointment of various kinds which he had experienced, had already determined to withdraw himself from the confederacy. In the month of February, certain commissioners from the French republic arrived at Frankfort under the pretext of negotiating for an exchange of prisoners; but the marked distinction with which they were treated, indicated somewhat of different import and of higher moment.

Field-Marshal Mullendorf succeeded to the Duke of Brunswick in the command of the Prussian army; and an intimation to the Prince of Cobourg, that he had received orders from his court to march towards Cologne, was followed, on the 13th of March, by a proclamation addressed to the German empire, announcing his Prussian Majesty's actual secession from the grand confederacy. This ruse d'etat appears to have fully answered its intended purpose; as it was almost immediately followed by a treaty of subsidy, conformably to which, the sum of nearly two millions sterling was to be paid to the court of Berlin for the service of an army of 62,000 men, to be commanded by an officer of his Prussian Majesty's own appointment.

In March, a general council of war was convened, at Ath, when the projected arrangements of the campaign, on the part of the court of Vienna, were brought forward by General Haddick. A main article of this plan was, that General Clairfait, an officer of great ability and experience, should be appointed to the command of the auxiliary forces, and that the Duke of York should act under his orders—the Prince of Cobourg continuing at the head of the grand imperial army. This his royal highness refused with disdain; and the dispute was only settled by the determination, that the Emperor himself should take the field in person, and that in him should be vested the supreme command. On the 9th of April his imperial Majesty arrived at Brussels, where he was solemnly inaugurated Duke of Brabant. Thence he proceeded to Valenciennes, where his presence diffused great joy; and, on the 16th, the whole army was reviewed by him on the heights above Cateau. On the following day they marched in eight columns to invest Landreci. The French assembled in force at the camp of Cœsar, near Cambray, from which they were, on the 23d, driven by the confederates, and the investment of Landreci immediately took place. The next day the French made a general assault upon the different posts of the allies in this quarter. They were in most instances repulsed; but the post of Mou-

* During this session, the court sat thirty days on the trial of Mr. Hastings; and on the 14th of June, the 147th day of the trial, the replication of the Commons was closed. Mr. Burke, at the end of his concluding speech, the wonder of nine days, (so long did it last) declared, "that the Commons waited the issue of this cause with trembling solicitude. They felt the dearest interests of their country deeply involved in it. Your Lordships' justice," said this famous orator, "stands pre-eminent in the world; but it stands amidst vast heaps of ruins which surround it in every corner of Europe. I trust however that the noble fabric of this constitution will long exist unimpaired in reputation as well as in strength: and at the same time that it operates as a terror to tyrants, that it will never cease to afford protection to injured and oppressed nations." The final decision of the Peers was postponed till the ensuing session, when Mr. Hastings was honourably acquitted on every charge. It is not necessary to call in question the justice or the policy of his impeachment, though very much might be, and has been, urged against both, to support a charge of persecution—for persecuted a man must be, whatever his alledged or real guilt, over whose head the sword of the law is suspended for the long term of seven years! Such lengthened trials are repugnant to the genius and spirit of British jurisprudence. The cause of such unjustifiable delay in the administration of criminal justice, whatever it may be, ought to be removed. It subjects the innocent man to a punishment as severe as could be inflicted on the guilty. It keeps him, for a series of years, in a state of constraint, inactivity, and suspence, and subjects him to losses of various kinds more ruinous than any fine which the court could impose. The Commons threw the blame of the delay on the Lords, who had only devoted a few days in each session to the trial, but the Commons themselves were not wholly exempted from censure, since their managers were suffered to occupy several days in the delivery of a single speech, as if more intent on displaying their own powers of eloquence, than in promoting the ends of substantial justice. It requires, however, a radical change in the mode of conducting impeachments, before this most grievous evil can be removed. There ought to be a limited time between the period for preferring the charges before the high-court of Parliament, and the final delivery of the sentence, beyond which no trial should be protracted. At all events, no prorogation of the House of Lords ought to take place until the trial should be over. Another regulation, essential to the due administration of justice, is, that this court should be subjected to the same rules as other criminal courts: so far as respects the delivery of their verdict, they ought not to separate, after the defence is closed, until the verdict has been pronounced. The high character which Mr. Hastings bore; the eminent services which he had rendered to his country; his many virtues, both public and private; all combined to render his acquittal a source of satisfaction to a great majority of the people; while it heightened the public feeling at the oppression which he had endured by the unprecedented length of his trial.

† On the rising of Parliament, various alterations in the administration took place. Earl Fitzwilliam was declared president of the council, in the room of Earl Camden; Earl Spencer was appointed Lord Privy Seal; the Duke of Portland was made third Secretary of State; and Mr. Windham, Secretary at War. Before the close of the year, Lord Fitzwilliam was promoted to the Vice-Royalty of Ireland; and the Earl of Mansfield, late Lord Stormont, and nephew to the celebrated Chief-Justice Mansfield, lately deceased, succeeded to the presidency of the council. Lord Spencer was placed at the head of the Admiralty; and Lord Chatham, brother to the premier, who had for some years occupied that important department, was made Lord Privy Seal. Ten new Peers were also created, and the Duke of Portland's services were still farther rewarded with a blue ribbon, and the office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

cron, where Clairfait commanded, was attacked with a superior force by Pichegru in person, and carried, after a brave resistance. Courtray and Menin thus fell into the hands of the republicans. In return, the fortress of Landreci, which had repelled the utmost efforts of Prince Eugene in 1712, fell, after a short siege, into the hands of the Prince of Cobourg.

In the month of June, the French, under General Jourdain, who commanded on the side of the Moselle, passed the Sambre, for the third time in the space of fourteen days, and, after being twice repulsed, laid siege to the town of Charleroi. The Prince of Cobourg determined to make a grand effort for its relief. On the 21st he reached Ath, and on the 24th effected a junction with the hereditary Prince of Orange and General Beaulieu, who commanded in that quarter. The main body of the French army under General Jourdain, was strongly posted at this time in the vicinity of Fleurus, to cover the siege of Charleroi. Upon the morning of the 26th, the Prince of Cobourg hazarded a general attack on this force. The battle continued with unabating fury till near the close of the day, by which time the allied army was defeated in every part, and forced, with immense loss, to retreat to Halle, thirty miles from the scene of action. This was a great and decisive victory. Charleroi, to save which this bloody action was fought, had surrendered on the evening of the 25th, and Brussels fell, without further resistance, into the hands of the enemy. General Clairfait was equally unfortunate on the opposite side. Ypres, the key of Western Flanders, was besieged by 50,000 men, commanded by General Moreau. After a series of engagements, in which the French were almost uniformly victorious, the Austrians were compelled to fall back upon Ghent, and Ypres surrendered on the 17th of June. The Emperor, with his favourite, General Mack, in utter despair of success, left the army, after having in vain issued proclamation after proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of the Low Countries to rise in a mass in order to repel the invaders.

The Duke of York at this time enjoyed the honour of a separate command at Tournay, a position which recent events made wholly untenable: it was therefore evacuated, and the Duke retreated in the direction of Antwerp. No sooner had the fate of the Netherlands been thus decided, than Lord Moira arrived from England with a reinforcement of 10,000 men at Ostend, the gallant remains of that army, which had been destined to re-establish royalty in Britany. His Lordship found his situation very critical, the French being in possession of the country on all sides of him. It was deemed necessary immediately to evacuate the town, and endeavour to force his way, without tents or baggage, through the enemy, to join the army of the allies, which, by great and skilful exertion, he accomplished on the 8th of July: the shipping in the harbour, amounting to 150 sail, with the ammunition, stores, &c. on board, took their departure for Flushing. Thus Ostend, and nearly at the same time, Tournay and Ghent, fell into the hands of the French. In the respective engagements which had taken place between Pichegru and the Prince of Cobourg since the battle of Fleurus, the former had greatly the advantage. Mons, Oudenarde, and Nieuport, places widely distant; and soon after, Mechlin, surrendered to the republican arms. Antwerp itself was no longer considered as a safe retreat. The Stadtholder consequently solicited the States General to make an extraordinary levy throughout the provinces, but without effect. A revolution in the government was apprehended; and the utmost alarm was every where felt.

General Kleber took possession of Louvain, about the middle of July, after defeating General Clairfait, who had possession of the famous camp of the Montagne-de-Fer. The last hope of the allies, that of forming a line of defence from Antwerp to Namur, was now relinquished—Namur being, on the night of the 16th, abandoned by General Beaulieu; and, on the 24th, the French took quiet possession of Antwerp, the allies having previously set fire to the immense magazines there deposited. Sluys made a brave resistance, but surrendered after a siege of six weeks, the garrison marching out with the honours of war. The strong towns still occupied by the allies, Landreci, Quesnoy, Conde, and Valenciennes, being now completely insulated, successively reverted, almost without resistance, to the French.

At the beginning of August, the army under the Duke of York was stationed at Breda, whence, for greater security, it retreated towards Bois-le-Duc. The French forces, re-collected under Pichegru, advancing rapidly upon them, to the number of 80,000 men, about the middle of September, the Duke crossed the Maese, and took a fresh position near Grave, and at the beginning of October, he encamped under the walls of Nimeguen. Towards the end of the month, his royal highness passed the Waal, leaving General Walmoden with a corps to cover the town of Nimeguen, which was evacuated in great confusion, and with much loss, on the 7th of November. Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and, after a resistance worthy of the best days of the republic, Grave, were successively reduced.

Whilst Pichegru was in Dutch Flanders, the Austrian General La Tour was totally defeated by General Jourdain near Liege, which city, and those of Aix-la-Chapelle and Juliers, were occupied by the French. The Prince of Cobourg was at this period suddenly dismissed from his high command; and his successor, General Clairfait, after the most gallant efforts, was compelled, early in October, to repass the Rhine at Cologne. The French pursued the imperial troops to the very margin of the river; and as the rear of the Austrian army embarked, the question was loudly and insultingly asked, if that was the road to Paris? About the end of September the siege of Maestricht was formally commenced, and lasted to the beginning of November, during which interval the attack and defence were conducted with heroic bravery. The atmosphere seemed filled with balls, bombs, and shells, and scarcely was a place of safety left in the whole circuit of the city. Two thousand buildings, public and private, were said to be destroyed, and a general storm was intended on the 4th of November, when the governor, moved by the situation of the inhabitants, and the entreaties of the magistrates, consented to articles of capitulation with General Kleber, who entered the place on the same day.

The frost set in with unusual rigour about the middle of December; in the course of a week the Maese and the Waal were frozen over; and on the 27th a strong column of French crossed the former of those rivers, while another corps made themselves masters of the Bommel. Pichegru did not make his grand movement till the 10th of January, 1795, when the main body of his forces crossed the Waal at different points, and made a general attack upon the lines of the allies, extending between Nimeguen and Arnheim, under the command of General Walmoden,—the Duke of York having returned to England. The allies were defeated in every quarter. A precipitate retreat was ordered towards Amersfort and Deventer. In this retreat, which differed little from a flight, the wretched fugitives were exposed to every species of distress. From the want of common necessaries in the allied army, a dreadful sickness and mortality prevailed, and the harassed and dispirited troops, exposed to the intense severity of the weather, the drifting snow, and heavy falls of sleet and rain, almost without clothing, frequently without sustenance, without medicines, without tents, littered down in cold and damp churches and other public buildings, expired daily and nightly by hundreds. This retreat was almost equivalent to a formal surrender of Holland into the hands of the French. Utrecht, Rotterdam, and Dort, surrendered to the French without resistance; and the Stadtholder with his family, made his escape in an open boat from Scheveling on the 19th of January. On the succeeding day, General Pichegru made his public entry into Amsterdam; and, by order of the States General, every other fortress in the republic opened its gates to the French. On the 27th of January, the

the provisional representatives of the people of Holland assembled, and a decree immediately passed for the total abolition of the Stadtholderate, and for the establishment, under the protection of the republic of France, of a new provisional government for the United Provinces.*

Disastrous as this year's campaign had been to the British arms on the Continent, her success, wherever she acted alone and on her own element, was not less distinguished. Towards the end of the year 1793, the British government had prepared a formidable armament to act against the colonies of France in the West Indies. On the 3d of November in that year, this expedition sailed; the land forces, which consisted of about 6000 troops under the command of Sir Charles Grey; and the naval armament, consisting of four ships of war, nine frigates, a bomb ketch, and a few gunboats, and several store ships, under the command of Sir John Jervis. Having rendezvoused early in the year in Carlisle bay, Barbadoes, they sailed, on the 3d of February, to the attack of Martinico, which surrendered, after a resolute resistance of seven weeks. Fort Royal was carried by escalade with extraordinary exertions of valour, particularly on the part of Captain Faulkner of the Zebra, who entered the harbour through the fire of all the batteries, and laid his sloop alongside the walls. About the same period Cape Tiburon, and some other posts in St. Domingo, were reduced to submission by Colonel Whitelock and Commodore Ford. As soon as the reduction of Martinico had been effected, the troops were re-embarked, and landed on the island of St. Lucia, which capitulated on the 4th of April; and upon the 11th of the same month, the fleet and army arrived off Gaudaloupe, which, after a short but brave defence, surrendered, with its dependencies, on the 20th. After these glorious successes Sir Charles Grey returned to Martinico, leaving General Dundas, brother to the minister, to command at Guadaloupe. The General, unfortunately died of the fever incident to the climate, at Guadaloupe, after a few days illness, early in June. A French squadron appeared off the island, June the 5th, from which a body of troops landing under the command of a most daring and skilful leader, Victor Hugues, attacked Fort Fleur d'Epée, which they carried by storm; and the English retreated with considerable loss to Fort Louis. This also was soon evacuated; and the troops, shattered and disheartened, took refuge in Basse-terre. Sir Charles Grey, on the first intelligence of this attempt, sailed from St. Kitt's with all the force he could collect, and, landing on the island of Guadaloupe on the 19th of June, he made an attempt (July 2) on the post of Point-à-Petre. After great efforts of valour, however, he was repulsed, with the loss of 600 men. Upon this the forces were re-embarked; and Basse-terre, after a long and vigorous resistance, with the whole island and its dependencies, reverted to its former possessors.

In the course of the summer the conquest of Port au Prince, the chief of the French settlements on the western side of St. Domingo, was effected.

In the Mediterranean, the progress of the English arms subsequent to the evacuation of Toulon, was very flattering. Early in February, 1794, Lord Hood proceeded for Corsica, which was in a state of revolt against the Convention, the insurgents having been excited to this resistance by the English influence, under the conduct of their ancient and popular chief, Paschal Paoli, who had been some years since restored to his country with honour by the Constituent Assembly. Mortella, Tornelli, and St. Fiorenza, being successively surrendered or evacuated, the Corsicans who adhered to the French interest retreated to Bastia, which resisted the united efforts of the Anglo-Corsicans and English till the 24th of May, when it capitulated on honourable terms; and the whole island, excepting Calvi, which held out till August, submitted to the English. Letters of convocation were immediately issued for the Assembly of the General Consulta, to be held at Corte, the ancient capital of Corsica, on Sunday the 8th of June; General Paoli was elected President. The representatives of the Corsican nation immediately voted the union of Corsica with the British crown; a constitutional act was framed accordingly; and Sir Gilbert Elliot, representative of his Britannic Majesty, formally accepted this act on his part, and immediately assumed the title of Viceroy.

At home, as well as abroad, the navy of England was destined to be uniformly triumphant. The Channel fleet, which, during the last summer, had achieved nothing worthy the reputation of its veteran commander, put to sea in the spring in search of an enemy which had hitherto eluded pursuit. Lord Howe was particularly solicitous to vindicate the honour of his country, as well as to rescue his own character from unmerited reproach; and the powerful armament now under his command, left no doubt relative to the result of a contest. On reaching the Lizard, a signal was made for the East Indiamen to proceed on their voyage under convoy of six sail of the line and a frigate, which were not to separate from them until their arrival off Cape Finisterre. Having received information on the 19th of May, that the Brest fleet was at sea, Lord Howe deemed it proper to effect a junction with the squadron lately detached under Rear-Admiral Montague as soon as possible; but on hearing, two days after, that the enemy had been seen a few leagues further to the westward, he immediately altered his course, and steered towards them.

Great care had hitherto been taken to avoid any naval contest with the English; but on the present occasion orders were transmitted to Vice-Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse to protect the supplies from America at the risk of a battle. Jean Bon St. André, who had been employed at Brest to infuse a spirit of democracy into the seamen, acted on this occasion as a national commissioner, having embarked on board the flag ship, carrying one hundred and twenty guns, and designated La Montagne, after the ruling party in the convention. On the 28th of May, at eight o'clock in the morning, in north latitude 47° 33'. W. Long. 14° 10'. the rival fleets descried each other exactly at the same time; the wind blew strong from the south-west, accompanied by a very rough sea,

* The Prussian General, Mullendorf, who had been obliged to make some show of co-operation with the Austrians, surprised the French in their entrenchments at Keyserslautern, and defeated them with considerable loss. In July, the French, under General Desaix, attacked the Prussians, and carried the important posts occupied by Prince Hohenloe on the Platoberg, a high mountain in the territory of Deux-Ponts. Soon afterwards, they repeated their attack upon the whole chain of posts from Neustadt to the Rhine with splendid success, and both Austrians and Prussians were obliged to retreat with precipitation. The imperial army re-crossed the Rhine, and the Prussians retired towards Guntersbloom and Mentz. The recent acquisition of Keyserslautern was abandoned to the republicans, who again occupied the cities of Worms, Spire, and Treves. In Spain and Italy also the armies of the republic were successful. During the campaign of 1793, the Spaniards had entered France, and meeting with little opposition, had captured the city of Bellegarde, and obtained, in various engagements, some indecisive advantages: but the republicans, who were at first compelled to stand on the defensive, became at length the assailants. In November, they penetrated into the province of Catalonia, and in the beginning of February following, a battle was fought near St Jean de Luz, in which the French were conquerors. In the month of May another victory was gained near Ceret; and soon afterwards a third, of more importance than the former two, over the principal Spanish army posted in the vicinity of Collioure, by General Dugommier, the whole of the baggage and artillery falling into the hands of the French. A column was ordered by the Convention to be erected in memory of this exploit. The cities of Urgel, St. Elmo, and Bellegarde, so recently captured, surrendered to the armies of France, conducted by the heroic Dugommier. The Spaniards also, under their General, the Count de l'Union, fought with great bravery, but were overpowered by superior skill and numbers. Soon after the re-capture of Bellegarde, General Dugommier obtained another signal victory, but was, at the close of it, unfortunately killed by the bursting of a shell. His death was speedily avenged by the defeat and death of his gallant opponent, the Count de l'Union. On the western side great advantages were gained by General Moncey, and the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian fell into the hands of the French; the city of Pampeluna itself was menaced with a siege, and a deep and dangerous impression made upon the whole extent of the Pyrenean frontier. In Italy, the Piedmontese had, at the command of the Sardinian monarch, risen in a mass; but, being destitute of the enthusiasm of liberty, they constituted a body without a soul. The French forced the famous pass of Mount Cenis, took possession of the city and territory of Oneglia, and made themselves masters of a great part of the open country of that district.

and the French possessed the weather-gage.—After the advanced frigates had given intimation of this event, Earl Howe continued his course, while Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse endeavoured as much as possible to assume a regular order of battle upon the starboard tack, a circumstance which greatly facilitated the approach of the English. As the conduct of the enemy, who had now hauled their wind, indicated an intention to avoid a close fight, the British commander, at fifty-five minutes past one o'clock, displayed the signal for a general chase, and to prevent their escape, he soon after detached Rear Admiral Pasley, with a flying squadron, consisting of the Bellerophon, Russell, Marlborough, and Thunderer, to make an impression on their rear. That officer accordingly, near the close of the day, came up with and attacked the Révolutionnaire, a three-decked ship of 110 guns, which happened to be the sternmost in the line; but his topmast being disabled during the action, Lord Hugh Seymour Conway, in the Leviathan, gallantly advanced, and received her fire, which was tremendous, and by the time it was dark, Captain Parker, of the Audacious, having arrived close to the rear ship, fought her also within the distance of half a cable's length, but without any decisive success on either side. The rival fleets, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line on one part, and twenty-five on the other, remained within sight of each other during the whole night on the starboard tack, and in a parallel direction, with the French still to windward, but next morning (the 29th of May,) Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, flushed with the hopes of a victory, wore from van to rear, and instead of flinching from the action, edged down in a line a-head to engage the van of the British fleet.

Taking advantage of so favourable an opportunity, Lord Howe renewed the signal for passing the enemy's line, and succeeded with some difficulty in obtaining the weather-gage, while the enemy were repulsed by the Barfleur and two other three-deckers, in an attempt to cut off the Queen and Royal George. At length Villaret-Joyeuse tacked again by signal, and after a distant cannonade, stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the whole of the British fleet, which still retained the weather-gage. The second day's action proved equally indecisive as the former, and a thick fog that intervened during this night and the greater part of the succeeding day, prevented the renewal of the engagement. In the meantime Rear-Admiral Neilly joined the French commander-in-chief with a reinforcement of three sail of the line and two frigates, comprehending Le Sanspareil of 80 guns, and Le Trajan and Le Temeraire of 74 guns each, and La Semillante and La Tamise of 36 guns each; this accession of strength enabled him to detach his crippled ships, and the dawn of the succeeding day exhibited the two fleets drawn up in order of battle, and prepared to renew the contest. The British Admiral perceiving that there was time sufficient for the various ships' companies to take refreshment, made a signal for breakfast; an event which, by procrastinating the action, induced the enemy to believe that their antagonists wished to decline the engagement. But they were miserably disappointed, for in about half an hour, Lord Howe gave orders for steering the Royal Charlotte, on board of which was flying the signal for close action, alongside the French Admiral. This was effected at nine o'clock in the morning, and, by an extraordinary display of seamanship on the part of his master, Mr. Bowen, he was enabled to assume a most excellent position, so as to be able to contend with advantage against a vessel far superior in point of size; and while some of the English commanders penetrated the line of battle and engaged to leeward, others occupied such stations as allowed them to combat with their antagonists to windward. So close and severe was the contest, that the fate of this day depended but little either on the exertion of nautical knowledge, or the exhibition of that scientific skill which subjects the management of artillery to the rules of tactics. All was hard fighting. Such was the tremendous fire, and so decisive the advantage, on the part of the British, that in about fifty minutes after the action had commenced in the centre, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse determined to relinquish the contest; for he now perceived several of his ships dismasted, and one of seventy-four guns about to sink; he at the same time found that six were captured: a great slaughter had also taken place on board his own vessel, in which his Captain, Bastile, and a multitude of the crew were killed, while the national commissioner, with most of his officers, was wounded. He accordingly crowded off with all the canvas he could spread, and was immediately followed by most of the ships in his van that were not completely crippled; two or three of these, although dismantled, also got away soon after, under a temporary sail hoisted on the occasion; for the enemy had, as usual, chiefly aimed at the rigging, and the victors were by this time disabled from pursuing the vanquished: the Queen Charlotte in particular, which but for an unlucky broadside from Le Jacobin would have captured her antagonist, was at this period nearly unmanageable, having lost her foretopmast in action; this was soon after followed by the maintopmast, which fell over the side; while the Brunswick, which had lost her mizen-mast, and the Queen, which was also disabled, drifted to leeward, and were exposed to considerable danger from the retreating fleet. Two eighty, and five seventy-four gun ships, however, still remained in possession of the victors, but one of the latter (Le Vengeur) went down soon after she was taken possession of. The slaughter on the part of the English was not so great as might have been expected.* Captain Montague, of the Montague, happened to be the only commander who fell during the engagement. Several officers of distinction, however, suffered in the course of the day: for Vice-Admiral Graves, the Honourable G. Berkeley, and Captain J. Harvey,† were among the wounded; and the Rear-Admirals Pasley and Bowyer, and Captain Hutt of the Queen, lost a leg each.

Admiral Montague, who had repaired to England, whence he was immediately dispatched to join Earl Howe, sailed for Brest, partly with a view to fall in with the commander-in-chief, and partly on purpose to pick up any crippled ships, which, in case of an action, might take shelter in that port; he accordingly encountered some of the retreating squadron, and chased them into the outer road. On the succeeding day he descried the main body under Villaret-Joyeuse; but, notwithstanding the late fatal conflict, that commander formed an admirable line of battle and gave chase; while the fleet from America, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail of merchantmen, supposed to be worth several millions sterling, but invaluable on account of the distressed state of France, arrived in safety on the 12th of June.

* The following is a comparative estimate of the killed and wounded:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total
On board the six French ships taken,	690	580	1270
On board six of the English ships that suffered most,	125	335	460
Surplus killed and wounded on the part of the French,	565	245	810

† Captain J. Harvey, of the Brunswick, who had conducted himself with distinguished bravery during the action, died a few days after his return to Portsmouth, of a fever accompanied by a delirium; Captain Hutt, of the Queen, also perished in a similar manner. These two gallant officers were thus prevented from receiving the rewards so justly due to their valour; but the Rear-Admirals Bowyer and Pasley were created Baronets, and received a pension of 1000*l.* each per annum. Admirals Graves and Sir Alexander Hood had the honours of the Peerage conferred upon them. Earl Howe was presented with a diamond-hilted sword of great value, by the King in person, on board the Queen Charlotte at Spithead; and also with a golden chain, to which was suspended a medal, with victory crowning Britannia on the obverse, and on the reverse a wreath of oak and laurel, encircling his Lordship's name, and the date of the action. In December, 1796, his Majesty was also pleased to transmit gold chains and medals to the following flag officers and Captains, who were reported by Lord Howe to have signalized themselves during the battle with the French fleet:—Vice-Admirals Sir A. Hood, T. Graves. Rear-Admirals A. Gardner, G. Bowyer, T. Pasley, Sir R. Curtis. Captains W. Hope, Elphinstone, Hon. T. Pakenham, J. T. Duckworth, Sir A. Douglas, H. Harvey, W. Domett, H. Nichols, J. W. Payne, and T. Pringle.

The

The British commander-in-chief now deemed it proper to conduct the six ships captured from the enemy into port, being unable to keep the sea, on account of the disabled state of his own squadron. He accordingly steered for England, arrived safe off Dunnose in the Isle of Wight, on the 13th of June, and in the course of the same day returned thanks for "The highly distinguished examples of resolution, spirit, and perseverance, which had been testified by every description of officers, seamen, and military corps, in the ships of the fleet, during the several actions with the enemy on the 28th and 29th of May, and the 1st of June."*

The British fleet after it had been refitted, again put to sea; but the enemy was so completely humbled, that the Brest fleet never ventured out until Lord Howe had returned to port, and instead of making captures, they actually lost five sail of the line.†

Amongst the miscellaneous events of the year, may be mentioned the arrival, at London, in the month of April, of Mr. Jay, Chief Justice of the United States of America, as Minister Plenipotentiary, to adjust the existing differences between that republic and the British government; and, in the autumn, the return to England of Lord Macartney, from his celebrated embassy, to China.‡ The British settlements, in India, at this period, enjoyed a season of tranquil repose, under the government of Sir John Shore the successor of Earl Cornwallis;§ the European States, and their dependencies, alone experiencing the horrors of war.

In the course of the summer, wonderful changes had taken place in the internal state and government of France. The virtuous and amiable Princess Elizabeth, sister of the late King, and his faithful companion under misfortune, had been sacrificed on the regicidal altar;‖ Robespierre, the great high priest of Moloch, had himself become a victim to the idol of his adoration; and the Jacobin Club, giving way, in its turn, to the remains of the Girondist party, the object of its bloody persecution, had been totally destroyed.¶

Sweden and Denmark still persevered in their determination

* Whilst the French convention, inflamed by the delusive eloquence of Barrère, and the exaggerated report of Jean Bon St. André, gave orders to hang up the model of the Vengeur, the crew of which had long contended hand to hand with an enemy's ship of the same rate, in the Pantheon, the English nation exhibited unbounded joy at a victory in some measure necessary to its independence. The metropolis, and many of the provincial cities and towns, were illuminated during three nights in succession; the Parliament passed a vote of thanks; large sums of money were subscribed for the benefit of the widows and children of those killed in action; and the king repaired to Spithead, on purpose to congratulate in person the gallant Admiral, officers and seamen, who had performed such brilliant achievements.

† The success of the British navy, in the course of this year, was nearly uniform, both in respect to squadrons and single ships. On the 23d of April, Sir John Borlase Warren had signalized himself by the defeat of a small French squadron in an engagement off Guernsey, in which after two hours fighting and some hours of close pursuit, four sail were captured from the enemy. In August he pursued five other French ships of war off Scilly, and driving two of them under the batteries of the Gamelle rocks, would have proceeded to burn them; but, with a generosity worthy of his courage, abstained from the last rigours of war against an unfortunate enemy, whose wounded must have perished had he set their vessels on fire. Several combats of single ships displayed the superiority of our seamen in a most brilliant light. Of these, the action of Captain Nagle of the Artois, with the Revolutionnaire, and others might be mentioned. Nor did the loss of the Alexander of 74 guns in the month of November, tarnish the reputation of the British arms, though the unusual spectacle of such a prize was resounded through France as an immortal atchievement. This vessel, which had parted from the division of Admiral Bligh, and could not rejoin it, was attacked off Brest by three French seventy-fours, which she engaged, and resisted for two hours, and it was not till her lower masts were on the point of going by the board that she reluctantly struck to this disparity of force.

‡ The grand object of Lord Macartney's mission was to conclude a commercial treaty with the government of China, and to obtain, if possible, an extension of privileges for the English merchants; more particularly to procure permission to land their commodities at some port nearer to the capital than Canton. Lord Macartney left England, at the latter end of September 1792, in the Lion man of war of 64 guns, and in the month of July following, he reached the north-eastern coast of China, whence he and his train were conveyed up the great river Tyensing to the city of the same name, in junks or barges, under the escort of a mandarin guard, who were watchful to prevent the least communication with the inhabitants, pitching their tents at night exactly opposite the spot where the junks lay at anchor. "On the 11th of August they arrived at Tyensing, where they received refreshments and presents, of no great value, on the part of the Emperor, the famous Kien Long, who had already governed that vast empire with uninterrupted success and reputation more than half a century. From Tyensing they still proceeded on their voyage, up the river to the city of Tong-tchew, within twelve miles of Pekin, the capital of China. After a short interval of rest at Tong-tchew, the ambassador and his secretary, Sir George Staunton, set out in palanquins provided for the purpose, which conveyed them to the metropolis—the train following in covered carriages. The Emperor being at this season of the year usually resident at Jehol, his summer palace in Tartary, beyond the great wall, orders were sent that the ambassador should proceed thither. On the 7th of September he arrived at Pehol; and on the 14th his excellency was honoured with his first audience of the Emperor, at five o'clock in the morning. The ambassador had brought with him from England the most splendid and costly presents which were ever offered by one monarch to the acceptance of another; but they were received with marked indifference, or rather haughtiness; and care had been taken to paint in large Chinese characters, upon the flags pendent from the yachts and land carriages, 'Ambassador bearing tribute from the country of England.' The Emperor himself behaved with decorum and politeness to the ambassador; but he would neither enter into any treaty, nor would he grant any new privileges. Early in the month of October, Kien Long and his court, attended by Lord Macartney and his train, returned to Pekin; within a very short time subsequently to which his excellency had his last audience of his imperial Majesty, who delivered to him a letter, in answer to that from the King of England, and also a poem of his own composing, inclosed in a roll covered with yellow silk. This was accompanied by several chests of presents; and the ambassador, who had made great preparations for passing the winter in Pekin, was officially apprized that this was the signal of departure. On the 9th of October his excellency and his suite left Pekin, and proceeded to Tong-tchew, whence they were conveyed in junks as before, through the interior of that immense empire, by a variety of rivers and canals from the northern to the southern extremity of China, reaching Canton in perfect safety, after a variety of amusing adventures, December 18, 1793, and in January following they embarked at Macao for Britain."

§ At Bengal, on the 27th of April, this year, died Sir William Jones, who had been appointed, March 1783, a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in India on the recall of Sir Elijah Impey. Sir William had long been celebrated, for the profundity and extent of his attainments. As a linguist he was equally familiar with the modern and the ancient, the occidental and the oriental, languages; and, as a writer and professor of juris-prudence, he was equally versed in the laws and usages of his native country, the Roman and Grecian, the Hindoo and Mahometan systems. At once a mathematician, a poet, and an historian; he also excelled in musical, chymical, and botanical pursuits; his attainments in each justifying the supposition that he had made the study of it the great object of his life. Yet he died at the age of forty-seven. To his great and unrivalled intellectual accomplishments he added the highest moral excellence; and no greater or juster eulogium could be pronounced upon him, than that his virtues were equal to his talents.

‖ The Princess Elizabeth was charged with having conspired to restore royalty, with persons, many of whom she had never even seen: not a witness was produced, nor a single attempt made to substantiate any one fact alledged against her. She was condemned to death, with twenty-four of her reputed accomplices; and she died, as she had lived, devout, tranquil, and resigned; considering the sentence which consigned her to the scaffold as a welcome passport to a better life.

At this time, though not less than forty persons of all ages, and of both sexes, were daily consigned to the guillotine, the prisons, replenished as soon as thinned, were almost constantly full. The rage of these monsters in human shape seems to have been more particularly directed against women; to deprave their morals, to prosecute their persons, and to forward their destruction, appeared to be equally the object of their study. Fourteen young ladies, from Verdun, who are described, by a person who was imprisoned with them, as being of unexampled modesty, and having the appearance of virgins dressed for a bridal feast, were led together to the scaffold, on a charge of having danced at a ball given by some Prussian officers, in 1792, while the place was in possession of the allies. Twenty females, from Poitou, mostly peasants, were also executed together. While they were lying in the yard of the prison, one of them had an infant at her breast, which was forcibly torn from her, as they were going to conduct her to the place of execution. Several of these unhappy females died on the way, but the savages guillotined their bodies. Many women in a state of pregnancy, died in the different prisons for want of that assistance which their situation required. And when Billaud Varennes was apprized of the fact, instead of giving such orders as would prevent a recurrence of the evil, he remarked, with true philosophical apathy, "'Tis so much trouble saved to the executioner." So dreadful was the state of the prisoners that many of them actually petitioned to be executed. To a woman, who applied for this purpose to him, Couthon said, "You have not been long enough in a situation which makes death desirable." A lady, in the last stage of pregnancy, was seized with the pains of labour at the moment when she was summoned to repair to the guillotine. Regardless of her situation she was compelled to descend to the yard, where two soldiers dragged her towards the cart, till her agonies rose to such a height that they were at length compelled to put her into the first room they could find, where she was immediately delivered alone, and without assistance.

¶ The proceedings of the convention, at the commencement of the year 1794, seem to indicate, that some secret advances had been made on the part of the allies, to establish a truce for two years between

mination of observing a perfect impartiality during the present war; and in the course of this year (March 27) a convention was concluded between them, by which they agreed to protect the freedom of Commerce in the Baltic on the principles of the armed neutrality of 1780, equipping jointly a fleet of sixteen ships of the line, in equal proportions, for that service; and by the tenth article the Baltic was declared to be a neutral sea, absolutely and altogether inaccessible to the armed ships of the different and distant belligerent powers.

The British Parliament assembled on the 30th of December. In the speech from the throne, while the disasters of the late campaign were admitted, they were not allowed to supply any reasons for diminishing the vigour of exertion so necessary for the pursuit of the war. On the contrary, additional vigour, and additional efforts, were held out as the only possible means of bringing it to a successful issue. The Dutch government, indeed, dispirited by the reverses which the allies had experienced, had opened a negociation with the

---

tween the belligerent powers. Such advances, however, if really made, were treated with contempt.

On the 3d of February, three deputies from the island of St. Domingo, one of whom was a negro, and the others men of colour, were received by the convention as the representatives of the colony. On the succeeding day one of the deputies gave an account of the troubles of the island; and he had no sooner concluded, than La Croix eagerly moved for the entire abolition of slavery within the dominions of France. The National Convention rose spontaneously to decree the proposition, and the men of colour were all adopted as French citizens. Hebert, Ronsin, Anarcharsis Clootz, styled the Apostle of Atheism, &c.—men who, to conciliate the populace, adopted the wildest theories, decried all religion, preached equality in the absurdest extent, and recommended publicly an agrarian law, were now at the head of the Cordeliers. In the beginning of March the table of the Rights of Man, in the hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with a black crape; and Herbert from the tribune of the society, affirmed that tyranny existed in the republic. This was sufficient to arouse the jealousy of Robespierre. Virtue and ferocity were declared in the Convention, by the wretch Couthon, to be the requisite order of the day. On the 25th of March, Hebert, Ronsin, Clootz, and many others, were arrested, and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and of course condemned to the guillotine. These executions were followed by those of Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot, Bazire, Julien of Toulouse, Herault Sechelles, and other popular deputies of the Convention, on pretence of their having engaged in counter-revolutionary projects. The arrest of Danton, Philippeaux, Camille Desmoulins, &c. took place on the 31st of March. It deserves notice, that St. Just, in the report presented on this occasion, makes the profession of atheism a principal charge against Fabre d'Eglantine. On the 2d of April, these persons and many others their pretended accomplices, fell under the fatal axe of the guillotine.*(a)* The execution of Danton and his fellow sufferers, was followed by that of General Arthur Dillon, who had formerly commanded that division of the French army, which in the campaign of 1792, had so gallantly repulsed the Prussians: the general had been accused, along with Madame Desmoulins, of a plot to overturn the government.

About this time, the Convention decreed that the remains of the celebrated Jean Jacques Rousseau should be deposited in the beautiful church of St. Genevieve, now styled the Pantheon. "That illustrious patriot" said the president "has left excellent lessons to mankind, to love liberty, morality, and the Divinity. These lessons will for ever confound those false philosophers who profess neither to believe in a Providence nor in a Supreme Being—the only consolation of mankind

---

(a) J. G. Danton, an advocate to the council, was born at Arcis-sur-Aube, on the 26th of October, 1759. His height was colossal, his make athletic, his features strongly marked, coarse and displeasing; his voice shook the domes of the hall, his elocution was vehement, and his images gigantic. He was successively the friend of Mirabeau, of Marat, and of Robespierre. In 1792, he was one of those who organized the sanguinary scenes of August 10th, by appearing on the 8th, at the bar of the assembly, to declare that if the King's deposition were not decreed, the section of Cordeliers would rise and trample on the government. Louis XVI. having been removed from the throne on the 10th, Danton became a member of the provisional executive council, obtained the appointment of administrator of justice, and accepted the nomination of agent to the army, and to the departments, which gave him opportunities of engaging many in his interest. He employed himself with great success in awakening a spirit of military enthusiasm. On the 3d of September, the entrance of the Prussians into Champagne, spread consternation through the metropolis, and disturbed the members of the government. All the ministers, the distinguished deputies, and Robespierre himself, who was then apprehensive of Brissot, assembled at the House of Danton, who alone retaining his courage, seized in a manner all power, dictated the measures of defence which were then taken, and prevented the assembly from removing to the other side of the Loire. At this time began that inveterate hatred which Robespierre nourished against him, who never forgave the ascendancy Danton had then exercised, and cunning at last triumphed over hardihood. The department of Paris having elected Danton to the Convention, he proposed at the very first meeting, that all property should be secured by a decree; he had a law passed, declaring all citizens admissible to the office of judge, and he reproached the old magistracy with its servility and attachment to monarchy.

On the 25th of September, the Girondins gave warning that the department of Paris, to which he belonged, was brooding on a scheme for a dictatorship. This accusation took its rise from the papers of Marat; the charge was repelled with vehemence by Danton, who condemned Marat, representing him as the would-be king of the republican party, and by his means, the punishment of death was awarded against all who should attempt to scatter dissention, or establish tyranny in France. About the end of October he became one of the revolutionary committee. On his return from a mission to

---

in their last moments."—Religion was now again the order of the day in the National Convention.

On the 30th of May, Barrere brought forward the infamous decree for allowing no quarter to the English or Hanoverian troops: but the French officers and soldiery unanimously refused to carry this abominable mandate into execution; and the commander-in-chief of the British forces, on this occasion, to his lasting honour, declared, by a public proclamation, his unalterable resolution not to imitate this horrid barbarity.

A grand festival was, a few days afterwards (June 8,) observed in honour of the Supreme Being! The president of the Convention, from the midst of a spacious amphitheatre adorned with festoons and garlands, made an oration to the immense surrounding multitude, exhorting them to adore the great Author of Nature. During the performance of a solemn symphony, he descended from the tribune, armed with the torch of truth; and approached a hideous monster representing Atheism, which, on being touched by the torch, instantly vanished, and the resplendent figure of Wisdom occupied its place.

Scarcely had Robespierre reached the summit of power, when the basis on which it stood seemed to totter under him. On the 10th of June, Bourdon de l'Oise, a member of the Conventional Assembly, demanded that the decree which affirmed the inviolability of the national representatives should be again established; and that no member should be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal but in consequence of a decree of accusation passed by the assembly itself, instead of an order from the Committee of Safety, where Robespierre, and the vile instruments of his horrible tyranny, Couthon and St. Just, bore absolute sway. This was carried before the tyrant could recover from his surprise. From this time the party formed against him rapidly increased, and even his celebrated colleague, Barrere, took a secret, though efficient, part in plotting his overthrow. That Robespierre meditated the speedy destruction of all those whom he now regarded as his enemies was manifest; and it was rumoured that he meant at the same time openly to assume the office of Dictator of the Republic. On the 25th of July, he delivered an oration in the Convention, in which he plainly indicated his future project. "What a terrible use (said he) have our enemies made of a word which at Rome was applied only to a public function." The speech was heard with symptoms of contempt; many things in it were contested; and it was evident that his influence in the Convention was lost. This was the critical moment. The armed force of Paris, under Henriot, was still at his devotion; but his resolution, and even his sagacity, seemed to fail him; his popularity was evidently declining,

---

Holland, where he, with Lacroix, of Eure and Loi, had occasioned the most violent tumults, he voted for the king's death, brought on the war with Spain, and strove to appease the contentions of the Jacobins and Girondins. On the 25th of July, 1793, he was chosen president, and on the 1st of August, proposed to erect the committee of public safety into a provisional government; and in that capacity he obtained a decree ordaining public education and national establishments, where the children should be gratuitously taught, fed, and lodged. On the 26th of November, the festivals called those of Reason, at which the Hebertists presided, induced him to declaim against the unseasonable attacks made on the ministers of divine worship, and even proposed to consecrate a day to the Supreme Being; "for" said he, "we did not strive to annihilate superstition for the sake of establishing the reign of atheism." After the death of Hebert, the hatred which subsisted between Robespierre and Danton, was converted into open war. Danton was desirous of overturning that despotism which Robespierre exercised over the committee, and Robespierre, with more address, sought to destroy Danton, in order to free himself from his rival. At this trial before the revolutionary tribunal, when asked the usual question, respecting his name and residence, he replied, "My residence will soon be a nonentity, but my name will live for ever in the Pantheon of history!" To the president who reproached him with his boldness, he said, "Individual boldness, is doubtless reprehensible; but national boldness, of which I have given so many examples, is allowable and even necessary, and I glory in possessing it!" Conviction of course followed his trial, and on his return to the Conciergerie, he exclaimed, "It is the anniversary of the day on which I caused the institution of the revolutionary tribunal, for which I implore pardon of God and men! I leave every thing in dreadful confusion: there is not one among them that understands any thing of government. After all, they are all such brethren as Cain; Brissot would have had me guillotined, even as Robespierre has me guillotined." When somewhat recovered from his first paroxysms, he ascended the fatal cart with resolution, and without resistance. One thought, one feeling turned towards his family, and affected him for a moment. "Oh, my wife, my best beloved," cried he, "I shall see thee no more!" Suddenly breaking short, however, he exclaimed, "Danton, no weakness!" and immediately ascending the scaffold, met his fate.

the prevailing party in France. But the King expressed his conviction, that no established government, or independent state, could, under the present circumstances, derive real security from such negociations; and that they could not be attempted by this country, without sacrificing both her honour and her safety to an enemy, whose chief animosity was avowedly directed against her. The acquired sovereignty of Corsica, the treaty recently concluded with America,* and the approaching marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, were the other objects recommended by his Majesty to the attention of Parliament.

In seconding the address, Earl Camden, in the Peers, drew a contrast between the situation of France and this country; urged the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war; and contended that the present was the most improper season for making peace that could possibly be chosen. The Earl of Guildford, in moving an amendment, urged "the impracticability of attaining what appeared to be the present object of the war,—the dictating of a government to France." The Marquis of Lansdowne declared that he could see no difficulty in treating with France at the present period, nor could he admit the objection that there was no power existing in that country to treat with. The amendment was rejected, by a majority of 107 to 12 voices. In the Commons, the address having been moved by Mr. Knatchbull, and seconded by Mr. Canning, Mr. Wilberforce, an intimate friend of the minister, objected, that the obvious tendency of the address was to pledge the House to a prosecution of the war till there should be a counter-revolution in France. "The confederacy against France," he observed, "was now dissolved, and her internal disorders were appeased; how then could we conquer a people who had resisted with such success, when assailed by the combined forces of Europe from without, and when distracted with insurrections from within?" He was aware of the impossibility of forcing a government upon France when that country was united in opinion and in act, and, though a friend to monarchy, he did not conceive a monarchy to

and the applauses of the galleries attended the speeches of his opponents, who, on their part, perceived that they had already gone too far to recede. In the sitting of July 27, Billaud Varennes complained "that the armed force of Paris was entrusted to parricidal hands. Henriot (said he) was denounced as the accomplice of Hebert. One man alone had the audacity to support him. Need I name him?—Robespierre." He then proceeded to recount his acts of blood and oppression: and accused him, without reserve, of harbouring an infamous design of making himself dictator. "In order to effect his purpose he has resolved to mutilate the Convention, to leave there only men as vile as himself, and to inflict a fatal blow on the representatives of the people. I proclaim, I proclaim the tyranny of Robespierre." Bursts of applause resounded from all parts of the Hall. Robespierre, here reddening with fury, darted towards the tribune, while a number of voices exclaimed "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" Loaded with universal imprecations, he was not suffered to speak in his own defence; and Tallien rose to congratulate the Convention that the veil was at length withdrawn, and the real conspirators unmasked. "I move," said he, "that Henriot and all his staff be arrested. I move that our sittings be permanent until the sword of the law has secured to us this revolution. I also move that Robespierre and his creatures be immediately arrested." These motions were passed amidst tumults of applause. Barrere was now called upon to speak in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, and after proposing that the national guard resume its original organization, and that the mayor of Paris be responsible for the safety of the national representation, he joined without reserve in the invectives against the fallen tyrant. Robespierre, lost in amazement and consternation, submitted, without farther resistance, to the decree of the Convention, and was guarded by the proper officers to the prison of the Luxembourg; the governor of which, being one of his creatures, refused to receive him; upon which he was conducted to the Hotel-de-Ville. In the interim, Henriot had found means to escape, and, with the activity inspired by desperation, rallied his adherents. Dividing his forces into three bodies, he attempted at once to attack the Hotel-de-Ville, the Committee of Public Safety, and the Convention. No sooner were the representatives of the people apprised of the state of things than they declared Robespierre and his accomplices outlaws and traitors. Barras was appointed commander-in-chief: and a proclamation was issued, exhorting the people to assert their liberty, and defend the National Convention. The sections of Paris came in succession to the bar, and took an oath to acknowledge no authority but that of the Convention. The president, Collot d'Herbois, in returning thanks to them in the name of the Assembly, expressed his hope that the sun would not go down before the heads of the traitors should fall. In consequence of these measures the troops of Henriot almost universally abandoned him; and he, himself, with the remainder, took possession of the Hotel-de-Ville. Here, at two hours after midnight, they were vigorously assaulted by a determined party of the Conventional guard, headed by Bourbon de l'Oise and other commissioners of the Convention, who rushed boldly forward into the hall of the commune. The insurgents, after a short and fruitless resistance, attempted in the last agonies of wild despair to turn their arms against themselves. Robespierre, already wounded in the side by a sabre, discharged a pistol in his mouth with no greater effect than to shatter and disfigure his countenance. Le Bas shot himself dead upon the spot, and Couthon stabbed himself with a poniard. Henriot, while haranguing the populace from an upper window, was thrown down by their desire, and shockingly wounded by the violence of the fall. At six in the morning the Convention suspended its sitting. The victory being now decided, Robespierre and the rest of the criminals outlawed by the Convention were immediately conveyed to the Revolutionary Tribunal, merely for the purpose of identifying their persons, and then re-conveyed to the Palace of Justice, and, on the evening of the same day (July 28), to the number of twenty-one, executed in the Place de Revolution, amid the loudest and most universal acclamations of joy ever known. The eyes of the spectators were chiefly fixed upon Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, who exhibited a ghastly picture of blood, mingled with dust, and covered with wounds. Robespierre was executed last, but remained on the scaffold wholly speechless, and petrified with horror."(a)

After the fall of this tyrant, a general alteration and melioration took place in the different branches of the provisional government of France. The Jacobin Club was entirely demolished; the remains of the Girondist party, were restored to their seats in the Convention; and Dumas, president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, Carriere, conventional commissioner, the destroyer of La Vendée, and various others of the same description, lost their lives most deservedly on the scaffold. At the same time hundreds were released from the different state prisons, who, but for the death of Robespierre, would probably have fallen miserable victims to his tyranny; and the infamous decree of the Convention, for refusing quarter to the English and Hanoverian soldiery, were formally annulled.

The royalists of La Vendée and La Loire had never been completely subdued, and thousands were still sheltered in the natural recesses of that romantic country, under their leaders Charette and Stofflet. A general amnesty, however, being now published, the greater part of them laid down their arms.

* A treaty of amity and commerce, between Great Britain and America, had been signed in the month of November:—In February, 1796, a treaty of defensive alliance was concluded with Russia.

(a) Maximilian Isidore Robespierre was born at Arras, in 1759. His father, a barrister in the superior council of Artois, having ruined himself by his prodigality, left France long before the revolution, established a school for the French at Cologne, and went into England, and thence to America, where he suffered his friends to be ignorant of his existence. His mother, the daughter of a brewer, soon died, leaving her son only nine years old; and a brother who shared his fate. The Bishop of Arras, M. De Conzie, contributed to send Robespierre to the college of Louis le Grand, where he got him admitted upon the foundation. The political troubles of 1788 heated his imagination; he was soon remarked in the revolutionary meetings in 1789, and the tiers état of the province of Artois afterwards appointed him one of their deputies to the states-general. In 1790, he continued to gain power with the clubs, while he was despised in the assembly. On the 30th of May, 1791, he declared in favour of the abolition of the punishment of death; and this man, who, but a few months afterwards, caused rivers of blood to flow, maintained that this punishment could have been invented only by tyrants. Having connected himself with Danton and Marat, he made use of the impetuosity of the latter, without fearing to find a rival in him; and though he dreaded the ascendancy of the former, he supported himself by his character and revolutionary forms, as long as he had other enemies to combat. On the 30th of November, 1792, he demanded that "the last tyrant of France (Louis XVI.) should be tried without delay, that the punishment due to his crimes might be adjudged to him;" and on the 10th of April, he moved that the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, Sillery, Guadet, Gensonne, and Brissot, should be sent before the revolutionary tribunal. Danton, whose energy had been so useful to him, had helped to sweep away the other factions before him: the two parties, of which they were the heads, then alone remained, and it was necessary that one or the other should sink. After having in a manner shared his power with him, he had taken care to deprive him of his popularity by sending him to enrich himself in Holland; and afterwards a week was sufficient to have Danton arrested, accused, and sent to the scaffold. A storm was however gradually gathering in silence. Whilst he was in the anti-chamber of the committee, a slight dressing was put upon his wound; when wishing to wipe away the blood, with which his mouth was filled, he was presented with a cloth already moist with blood; this he pushed away, on which one of his attendants addressing him, said, "It is blood, it is what thou likest." On requesting that pen and ink might be brought him, his goaler said, "What dost thou want with it? Is it to write to thy Maker? Thou wilt see him without delay!" On his way to execution, the mob stopped him before the house where he lived; some women danced before the cart, and one of them cried out to him, "Thy execution intoxicates me with joy! Descend to hell, with the curses of all wives and of all mothers!" The executioner, when about to put him to death, tore the dressing off his wound; he uttered a horrible cry; his under jaw separated from the upper; and his head presented a most hideous spectacle. He died at the age of 35. The following epitaph was written for him: "Passenger, lament not his fate, for, were he living, thou wouldst be dead."

be the fittest form of government for France, in present circumstances, as the current of prejudice set so strongly against it. He did not think this country would be at all debased by a declaration for peace: true magnanimity consisted in acting with propriety under every circumstance, resolutely determined to change the mode of conduct whenever it is required by an alteration in the state of affairs. Mr. Wilberforce concluded by moving an amendment to the address, embracing the principal topics contained in his speech. Several gentlemen having spoken in support of the amendment, Mr. Pitt rose under visible emotion, and expressed his astonishment at the language of those members who, after voting for the war, had now become the advocates of peace. Neither the speech nor the address, he affirmed, "pledged the House never to make peace with the republican government of France, though he had no idea of a secure peace till the return of the monarchy. The recent change which had taken place in France was a change merely in the name and not in substance, and the present government no more deserved the name of moderate than that under Brissot, which had provoked this country to war. Peace, could it be obtained, would not place us in a situation of confidence; we must, on the contrary, increase our precautions. Even if disposed to peace, the French rulers would be compelled by fear to give their troops new employment. If we dissolved the continental confederacy we could not again hope to see it restored, and we should then be exposed alone to the fury of France. In conclusion, Mr. Pitt entered into a variety of details, to shew that the French finances were in the very gulf of bankruptcy, and that the expenditure of the government, since the revolution, had amounted to three hundred and twenty millions. After an unusually long debate, the amendment was rejected, by 246 against 75.—This subject was frequently resumed during the session, on various motions by Earl Stanhope, Mr. Grey, the Duke of Bedford, and Mr. Wilberforce, all deprecating the idea of interfering in the government of other countries, and recommending the British government not to object to proposals for a general pacification, on account of the present circumstances of France; but these motions were in succession strenuously opposed by ministers, and ultimately lost by large majorities.

On the 5th of January, 1795, the Attorney-General moved for a renewal of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. This occasioned a very warm debate, which was closed by a division of the House against the repeal; the numbers being 230 to 53. The bill for the renewal of the act, being transmitted to the House of Lords, passed that assembly also, but not without a protest against it, signed by the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and the Earls of Lauderdale and Guildford.

On the 4th of February, Mr. Pitt delivered to the House of Commons a message from his Majesty, intimating that a loan to the amount of 4,600,000*l.* would be wanted to aid the exertions of the Emperor of Germany during the next campaign, on the credit of his hereditary dominions, which would probably require the guarantee of the British government. The address, in answer to this message, was agreed to, by a very large majority.

On the 23d of the same month, Mr. Pitt submitted his annual statement of supplies to the consideration of the House. The number of men voted for the service of the year was, one hundred and fifty thousand landmen, including militia; and one hundred thousand seamen; and the loan proposed was eighteen millions, being the largest sum ever voted by Parliament up to that period.

Mr. Fox, availing himself of the recent defection of Mr. Wilberforce, and a number of his friends, from the court party, moved, on the 24th of March, "that the House of Commons should resolve itself into a committee, to enquire into the state of the nation." This motion was rejected, by 219 against 63.

The affairs of Ireland formed one of the most important subjects that engaged the attention of the present Parliament. Earl Fitzwilliam, a nobleman distinguished for his mild and conciliatory conduct, had been placed at the head of the government. This appointment was peculiarly acceptable to the Irish nation. The Parliament of the sister kingdom assembled on the 22d of January, 1795, and after voting to the new viceroy an address, expressive of the general satisfaction, agreed, without hesitation, to the most ample supplies ever granted in that kingdom. The Lord-Lieutenant, finding it impracticable to defer deciding on the demands of the Catholics for the removal of the remaining disabilities under which they still continued to labour, employed, in his transactions with the leading members of that body, the celebrated Mr. Grattan, a statesman in whom the Catholics universally confided. A bill for the further relief of the Catholics was consequently introduced into the Irish Parliament, and the utmost joy was diffused through the country, in the expectation of this enlarged toleration; but, two days after the favourable reception of Mr. Grattan's motion, intelligence arrived in Dublin that the British ministry avowed themselves adverse to the measure of emancipation. The Lord-Lieutenant, after holding the government only three months, was displaced, and Lord Camden appointed in his stead. On the 24th of April, Earl Fitzwilliam appeared in the English House of Peers, and challenged ministers to a full investigation of the nature of his instructions, and the cause of his removal; and, a profound silence ensuing on the other side of the House, the Duke of Norfolk gave notice of a motion to address the King, that those parts of the correspondence between Earl Fitzwilliam and the ministry, which related to his Lordship's recall from his government in Ireland, should be forthwith laid before their Lordships. This motion was debated in a full House, on the 8th of May, being supported by the Duke of Leeds, Earl Moira, and Earl Fitzwilliam himself, who positively avowed that he went out expressly authorised to complete the measure of Catholic emancipation, and that no objections had been made to the steps he had adopted for that purpose, until he had proceeded to the dismission of certain persons in office inimical to that measure, and had taken other gentlemen into his favour and confidence. Lord Grenville declined entering into a formal discussion of the subject, from reasons of state which he could not with propriety explain. The motion, he observed, called upon ministers to violate the secrets of the cabinet and the sanctity of their oaths; but he asked in what respect the situation of a Lord-Lieutenant differed from that of any other minister of the crown, who might be removed at pleasure? His Lordship said, he had witnessed the removal of many Lord-Lieutenants, without a single complaint to Parliament on the subject, and to adopt a new course would be to change the constitution, and to convert the House of Parliament into a committee of public safety. After a long and vigorous debate, the House divided—contents, 25; non-contents, 100. A similar motion in the House of Commons, moved by Mr. Jekyll, and seconded by Mr. Fox, was lost by a majority of 188 to 49.

About this time, an event of great national importance took place, in the marriage of the heir-apparent. His royal highness espoused his royal father's niece, Princess Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick and the Duchess Augusta of England, and Lord Malmsbury was employed to conduct the royal bride from her father's court. On her arrival in England she was received with every mark of distinction due to her royal birth and illustrious alliance. Having arrived at St. James's, the people, with the ardent eagerness of spontaneous loyalty, received the fair stranger with long-continued shouts of congratulation. On the 8th of April, the marriage of their royal highnesses took place in the chapel royal, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the nuptials were celebrated with a magnificence suitable to the rank of the illustrious parties.

A message from his Majesty to the Commons (April 27) announced the marriage of the Prince, and expressed the King's conviction that a suitable provision would be made for the establishment of the prince and princess.

cess. The message proceeded to state that his royal highness was under pecuniary incumbrances, and recommended to Parliament the gradual extinction of his debts, by applying to that purpose part of the income which should have been settled on the Prince, and appropriating to that object the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall. After some discussion, the House, on the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, determined, that one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, together with thirteen thousand pounds arising from the duchy of Cornwall, should be settled upon the Prince, of which seventy-eight thousand pounds should be applied annually to the liquidation of his debts, which amounted at this period to upwards of six hundred thousand pounds, and that a law should be passed to prevent the heir-apparent in future from being involved in similar difficulties. These propositions met the concurrence of the house, and a jointure of fifty thousand pounds per annum was settled upon the Princess of Wales, in the event of her surviving his royal highness.

Parliament was prorogued on the 27th of June, by a speech from the throne, which breathed the air of pacification; and his majesty was graciously pleased to declare it impossible to contemplate the internal situation of the enemy with whom we were contending, without indulging a hope that the present circumstances of France might, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government as might be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity.*

In the early part of the present year, a spirit of discontent pervaded the country, and petitions for peace from London, York, Norwich, Hull, Manchester &c. were presented; but these petitions were not sufficiently general to produce any material impression, and their influence was counteracted by counter-petitions, expressive of a confident reliance in the wisdom of government, and in their readiness to enter upon negociations for peace whenever the proper period should arrive. In the month of July, however, some serious riots, which continued for several days, took place in Westminster, arising out of the excesses committed in several crimping houses in that city; and the mob, which evinced a marked aversion to the prime minister, repaired to his house in Downing-street, where they broke the windows, and were proceeding to further excesses; but Mr. Pitt escaped by the Park gate, into the Horse Guards, and the presence of a body of military soon restored the public tranquillity.†

In the autumn of this year, great apprehensions were excited, by large assemblages of the populace, convened by the Corresponding Society, which still continued its meetings; and on the 26th of October, not less than 40,000 persons assembled in a field at Chalk Farm, near Copenhagen House, for the purpose of voting a number of resolutions, expressive of their views of the measures of government, and a petition, praying that the "bill recently introduced into the House, for the restriction, or rather the utter prevention of popular assemblies, for the purpose of political investigation, might be dismissed with that marked disapprobation it so justly deserved." To the agitations produced by the conflicts of parties, was now to be added another evil still more alarming. A scarcity arising almost to famine prevailed throughout the kingdom. This scarcity was occasioned, in part at least, by an alarming deficiency in the year's crop, which had suffered extremely by incessant rains. The state of the nation, from these circumstances, appeared so critical, that it was judged expedient to assemble Parliament at an earlier period than usual.

On the day fixed for the meeting of Parliament, (October 29), an unusual concourse of people assembled in the park, and as his Majesty passed to the House, violent exclamations were heard of—"Peace! Peace! Bread! No Pitt! No War!" and the clamour gradually increasing, stones began to be thrown at the royal carriage, as it proceeded through the streets of Westminster; and from a house in Margaret-street, near the Abbey, a bullet was supposed to be discharged from an air gun, as no noise was heard, though something passed through the glass of the coach with great force and velocity. On entering the House of Peers, his Majesty, in some perturbation, addressing the Lord-Chancellor, said, "My Lord, I have been shot at." The rage of the misguided populace was not yet exhausted; for on his return from the House, the King was again assailed in the park, and to such a pitch of audacity did the mob carry their resentment, that one party of them attacked and nearly demolished the state carriage as it returned empty from St. James's, while another party attempted to stop the private carriage of the King, in which he had seated himself for the purpose of joining his family at the Queen's house, and even to force open the carriage doors. In this last attack, the King, for the moment, seemed to lose his characteristic firmness, and was evidently struck with amazement and consternation; but upon the arrival at so critical a moment of a party of the life-guards, the populace were dispersed, and the King, with great difficulty, and even danger, reached the Queen's house. So gross an outrage as this had never been offered to any other monarch of Great Britain since the days of Charles I. and the conduct of the mob excited the deep and universal execration of all orders of persons throughout the nation. A proclamation was immediately issued, offering a reward of one thousand pounds, to be paid on conviction of any person concerned in this daring and criminal assault; but no one who had been guilty of any actual violence was ever discovered. Kidd Wake, a journeyman printer, was indeed found to have been among the hissers and disturbers of the King's peace, of which crime he was convicted, and sentenced to five years' solitary confinement in the penitentiary-house at Gloucester, and to stand in the pillory; but no other person was brought to punishment.

The outrage committed upon the sovereign, excited, as might be supposed, great consternation in the House of Lords. As soon as the King withdrew, the ministers had a short consultation, as to the proper mode of proceeding on so extraordinary an occasion. It was at length determined to postpone the consideration of the speech from the throne to the following day; and immediately to form the House into a committee of privileges. This being done, Lord Grenville apprised the Peers of the attack which the King had sustained on his way to the House, from persons who, forgetting the respect and reverence due to their sovereign, had dared to violate

* The affairs of Ireland wore a most portentous aspect at this period; the recal of Earl Fitzwilliam had cast a deep gloom over the country, and the arrival of his successor in the capital, on the 31st of March, was accompanied by so marked an ebullition of popular discontent, that the intervention of the military was found necessary to maintain public tranquillity. On the 13th of April the Irish Parliament assembled, and on the 21st of that month a motion was made by Mr. Grattan for an inquiry into the state of the nation, including the reasons for the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam; but, this motion was negatived by a large majority of the same Parliament which had almost unanimously supported all the measures of the preceding administration. On the 24th, Mr. Grattan presented his memorable bill for Catholic emancipation; but on the second reading, which took place on the 4th of May, the bill was rejected by seventy-one voices.—From this period the political association, styled the society of United Irishmen, rapidly extended itself over the whole country. All the Catholics, and a large proportion of the Protestants of the kingdom, joined this community, and the leaders began to entertain dangerous designs, and to form illegal and treasonable connections with the government of France. Secret oaths of adherence to the association were administered; and agents were sent to negociate with the national convention. Acts of sedition, rapine, and murder were perpetrated by the most desperate of the lawless and licentious populace; while, on the other hand, the violent supporters of the system of exclusion confederated together for the purposes of security, under the name of Orangemen, in societies styled Orange Lodges. Mutual injuries soon engendered a most inveterate hatred between these two descriptions of men, one of which was beyond comparison superior in number, and the other in property, in legal authority, and military force; and these dissensions rapidly increased, till the whole land exhibited a scene of terror, consternation, and blood.

† During this period of alarm and agitation, Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre, the persons accused of a conspiracy to take away the life of the King, by shooting at him a poisoned dart through a tube, were again apprehended, and with one Crossfield, a surgeon, who had been for some time a prisoner in the town of Brest, were put upon their trial for imagining the death of the sovereign; but after a full investigation of the case, they were all pronounced not guilty.

violate the privileges of Parliament, to disregard its dignity, insult its honour, and to set the laws of their country at defiance. The Earl of Westmoreland, who, as Master of the Horse, and Lord Onslow, who, as Lord of the Bedchamber in waiting, had attended the King, then stated to the House the particulars of the transaction as they had come within their knowledge. Some witnesses were next examined, who gave an account similar to that above stated, with some additions. It was proved, that, after the royal carriage had passed the gateway at the Horse Guards, there were frequent exclamations of "Down with George!—No King" and many stones were thrown at the coach by the mob; and it was also stated, by one of the King's footmen, that when the ball, or whatever it was, which perforated the glass, whizzed by him, he saw a window open in a house in the direction whence it proceeded. When all the facts had been thus established, a conference was proposed with the Commons, and a joint address was presented to the King, in which the two Houses avowed their indignation and abhorrence, at the daring outrage which had been offered to his Majesty, on his passage to and from Parliament, declared that they could not reflect, without the utmost concern, that there should be found within his dominions, any persons so insensible of the happiness which all his subjects derived from his just and mild government, and of the virtues which so eminently distinguished the royal character, as to be capable of such flagitious acts; and they expressed their earnest wishes, in which they were confident they should be joined by all descriptions of his Majesty's subjects, that he would be pleased to direct the most effectual measures to be taken, without delay, for discovering the authors and abettors of crimes so atrocious.

In compliance with the wishes of the two Houses, a proclamation was immediately issued, offering a large reward for the discovery of the authors of the outrage; and also stating, that, previously to the opening of Parliament, a meeting had been holden in the vicinity of the metropolis, at which inflammatory speeches were delivered, and divers means used to sow discontent, and to excite seditious proceedings; requiring all magistrates and other well affected subjects, to exert themselves in preventing and suppressing all unlawful meetings, and the dissemination of seditious writings.

In the speech from the throne, the King expressed his satisfaction at the improved state of public affairs; arising from the measures which had been adopted for preventing the invasion of Italy and Germany, by the French;—the crisis brought about by the prevalence of anarchy at Paris, was represented as likely to produce consequences highly important to the interests of Europe. Should that crisis terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a wish to negotiate for a general peace, on just and suitable terms, would not fail to be met, by the King, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect. The speech notified the treaties of defensive alliance which had been concluded with the two Imperial courts, and the ratification of a commercial treaty with America.

Mr. Fox moved an amendment to the address, which had been proposed by Lord Dalkeith, asserting the ability of the French government to maintain the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other nations, and praying his Majesty to give directions to his ministers, to offer such terms to the French Republic, as would be consistent with the honour of his Majesty's crown, and with the security and interests of his people. This amendment was negatived, by a large majority.

The spirit which had dictated the late excesses also appeared to his Majesty's government to call for an extension of the treason and sedition laws, and two bills were in consequence brought into Parliament; the former "for the safety and preservation of his Majesty's government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts;" and the latter "for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies." The restrictions imposed by these bills upon the constitution of the country, excited hot and violent debates; but, in the month of December, they both passed into laws.*

During these stormy discussions, however, the senate was not unmindful of the critical state of the country, owing to the scarcity of corn. It appeared, from the information laid before a committee of the House appointed to inquire into this subject, that the principal failure in the late harvest had been the crop of wheat, and a bounty of twenty shillings per quarter was in consequence ordered to be paid on the importation of wheat from the Mediterranean; fifteen shillings per quarter on that from America; and five shillings per quarter on Indian corn. Bills were also introduced and passed the two Houses of Parliament for prohibiting the manufacture of starch from wheat; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits from grain; and for facilitating the cultivation of waste lands; and a considerable number of inclosure bills passed the House in the course of this session of Parliament.

On the 4th of November, Lord Arden moved that one hundred and ten thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand marines, should be voted for the service of the year 1796; and Mr. Windham, on the same occasion, proposed that two hundred and seven thousand men should be employed in the land service. These motions being carried, Mr. Pitt brought forward, on the 7th of December, a proposal to negociate a loan of eighteen millions, and stated the sum of twenty-seven millions five hundred thousand pounds to be the estimated expenses of the approaching year.

A message was delivered to the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt, on the 8th of December, announcing "the establishment of such a form of government in France as appeared capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity, and expressive of a readiness on the part of the British government to meet any proposal for negociation on the part of the enemy, with a desire to give it the speediest effect in producing a peace." On the following day Mr. Pitt moved an address,

* The first of these bills, which was introduced into the Upper House by Lord Grenville, and which thus obtained the name of the "Grenville Act," consisted of two parts; the first made a very momentous change in the law, and an extension in the punishment of the crime of treason: it declared the commission of any offence, by deed or by words, spoken, written, or printed, or shewn in any other open manner, or in any way tending to the imprisonment, deposition, or death of the King, or his heirs and successors, a conspiracy to levy war, in order to overawe the Parliament, and to effect a change of counsels; or to instigate any foreigner or stranger, by force to invade any of the King's dominions; to be high treason, during the King's natural life, and till the end of the next session of Parliament after the demise of the crown. The second part extended the crime, and aggravated the punishment of sedition: to excite dislike and hatred to the person of the King, or to the persons of his heirs and successors, or to the government and constitution of this realm, as by laws established, by deed, by advised speech, or by words written or printed, subjected the offender for the first offence to the pains and penalties incurred by the commission of a high misdemeanor, and for the second, to the usual punishments prescribed by law, or to transportation for seven years, at the discretion of the court. By the second bill, introduced into the Commons by Mr. Pitt, on the 10th of November, and called the "Pitt Act," it was enacted that all assemblies exceeding fifty in number, and not already recognized by law, if convened for addressing the King or Parliament, with the view, or on the pretext of considering grievances, or procuring an alteration in the church or state, should be declared unlawful, and liable to dispersion by a magistrate, after reading a proclamation for that purpose, unless the assembly were collected by a public advertisement, signed by seven resident householders, and a true copy of it, subscribed by them, were left with the publisher, who, under a penalty of fifty pounds, must deliver it to any justice of the peace by whom it should be demanded. It further provided, that disobedience for more than one hour to the magistrates' order to disperse should subject any individual of a number above twelve, to the punishment of death; and even an assembly held by regular advertisement, in the same manner, and with the same risk to the disobedient, might be dispersed, if any measures, which, in the judgment of a magistrate, should be thought subversive of the constitution, or tending to excite the people to hatred or dislike, or contempt of the royal family, or of the Parliament, were proposed. And for the purpose of suppressing certain political lectures, any person opening a house for political discussions, without a licence, incurred a penalty of one hundred pounds.

thanking his Majesty for his most gracious communication. This address gave rise to a debate, in which Mr. Sheridan proposed an amendment, disclaiming the idea of considering any change of government in France as affecting the principle of negociation, and praying that a treaty might immediately be entered upon. This amendment was said to be perfectly consistent with the spirit of the message, which admitted that Great Britain might now safely treat: where then could be the objection of declaring, that she would treat with France? To this reasoning ministers observed, that it was highly proper and expedient, that the executive government should be left unfettered, and the amendment was negatived without a division.

A. D. 1796.] This year was ushered in by the birth of a princess, at present heiress to the Prince of Wales. Her Royal Highness was born on the 7th of January, and baptized Charlotte, in compliment to her august grandmother, the Queen of England.

Parliament having assembled, after the recess, Mr. Grey moved, on the 15th of February, an address to the King, praying him to communicate to the executive government of France, his readiness to meet any disposition to negociate a general peace. This motion was resisted on the same grounds as the amendment to Mr. Pitt's motion, previously moved by Mr. Sheridan, and negatived by a great majority.

On the 18th of April, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward a proposition, which was agreed to, for a second loan, to the amount of seven millions and a half, in order to take out of the market a great proportion of the paper, constituting the unfunded debt. Early in May, motions were made in both Houses, for the appointment of committees of finance, to ascertain how far the public expense had increased beyond the supplies annually granted by Parliament; but these motions were negatived, by very large majorities.

On the 10th of May, an address to the King was moved in both Houses—in the Upper House, by the Earl of Guildford, and in the Lower House by Mr. Fox. This address declared, "That the duty incumbent on Parliament no longer permitted them to dissemble their deliberate opinion, that the distress, difficulty, and peril, to which this country was then subjected, had arisen from the misconduct of the King's ministers, and was likely to exist and increase as long as the same principles, which had hitherto guided these ministers, should continue to prevail in the councils of Great Britain." Mr. Fox enlarged much on that most fatal, as he called it, of all the innumerable errors of ministers, their rushing into a ruinous and unnecessary war, instead of mediating between France and the allied powers. Had they, said he, counselled his Majesty to accept the grateful office of mediator, it would have added lustre to the national character, and placed Britain in the exalted situation of arbitress of the world.

Mr. Pitt insisted that his Majesty could not have interposed his mediation without incurring the hazard of involving himself in a war with that power which should have refused his terms. He expatiated on the danger arising to all Europe, from the revolutionary decree of the 19th of November, and the insult offered to this country in particular, in the encouragement given to the seditious and treasonable addresses presented to the Convention, by whom the bearers of them were cherished, applauded, and caressed; and while the negociations were yet pending, war was actually declared by France; that country, therefore, and not England, was the aggressor. This nation had no alternative; and after a war of more than three years—a war approved and sanctioned by that House, by repeated votes and declarations—a war justifiable on every principle of morality, and essential to the very existence of our constitution, would the House now acknowledge themselves in a delusion? Would they submit to the humiliating degradation of falsely arraigning themselves, and of passing on their own acts a sentence of condemnation? It was a war of which the necessity and policy were manifest; and if the country should at any time suffer a disastrous reverse of fortune, he would exhort them not to yield to a temporary pressure; but on the contrary, to redouble their efforts, in order to surmount their difficulties, and finally to obtain safe and honourable conditions of peace. Nor, on the other hand, if success were gained, should the prospect of obtaining more and further advantages be relinquished, by a premature readiness to make peace. These arguments were deemed conclusive, and the motions of both Mr. Fox and Lord Guildford were lost by immense majorities. The public business being now concluded, his Majesty terminated the session of Parliament on the 19th of May with a speech from the throne, expressive of the highest approbation of "the uniform wisdom, temper, and firmness, which had appeared in all their proceedings, since their first meeting in that place;" and on the following day the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

A. D. 1795.] Having brought the Parliament to a final close, it now becomes expedient to advert to the state of France, the conduct of the campaign,* and the naval affairs of the year 1795.

It has been already seen, that the English army, after the abandonment of Nimeguen, took the route of Arnheim and Deventer, under the command of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. They reached the last of these places at the end of January, 1795, closely pursued by a far superior force. In their retreat they suffered incredible hardships—the partial thaws which took place obliging the soldiers to wade through torrents of mud and water. After a very short halt at Deventer, the army moved again towards the German frontier; and on the 12th of February they crossed the Ems at Rheine, much harassed by the advanced parties of the enemy. At Groningen the division commanded by Lord Cathcart was refused admittance; but after a long series of disasters, the shattered remains of this fine body of troops, supposed at their departure from England, to amount to 35,000 men, now reduced to about a fifth part of that number, reached the city of Bremen on the 27th and 28th of March; and soon afterwards they embarked on board the transports lying ready to receive them in the Elbe, for England.

The continued successes and triumphs of France, induced the grand Duke of Tuscany, brother of the Emperor, and first of all the potentates who had joined the coalition, to recognise the French republic; and through the intervention of his minister, Count Carletti, he concluded at Paris a separate treaty of peace with the convention, and resumed openly his original system of neutrality. The Regent of Sweden following the pacific policy of the grand Duke, sent the Baron de Stael to Paris to assure the French nation of the friendship entertained for them by the court of Stockholm.

The King of Prussia, having annexed two great commercial cities, Dantzic and Thorn, together with some of the most fertile provinces of Poland, to the dominions of the house of Brandenburg, next entered into a negociation with the committee of public safety, and on the 5th of April concluded a treaty of reciprocal advantage, by means of his minister, the Baron de Hardenberg, with citizen Barthelemy, the French ambassador at Basle. This was soon after followed by a treaty of peace between the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel and the French republic, under the mediation of the King of Prussia, in which it was stipulated, that the French should still continue to occupy one of his fortresses, Rheinfeldt, and that he should neither renew nor prolong the two subsidiary treaties with England.

Uninterrupted success still attended the arms of France, on the side of the Pyrennees. In the first campaign indeed, after the breaking out of the war,

* Early in the year, Lord Amherst returing from public life, his royal highness the Duke of York was appointed commander-in-chief and field-marshal general of the forces of Great Britain. The Duke of Richmond was removed from his post of master of the ordnance, in which he was succeeded by Earl, recently created Marquis, Cornwallis; and Sir William Howe was nominated, in the place of the latter nobleman, Governor and Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

the

the Spaniards had been victorious; but, in the second, the republicans were decidedly successful; and, no sooner had the third opened, than the French seized upon Vittoria, while General Miollis crossed the Ebro, and took possession of Miranda, in Old Castile, within one hundred and sixty miles of Madrid. The King of Spain, seized with terror at the conquests of an enemy who threatened speedily to over-run his kingdom, transmitted orders to Don Domingo d'Yriate, whom he had nominated his plenipotentiary at Basle, immediately to conclude a treaty of pacification, which was signed on the 22d of July. By this treaty, France agreed to evacuate her conquests in Spain, on his Catholic Majesty ceding to the French republic all the Spanish part of the island of St. Domingo.

Thus the contest assumed a new form, and all the governments of Europe, that of England excepted, now breathed a fervent and sincere wish for peace; even the Elector of Hanover had notified his accession to the treaty between France and Prussia; and soon after issued the most peremptory orders for the departure of all the armed emigrants.

As soon as Robespierre and his party had received the punishment due to their crimes, an entire change took place in the conduct of the civil war, in la Vendée. After some preliminary negociations in the beginning of February, Charette and the principal chiefs of his army on behalf of the Vendeans, and General Comartin on the part of the Chouans, publicly signified their intention to deliver up their arms and magazines, and to live for the future in subjection to the existing government. Conferences were opened at a farm house near Nantes, between the insurgent chiefs and the deputies from the Convention; and on the 7th of March a treaty of peace was concluded, signed and ratified at Nantes.

The hopes, however, that this peace would be permanent, were soon proved to be delusive. The republican government, on the plea of bad faith, refused to advance the sums (nearly 4,000,000*l.* sterling) stipulated by the treaty of the 7th of March, and several of the chiefs having been arrested for holding a traitorous correspondence with the English government, the country was again in arms early in June, under the command of Charette and Stofflet. The British government, however, appeared unwilling to adopt any decisive plan of operations on the French coast, and determined to let the Royalists act for themselves, with such assistance of arms and money as England could afford. Agreeably to this decision, a small armament was prepared in the month of June. It consisted of all the emigrant nobility, then in England; who had enlisted in their service, with more zeal than prudence, a number of French prisoners of war, who were Republicans in heart, and who only wanted an opportunity to return to their native country. The whole formed a body of about three thousand men, who were landed on a peninsula, in the bay of Quiberon, on the southern coast of Britanny, on the 27th of June. Here they attacked a fort defended by three thousand Republicans, which they speedily reduced; and were, in a few days joined by a body of Chouans, who increased their numbers to twelve thousand. During this time arms were distributed among the people of the country, who were favourably disposed; and sanguine expectations were entertained of being able to raise an army capable of opposing the Republicans in the field. Count D'Herville, a gallant and experienced officer, now placed himself at the head of a large body of Chouans, and made an attempt to penetrate into the country; but on the approach of a small Republican force, his followers forsook him, in the most dastardly manner, threw down their arms, and fled. In order to confine the Royalists to the contracted space of the peninsula, which they occupied, the Republicans erected three forts at the neck of it. These the Royalists resolved to attack on the night of the 15th of July. They carried two of them; but, being excessively galled by a masked battery, on their approach to the third, they were compelled to retreat; and were indebted for their safety to the seasonable fire from the British ships, which checked the victorious Republicans in their pursuit, and made them fly in their turn. The failure of this attempt produced dissentions among the Royalists, which were reported, with great exaggerations no doubt, to the Republican General, Hoche, by those French prisoners, who had been enlisted in England, and who now deserted. Through the treachery of these miscreants, Hoche obtained the watch-word of the Royalists, whose camp he surprised in the night of the 20th of July, and took or slew the greater part of them. The young Count de Sombreuil, however, at the head of a gallant body of emigrants, continued to make such a desperate resistance that Hoche was induced to enter into a capitulation with them, by which they were to be treated as prisoners of war, and their personal safety insured. All the stores, ammunition, and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy. Thus ended this abortive attempt, in which some of the best blood of ancient France was shed. Sombreuil, and his gallant associates, were, by a most scandalous breach of faith, tried, condemned, and executed as traitors. One hundred and eighty-seven Royalists, including the Bishop of Dol, and several of his clergy, who had accompanied the expedition, were murdered, in cold blood, on this occasion. The British squadron hovered on the coast for some time, and having failed in an attempt to take the island of Noirmoutier, succeeded in gaining possession of Isle Dieu, which they fortified.*

The allied powers were not in a situation to take the field

* The two parties, who had combined to overthrow the tyranny of Robespierre, soon shewed that they could not exist together; and on the 2d of March, a report was presented to the Convention, in which Barrére, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varennes, were accused of having participated in the enormities of Robespierre, and after undergoing the usual form of trial, it was decreed, that they should be transported to Guiana. The proceedings against these deputies, united with the pressure of famine, which at that moment was felt with peculiar severity, occasioned an insurrection in Paris, which broke out on the 1st of April, and was not suppressed till the following day. The trial of Fouquier Tinville, and of the ex-judges and jurors of the revolutionary tribunal during the reign of terror, followed, and having been convicted, of the mal-administration of public justice, and of having perverted the law to purposes of judicial murder, Tinville, and fifteen others, were executed on the morning of the 9th of May. Another insurrection took place in Paris, on the 20th of May, when the rallying exclamation was "Bread, and the constitution of 1793." This was followed by insurrections in the departments, but they were all at length suppressed.

In the history of the internal concerns of France during the present year, no event made a more powerful impression on the sympathies of Europe, than the death of the infant son of the unfortunate Louis XVI. It was at first supposed that this child of misery, whose only crime consisted in being born to a throne, owed his death to poison; and it is at least highly probable that his death was hastened by having ardent spirits administered to him, by the unjust confinement in which he was held, and by which he was debarred from taking the air and exercise necessary to his existence. He was attacked by a fever, and death at length terminated his sufferings on the 9th of June, in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined from the fatal autumn of 1792. Affected, perhaps, by this event, the committee of public safety proposed the exchange of his sister, the Princess, who remained a prisoner in the Temple, for the deputies Semonville and Maret, who had been delivered up to Austria, by Dumouriez: this proposal was after some delay acceded to, and the Princess once more breathed the air of liberty.

The plan of a new constitution was drawn up and presented, on the 23d of June, by a committee appointed for that purpose. After much discussion, the constitutional act was, on the 23d of August, declared complete, and referred to the primary assemblies, for their approbation. By this constitution, the legislative power was vested in two councils, chosen through the medium of the electoral assemblies,*(a)* the one consisting of 500, and the other of 250 members. To the former, styled the Legislative Council, belonged the proposing, to the latter, styled the Senate, or Council of Elders, the confirming of laws; and no person could be a member of the Council of Elders who had not completed his fortieth year. One third of each council was appointed to be re-chosen every year. The executive power was delegated to a directory of five members, to be partially renewed by the annual election of one member in regular rotation; the directory to be elected by the two councils—the Council of Five Hundred making out, by secret scrutiny, a list containing ten

(a) By this constitution, every man of one-and-twenty years of age, born and resident in France, who paid a direct contribution to the state, and who had not forfeited his franchise by any infamous crime, was declared to be a French citizen; these citizens formed the Primary Assemblies; and by them the Electoral Assemblies were nominated, in the proportion of one elector for two hundred citizens; it being required that each elector should be five-and-twenty years of age, and possessed of certain property.

times

field till the month of May; and it was not till the 7th of June, that the fortress of Luxemburg was attacked by the French troops. After its surrender, nothing seemed wanting to complete the glory of the French arms, and to secure their recent acquisitions, but the subjection of Mentz, which had now been fruitlessly besieged for several months. The Austrians, commanded by Generals Clairfait and Wurmser, maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with the garrison, from Cassel, on the opposite bank. It being at length perceived that the city could not be reduced until a perfect investment was formed, a large body of the French troops, under Jourdain, passed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, which surrendered without resistance—the Austrians retiring to a strong position on the Lahn. Another body, commanded by Pichegru, effected the passage of the river at Manheim, of which city they took immediate possession, on terms very favourable to the inhabitants. The investment of Mentz was now at last accomplished, and a confident hope was entertained of its speedy capitulation; but a division of Pichegru's army being ordered to the attack of a post necessary to prevent the junction of the forces of Clairfait and Wurmser, now marching to the relief of Mentz, were overpowered and compelled to retreat with precipitation to Manheim; and Jourdain, thus deprived of the expected co-operation of Pichegru, found his position no longer tenable. The Austrians also had taken part of his heavy artillery: Jourdain was therefore obliged to raise the siege, and he repassed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, much harassed by Clairfait in his retreat. The Austrians even pursued the enemy across the river, and beat up the quarters of the French, spreading terror over the country as far as Luxemburg. General Wurmser, on the other side, proceeded to the attack of Manheim. He immediately began a bombardment, which in a short time destroyed the principal buildings of that beautiful city, reducing it to a scene of desolation; and the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The campaign was at length terminated by an armistice of three months.

The French navy being extremely reduced by the disasters of the war, the naval transactions of the present summer, were of comparatively slight import. In March an engagement took place in the Mediterranean, off the coast of Corsica, between the squadrons (nearly equal in force,) of the Admirals Hotham and Richery, which terminated honourably for the English. The Ca-Ira of eighty, and the Censeur of seventy-four guns struck to the English flag: on the other hand the French captured the Berwick, of seventy-four guns, on her way to join the fleet; and the Illustrious, of the same rate, being much damaged in the fight, was driven on shore, and lost near Avenza. Soon after this, another partial action took place near St. Fiorenzo, and the Alcide, a French ship of the line, struck her colours; but, from some fatal accident, blew up before she could be taken possession of by the English.*

Notwithstanding their disparity of naval force, the French, after recovering the whole of Gaudaloupe, attacked with success, the fort of Tiburon in St. Domingo, and made themselves masters of St. Eustatius. St. Lucia, after a violent and bloody conflict, was reluctantly evacuated by the Governor-General, Stewart; and Grenada, Dominique, and St. Vincent's, were preserved with great difficulty. Those whom the sword spared were taken off by the ravages of the yellow fever.

The French having acquired possession of Holland, on the 19th of January, a proclamation was issued,—containing peremptory orders to seize whatever Dutch vessels were found in the ports of Great Britain; in consequence of which, five ships of war were secured lying in Plymouth Sound, nine East Indiamen, and about sixty sail of other vessels. On the 9th of February a third proclamation was published, authorising the capture of all Dutch ships and property; and letters of marque and reprisal were also, after an interval of some months, granted; so that war against Holland was virtually declared: and, before the end of the summer, the famous settlement of the Cape of Good Hope surrendered to Vice-Admiral Elphinstone almost without resistance. In the course of the year, also, divers of the Dutch East Indian colonies fell into the hands of the English: amongst the rest, in August, Trincomalé; and soon afterwards, Columbo, and the other Dutch settlements in the Isle of Ceylon. In October following,

---

times the number of the members of the directory, from which the Council of Elders selects, by secret scrutiny, the proposed number. The judicial power to reside in judges of departments and districts, chosen by the Electoral Assemblies; and a high tribunal of appeal, and cassation or annulment, established by the same mode of election, for the whole kingdom. The directory, however, was not invested with the power of assembling or proroguing the legislative bodies; and the executive authority was much weakened by being committed to five persons, between whom differences and divisions might be expected to arise. On this constitution two decrees were engrafted, which in their consequences plunged the metropolis of France into another of those scenes of horror that had so often been exhibited during the revolution: by the first of these decrees, passed on the 5th Fructidor, (August 22d) it was enacted, that the elective bodies should, in appointing the deputies to the legislative body, choose two-thirds from among the members of the present convention; and by the second, that in default of such election, the convention should fill up the vacancies themselves. The forty-eight sections of Paris, while they unanimously accepted the constitutional act, firmly rejected the law for the re-election of the two-thirds. The majority of the primary assemblies throughout the country, to whom both the constitution and the decrees were submitted at the same time, accepted them both, but not without violent opposition. Such, however, was the determined resistance of the sections of Paris, that they soon proceeded to acts of open hostility; and, in the dead of the night of October the 4th, the cry of "To Arms! To Arms! Liberty or Death!" once more reverberated through the streets of the metropolis; and at the dawn of day, the sections having drawn out their forces, marched them to the hall of the convention, and a sanguinary battle took place in the streets. The command of the troops was confided on this occasion to Barras, by the convention; and the different avenues of the Thuilleries being planted with cannon, great slaughter was made among the insurgents, who repeatedly rallied, and returned to the charge with incredible obstinacy; but being overpowered, they were, at the close of the day, and not till then, driven by the conventional troops from all their posts, with the loss of about eight hundred men; and the convention now triumphant, declared the majority of votes in the departments in favour of the law of Fructidor. The labours of the convention were now drawing to a close: and on the 30th of September, they solemnly decreed the incorporation of all the countries which the house of Austria, previously to the war, had possessed on the French side of the Rhine, with the republic of France. The last act of the convention, was passed on the 27th of October, when it was decreed, that the punishment of death should be abolished at the peace, and a general amnesty granted; and the president then rising, said—"The Convention is dissolved!" The members of the new legislature having formed themselves into two councils, according to the constitutional act, proceeded to the choice of the directory, and the election fell upon men not distinguished as favourites of the people, but most of whom bore characters free from reproach. At the head of the list stood Reveilliere Lepaux, a lawyer by profession, and of the Gironde party: the next was Reubel, a moderate man, of plain good sense, also an attorney. Letourneur de la Manche, an officer of engineers, and rather more attached to the Mountain than the Plain, was the third. The fourth was Barras, formerly a Viscount, a soldier by profession, and a man of pleasure in habits. Sieyes, the subtle statesman, was at first nominated as the fifth, but he saw too clearly the difficulties of the constitution; and Carnot, a member of the Committee of safety under Robespierre, but who had attended almost exclusively to the business of the military department, and of whom it was said, "That he organized victory, and rendered her permanent," filled up the number. Thus constituted, the new government, in all its departments, entered upon the active exercise of its functions, and the palace of the Luxembourg was appointed for the residence of the executive power.

* The skilful retreat of Admiral Cornwallis, with a small squadron of five ships of the line, from a far superior force, is entitled to mention. The Admiral had been for some weeks cruizing off Belleisle, where he made some valuable mercantile captures; but, on the 16th of June, standing in with the land near the Penmarks, the Phaeton frigate made a signal for an enemy's fleet, consisting of thirteen line-of-battle ships. At nine the next morning the French began the attack, which was vigorously repelled by the English, who kept up a running fight the whole day, without suffering the enemy to gain the least advantage. At length, by a well-timed and happy deception, signals were thrown out, by the repeating frigate, that a superior British fleet was in sight, on which the assailants thought it most prudent to sheer off. On the 23d of the same month, however, the French squadron actually fell in with a superior fleet, under Lord Bridport, off Port l'Orient. The engagement began early in the morning, and lasted till three in the afternoon, by which time three capital ships had struck their colours. The rest of the squadron, keeping close in shore, escaped into L'Orient. On the other hand, the French made, in the month of October, a capture of thirty merchantmen from the Mediterranean and Levant, with a ship of the line, constituting part of the convoy.

ing,

ing, Malacca, situated on the peninsula of that name, and Chinsura, in the bay of Bengal; also about the same time, Cochin, valuable for its harbour, on the coast of Malabar.*

Whilst France, on one hand, was spreading misery and desolation around her, Russia, on the other, was no less active in destroying the liberty, and shedding the blood, of the unfortunate Poles. The Empress Catherine, persisting in her plan of being effective sovereign of the country, and of making her will the law of an independent state, instructed her ambassador, a Baron Ingelstrohm, to insult the King, and to controul the proceedings of the Diet, by the presence of an armed force. Under such auspices, the unhappy Poles were compelled to repeal all those laws, and to annul all those regulations, which were the result of their deliberate reflection, and which were calculated to ensure the independence and happiness of their country. It was not possible that a people, who knew the value of freedom, and who possessed the spirit of men, could long endure a state of such intolerable bondage, without making some effort to relieve themselves from these disgraceful shackles. During these struggles, Kosciusko appeared on the public stage. He was a soldier of fortune; accustomed to revolutions; active, energetic, full of resources, and ardently attached to his native country. He had obtained from the revolutionary government of France, whither he had returned after the unsuccessful attempt to resist the Russians, when they overthrew the Polish Constitution of 1791, a considerable sum of money, with which he hastened back to Poland, and collecting a large body of people, early in 1794, attacked the Prussians and Austrians, in different quarters, gained many advantages over them, and restored the constitution which Catherine had suppressed. Fifteen thousand Russians were, at this time, in the capital; but having endeavoured, on the approach of Kosciusko, to make themselves masters of the arsenal, they were successfully opposed by the armed citizens, who, after a desperate engagement, drove them out of the city. In May, 1795, the cause of freedom appeared more likely to prosper than it had been at any period since the commencement of this unequal struggle. The Polish army amounted to nearly seventy thousand men, besides a numerous and warlike peasantry, ever ready to fly to arms, when called upon to assist their gallant countrymen. But it did not meet the views of the neighbouring powers to suffer this state of things to continue. The King of Prussia, by a base dereliction of every principle which he advanced, when he first entered into, or rather formed the confederacy against France, had, as we have seen, in the most dishonourable manner, deserted the allies, and made a separate peace with the French republic, whose armies were to be left in the possession of the Prussian territory, on the left bank of the Rhine. This act was rendered more detestable by the motive which gave rise to it; for it is clear that the Prussian monarch was induced to desist from his opposition to the regicides of France, by a desire to employ his troops against the patriots of Poland. He entered that country with a powerful army, laid siege to Cracow, which surrendered on the 15th of June, and, having collected all the Russians in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, he formed the siege of the capital, the speedy reduction of which he regarded as a matter of certainty. Kosciusko, however, strained every nerve to collect an adequate force for the frustration of his design. On the 11th of June, he approached Warsaw, forced all the Russian posts, and established himself in an advantageous position, in front of the city. Here his army received constant reinforcements, and he was enabled to throw up formidable intrenchments, from which he battered the Prussian camp. By these means the Prussians, after bombarding the city without effect, at intervals, for several weeks, were at last, reluctantly compelled to raise the siege on the 5th of September. But the triumph of the Poles was of short duration. A powerful army of Russians now entered their country under the command of Suwarrow, the celebrated conqueror of Ismael, bore down all opposition, and, after defeating six thousand Poles, under Kosciusko, and taking their General prisoner,† advanced against the capital itself. The city had a garrison of ten thousand men, under the Generals Madalinski and Dombrowski, who resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The assailants, under Suwarrow, amounted to sixty thousand; the Russian General resolved to take it by assault. The conflict was sustained with desperate courage, and unshaken resolution, for eight hours, when the Russians obtained possession of the suburb of Prague, where they committed a dreadful slaughter. The city being now rendered incapable of further resistance, a proposal was made to capitulate, but the only terms which the inflexible conqueror would consent to grant, were security of life and property, forgiveness for the past, and permission to all, who did not chuse to capitulate, to leave the place. Warsaw was delivered up to the enemy on the 19th of September; and, before the close of the year, the whole country was completely subjugated. The Polish monarchy was dissolved; its territory divided between the three neighbouring powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and its sovereign degraded into a miserable stipendiary of the court of St. Petersburgh. In this instance, the three potentates, who had first, and most loudly reprobated the outrageous conduct of the French revolutionists, concurred in pursuing a similar line of conduct themselves. Without the smallest provocation, or any colourable pretext, they invaded the kingdom of an independent power, dictated laws to him in his capital, destroyed the constitution of his country, murdered his subjects for their loyalty and patriotism, and, finally, hurled him from the throne. In their condemnation of the rebels and regicides of France, these Princes pronounced their own sentence. An act of greater violence and injustice stains not the annals of guilty ambition. It has extorted the maledictions of the present age, and posterity, will receive it with execration and horror.‡

* The invasion of the Cape of Good Hope was undertaken partly with a view of preventing the French from obtaining possession of it, and partly with an intention of securing an intermediate station between Europe and the rich and numerous possessions of Great Britain in the east; and the conduct of the expedition was intrusted to Vice Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone and General Sir Alured Clarke. On the 14th of July a landing was effected at Simons-Town, and possession obtained of that place, which had been previously evacuated with the intention of being burnt. Major-General Craig, though entirely destitute of artillery, marched against the enemy, who was posted in great force at Mysenberg. After a long and fatiguing march, the Major-General made an unsuccessful attack upon one of the enemy's out-posts, which failed, partly from the intricacy of the roads, and partly from the timidity and ignorance of the guides. The British commanders were now reduced to a very distressing dilemma, for neither the numbers nor the energy of their adversaries seemed to diminish; and while no fair opportunity presented itself on the one hand for the army to advance, the navy on the other was unable, on account of the unfavourable season, to form a ready co-operation with the troops, by occupying Table Bay. The arrival of General Clarke, with the forces under his command, was of course looked for with intense anxiety; but such was the exigency of the situation of the British army, that it was determined, if at the expiration of six days no succour arrived, Major-General Craig should march forward under every disadvantage, to try the fortune of an attack, before the total failure of their provisions rendered a retreat unavoidable. They were however anticipated by the enemy, who on their part meditated an assault on the British camp, which in all probability would have decided the fate of this important colony. They accordingly advanced during the night of the 1st of September, with their whole strength, supported by a train of eighteen field-pieces; and considerable bodies of troops had already made their appearance—when, at this critical and important moment, the signal for a fleet, soon after succeeded by the appearance of fourteen large vessels, induced the enemy to relinquish their enterprise, and to return to their former post. This event was decisive of the conquest of the Cape, for on the morning of the 16th an officer arrived from the Dutch Governor Sluysken, in consequence of which a cessation of arms ensued, and the castle and Cape of Good Hope were surrendered to the British arms.

† This action was fought on the 10th of October. The Poles displayed great valour, and fought with great obstinacy; but they were at last compelled to yield to superior numbers. The Polish General, Poniatouski, who was stationed, with 40,000 men, to prevent any reinforcement from being sent to the Russians engaged with Kosciusko, neglected to perform his duty; and to that neglect the loss of this battle, which, notwithstanding the smallness of the numbers engaged on either side, decided the fate of Poland, was ascribed.

‡ Stanislaus Poniatowski, late King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, died at St. Petersburgh, February 12, 1798.

A. D. 1796.] The campaign of this year was distinguished by the most extraordinary and important events. The French Generals, Jourdan and Morean, penetrated into the heart of Germany; but were compelled to retreat, and abandoned the whole of the Imperial territory. In Italy, under the auspices of Buonaparte, the Republican arms were eminently successful. It should here be remarked, that Buonaparte, who had demanded, of his patron Barras, some reward for the zeal which he had displayed by his activity in the memorable massacre of the citizens of Paris, in the month of October, 1795, received the command of the army of Italy, on condition that he would accept, at the same time, the hand of Madame Beauharnois, who, since the death of her husband, had lived with Barras, as his mistress. This offer, which a man of honour would have rejected with indignation, Buonaparte most gratefully accepted. He accordingly married the lady, and took the command of the army, which entered the territory of the Genoese republic, in the month of April. Soon after the campaign opened, Buonaparte found himself at the head of more than 60,000 men, 45,000 of which were under his immediate command. Kellerman, who headed the army of the Alps, as it was called, had 25,000 men under him, so that the whole force of the French, in the spring of this year, amounted to 85,000 men. The Austrian army, under General Beaulieu, did not amount to 35,000 effective men, including a Neapolitan corps of about 7,000. The Piedmontese army, commanded by the Austrian General Colli, amounted to 20,000, and was employed in defending the different approaches to Piedmont; and the Duc d'Aosta was stationed in Savoy, with 15,000 men, to watch Kellerman. Hence it will appear that, to the French force of 85,000 men, the Allies had only 70,000 men to oppose. After many hard fought battles, the French armies effected the conquest of all the Austrian dominions in Italy, established the Cisalpine republic, and compelled all the other Italian states to submit to such terms of peace, as they thought fit to impose. After his triumphs on the southern side of the Alps, Buonaparte penetrated the mountainous region of the Tyrol, and advanced so near to Vienna, that the imperial capital was filled with consternation, and daily expected the approach of the enemy.*

This year the insurgents in La Vendée were entirely overcome,

* It was on the 9th of April, that hostilities were commenced, by the Imperialists, who attacked the enemy at Voltri, with a body of ten thousand men. This first operation proving successful, the Austrians advanced rapidly, in the hope of cutting off the retreat of the French troops; but Buonaparte, foreseeing this sanguine pursuit, detached a body of troops under General Massena, who, taking advantage of the night, gained the rear of the Austrian army, and drove them from the field with the loss of three thousand five hundred men. The French troops pushed forward to the banks of the Bormida, till they attained the vicinity of Millesimo, where a general engagement was fought on the 17th of April. The Generals Massena and La Harpe passing the Bormida, surrounded the left wing of the Austrian army, on which a great slaughter ensued, and General Provera, with his division, was obliged to surrender, with a loss to the Austrian army of eight thousand prisoners and thirty-two pieces of cannon. On the following day, however, General Beaulieu surprised the French, on the banks of the Bormida, and carried the village of Dego by the point of the bayonet. This success was of short duration; for Buonaparte, by a prompt and well combined movement, obliged the Austrians to abandon Dego, and the French cavalry being sent in pursuit, completed their disorder. The Piedmontese and Sardinian army retreated with precipitation, and being successively driven from the posts of Ceva, Mondovi, and Cherasco, sought refuge in Turin. The French thus become masters of the course of the Tanaro, encamped in the midst of the plains of Piedmont, and prepared to besiege its metropolis. The aged King, despairing of being succoured by the Austrians, and uncertain of the attachment of his own subjects, sent orders to General Colli, to enter into a negociation for a truce; to obtain which, he surrendered Exilles, Tortona, Coni, Alexandria, and Chateau Dauphin, as the pledges of his good faith; relinquished Savoy, in the county of Nice, for ever; and consented to the immediate demolition of the fortresses of Suza and Brunetta, on the French frontier. The aristocracy of Venice, which, thinking itself hitherto little interested in the war, had manifested a decided partiality to the house of Austria, now perceived the necessity of bending before the genius of the Gallic democracy: and in pursuance of this policy the Count de Provence, eldest brother of the late King of France, and now styled Louis XVIII. was compelled to withdraw from the Venetian territory.

Buonaparte, who had thus defeated two armies, and detached one of the Kings from the coalition against France, proceeded by forced marches, towards Placentia, and crossed the Po, on the 8th of May, with little opposition, the troops which Beaulieu had sent to oppose the passage having arrived too late to prevent it. The detachments which had advanced for this purpose, proceeded to Lodi, to which place Beaulieu had moved in the night. On the 10th of May, the Austrian rear guard, which was posted in front of the town of Lodi, and of the river Adda, was cannonaded by the advanced guard of the French, who compelled them to evacuate the town, and to retire to the opposite side of the river. A great fault was committed here, in not breaking down the bridge, after they had crossed it; but the omission, however, did not arise from negligence, but from design; for Major Malchamp, Beaulieu's son-in-law, who commanded the rear guard of the Austrians, had, as he thought, guarded the bridge so effectually that the enemy would not dare to cross it. In fact, he had placed several pieces of cannon at the end of the bridge, which served to enfilade it, while batteries, placed on the right and left, commanded it by a cross fire. Convinced of its perfect security, he would not allow it to be destroyed. He was destined, however, to perceive, and to deplore his error, when too late to correct it. As soon as the whole of the French army had reached the banks of the Adda, Buonaparte assembled his general officers, and imparted to them his resolution to storm the bridge. The plan was unanimously condemned as rash, destructive, and useless. Inflexible in his purpose, he treated their remonstrances with disdain; and, having called together a council of grenadiers, he communicated his determination to them, and, by successful appeals to their vanity, strongly aided by other persuasions, extorted their consent to his project. At the end of his speech to the grenadiers, the latter said—"Give us some brandy, and we will see what is to be done." This potent means of infusing courage into the republican troops, the good effects of which had been so often experienced, was administered in abundance, and proved much more efficacious than Buonaparte's eloquence. Four thousand grenadiers, and carabineers, formed into a solid column, approached the bridge; but no sooner had they set foot on it than a dreadful discharge of grape shot, from the Austrian guns, compelled them to fall back. Again and again they returned to the charge, fortified by liquor, and insensible to danger, but again and again were they mowed down by a tremendous fire, from the short distance of a few paces. Any commander, who had the smallest regard for the lives of his men, particularly when he could have secured his object, with little or no loss, by different means, would have now abandoned this destructive conflict. But Buonaparte had no such regard; he considered his soldiers as mere automata, to move at his command; or rather as instruments, corporeally active indeed, but mentally passive, for the attainment of his objects, whatever they might be, and whose lives were not worthy the thought of a moment. He supplied the enormous deficiency, in the assailing column, occasioned by the destructive fire of the enemy, with fresh troops, and ordered another attack to be made. Six Generals placed themselves at the head of their men, whom they inflamed by their language, and animated by their example. Availing themselves of a propitious moment, when the thick smoke from the Austrian guns enveloped the bridge, as it were in darkness, and effectually obscured them from the sight of their enemy, they rushed impetuously forwards, reached the opposite extremity of the bridge, before they were perceived by the Austrians, and, consequently, escaped their fire. They then seized the guns, while the remainder of the army passed over the bridge without opposition; and the Austrians, unable to contend against such superior numbers, abandoned their ground, and began their retreat. They were protected by the Neapolitan cavalry, who greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion. The success of this action by no means justified the attempt; nor is the smallest credit due to Buonaparte, either for his skill or his judgment, in directing and arranging the plan of the attack. He acted in direct contradiction to the general opinion of his officers; and took a severe responsibility upon himself. Nor was the weight of this at all diminished, nor ought the effects of it to have been at all averted, by the final accomplishment of his plan. It is the duty of a commander so to execute his projects, as to expose his troops to the least possible danger, and to incur the least possible loss. And, if two modes of obtaining an object present themselves, by one of which five hundred men only are likely to be sacrificed, and by the other of which five thousand form the probable amount of the loss to be sustained, the commander, who prefers the latter to the former, is as much guilty of the murder of four thousand five hundred men as if he signed the order for their execution. Now, it is certain that Buonaparte might have passed the Adda with as little loss as he incurred in the passage of the Po; there was no more necessity for his crossing the one river at Lodi, than there was for his crossing the other at Valenza. At Valenza, he found the Austrians prepared to receive him, and he wisely desisted from his purpose, and gained his point at a different place, with little or no opposition; and, consequently with little loss. At the bridge of Lodi, the Austrians were more advantageously posted; and the passage could not be effected without a certainty of immense loss. There was every motive for adopting a similar line of conduct, and the same facility subsisted for crossing the river at a different part. Yet, did he pursue totally a different course; and utterly regardless of the dreadful sacrifice which he was about to make, without the smallest necessity to call for, or to justify it, he obstinately persisted in his destructive project. He shewed himself, therefore, woefully deficient in the first qualities of an able commander; and had nothing, indeed, to boast of, but obstinacy and decision. The French officers and troops certainly displayed, on this occasion, the most intrepid courage; but the praise so profusely bestowed on their commander, for his personal prowess, does not appear to have truth for its basis. It is not probable, that Buonaparte should place himself at the head of the first column which attacked the bridge, he would ill indeed have discharged his duty as commander-in-chief, if he had exposed himself to unnecessary danger, in such a situation. Nor

overcome, and the contest in those departments was brought to a close.*

The conquests of the French in Europe, did not prevent the English from persevering in their intention to capture all their remaining colonies, as well as those of their allies, between the tropics; and they were now enabled, by their strength, to obtain successes in that quarter unknown in any former period of the war. The mortality which had occurred among our troops in the West Indies, and the alarming accounts that were received

---

Nor is it more probable, that he was one of the six Generals who led the final attack. There is reason to think that he did not pass the bridge till the Austrian guns had been secured; and he had not much opportunity afterwards for the display of his courage. In his letter, to the Directory, Buonaparte stated the loss of the Austrians to amount to 2500 men, of which 1000 were prisoners; while, with the most profligate contempt of truth, he reduced his own to four hundred. Indeed, not the smallest reliance can be placed on any one of this man's reports; but never did he exhibit a more glaring proof of their falsehood, than at present. By no one, but himself, was his loss at the bridge of Lodi ever estimated at less than four thousand; and it has even been carried by some, who had an opportunity for personal observation, as high as seven thousand.

Having defeated the principal army of the imperialists, Buonaparte, after taking Pavia, proceeded to Milan, and before the end of May, subdued the principal part of Lombardy.

On the 28th of June, a detachment of French troops took possession of Leghorn, though belonging to a neutral power, on pretext of dislodging the English; the whole of whose property found in that city was confiscated to the use of the republic. The factory, however, had the address to remove the greater part of their effects to the Isle of Elba.

During these operations, the main army of the French entered the territory of the ecclesiastical states, and took possession of the cities of Bologna, Urbino, and Ferrara. Alarmed in the highest degree at the advance of an enemy, now become formidable to all Italy, both the Pope and the King of Naples sued for an armistice, which was granted to his Sicilian Majesty, on the easy condition of withdrawing all assistance from the allied army; but the Pope was obliged not merely to cede to the French the towns already in their possession, but to add to their number the city and fortress of Ancona, on the Adriatic, together with a contribution of twenty-one millions of francs by instalments, and a present of one hundred pictures, statues, busts, and vases, to be selected by competent judges of the arts from the galleries at Rome, to adorn the museums of France.

The whole country south of the Po, Genoa excepted, now in possession of the French, appointed delegates, to the number of one hundred, to meet in convention at the city of Modena; the ducal government being previously dissolved, and the Duke of Modena himself having abandoned his territory, and virtually abdicated his sovereignty. The convention met on the 16th of October, and immediately decreed, that there should be a sincere and indissoluble union between the states of Bologna, Reggio, Modena, and Ferrara—the new federation taking, from its geographical situation, the name of the Cispadane republic; and with the approbation of the French General, a delegation was sent to Milan, styled by analogy the Transpadane republic, for the purpose of establishing between the two states the bonds of political union and fraternity. In return, the administrators of the political government of Milan were permitted to send deputies to the general congress, now removed to Reggio, and which, about the close of the year, resolved themselves into a republic, one and indivisible, on the model of France.

Buonaparte followed Beaulieu to Borghetta, the approaches to which place he found defended by four thousand infantry, and eighteen hundred horse; but the assailants having forced the redoubts, the Austrians crossed the bridge, and cut down one of the arches. An ineffectual attempt was made by the French to re-establish the communication, and an awful pause ensued; but at length a column of grenadiers, led by General Gardanne, jumped into the river, and with the water up to their chins, and their muskets elevated above their heads, forded the river, to the astonishment of the enemy, who immediately gave way.

General Beaulieu, incompetent to withstand the enemy, resigned the command of his army, which was conferred on Field Marshal Wurmser, a warrior who, in his eightieth year, combined all the energy and ardour of youth with the experience of age. Having collected the shattered remains of Beaulieu's army, and strengthened them with large reinforcements, Marshal Wurmser crossed the Adige towards the end of July, and having carried the posts of Sala and Corona, which covered the city of Mantua, the French were obliged to raise the siege, and to evacuate their posts with considerable loss. Buonaparte suddenly withdrew his troops, and by a forced march regained possession of Brescia. He then collected his forces near the village of Castiglione, between the lake of Garda and the city of Mantua; Marshal Wurmser having likewise taken a position in the same vicinity. On the 5th of August, the two armies came in conflict, and the battle was continued for several successive days, but victory at length declared in favour of the French General; and Marshal Wurmser, after evacuating Roveredo and Trent, narrowly escaped being cut off at Bassano, and was at length obliged, on the 27th of August, to take refuge in Mantua. On this, Buonaparte resumed his former position on the Adige, and after having manifested his sanguinary disposition, by punishing an insurrection of the inhabitants of Dego with all the horrors that could be inflicted by fire and sword, sat down once more before Mantua. The Emperor immediately assembled another army, at the head of which was placed Alvinzi, a member of the aulic council. Fortune was at first favourable to the new General, who expected to be able to form a junction with the army of the Tyrol, and raise the blockade of Mantua, at the head of fifty thousand men; but his progress was intercepted by Buonaparte, who suddenly appeared in order of battle, with his left commanded by Vaubois, his right by Massena, and his centre by Augereau. Having ordered the two last Generals to advance, on the 15th of November, the out-posts of the Austrians were immediately driven in; but an obstinate resistance was experienced at Arcole, a position equally strengthened by nature and art. The French Generals Verdier, Vernes, and Lasnes, were wounded and obliged to retire, while Augereau, who had advanced with a stand of colours in his hand, was forced to withdraw from the storm of grape shot with which he and his followers were assailed. The commander-in-chief, unable to restrain his impetuosity, repaired with his staff to the front of Augereau's division, and advancing at the head of the grenadiers, ordered them to charge; he however had scarcely proceeded thirty steps, when the incessant fire of the Austrians broke down the bridge, and forced Buonaparte into a morass, whence he was with some difficulty rescued. The battle was renewed the next day, and night alone forced the combatants to separate, before victory had declared on either side. On the third morning, a combined attack was concerted and executed, by Massena on the left, and Augereau in front, while the garrison of Porto-Legnano, supported by a considerable train of artillery, received orders to make a diversion in the rear. The column that attacked the bridge was however once more repulsed, and fell back in disorder towards Ronco; but on receiving a reinforcement, the battle was again renewed, and the Austrians, seeing their left about to be turned, abandoned the field, and retired towards Vicenza.

In the mean time, the left wing of the French army had been forced by General Davidowich, who seized on the important post of Rivoli, and advanced to Castello-Nuovo, within eight leagues of Mantua; but Buonaparte, taking advantage of his late victory, ordered a body of troops under General Massena to repass the Adige, and attack the successful division, which was forced to retire behind the Arisio, on the 22d of November, while Alvinzi took refuge on the other side of the Brenta, after losing about six thousand men in killed and wounded, eighteen pieces of cannon, and four standards. Thus ended one of the most memorable campaigns recorded in history.

In Germany, an overwhelming force was directed to penetrate into the circle of Suabia, to seize on the country adjoining the lake of Constance; to march through the passes of Bregentz; and after scaling the Rhetian Alps, to enter the Tyrol; and while one body of troops, following the course of the Ram, reached the Adige, and communicated with the army of Italy; another was to traverse the vallies of the Inn, and extending itself to the borders of the Danube, in the neighbourhood of Passau, was to threaten the German capital. The conduct of Pichegru having become suspicious, the command of the French armies on the Rhine was conferred on Jourdan and Moreau. Three battles won successively, at Renchen, Rastadt, and Etlingen, threw all Germany into dismay, and not only enabled the invaders to gain possession of the passes of the Black Forest, but to invest Mentz, Manheim, Phillipsburg, and Ehrenbreitstein, at the same time. The engagement at Etlingen, where the Archduke Charles, a gallant and popular Prince, now at the head of the Austrian army, contended against Moreau in person, was long and obstinate, and when at length the Austrians were forced to retire, it was rather before the enthusiasm than the superior skill of their adversaries. In his victorious career, Moreau forced the Elector of Bavaria to sue for peace; while Jourdan, seizing on Nuremberg, Ingoldstadt, and Amberg, menaced Austria on his right, as well as Bohemia in his front. The retreat of the imperial forces in Germany was contemporary with the dreadful losses which they were sustaining from Buonaparte in Italy; but their strength, though overpowered, was not

---

* Stofflet, desirous to place himself at the head of a formidable party, left his haunts, and on the return of spring, proceeded from place to place, for the purpose of stimulating the lukewarm loyalty of the people. One of these excursions proved fatal. Having repaired to the village of Langreniere, with only a single domestic, and a couple of aid-de-camps, two republican officers were informed of his arrival. They suddenly entered the apartment, and seized on the person of Stofflet, a chief, who in the course of two years, had fought one hundred and fifty actions, in more than a hundred of which he had proved victorious. He was executed at Angers, on the 23d of February, and died with heroic constancy. As the war, however, could never be considered finished while Charette survived, he was incessantly pursued by the cavalry of Hoche, and on the 23d of March, the Adjutant-General of his army came up with him at Chabottier in Poitou. Although harassed with unceasing fatigue, and wounded both in the head and hand, he had strength sufficient to escape into a wood, supported by two of his faithful followers, who determined to share his fate, and actually fell dead in succession at his feet, covered with wounds. On this Travot ran up, seized the chief, and conducted him to Nantz, dressed in a short green vest and pantaloons, disfigured by blood, with his arm in a scarf, and his countenance pale, sickly, and dejected. He however beheld the preparations for his execution with an undaunted eye. He not only surveyed the soldiers drawn up to inflict upon him the punishment of death, without shrinking, but even refused to have a bandage tied across his face, and actually gave the signal for his own death. On the fall of these chiefs, all the insurgent departments readily submitted, and Hoche, who at Quiberon had acquired celebrity as a warrior, was now hailed with the appellation of pacificator of La Vendee.

ceived of the exploits and intrigues of Victor Hugues, rendered a new army absolutely necessary in that quarter. A naval force, with several regiments on board, was therefore prepared to act against the West Indian colonies of Holland; and very early in the year, Demerara, Issequibo, and Berbice, surrendered to the British commanders. A debarkation was next effected on St. Lucia; and the enemy retired to Morne Chabot, one of the strongest positions of the island, which was carried by the gallantry of a small body under General Moore. Morne Fortuné was next invested and taken; so that no choice was left to the French but to capitulate, and two thousand French soldiers were made prisoners, the insurgent negroes being all disarmed, and the island ceded to Britain. An expedition under General Knox, to St. Vincent's, undertaken on the 25th of May, was no less successful, where the French surrendered to the number of seven hundred: the dispersion of the Caribbs immediately followed, and peace was soon after restored to the settlement. An attack was afterwards made on Grenada, which succeeded with little bloodshed. A body of seven thousand troops arrived early in the spring at the Mole in St. Domingo; but the mortality of the yellow fever was so great, and the numbers of the free blacks and mulattoes so formidable, that the war was waged with few advantages on our side. Toussaint, with his negro army, and Regaud at the head of the mulattoes, maintained a fierce, though desultory warfare; and the British with difficulty retained their extensive chain of posts, occupying a coast, three hundred miles in extent.

The Dutch government, determined not to suffer the loss of the Cape of Good Hope, without a struggle to regain that important settlement, fitted out an expedition consisting of two sail of the line, three smaller ships of war, and three armed vessels, which sailing from Holland about the middle of the year, 1796, anchored on the 2d of August in the Bay of Saldanha. Just at the critical moment when General Craig, with his small army, was marching down to the coast, to meet the invaders, they perceived a British fleet of two seventy-fours, five sixty fours, a fifty gun ship, and six other vessels, advancing with a fair wind to the mouth of the harbour. The English Admiral, aware of his superiority, anchored within cannon shot of the Dutch vessels, and sent a written summons to their commander to surrender. Rear-Admiral Engelbartus Lucas, knowing that resistance must be unavailing, obeyed the summons, and on the 17th of August he surrendered his whole fleet, without firing a gun.

The progress of the republican arms on the Continent of Europe, the turbulent spirit of the inhabitants of Corsica, and the arrival of a body of French under General Cazette, to co-operate with internal revolt, rendered the possession of that island no longer possible to the British. Seizing on the heights above Bastia, the invaders captured the garrison and city. Fiorenzo, Bonifacio, and the tower of Mortella, were retaken on the 20th of October, and considerable spoils fell into the hands of the victors on the retreat of the English fleet from the adjoining bay, and on the final evacuation of the island. The island of Elba, however, which had been seized some months before, was still retained, and formed a useful arsenal, and a convenient station.

The French government, perceiving a crisis in the situation of Ireland, more favourable to the success of an invasion than any other which had occurred since the French Revolution, attempted to strike a blow of no common importance. Fifteen thousand chosen troops, under the command of Hoche, were embarked at Brest on the 15th of December; intended to act, on their arrival, with a body of the disaffected Irish, who were known to be considerable in numbers, and organized for insurrection. Admiral Villaret Joyeuse sailed from Brest, and eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, while the General embarked, with his staff, on board the frigate La Fraternité. The wind at first was favourable; but scarcely had the expedition left the outer harbour, when a storm arose which dispersed the fleet, and separating the frigate which carried Hoche, obliged him to escape into the harbour of Rochelle, after a dangerous cruize, and being chased by two British vessels. Of the whole fleet, only eight two-deckers reached the coast of Ireland, under Admiral Bouvet, who appeared off Bantry Bay, but was forced from that station in a few days by tempestuous weather, and obliged to return to France, without effecting a landing. In this expedition, the French lost three ships of the line, and three frigates, from the adverse elements; but they had the singular good fortune to escape Lord Bridport and Admiral Colpoys, the former of whom, with a British fleet under his command, arrived in Bantry Bay immediately after the departure of the enemy.

During the course of this year, the remaining commerce of France was harassed and diminished by the indefatigable exertions of the British cruisers. The English navy did not lose a single ship of any force; while upwards of seventy sail of armed vessels belonging to the enemy were either detained or captured;

---

not broken, and it was reserved for the unsubdued resolution of the cabinet of Vienna, and the masterly skill of the brother of the sovereign, once more to arrest the hand of disaster and to turn the tide of misfortune. The Archduke Charles, having received considerable supplies, determined to throw himself between the invaders, and Ratisbon; but before the arrival of his highness, the army of Wartenslaben had fought a successful battle, and driven the French from the heights before Amberg. On the 22d of August, the Archduke arrived in person, and after defeating the enemy under Bernadotte, drove them back to Newmark. Jourdan, finding his left wing and rear thus exposed to a superior force, was driven by the impetuosity of the Austrian army, and the indignation of the peasantry, as far as Wurtzburg; here they were again overtaken, and being once more defeated, they were seized with a panic and immediately disbanded.

The disorderly conduct of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, placed that of the Rhine and the Moselle, in the most critical position, for all the conquests of Moreau were now become useless in consequence of the defeat of Jourdan. The former, after conducting his victorious troops from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Danube and the Isere, and proving successful in no less than five pitched battles, as well as a multitude of skirmishes, was now obliged to commence his celebrated retreat. Instead of appearing disconcerted by the recent successes of the Archduke, the French General actually crossed the Danube, as if with an intention to succour his defeated colleague; but this movement was merely calculated to collect his detachments, and concentrate his strength. Having completely deceived the Austrians relative to the route he intended to take, Moreau crossed the Lech, on the 11th of September, and gave orders to cut down all the bridges behind him; he then ascended along the banks of the Danube, and stationed his head-quarters at Ulm. Finding himself closely pursued, he attacked General Latour in his camp between Biberach and Buchau, and after a long and bloody action, fought on the 1st of October, not only forced him to retire in confusion, but would have entirely destroyed his army had it not been for the gallant resistance on the part of the emigrants under the Prince de Conde, who covered the retreat of the Austrians, and saved their baggage. He now divided his army into two bodies, and marched suddenly through Munderkingen, Neudlingen, and Belengen, to attack the Generals Nauendorf and Petrasch, who were forced to abandon their respective positions. Having at length opened a communication with the forest towns, forced the passes of the Black Forest, and penetrated through the Val-d'Enfer (the Valley of Hell) the name of which sufficiently expresses the nature of the country, with his centre, he employed his two wings against the numerous detachments, led on by the Generals Latour, Petrasch, and Nauendorff.

The French army having resumed its march, the main body encamped in the neighbourhood of Fribourg on the 12th, and waited for the arrival of the rest of the troops; the moment a junction had been effected, the Archduke Charles assaulted, and with some difficulty carried the village of Kendringen; next day he attacked part of the enemy stationed at Nymbourg, but after an action that lasted from ten o'clock in the morning until dark, he was obliged to desist from his enterprise, having experienced considerable loss in consequence of the spirited resistance of General Dessaix. Moreau now abandoned the Brisgaw, and at the head of an army fatigued by the length of its march, destitute of shoes, and rendered sickly by continual rains, marched towards the banks of the Rhine; and dividing his army into two bodies, Dessaix repassed that river at Brisach, while he himself directed his course towards Huningen, continually followed and harassed by the enemy. On his arrival at Schliengen he assumed an excellent position, and notwithstanding the superior numbers of the Austrians, determined to wait the event of a battle. He was accordingly attacked along the whole of his line, but the enemy were repulsed on every side. However, Moreau moved his camp on the night of the engagement, and having passed the Rhine at Huningen without any molestation on the part of the enemy, returned to Strasburg, the point whence he set out, on the 26th of October.

By a singular union of gallantry, talents, and good fortune, the Archduke Charles had thus liberated Germany from the yoke of France; and the surrender of the fortress of Kehl, and the entrenched position at Corne, after an obstinate but fruitless resistance, freed the whole of the Austrian dominions on the eastern side of the Rhine from the presence of the invaders.

among which were five line-of-battle ships, nine of forty-four guns, and three of forty.*

Scarcely had the new government of France, under the directory, commenced its operations, when a difference arose between that country and America, originating in the treaty of amity and commerce, recently executed between Great Britain, and the United States.† Towards the close of the summer, Mr. Monro, the American Ambassador at Paris, was recalled from his embassy, to the great dissatisfaction of the French government, who refused to receive his successor, Mr. Pinkney, in the same capacity; and M. Adet, the French resident in Philadelphia, notified to the American government, on the 23d of November, that the directory had suspended him from the exercise of his functions. Such was the situation of the foreign relations of the United States in the spring of 1797, when General Washington resigned his government; and again retired to his paternal estate on the banks of the Potowmac.

In Holland, a national convention of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, met at the Hague on the 1st of March, and formed a constitution on the model of the French republic. One of the first acts of the new government, was to declare war against England.

Public tranquillity was preserved at Paris, but many of the provinces of France exhibited at this period, scenes of the most dreadful disorder.‡

Various

* On the 22d of August, Sir John Borlase Warren, with only four frigates, the Pomone, Artois, Galatea, and Anson, gallantly attacked a French squadron, consisting of one ship of forty-four guns, two of forty, one of thirty-two, and one of thirty guns, with two armed vessels, not far from the Saintes, and after dispersing their convoy, captured the Etoile, of thirty guns.—In the Mediterranean, Captain Nelson, in the Agamemnon, accompanied by the Meleager, Diadem, and Peterell, performed a brilliant exploit at Loana, on the 25th of April, having boarded and cut out four French store ships by means of the boats of his squadron, under the fire of the batteries, and amidst an incessant discharge of musquetry. He also took possession, during the month of May, of several vessels laden with cannon and ordnance stores destined for the siege of Mantua, in the neighbourhood of Oneglia, fearlessly boarding the enemy amidst the fire of three eighteen pounders stationed on shore, and a fourth mounted in a gun-boat. Towards the autumn, Admiral Duncan blockaded the Texel, to prevent the sailing of the Dutch fleet, and on the 13th of October, captured a frigate and a sloop of war belonging to that nation. Captain Williams, of the Unicorn of thirty-two guns, and Captain Martin of the Santa Margarita, a ship of equal force, pursued and took two heavy frigates of forty, and thirty-six guns, called the Thames and Tribune; the Dryad of thirty-six guns, also obtained possession of the Proserpine of thirty, twenty-six of which were eighteen-pounders, after a chase of eight hours, and a gallant action of forty-five minutes. Captain Bowen, of the Terpsichore, of thirty-two guns, also distinguished himself by the capture of the Mahonesa, a Spanish frigate of thirty-four guns, near Gibraltar: he soon after forced the Vestale, a French ship, which carried the same number of guns as his own, to strike; she, however, escaped next morning into Cadiz, and was reclaimed in vain.

One of the most gallant actions, during the whole war, was fought by Captain, now Sir Henry Trollope, in the Glatton of fifty-four guns; she had been formerly an Indiaman, and now carried carronades of a large calibre. Having, on the 16th of July, fallen in with six frigates, accompanied by a brig and a cutter, off Helvoet, this brave commander, undismayed either by the number or the force of the enemy, bore down upon and came up with them late in the evening; and, notwithstanding he was surrounded in such a manner as to be attacked at the same time on the lee-quarter, the weather-bow, and the stern, so incessant and severe was the fire of his battery, that his adversaries deemed it prudent to desist and retreat.

† This treaty was said to discover a disposition altogether inimical to France, and the provisions of it to be wholly incompatible with the idea of neutrality. By the treaty of 1778, still in force, the United States guaranteed to France the possession of their West India Colonies; but by the treaty of 1795, they consented that even supplies of provisions sent to those islands from America should be treated as illegal commerce. The directory, though it abstained from actual hostilities, regarded the Americans in the light of secret enemies, and made such depredations on their trade under various pretences as almost amounted to a commercial war; and a directorial arret was issued on the 8d of July, expressly enjoining French ships of war to observe the same conduct towards the vessels of neutral nations as they had hitherto suffered with impunity from the English. Thus began that oppressive system, by which neutral nations were doomed to be persecuted in the future progress of war, under the designation of Berlin and Milan decrees, and British Orders in Council.

‡ The jacobins, who had hitherto filled the principal places under government, were enraged at witnessing the return of moderate principles, and they manifested their hostility by exercising their power where they still remained in office, in the most cruel and oppressive manner. Against this sanguinary faction, the existing government found it necessary to declare decided hostilities, and laws were enacted to punish with death, seditious assemblies, that had for their object either the re-establishment of royalty, or assemblages of groupes that sought to destroy the present form of government. The jacobins, against whom these laws were principally directed, and whose places of assembly had been shut up by order of the government, were at length wrought up to purposes of vengeance; and for six weeks, rumours prevailed of projected insurrections, that would, if accomplished, have once more deluged the country with blood, and revived all the horrors of the early stages of the revolution. On the morning of the 10th of May, the guard of the directory and of the legislative body was tripled, the streets were patroled, and the gardens of the Luxembourg closed against the populace. On the same day, the council of five hundred received a message from the executive directory, informing them, that a horrible conspiracy was prepared to burst forth the following morning at break of day; that the design of the conspirators was to murder the executive directory, the members of the two councils, the field-officers, the constituted authorities of Paris, and to deliver up the city to pillage and massacre; that the government, informed of the place where the conspirators had assembled, had seized their persons, and they added with regret, that Drouet, one of the council, was of their number. Among the persons arrested with Drouet was Laignelot, an ex-deputy of the national convention, and a professed atheist. The others were Charles and Ricard, both members of the convention, and well known terrorists; Babeuf, once the associate of Marat, giving himself the title of "Gracchus Babeuf, the tribune of the people;" Rossignol, an ex-general of La Vendee, and Julien, the confidential agent of Robespierre. To these desperate characters were added several others of inferior note, and their mad enterprise was less a project of revolution than of extermination. The trial of the conspirators was delayed for a considerable time: Drouet effected his escape, but Babeuf and several of his associates were at length tried, convicted, and executed. Other insurrections in various parts of the country followed on the discovery of this plot, which was popularly styled the conspiracy of Floreal, but they were all quickly suppressed. The directory next determined to submit to the operation of the law the sanguinary perpetrators of the massacres of September, 1792; and a tribunal was accordingly established for that purpose. Of the great mass of criminals brought to trial, some were executed and others imprisoned, but a large majority of them were acquitted. The directory then directed their attention to the subject of finance. The rapid decline of the credit of the assignats had rendered that species of paper altogether useless; and as gold and silver had withdrawn themselves from the intercourse of trade, it was judged expedient to employ some other means to replace the debased currency. A law was accordingly passed on the 26th of March, to sell the remainder of the national domains at the estimate which was made in 1790, which was at the rate of about twenty-two years purchase; for which property the nation was to receive in payment a new paper fabrication, under the name of mandats, to be issued to the amount of four hundred millions of livres; of which, part was destined to withdraw the assignats from circulation, at the rate of thirty for one, and the public lands remaining unsold, were to be mortgaged for the remainder. Notwithstanding this security, the mandat, at its birth, lost one-fourth of its value: nor did the depreciation stop here, for in a very few months, it sunk so low as not to maintain a currency of above one-fifth of the price affixed upon it by the national treasury. In the midst of these difficulties, the committee of finance presented a report containing a general statement of the public revenue, from which it appeared, that the expenditure during the last year amounted to one thousand millions of livres, and that the ordinary annual revenue amounted to barely five hundred millions. To make up this enormous deficiency various resources were pointed out, but the principal expedient was to be found in the sale of the church lands, in the newly united provinces of the Netherlands.

Marseilles, so often during the revolution the scene of political discords, presented at this period a spectacle of horror and dismay. The jacobins, however, defeated at that place, soon after made another attempt to subvert the government at Paris, more violent, and more extravagant, than the insurrection headed by Babeuf. The camp of Grenille, a plain on the south side of the Seine, between Paris and the hills of the Meudon, still contained numbers whom the jacobin leaders considered as their adherents; and emboldened by the assurances of these soldiers, whom they had gained over to their party, they formed the desperate determination to attack the government, with the assistance of the camp. These desperadoes, to the number of five or six hundred, accordingly assembled at a tavern, at the village of Vaugirard; and though their intention of visiting the camp was no longer a secret to the government, they entered it at midnight, amidst cries of "Long live the constitution of 1793!" "Down with the councils!" "Down with the five tyrants!" Having thus proclaimed their purpose, they invited the soldiers to fraternize, to get rid of their chiefs, and to march under the banners of freedom to glory and to empire. The act of rebellion being now complete, a party of troops, appointed to that duty by the government, did not delay to execute the punishment due to the temerity of the insurgents; and the most forward of them were immediately put to the sword or shot; while the remainder, confounded and dismayed by this novel species of fraternity, fled in all directions. Numbers made their escape, but one hundred and thirty-two of them were taken prisoners, and soon after tried by a military commission. Of this number, the majority were released; but the rest having been for the most part members of the revolutionary committees, were condemned to death or banished, according to the characters they had formerly maintained. The directory now found it expedient to annul the unjust and sanguinary decrees, directed not merely against the ecclesiastical officers of the Gallican church, but also against the civil and political rights of the clergy.

About

Various had been the plans of annoyance against this country projected by the French government; but all had hitherto been delayed, or set aside as inadequate or impracticable, till it was suggested, that the most effectual mode of opposing England with advantage, was to attack her commerce, by shutting out her manufactures from every port in Europe subject to French controul, or under French influence.—This new species of hostility was carried into execution with as much dispatch as the jarring interests of the continental powers would allow, and British manufactures soon found no legal entrance into any port on the continent, from the Elbe to the Adriatic, with the exception only of the ports of the Hans Towns, of Portugal, and of Russia.

Towards the close of the year, the confederacy against France lost another of its members, in the person of Catharine II. Empress of Russia, who died on the evening of the 6th of November. This extraordinary woman terminated a life of sixty-seven years, and a reign of forty-four, in a fit of apoplexy, attended with an extravasation of blood. She was found on the morning preceding her death, stretched on the floor of her private closet, speechless and insensible. She was succeeded by her son, the Emperor Paul.

Although the war was still prosecuted between Great Britain and France with undiminished energy, the governors of both countries found it necessary to remove the impression, that the contest was as interminable in its duration, as it was indefinite in its objects; and with this view his Majesty, in his speech from the throne, at the opening of the new Parliament, on the 6th of October, 1796, declared "That he had omitted no endeavours for setting on foot negociations to restore peace to Europe; in consequence of which, a way was now opened to an immediate negociation, which must produce an honourable peace for us and our allies, or prove to what cause alone the prolongation of the war was to be ascribed." For this purpose, his Majesty said, he would "immediately send a person to Paris, with full powers to treat for this object, and it was his anxious wish that the negociation might lead to the restoration of general peace. But it was evident that nothing could so much contribute to give effect to the negociation, as a manifestation that we possessed both the determination and the resources to oppose with increased activity and energy an enemy who had openly professed a design to attempt a descent upon these kingdoms." On the propriety of entering upon a negociation with republican France, some difference of opinion existed between ministers and their supporters; and the friends of Mr. Burke, in inculcating hostility against revolutionary France, adhered to that great statesman's original opinion, that the restoration of monarchy, and the ancient orders, under certain modifications, ought to be the sole and avowed purpose of the war; that no peace could be secure until that object was effected; and that we must either conquer the revolution, or the revolution would conquer us. These sentiments were particularly adopted by Earl Fitzwilliam, and, after opposing the address on the King's speech, he entered on the journals of the House of Lords a very elaborate protest, assigning ten distinct reasons for refusing to concur in an address of approbation on his Majesty's speech announcing the opening of a negociation for peace with the French republic.

The English cabinet had in the month of March commissioned Mr. Wickham, the British ambassador to the Helvetic States, to apply to M. Barthelemi, who was then engaged in diplomatic agencies at Basle, to inquire if the government of France were disposed to enter into a negociation with his Majesty and his allies? M. Barthelemi was instructed to answer, "that the executive government of France ardently desired to procure for the republic a just, honourable, and solid peace, but an indispensible condition of any treaty entered into for that purpose was the retention of those conquests which had actually been annexed to the territory of the republic." This reply, expressing a decided resolution not to surrender the Austrian Netherlands to the Emperor of Germany, displayed, in the opinion of the British ministry, a temper so remote from any disposition for peace, that the correspondence between the two ministers ceased, and both parties proceeded to open the campaign. On the 6th of September, Lord Grenville addressed a note to Count Wedel Jarlsberg, the Danish ambassador in London, requesting that he would transmit through the Danish envoy at Paris, a declaration expressive of "his Britannic Majesty's desire to conclude a peace on just and honourable conditions, and demanding the necessary passports for a person of confidence, whom his Majesty would send to Paris with a commission to discuss with the government there, all the measures most proper to produce so desirable an end." The directory replied, "that the executive government would not receive, or answer any overture from the enemies of the French republic, transmitted through any intermediate channel; but that, if England would send persons furnished with full powers and official papers, they might, upon the frontiers, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris." Passports were accordingly applied for and obtained, and Sir James Harris, the negociator, who had been lately called to the peerage, under the title of Lord Malmesbury, being nominated by his sovereign, "plenipotentiary to the French Republic," repaired to Paris, on the 22d of October. Two days after his arrival, the negociations were opened by a memorial from his Lordship, containing a proposition for reciprocal restitution. "Great Britain," says the memorial, "from the uninterrupted success of her naval war, finds herself in a situation to have no restitution to demand of France; from which, on the contrary, she has taken establishments and colonies of the highest importance, and of value almost incalculable;" but, it is added, "she is willing to restore her own conquests in lieu of the acquisitions which France has won from her allies, as a basis for a treaty, and she therefore proposes a general principle of reciprocal restitution." The executive directory replied—"that considering the British ambassador to be the agent of Great Britain only, and not understanding him to have a commission to act for the allied powers, they could not now enter into the concerns of the other states, which could tend only to multiply the combinations, and increase the difficulties of the negociation;" but they nevertheless declared, "that as soon as Lord Malmesbury should exhibit to the minister for foreign affairs, sufficient powers from the allies of Great Britain for stipulating for their respective interests, accompanied by a promise on their part, to subscribe to whatever should be concluded in their names, the executive directory would hasten to give an answer to the specific propositions which should be submitted to them, and that the difficulties should be removed as far as might be consistent with the safety and dignity of the French republic." To these observations they thought proper to add an opinion, that the British government was insincere in its overture—that its object was "to prevent by general propositions, the partial propositions of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England the means of continuing the war, by throwing the odium of a refusal to negociate a peace, upon the republic." The British minister, disdaining to reply to the offensive and injurious insinuations, thrown out by the directory, stated in reply, that he had not been commissioned to enter into a separate treaty, but that Great Britain proposed to make common cause with her allies. The directory rejoined, that in a question of reciprocal restitution, the chief object of consideration was the relative condition of the respective parties; that, of the original confederates, some were become the friends of France,

About the same time, a grand literary and scientific association, bearing the appellation of the National Institute, was formed in France. The first public meeting of this learned body was held in the great hall of the Louvre, when the president of the directory, in the presence of the ambassadors and ministers of Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Tuscany, and Holland, with a vast assemblage of spectators, delivered a speech, in which he declared it to be the stedfast purpose of the government to revive the drooping arts, and to shield both learning and liberty from all attacks of ferocious anarchy.

and

and others observed a strict neutrality; that the remaining allies of Great Britain were weakened by their losses, and the desertion of their associates; and that France could not in a negociation for terms, forget the circumstances in which she was placed. Having thus admitted the principle of compensation, M. de la Croix, the French negociator, in a note to Lord Malmesbury, dated the 27th of November, again requested him to point out expressly, and without delay, the objects of reciprocal compensations which he had to propose. His Lordship was now obliged to consult his court, and the negociation was suspended till the 17th of December; on which day his Lordship submitted, in two formal and confidential memorials, the terms on which a treaty might be concluded, on the basis of mutual compensation: these terms he stated to be, "that France should restore all her conquests made in any of the dominions of the Emperor of Germany, or in Italy, and that Great Britain should render back, all her acquisitions gained from France, in the East and West Indies; that Russia and Portugal should be included in the treaty; that no obstacle would be interposed on the part of his Britannic Majesty, against Spain becoming a party to the negociation; and that in case Holland was reinstated in all respects, in the same political situation in which she stood before the war; the colonial possessions captured by Great Britain might be restored, and the status ante bellum, with respect to territorial possessions, re-established in her favour; but if, on the contrary, Holland should remain a republic, their Britannic and Imperial Majesties would be obliged to seek in territorial acquisitions, those compensations, and that security, which such a state of things would render indispensible." At the time that these memorials were delivered by Lord Malmesbury to M. de la Croix, a long, and animated conversation took place between the negociators, in the course of which the French minister inquired, whether in placing the memorials before the Directory, "he was to state the disuniting of Belgium from France, as a sine qua non from which his Majesty would not depart?" To which Lord Malmesbury replied, that "it most certainly was a sine qua non from which his Majesty would not depart: and that any proposal which would have the Netherlands annexed to France, would be attended with much greater benefit to that power, and less to the allies, than the present relative situation of the belligerent powers could entitle the French government to expect." M. de la Croix," observes Lord Malmesbury, in his report of this conversation, "repeated his concern at the peremptory way in which I made this assertion, and asked if it would admit of no modification?" "I replied, if France could, in a contre-projet, point out a practicable and adequate one, still keeping in view, that the Netherlands must not be France, or likely again to fall into the hands of France, such a proposal might certainly be taken into consideration. M. de la Croix by no means encouraged me to explain myself more fully; he repeatedly said, that this difficulty relative to the Netherlands, was one that could not be overcome." This assertion was shortly verified; for two days after the conversation, Lord Malmesbury received a letter from M. de la Croix, consisting of a literal copy of an arrette of the Directory, requiring his Lordship "to give in to him, officially, within four and twenty hours, his ultimatum, signed by himself." Lord Malmesbury replied, that to demand an ultimatum, in so peremptory a manner, before the two powers had communicated to each other their respective pretensions, was to shut the door against all negociation;" but, "he repeated that he was ready to enter into the discussion of the proposals of his court, or of any contre-projet which might be delivered to him on the part of the Executive Directory." The Directory rejoined in a note of the 19th of December, that they "would listen to no proposal contrary to the constitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bound the republic; and as Lord Malmesbury announced at every communication, that he was in want of the opinion of his court, from which it resulted, that he acted a part merely passive in the negociation, his presence at Paris was rendered useless, and he was required "to depart from Paris in eight and forty hours, with all the persons who had accompanied and followed him; and to quit, as expeditiously as possible, the territory of the republic; but that if the British cabinet was desirous of peace, the Executive Directory was ready to follow the negociations, according to the basis laid down in the present note by the reciprocal channel of couriers." Lord Malmesbury hesitated not to reply that he was preparing to quit Paris on the morrow, and demanded the necessary passports for himself and his suite. On the 20th he quitted the French capital and repaired to England.

Thus terminated the first negociation for peace between Great Britain and the republic of France. The British ministry, considering its abrupt conclusion as arising totally from France, published a manifesto, on the 27th of December, enlarging upon the pacific dispositions of the British government, and setting forth the malignant hostility of the enemy.

This manifesto being laid before Parliament, Mr. Pitt, after a brilliant exordium, in which he lamented the failure of the attempt to restore the relations of peace, proceeded to take a review of the circumstances that preceded and attended the late negociations, and insisted that their rupture was wholly imputable to the government of France. The enemy demanded not as an ultimatum, but as a preliminary, to retain all those territories of which the chance of war had given them a temporary possession, and respecting which they thought proper, contrary to the law of nations, to pass a constitutional decree, declaring, that these should not be alienated from the republic. But this perverse and monstrous claim, in virtue of which, territories acquired by force of arms, were annexed to a state during the continuance of the war, in which such acquisitions were made, could never be supposed to supersede the treaties of other powers, and the known and public obligations of the several nations in Europe. Yet this had been the pretension to which the French government laid claim, and the acknowledgment of which they held out as a preliminary of negociation to the King of Great Britain, and his allies. And not content with setting up this claim to abrogate treaties previously concluded, they had offered a studied insult to his Majesty, by ordering his ambassador to quit Paris, and proposing that the negociation should be carried on by means of couriers. The question then, said Mr. Pitt, "Is not how much will you give for peace; but how much disgrace will you suffer at the outset? how much degradation will you submit to as a preliminary? In these circumstances, then, are we to persevere in the war, with a spirit and energy worthy of the British name, and of the British character? or are we, by sending couriers to Paris, to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a stubborn and supercilious government, to yield to what they may require, and to submit to whatever they may impose? I hope there is not a hand in his Majesty's councils which would sign the proposal; that there is not a heart in this house that would sanction the measure; and that there is not an individual in the British dominions who would act as the courier." Mr. Fox, in reply, maintained that the whole amount of the minister's splendid oration, was to admit that we had been four years engaged in a war, unprecedented in expence, both in men and in money, and that we had done nothing; that in fact the enemy, instead of being humbled and ruined, as had been so often and so confidently foretold, had now become more unreasonable and dictatorial in their pretensions than ever. Mr. Fox concluded his speech, by proposing an address to the throne, recommending "That his Majesty's faithful Commons should proceed to investigate the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, who had involved this nation in her present misfortunes, and produced the failure of the late negociations." This amendment was negatived by 212 against 36; and a similar fate awaited a similar motion made by the Earl of Oxford, in the House of Lords.

The House of Commons resolved itself into a committee, (October 18) to take into consideration, that

part of his Majesty's speech which alluded to the preparations making by the enemy to invade these kingdoms. In addition to the naval force now actually employed, and which the premier declared to be more formidable than had ever existed at any former period of our history, he proposed first, a levy of fifteen thousand men, from the different parishes, for the sea service, and for recruiting the regular regiments of the line: his second proposal was to raise a supplementary militia, to consist of sixty thousand men; not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled, officered, and completely trained, so as to be ready to serve their country, in a moment of danger; and his third military project was to raise a force of twenty thousand irregular cavalry—every person who kept ten horses to provide one horse and one horseman, those who kept more than ten horses, to provide in the same proportion, and those who kept fewer, to form themselves into classes, and decide who at the common expence should provide the horse and the horseman. These several propositions were passed into laws early in the session; but the plan for raising the irregular cavalry force being found difficult of application, the measure was superseded in a great degree by the numerous volunteer corps of yeomanry cavalry, which pressed forward in the service of their country.

During this session, a bill was introduced by Mr. Dundas, for raising and embodying a militia force in Scotland, which was much resisted in that part of the kingdom. One hundred and ninety-five thousand men were voted for the land service, for the year 1797, and soon afterwards one hundred and twenty thousand seamen and marines for the navy.

In the early part of December, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made his annual financial statement, from which it appeared, that eighteen millions would be wanted, by way of a loan, exclusive of five millions and a half of Exchequer bills, and about thirteen millions and a half of victualling, transport, and navy bills. This loan was followed by a second, during the same session of Parliament, amounting to eighteen millions, comprehending a great variety of deficiencies, and including a vote of credit for three millions to be remitted to the Emperor of Germany.

A. D. 1797.] Scarcely at any period, had the aspect of public affairs in this country assumed a more gloomy and dispirited complexion, than at the commencement of the year 1797. The rapid and enormous increase of the national debt had created an alarm among many of the proprietors of the public funds; and under this impression, sums to a great amount were sold out of the stocks, and vested in other securities. The Bank had, in the course of the war, advanced immense sums to the government, far beyond its usual advances to the public treasury; and as a considerable part of these advances consisted of remittances to foreign powers, especially to the Emperor of Germany, made in coin, and not in notes, the gold and silver in the Bank were greatly diminished. The consequences of this had been long foreseen by the directors of the Bank, and as early as the year 1795, they had expressed to Mr. Pitt their expectations that he would arrange his finances for the year, in such a manner as not to depend on any further assistance from the Bank. This remonstrance they repeated on the 8th of October, in the same year, and again in 1796, but they still continued to afford accommodation to the treasury. In the beginning of 1797, the minister requested still further advances, and intimated, at the same time, that a loan amounting to the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds, beyond the accommodation to the English treasury, would be wanted for Ireland. On the 9th of February, the governor of the Bank informed Mr. Pitt, "That under the present state of the Bank's accommodation to government here, to agree with his request, of making a further advance of one million five hundred thousand pounds as a loan to Ireland, would threaten ruin to the Bank, and most probably bring the directors to shut up their doors." Another cause powerfully co-operated to produce an alarming derangement in the affairs of the national Bank. The dread of invasion had induced the capitalists, as well as the more opulent farmers and traders, at a distance from the metropolis, to withdraw their money from the hands of the country bankers, with whom they had been accustomed to deposit it; and the run upon the provincial banking houses soon extended to the capital. On the 20th of February, an unusual demand was made by the holders of notes, upon the Bank of England, for specie, and this run, which increased on the 21st, became so rapid and urgent on the four following days, as to excite the most serious alarm, and to oblige the directors to submit their situation to the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the 26th, government found it necessary to interfere, and on that day, an order of the privy council was issued, prohibiting the directors of the Bank from issuing any cash in payment till the sense of Parliament should be taken. The consideration of this important subject was brought with as little delay as possible before the two houses of Parliament, and the first step taken was to appoint two secret committees, to ascertain the assets of the Bank. The public apprehension was materially allayed by their reports, delivered early in March, from which it appeared, that on the 15th of February, the last day of paying gold and silver at the Bank, the amount of the demands upon the company was 13,770,390*l.* that their assets, exclusive of the permanent debt due from government, amounted to the sum of 17,597,280*l.* so that there remained a surplus of 3,826, 890*l.* to which must be added the sum of 11,686,800, three per cent. stock, lent at different times to government on Parliamentary security; which being estimated at fifty per cent. agreeably to the actual price at that time of the three per cent. consols, the whole of the capital vested in the corporation of the Bank, after the payment of all demands, amounted to the enormous sum of 9,627,000*l.* On these reports, Mr. Pitt grounded a bill enabling the Bank to issue notes in payment of demands upon them, instead of cash, agreeably to the late order of council to that effect, and a clause of the utmost importance was introduced into the act for preventing any person from being held to bail who offered Bank of England notes in discharge of a debt; though this law, by leaving the creditor the option of demanding cash in payment instead of notes, did not actually constitute them a legal tender. From this time the circulation of gold coin in a great measure ceased, and notes, from twenty shillings and upwards, became the general medium of circulation.

Animated debates took place in Parliament, respecting the affairs of the Bank; and the Duke of Bedford, and Mr. Grey respectively moved a series of resolutions condemning the minister's intercourse and concerns with the Bank, and attributing the embarrassments of the company to his negligence and prodigality; but the proposed votes of censure were rejected by large majorities, in both Houses.*

Scarcely had the alarm created by the stoppage of cash payments at the Bank begun to subside, than a spirit of mutiny and disaffection broke out among the fleet at Spithead. Great dissatisfaction had for some time prevailed respecting the pay and provisions of the sailors, and in the month of February, several anonymous letters were received by Lord Howe from the fleet, praying for his Lordship's influence towards obtaining an increase of the seamen's pay, and an improvement in the quality and quantity of their provisions; at the same time a correspondence was going on by letter between the crews of the different ships, and a committee of delegates was appointed to obtain a redress of grievances. These proceedings were conducted with so much secrecy, that it was not till the 15th of April, when Lord Bridport made a signal to prepare for sea, that they began to be suspected amoug the superior officers of the fleet. Instead of weighing anchor, as

* By a singular coincidence, in the same year, and about the same period of the year, the national bank of Vienna was placed in similar circumstances; and his imperial Majesty found it necessary to issue an order, directing, that from the 5th of April, 1797, the notes of the Bank should be received at their full value, as ready cash, in all payments of trade, revenue, &c.

the

the signal imported, the seamen of the Admiral's ship all ran up the shrouds and saluted the crews of the adjoining ships with three cheers, which being instantly answered in the same manner by the other ships, it became manifest that the spirit of disobedience had become general.—The next step of the delegates was to assemble in council in the cabin of the Admiral's ship, and to place the officers in custody to prevent them from going on shore. Here a petition to the Admiral was drawn up, and presented on the spot, accompanied with an intimation, that, till the prayer of the petition for an increase of wages, and a regulation in the ratio of provisions took place, they should not quit their present station, "Unless the enemy was known to be at sea." On the 18th, a committee of the Admiralty, with Earl Spencer at their head, repaired to Portsmouth, with a view to induce the refractory seamen to resume the duty they owed to their country, and on the 23d, the Admiral returned to his ship, and after hoisting his flag, informed the crew that he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, accompanied by his Majesty's pardon for the offenders. After some deliberation, these offers were cheerfully accepted, and every man hastened to return to his duty.—It was now supposed that all cause of dissatisfaction was removed; but, when, on the 7th of May, Lord Bridport made the signal to put to sea, every ship at St. Helen's refused to obey. This second mutiny arose, it appeared, from a groundless apprehension on the part of the seamen, that government did not mean to accede to their demands. A meeting of the delegates was again convened to be held on board the London; but Vice-Admiral Colpoys, having determined to prevent the illegal assembly from being held on board his ship, ordered the marines to fire upon the boats as they approached, and five seamen were killed in the skirmish which ensued. The crew of the London, irritated by this resistance on the part of the Admiral, now turned their guns towards the stern, and threatened to blow all aft into the water unless the commander submitted, and Admiral Colpoys and Captain Griffiths were both taken into custody by their crew, and confined for several hours in separate cabins. In this state of mutiny the sailors at Portsmouth remained till the 14th of May, when Lord Howe arrived from the Admiralty with plenary powers to settle all differences; and as his Lordship was the bearer of the act of Parliament which had passed on the 9th, granting an additional allowance of pay to the seamen, and also of his Majesty's proclamation of pardon, the flag of insurrection was struck, and the fleet prepared to put to sea to encounter the enemy. The public saw with infinite satisfaction the extinction of this dangerous spirit of disaffection; but a new mutiny in another quarter, which for boldness and extent is without a parallel in the naval history of Britain, soon converted their pleasure into alarm and consternation.

The North Sea fleet, as well as the ships lying at the Nore, imitating the dangerous conduct of the crews at Spithead, but greatly exceeding them in the extent of their demands, chose delegates from every ship, and appointed a seaman of the name of Richard Parker, a bold and enterprising man, as their president. The demands of these mutineers comprehended a greater freedom of absence from ships in harbour—a more punctual discharge of arrears of pay—a more equal distribution of prize money, and a general abatement of the rigours of discipline.

On the 23d of May, the flag of Admiral Buckner was struck on board the Sandwich, and the red flag, the symbol of mutiny, hoisted in its stead. To the daily conferences of this mutinous usurpation, each man of war sent two delegates, and, besides these, there was a committee of twelve in every ship, who determined not only all affairs relating to the internal management of the vessel, but instructed their delegates, and decided upon their merits. The delegates, with the rebel Admiral at their head, went on shore daily, and after holding their meetings, paraded the streets and ramparts with music and flags. The arrival of Lord Keith and Sir Charles Grey at Sheerness, at length put an end to these audacious processions. The mutiny had then risen to the most alarming height, and it was intimated to the seamen that no further concessions than what had already been made by the legislature would be granted. Some of the most desperate of their number suggested the idea of carrying the ships into an enemy's port; but the majority revolted at so treacherous a proceeding, alledging that a redress of grievances, as it was their primary, so it should be their ultimate object. Notwithstanding this disagreement, the crews of the respective ships continued to prosecute their designs, and for the purpose of extorting compliance with their demands, they proceeded to block up the Thames, by refusing a passage either up or down the river to the London trade, and to supply their present wants, they took from a vessel three hundred sacks of flour, which they distributed throughout the fleet.

On the 4th of June, the whole fleet at the Nore celebrated his Majesty's birth day by a royal salute; and on the 6th they were joined by the Agamemnon, Leopold, Ardent, and Isis men of war, and the Ranger sloop, which had deserted from the fleet of Admiral Duncan, then in Yarmouth Roads. This accession of strength swelled the mutinous fleet to twenty-four sail, consisting of eleven ships of the line and thirteen frigates. The appearance of such a multitude of shipping under the command of a set of common sailors, in a state of insubordination, formed a singular and awful spectacle. Government in the mean time were not inattentive to the obligations imposed upon them by the perilous situation of the country, and a proclamation was issued, offering his Majesty's pardon to all such of the mutineers as should immediately return to their duty. This was speedily followed by two acts of Parliament, the former for more effectually restraining the intercourse from the shore with the ships in a state of mutiny, and the latter for punishing with the utmost severity of the law any person or persons who should attempt to seduce seamen or soldiers into mutinous practices; but the master-stroke of policy was to be found in the removal of all the buoys from the mouth of the Thames, and the neighbouring coast, by which any large ship that should attempt to sail away would be exposed to the most imminent danger of running-a-ground; while furnaces and red hot balls were kept in readiness at Sheerness, to repel any attack that might be made on that place by the mutineers. The last attempt at reconciliation by treaty was made through the Earl of Northesk, who on the 6th of June was rowed on board the Monmouth at the instance of the delegates, where he found the convention in the state cabin, consisting of sixty delegates, with "Admiral" Parker placed at their head. To his Lordship they communicated the terms on which alone they would give up the ships, and requested that he would submit them to the King, and return on board with a clear and positive answer within fifty-four hours; intimating that the whole must be complied with, or they would immediately put the fleet to sea. These terms, which were submitted the next day to the King in council, were rejected, and the intelligence of their refusal was communicated by Captain Knight, of the Inflexible. All hopes of accommodation being thus at an end, preparations were making to inforce obedience to the laws, from the works at Sheerness, but the defection of several of the ships, on the 9th, with other symptoms of disunion amongst the mutineers, rendered the application of force unnecessary. On the 10th, several of the mutinous ships, being reduced to great exigencies for want of fresh provisions and water, struck the red flag. On the 12th, all but seven of the ships hoisted the union flag, to signify their wish to return to obedience; and on the following morning, five out of the seven remaining vessels ran away from the mutinou ships, and sought protection under the guns of the for of Sheerness. All further resistance was now in vain, and after a fruitless attempt to obtain a general pardon, the crew of the Sandwich steered that ship on the following morning into Sheerness, where "Admiral" Parker was arrested by a picquet-guard of soldiers, with a person of the name of Davies, who had acted as a

Captain under him, with about thirty other delegates, and were all committed to the black hole in the garrison. One of the delegates, of the name of Wallace, more desperate than the rest, being determined neither to out-live his power, nor to submit to the ignominy of a public execution, shot himself dead on the appearance of the soldiers. Thus all resistance to the authority of the officers ceased, and the public mind recovered its former composure, by the entire extinction of this alarming revolt. In the course of the investigation which took place, it appeared that several of the disaffected Irish, and of persons in England connected with the revolutionary societies, had entered the navy, for the express purpose of infecting the minds of the seamen with revolutionary principles.*

Ever since the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, from Ireland, the discontents of that country had continued to increase, and several parishes, baronies, and even counties, were declared to be out of the King's peace. The Earl of Moira, on the 21st of March, moved in the House of Lords for an address to his Majesty, praying, "That he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal interference, to remove the discontents which prevailed in Ireland, and created the most serious alarm for that country, and for the dearest interests of Britain." Lord Grenville, in reply, insisted that the present motion could not be adopted without tearing asunder every bond of union, and breaking the solemn contract subsisting between the two countries. Instead of remedying discontents, the motion now submitted to the House would increase them, and induce the Irish to imagine that their own legislature was regardless of their welfare. The motion was ultimately negatived by a majority of 70 to 20 voices; and a similar motion made two days afterwards in the House of Commons, by Mr. Fox, was also lost.

The inhabitants of Westminster, and of several other cities and populous districts, assembled in the spring of the present year, and numerous petitions were voted at these meetings, praying for the removal of ministers. Encouraged by these proceedings, which, however, were by no means general, the Earl of Suffolk moved, in the House of Lords, on the 27th of March, "That an address might be presented to his Majesty, humbly requesting him to dismiss from his councils the first Lord of the Treasury, whose pernicious measures had deprived him of the confidence of the country." This motion was followed on the 19th of May by another in the Commons, moved by Mr. Alderman Combe, for an address to the King, "beseeching his Majesty to dismiss from his councils his present ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a permanent and speedy peace." The motion for the address was negatived, in the Peers, by 86 to 16; and in the Commons, by 242 to 59.†

Mr. Grey, (May 26) made his final motion relative to a reform in Parliament;‡ but it was lost by a majority of 258 to 63 voices.

On the 20th of July, Parliament was prorogued by a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty intimated, "that he was again engaged in a negociation for peace, which nothing should be wanting on his part to bring to a successful termination, on such conditions as were consistent with the security, honour, and essential interests of his dominions."

Amongst the miscellaneous events of the present year, may be mentioned the marriage of the Princess Royal of England, Charlotte Matilda, with Frederic William the hereditary Prince of Wirtemberg;§ and the death of one of the most distinguished statesmen of the age—a man whose talents as a Parliamentary orator, and a political writer, were of the first order. Mr. Burke died at his seat, at Beaconsfield, July the 8th, 1797, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.‖

The

* The trial of Parker commenced on the 22d of June, on board the Neptune, off Greenhithe, before a court martial, of which Sir T. Paisley was president. The prisoner was charged with various acts of muting, committed on board his Majesty's fleet, at the Nore; of disobedience of orders; and of contempt of the authority of his officers. The facts being clearly established, the court adjudged the prisoner to death; on which, with astonishing composure, he addressed them as follows:—"I bow to your sentence with all due submission, being convinced I have acted under the dictates of a good conscience. God, who knows the hearts of all men, will, I hope, receive me. I hope that my death will atone to the country; and that those brave men who have acted with me, will receive a general pardon; I am satisfied they will all then return to their duty with alacrity." On the 20th of June, Parker was executed on board the Sandwich, and met his fate with fortitude. A great number of the other mutineers received sentence of death, and several of the ring-leaders were executed. Some of the minor offenders atoned for their crime by undergoing a public whipping; but all those on whom sentence of death had been pronounced, without being carried into effect, experienced the royal clemency, after the splendid naval victory obtained by Admiral Duncan.

† In favour of these addresses, it was urged "that ministers had plunged the country into an unnecessary war, which had added one hundred and thirty millions to the national debt, and had imposed taxes to the amount of six millions and a half annually; that, instead of restoring monarchy in France, they had been compelled to recognize the republic; that, instead of weakening the powers, or dismembering the territories of the enemy, they had suffered them to add the Netherlands, Holland, and a great part of Italy, to the republic; that they had neglected the proper opportunities of making peace, and that their negociations for that desirable object had been conducted with insincerity; that to their profusion were imputable all the embarassments that had so lately distressed the national bank, and to their folly and misconduct, all the insubordination that had shewn itself in the navy; the discontents that prevailed among the people of England; and the spirit of rebellion which had begun to manifest itself in Ireland; that their boast of having preserved their country from jacobinical principles was supposititious, but that the evils they had brought upon the country were real, and would be permanent as the government itself; that in fact, ministers themselves were the most practical jacobins in the country; that they had banished gold and silver from circulation, and taken up the paper system, at the time France had laid it down; that they had had recourse to arbitrary measures, military force, and pretended plots, with every article of jacobinism, that had been previously practised in France; and that it was the virtuous and enlightened juries of 1794 which defeated the Robespierrian system, attempted to be established in this country by his Majesty's ministers." It was contended on the other hand, "that the country owed to ministers the three greatest blessings that a country could possess—liberty, internal tranquillity, and general prosperity. That under their administration, juries had been invested with the power of judging of the point of law, as well as the matter of fact; that when Mr. Pitt came into office, the funds were at sixty-four, but, by his financial abilities, they had been raised, before the war broke out, to ninety-eight; that even during the war, our trade, manufactures, and agriculture, had continued to flourish; that it was impossible for ministers to avoid entering into the war; that though the success of our allies had not equalled our expectations, yet, as for ourselves, our success as well as our exertions had been unparalleled; in a word, that we were indebted to the exertions of the present ministers, for arresting the progress of French principles among us, for our freedom from those miseries that France had brought upon other countries, and for the internal tranquillity that at present prevailed in our own happy island."

‡ The Honourable mover solemnly affirmed, "That he sought not to alter any part of the constitution, but merely to obtain for the people, a full, fair, and free representation in Parliament, to which they were incontrovertibly entitled. He proposed, that the county representation should continue upon the same footing as at present, but that the number of county members should be increased from ninety-two to one hundred and thirteen; the addition to be made to the largest counties, in proportion to their population—for instance, instead of two for the county of York, there should be two for each riding, and so in the other counties, where the present representation was not proportioned to the extent of the population. In order to put an end to compromises, counties should be divided into grand divisions, each of which should return one representative: the right of the elective franchise to be extended to copy-holders and lease-holders, who were bound to pay a certain annual rent, a certain number of years: the remaining four hundred members to be returned by one description of persons, namely, householders: the poll to be taken throughout the kingdom at one time; and the same person not to be permitted to vote for more than one member; the duration of Parliament to be limited to three years; upon this plan Mr. Grey said the members would hold their seats, not indeed on the basis of universal suffrage, but of universal representation. The qualification would be so fixed, that no man, however mean, might not hope, by honest industry, and fair exertion, to raise himself to this distinction."

§ The ceremony was performed on the 18th of May; and a portion of 80,000*l.* was voted by Parliament for the royal bride.

‖ Edmund Burke was born in Dublin, on the 1st of January, 1730. He derived his descent from a respectable family; his father being by profession an attorney, in considerable practice in that city. Having received a liberal education, he repaired to London, early in life, and entered himself in the Temple, where he increased his slender finances by writing for the newspapers, and other periodical publications. His first acknowledged literary production was "A Vindication of Natural Society," and his second, an "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful." During the Rockingham administration he was chosen member of Parliament for Wendover, in Buckinghamshire. On the dissolution of Parliament, which speedily followed, he was chosen member for Malton, and at the same time was elected, with Mr. Cruger, representative for the city of Bristol, for which he took

RAPIN'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE SURRENDER OF THE SPANISH ADMIRAL
TO COMMODORE NELSON ON BOARD THE SAN JOSEF
THE 14TH OF FEBRUARY 1797.

Published by Jas. Gardner, Albion Press, London, 1835.

The King of Spain, so recently the ally, had now become the enemy of England; and the French republic, having at her disposal the navy of Spain, as well as that of Holland, proposed to her confederates, that the greatest part of the Spanish navy should sail in the early part of the year 1797, to Brest, where, being joined by the French ships of war in that port, they should afterwards form a junction with the Dutch fleet; and that this armada, then swelled to upwards of seventy sail of the line, should bear down upon England, and having humbled the lofty pretensions of her naval power, should lay the foundation for her future subjugation. This design soon became known to the British ministry, and to frustrate its execution, a fleet under Sir John Jervis, was appointed to blockade the port of Cadiz, while Admiral Duncan was stationed off the coast of Holland, to watch the movements of the Dutch fleet in the Texel. Sir John Jervis having received intelligence on the 13th of February, from Captain Foote, of the Niger, stationed off Carthagena, that the fleet under Admiral Don Joseph de Cordova, was at sea, immediately set sail in quest of it. At the dawn of the succeeding day the enemy was descried off Cape St. Vincent, but as the weather happened to be extremely hazy, it was not until ten o'clock, that a signal from a British frigate announced the enemy's fleet to consist of twenty-seven sail of the line. The British commander, though his squadron consisted of no more than fifteen ships, resolved to bring them to action, and at half past eleven o'clock formed in the most complete order of sailing in two lines. By carrying a press of sail, the British squadron was so fortunate as to prevent the two divisions of the enemy's fleet from connecting, and to cut off all that portion which had fallen to leeward. Such a moment was not to be lost, and confident in the skill, valour, and discipline of the officers and men under his command, the Admiral felt himself justifiable in departing from the regular system; and passing through the enemy's fleet, in a line, formed with the utmost celerity, he attacked, and thereby separated one third from the main body; after a partial cannonade, which prevented their rejunction till the evening; and by the very great exertions of the ships which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, four of their ships of the line were captured by the British, and the action ceased about five o'clock in the evening. This brilliant victory, which acquired for the Admiral, the title of Earl St. Vincent, was obtained with but little loss; and though Commodore Nelson, in the Captain, of seventy-four guns, distinguished himself greatly upon that occasion, by boarding the San Nicholas and San Josef in succession, he only lost one officer, twenty seamen, and three marines. Much to the credit of the commander-in-chief, to whom the Salvador del Mundo struck, only a few English ships were engaged in the contest. The slain and wounded in the Spanish ships, amounted to about twelve hundred, including amongst the former, Commodore Don Francisco Xavier Winthuysen, while the loss of the British did not exceed one-fourth part of that number. Great rejoicings took place throughout the nation on the arrival of intelligence of this well-timed victory. The fleet was honoured with the thanks of both Houses of Parliament; the King conferred a patent of an Earldom, with a pension of three thousand pounds a year, on the Admiral in chief; Vice-Admiral Thompson, and Rear-Admiral Parker, were created baronets; Commodore Nelson was invested with the order of the Bath; Captain R. Calder was knighted; and gold medals and chains were presented to all the commanders.

Having determined to fit out an expedition against Ireland, the French directory gave orders to embark a body of troops on board the Dutch fleet in the Texel. On the first intelligence of these preparations, which took place early in the year, the board of Admiralty sent a powerful squadron to the North Sea, under the command of Admiral Duncan, to intercept the enemy. It was not, however, till the month of October, and not till the British Admiral had returned to Yarmouth to refit, that the Dutch fleet put to sea. On this the English commander, who had received the most early and accurate information of the enemy's movements, suddenly returned to his former station. The command of the enemy's fleet, which consisted of twenty-six sail, including frigates, had been confided to Admiral De Winter, who had distinguished himself in the army under General Pichegru. No sooner had De Winter quitted the Texel, than Captain Trollope, who had been stationed with a light squadron of observation at the mouth of that river, gave notice of his approach, and on the 11th of October, Admiral Duncan gave orders for a general chase, and the Dutch ships were soon discovered drawn up in a line of battle on the larboard tack, between Camperdown and Egmont, the land being about nine miles to leeward. Admiral Duncan, whose fleet consisted of fifteen sail of the line, exclusive of frigates, finding there was no time to be lost, made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent; by which the British squadron placed itself between the enemy and the land, whither they were fast approaching. The Admiral's signal being obeyed with promptitude, Vice-Admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, bore down on the enemy's rear, in the most gallant manner, his division following his example, and the action commenced about forty minutes past twelve o'clock. The Venerable soon got through the enemy's line, and a close action was begun on their van, which lasted nearly two hours and a half, when all the masts of the Dutch Admiral's ship were observed to go by the board; she was, however, defended for some time in a most gallant manner, but being overpowered by numbers, her colours were struck, and Admiral De Winter was brought on board the Venerable; soon after, the ship bearing the Vice-Admiral's flag, was also dismasted, and surrendered to Vice-Admiral Onslow; and these, with three of sixty-eight guns, two of sixty-four, two of fifty-six, and two vessels of inferior force, were taken possession of by the English. In the early part of the action, Rear-Admiral Story, who commanded the centre division of the Dutch fleet, fled for the Texel in the States-General of seventy-four guns, with part of his division, and afterwards made a merit of having saved part of the fleet. The British squadron suffered much in their masts, yards, and rigging, and many of the ships lost a number of men, but in no proportion to the loss of the enemy. The carnage on board the two ships that bore the Admirals' flags, was beyond all description, and did not amount to less than 250 men

took his seat. Having given offence to many of his constituents at Bristol, by his defence of the trade of Ireland, he declined to offer himself again to their suffrages on the dissolution of Parliament, in 1780. On the admission of the Rockingham party into power, Mr. Burke came into office, and was appointed paymaster-general of the forces. This situation he held till the elevation of Lord Shelburne to the office of premier, when Mr. Burke withdrew from the administration, with his friend Mr. Fox; but on the appointment of the coalition administration, he was again reinstated in his office of paymaster-general.

On the termination of the trial of Warren Hastings, he resigned his seat in favour of his only son. This young man, the object of his father's warmest solicitude, was appointed secretary to Earl Fitzwilliam, pending his vice-royalty to Ireland, but his death, on the 2d of August, 1794, put a period to his opening prospects, and inflicted upon his father a shock from which he never recovered. On the death of his son, the King was pleased to settle upon Mr. Burke and his lady a pension for life. The last effort of his pen was entitled "Thoughts on a Regicide Peace;" a production that made its appearance when Lord Malmesbury was first sent to France, to negociate with the directory. Soon after the publication of this book, his health began to decline, but his body only, and not his mind, was affected. The week in which he died, he conversed freely with his literary and political friends, and dwelt particularly on the French revolution, and on the painful separation from admired friends which it had occasioned; he spoke with pleasure of the conscious rectitude of his intentions, and intreated, if he had by an unguarded asperity given offence that they would pardon his infirmity. The last subjects of his literary attention were "the inculcations of practical wisdom, guiding to temporal and eternal happiness;" and during his last illness he frequently declared his thorough belief of the Christian religion. He appeared neither to wish nor to dread, but patiently and placidly to await, the appointed hour of dissolution; and after a most interesting and tender conversation with his young friend Mr. Nayle, he faintly uttered "God bless you," fell back, and breathed his last.

250 men killed and wounded on board each ship. The total loss of the British amounted to 191 killed, and 560 wounded, while the loss of the enemy must have exceeded double that number. The votes of both Houses of Parliament greeted the arrival of the gallant sailors; many of the Captains were gratified by medals; the venerable Admiral was rewarded by the King with the dignity of Viscount Camperdown, and a pension of three thousand pounds per annum; while Vice-Admiral Onslow was created a baronet, and the Captains Trollope and Fairfax knights banneret.

Cadiz was twice bombarded this year by Rear-Admiral Nelson, under the command of Lord St. Vincent; first on the 23d of June; secondly, on the 5th of July. By these operations, considerable injury was inflicted upon the city, but without advancing the objects of the war.

In February, the Spanish island of Trinidad capitulated to an expedition consisting of six sail of the line, and a number of troops, fitted out at Port Royal, in Martinico, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and Admiral Harvey. On the approach of the English, the Spaniards, who had a squadron of four ships of the line, and one frigate lying at anchor in the gulf of Paria, set fire to their ships, and one line of battle ship only escaping the conflagration, fell into the hands of the victors; the governor and the garrison were made prisoners of war. The same commanders made an attempt in the month of April, on the large and important island of Porto Rico; but this island being found too strong to be carried by a coup-de-main, the enterprise totally failed, and was attended with a loss to the assailants of upwards of two hundred men.

An attack upon the Isle of Teneriffe, by a squadron of seven ships of war, commanded by Admiral Nelson, and a force of 1000 marines, under Captain Troubridge, was still more unfortunate. On the 15th of July, the British expedition arrived before the port of Santa Cruz, and having effected a landing, took possession of the town, but they learnt, when too late, that the force under their command, was utterly unequal either to carry the fort of Santa Cruz, or to contend with the military force of the island, now assembled to oppose them. Preparing therefore for a retreat, they had the misfortune to learn that the violence of the surge on the beach had staved their boats, and reduced them to a mere wreck. In this situation they were summoned by the Spanish commander to surrender; but this Captain Troubridge disdainfully rejected, adding, "That while he had a man left alive he would not capitulate." The Spaniards then sent a polite message to the Captain, to say, that for the purpose of sparing the effusion of blood, facilities would be afforded to himself and his followers to return to their ships; and as soon as the capitulation to this effect was signed, the enemy very generously furnished them with supplies of wine and biscuits. The loss of lives in this attempt, was equal to that sustained in the battle of Cape St. Vincent; 44 privates were killed, 105 wounded, 97 drowned, and 5 unaccounted for; Captain Richard Bowen, of the Terpsichore, and six Lieutenants, lost their lives; Captain Thompson of the Leander, Captain Fremantle of the Seahorse, a Lieutenant and a Midshipman, were wounded, and Rear-Admiral Nelson lost his arm.

The French directory, after conquering so many Kings, menaced the independence of the British empire, by ordering troops to be assembled on the coasts of the Channel, under the designation of "the army of England;" and, to add some weight to their resolves, they declared that "the conqueror of Italy," Buonaparte, was appointed to its command. In the early part of this year, and before Buonaparte had terminated his career in Italy, a strange attempt was made on the coast of Wales, by an expedition fitted out at the port of Brest. On the 22d of February, that part of the coast of Devonshire, which lies at the mouth of the Bristol Channel, was surprised by the appearance of an enemy's force, which, entering the small port of Ilfracombe, scuttled some merchant vessels, and made an unsuccessful effort to destroy all the ships in the harbour. This invading squadron, which consisted of two frigates, and two sloops, next steered its course for the bay of Cardigan, in Wales, where on the 23d of February, they disembarked about fifteen hundred criminals, attired as French troops, and provided with a proportionable quantity of arms and ammunition, but without field pieces. On receiving information of this event, the Welch peasantry, animated by the gentry of the country, seized their scythes, sickles, and pitchforks, and marched forth to meet the invaders. Lord Cawdor had assembled, in the course of a single day, a local force, consisting of from six to seven hundred militia, fencibles, and yeomanry cavalry, and the French commander, perceiving his situation to be desperate, dispatched a letter the day following to his Lordship, and about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th, surrendered himself and his followers prisoners of war. To add to the disaster of this extraordinary enterprize, the two frigates which accompanied the expedition, were captured on their return to Brest, and the whole expedition proved as unfortunate in the execution, as it was unaccountable in its plan.*

Buonaparte

* At the commencement of the year, General Alvinzi took the field, at the head of fifty thousand well appointed troops, and a formidable train of artillery, by means of which he hoped to chase the republicans beyond the Alps, and to circumscribe the dominions of France within their ancient limits. Having formed the determination to raise the blockade of Mantua, by a rapid march through Castello Nuovo, and Vallegio, he attacked and carried the French position on the 7th of January; the imperial commander then suddenly passed the Brenta, stormed the town of Cortona, which had been fortified with great care, and obliged a body of troops, under the command of Joubert, to fall back upon Rivoli. Buonaparte, who had been for some time at Bologna, was no sooner apprised of this new and unexpected irruption, than he repaired to the heights of San Marco, and made such judicious dispositions, that Alvinzi, who expected an easy conquest, soon found himself surprised and defeated. In the sequel, the fall of the important fortress of Mantua (on the 2d of February) crowned the labours of the army of Italy. This siege, which is said to have cost the French twenty-two, and the Austrians twenty-four thousand men, was terminated by famine rather than by the sword; for on the entrance of the French army into the city, they found that the horses of the troopers had been wholly devoured by such of the garrison as survived the numerous conflicts without the walls. On the fall of Mantua, Buonaparte published a proclamation to his army, in which he stated, that they "had proved victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and in seventy engagements; that they had taken from the enemy more than 100,000 prisoners, 500 field pieces, and 2000 large cannon; that the contributions raised in the countries conquered by them, had supported, maintained, and paid the army, during the whole campaign; while thirty millions of livres had been sent to the minister of finance, for the increase of the public treasure:" and, after glancing at their achievements against the Kings and Princes of Italy, he declared it to be his intention to carry the war into the hereditary states of Austria, and requested them to recollect, "that it was liberty they were about to present to the Hungarians, whose sovereign had disgraced himself, by submitting to be in the pay, and at the disposal of England."

The papal see, which had relied with implicit confidence on the success of the Austrians, was menaced with sudden ruin; for Buonaparte had published a proclamation, in which, after reproaching the holy father with subterfuge and perfidy, he declared the armistice to be at an end, recalled the French minister from Rome, and threatened all those who opposed the progress of the republican columns with the most exemplary vengeance. These denunciations were not uttered in vain; for General Victor immediately entered the town of Imola, and beheld the pontifical army entrenched along the banks of the Setria, with the left wing at Caffiano, the centre at Faenza, and the right at Lugo. The papal army, though scarcely broken, immediately abandoned the fertile plains of Romagna, and took refuge on the summits of the Apennines, towards the sources of the Arno and the Tiber; the towns of Cesena, Forli, and Ravenna, on this submitted in succession. The whole march of Ancona also acknowledged the triumph of the three coloured ensign, which was now displayed from the top of the holy chapel of Loretto; while the votive offerings of Kings, Popes, and Emperors, became the prey of an unbelieving soldiery. When the French General arrived at Tolentino, and began to establish a republican form of government, his holiness, apprehensive lest he should march to the seat of government, at length determined to negociate. He was consequently obliged to renounce all claim to Avignon and the Venaissin, to relinquish the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; to furnish the statues, pictures, and treasure, stipulated in the former convention; and to pay the sum of fifteen millions of livres towards the expences of the war.

It was not without great difficulty that Francis II. was enabled to recruit his army; for the Hungarian levies had nearly all perished in the plains of Italy, and a large portion of the youth of Vienna had either been taken prisoners, or cut off by the sword of the enemy. A great and last effort was however made, and to a considerable body of recruits were added several divisions of that victorious army, at

Buonaparte had found it expedient to negotiate, and conclude a peace with the Emperor; but the French directory affected to be dissatisfied with its terms—for some time refused its ratification—and at length consented to it, only, because they were engaged in the execution of a plan, at home, which more materially affected themselves. The new government had become not merely unpopular, but even despicable in the eyes of the people; so much so, indeed, that the crafty Sieyes refused a seat in the Directory. Soon after the appointment of that body, the two councils coalesced for a time with the terrorists, in order to crush their mutual enemies; the men of moderate principles; but the success of this plan was defeated by the still greater enmity which subsisted between those terrorists who adhered to Robespierre to the last, and those who brought him to the scaffold. After the conspiracy of May 1796, the directors were more circumspect in their conduct and language; and no difference occurred between them and the councils, till the new election, which took place in the spring of 1797; when, notwithstanding all the arts of intrigue which were exerted by the Directory, and all the manœuvres of the Jacobins, nearly the whol eof the new deputies were adverse to the present system; most of them were men of anti-revolutionary principles, and among them were some royalists, and even more than one emigrant. At length the time came for one of the directors also to go out, by lot; and, by dint of management, it was contrived that the lot should fall upon Letourneur, one of the weakest characters amongst them. He accordingly received a large sum of money, was appointed to the post of ambassador, and Barthelemi was chosen to succeed him in the directory. From this time, there was a majority in the two Councils opposed to the Directory, and, during the summer of 1797, a regular warfare was carried on between them, in messages and in speeches. The majority of the nation sided with the Councils, and, if their energy had been equal to the goodness of their cause, there could have been little doubt that they would have succeeded in their efforts, to give a better constitution to France, and peace to Europe. Their opponents, however, were better versed in the revolutionary tactics, more conversant with the maxims of the Robespierrean school, and less scrupulous about the means of accomplishing their end. The Directory,

the head of which the Archduke Charles had combated during the preceding year in Suabia and Franconia. Such formidable preparations determined the directory to send a number of the battalions cantoned on the frontiers of the Rhine into Italy, to encounter the very same warriors with whom they had before fought in the midst of the Black Forest. The Austrians, on their arrival, were formed into an army as before, between the Tagliamento and the Piava; while the French, who occupied the right bank of the latter river, and the left border of the Arisio, were prepared to oppose their progress. A variety of movements, and minor actions, having taken place, General Joubert penetrated to the banks of the Arisio, where he engaged the Austrians; and after a long and bloody action, during which he took four thousand prisoners, obtained possession of the bridge of Neumark, with an intention of cutting off the enemy's retreat towards Bolsana. A second battle, equally unfortunate, was fought soon after at Trames; however, General Laudohn, who was well acquainted with this mountainous region, contrived for some time to arrest the progress of the invaders, at a pass of the Eisach; but at length, the light infantry were fortunate enough to scale a precipice, whence they rolled immense masses of rock on the opposing column, and their centre being pierced, and one of their flanks turned, nearly at the same time, the whole of the artillery, which consisted of eight pieces, with fifteen hundred soldiers, fell into the power of the republicans. After this, the invaders took possession of Brixen, in which were found immense quantities of ammunition, stores, &c.

The division under Massena, pursuing the centre of the retreating army, seized on the fort of Chiusa, forced the bridge of Carasola, and at length reached Tarvis, a town built on the summit of a mountain; while Bernadotte, at the head of a body of grenadiers, took possession of Gradisca, the capital of the Frioul. The capture of this city rendered the French masters of all the Austrian possessions from the Alps to the sea.

Goritz submitted, without making the least resistance; Trieste, the only port in the Adriatic appertaining to the Emperor, followed its example; and, while scaling the Norick Alps, still covered with snow, Buonaparte endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants by proclamations, in which he declared that the French armies were fighting for peace, and that they would not fail to extend protection to the peaceable Tyroleans. In the mean time, the Archduke, who had retired to Clagenfurt, perceiving that a division of his army was in danger of being surrounded by two columns of the enemy, sent a strong body of troops, on the 26th, against Massena, who commanded one of them. The Austrians, however, were again beaten, and pursued by the French cavalry, first across hills covered with snow, and at last along the ice. A few days after this, the same General fell in with a detachment of the imperialists already alluded to; and, after a slight engagement, seized on all the heavy artillery, and nearly the whole of the baggage, belonging to the army of his highness. The career of success did not stop here; for the whole of the French army being now put in motion, arrived on the 30th of March, in the capital of the duchy of Carinthia, where the commander-in-chief of the Austrians had established his head-quarters previously to his retreat along the banks of the Muer. Notwithstanding Buonaparte had beaten the Austrians in six different engagements, and destroyed one half of their army, during a campaign that had lasted only twenty-one days, his situation was critical and alarming. The natives of the mountainous districts were attached by habit to the dominion of the house of Austria; and the offer of liberty, which exhibited so many charms to the fascinated inhabitants of the vallies, possessed but few blandishments for a people whose patriarchal manners were as yet undebased by tyranny. The numerous defiles of those dreary regions; the marked enmity of the peasantry; the difficulty of obtaining supplies; the danger of being surrounded, like Moreau, or nearly cut off, like Jourdan; all these considerations operated powerfully on the mind of the conqueror, and he found it necessary to affect the language of moderation. He accordingly addressed a letter to the Archduke, in which, after lamenting the miseries of a war which had already desolated Europe during six years, he inquired whether he was desirous to merit the title of "the benefactor of mankind, and the saviour of Germany?" by accepting overtures of peace. The Archduke, in his answer, told him, in substance, that it was his province to fight, and not to negotiate. However, he immediately transmitted Buonaparte's letter to Vienna; in a few days, he received full power from the Emperor, to enter into a negotiation; a suspension of arms for nine days immediately followed; and on the 18th of April, a preliminary treaty of peace was signed at the castle of Eckenwald, in Styria, which has since been known by the appellation of the treaty of Leoben, and which served as the foundation of the definitive treaty of Campo Formio.

On the Rhine, also, the French arms had been eminently successful.—Buonaparte hastened to avail himself of the overwhelming force placed at his disposal by the treaty of Leoben; and Augereau, at the head of 25,000 men, marched into Venice, and seizing on the arsenal and forts, demanded the three inquisitors, and ten principal members of the senate, accused of having instigated their countrymen to an assassination of the French soldiery. In a few days, a democratical municipality was installed; the islands in the Adriatic were subdued by the navy which had hitherto protected them; and the members of the government, finding neither commiseration nor respect from the people, were happy in being allowed to retire from their native country. In Genoa, also, the nobles were friendly to the Austrian cause, but the people were attached to the French interests, and desirous of a popular government. Buonaparte, in consequence, soon after the revolution of Venice, established a democratical government in Genoa; but as the nobles had never shown an active hostility, and made no material resistance to the change, they escaped exaction.

The negociation, between the French republic and the Emperor, proceeded, and on the 17th of October, the definitive treaty was signed on the part of the two governments, at Campo Formio, near Udina. By this treaty, the Emperor "renounced for himself and his successors, in favour of the French republic, all his rights and titles to the Austrian Netherlands;" and consented that the French republic should possess in full sovereignty the ci-devant Venetian islands of the Levant—viz. Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maure, Cerigo, and the other islands dependent thereon, together with Butrinto, Larta, Vonizza, and in general all the Venetian establishments in Albania. And "the French republic, consented that the Emperor should possess in full sovereignty, Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian islands in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Castaro, the city of Venice, the Venetian canals, and the countries lying between the hereditary states of his Majesty the Emperor, and the Adriatic seas; his Majesty the Emperor, acknowledging "the Cisalpine republic, founded on the union of the Cispadane and Transpadane commonwealths, as an independent power, which republic composed the ci-devant Austrian Lombardy, the Bergamesque, the Brescian, the Cremonesque, the Venetian states to the east and south of the Legner, the Modenese, the principality of Massa, and of Carara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna." This treaty was immediately promulgated, but fourteen secret articles, highly important in their nature, were for a time concealed. By one of these it was agreed on the part of the Emperor, to use his influence, "That the French republic should, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain as its boundary the bank of the Rhine, from the confines of Switzerland, below Basle, to the branching of the Nette, above Andernach, including the head of the bridge of Manheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from whence that river falls into the Rhine, to its source near Bruch." His imperial Majesty also agreed to use his good offices, to obtain for France the free navigation of the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse; while on the other hand the republic was to endeavour to acquire for the house of Austria, the Archbishopric of Saltzburg, and part of the circle of Bavaria: and the fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburg, Manheim, Konigstein, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, were to be evacuated by the imperial troops in the course of twenty days.

Having thus "conquered a continental peace," Buonaparte returned to Paris, on the 20th of November, where he was hailed with the most rapturous applause by the people, and received with every possible mark of consideration by the government.

too, were masters of the army, and of the whole executive power of the state. The enemies of the Directory, conscious of their majority, made no secret of their designs; but with a degree of weakness not easily to be accounted for, considering that they must have had a perfect knowledge of the characters and dispositions of the men who were opposed to them, they lost their time in petty disputes, and in subjecting the Directory to trifling mortifications; whereas, if they had either waited quietly till the period of another election, when they might, without difficulty, have secured a majority in the Directory, or had struck some decisive blow before the directors were thoroughly prepared for resistance, their triumph had been certain and complete. Although the Directory had solemnly declared, that they could not, on any consideration, violate any one article of the constitutional code, when called upon to give up a portion of the conquests which they had made, in order to restore peace to Europe; yet, when their object was to crush their personal enemies, they did not scruple to violate two very essential articles of the same code. By one article, the army were expressly prohibited from deliberating on any subject whatever. Yet, on the present occasion, in consequence of applications from the Directory, who had connived at all their plunder and extortion, they loudly declared themselves in their favour. Buonaparte made all the divisions of the army of Italy present petitions, of a threatening nature, against the councils. Moreau and Hoche did the same with their armies on the Rhine. The latter was pitched upon by the Directory, to command a body of troops, which they had ordered to Paris to destroy their enemies in the councils. By another article of the constitution, the approach of troops to within a certain distance from the place at which the Legislative Body held its sittings, was expressly forbidden. But this, and every other article, were disregarded by the Directory, when they had any favourite object to accomplish. Hoche, however, alarmed at the state in which he found the public mind, on his approach to the capital, was induced to decline the commission; and Augereau, who was originally a private soldier, in the Neapolitan army, but now a favourite General with Buonaparte, was employed in his stead. Augereau had no sooner taken the command of the troops, than he moved forward, and passed the limit prescribed by the constitution. The impetuosity of this man had outstripped the wishes of the Directory, who were not yet prepared to inflict the meditated blow; and, had the councils acted with firmness and decision, and passed a decree of accusation against the triumvirate, they might still have succeeded. But they wasted that time, which should have been employed in action, in frivolous debates, and fruitless discussions; and, while they were engaged in the silly expedient of ascertaining, with precision, whether the troops had really passed the constitutional limit, the hall in which they sat was suddenly surrounded, and most of the chiefs of the party, in opposition to the Directory, together with the new director, Barthelemi, were arrested without the smallest resistance or difficulty; and, being placed in carriages, resembling iron cages, previously prepared for the purpose, were sent to Rochfort, where a frigate waited to transport them to the pestilential deserts of Guiana. The remains of the two councils, who no longer constituted a Legitimate Body of representatives, and who were not competent to perform any one act of legislation, now assembled at the Odeon, and conferred on the Directory, by a formal decision, that absolute power which they had usurped, in breach of the constitution, which was specially trusted, by its concluding provision, to the safeguard of the Directory and the Legislative Councils. The immediate consequence of this event was, the triumph of jacobinism, and the re-establishment of a revolutionary government.

During these transactions in the interior of France—in the interval between the treaty of Leoben, and that of Campo Formio—the British ministry, finding that the coalition against France was effectually dissolved, again declared themselves actuated by a wish for peace. Accordingly, on the first of June, an official note from Lord Grenville to M. de la Croix, the French minister for foreign affairs, communicated the desire on the part of the British government to negociate preliminaries, which might be definitively arranged at a future congress. The French government, pursuing their usual policy of negociating a separate peace with each of their enemies, replied, that the directory would receive with eagerness the overtures and proposals which should be made to it by the court of England, but required, for the purpose of avoiding delay, that the negociations should be rather for a definitive, than for a preliminary treaty. The British government rejoined, that it would depend upon the progress and turn of the negociations, whether preliminary or definitive articles should be signed. The directory, in three days after the date of Lord Grenville's last note, transmitted the necessary passports for a minister, furnished with full powers from his Britannic Majesty, for the purpose of negociating, concluding, and signing a definitive and separate treaty of peace; and fixed upon the city of Lisle as the place of meeting for the respective plenipotentiaries. On the 17th of June, Lord Grenville, in a letter addressed to M. de la Croix, informed him that his Majesty had made choice of the same minister to represent him on this, as on a former similar occasion; to which the French minister, in reply, signified the consent of the directory, that the negociations should be opened with Lord Malmesbury, intimating, however, that another choice would have appeared to the directory more favourable for the speedy conclusion of peace. Lord Malmesbury, on his arrival at Lisle, was met by the French plenipotentiaries, Letourneur, late member of the directorial council, Pleville le Pelley, and Hugues B. Maret. His Lordship opened the business by submitting the plan of pacification, which he had received from the British ministry: this projet required the cession of the colony of Trinidad, on the part of Spain; and of the Cape of Good Hope, Cochin, in the East Indies, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, on the part of Holland: in return for which, it was proposed, that Great Britain should cede all the other settlements taken from France and her allies in the course of the war: our minister further required the restoration of his personal property to the Prince of Orange, or an equivalent in money; and that France should engage to procure for him, at the restoration of peace, an indemnity for the loss of the United Provinces; that Portugal should be included in the treaty, and that no demand should be made upon that country by France. To these proposals the French answered, that, previously to entering on the main business, it was necessary that three concessions should be made: first, that his Britannic Majesty should resign the title of King of France; secondly, that the ships taken and destroyed at Toulon should be restored, or restitution made for them; and thirdly, that any mortgage which England might have upon the Low Countries, in consequence of the money lent to the Emperor of Germany, for the purpose of carrying on the war against France, should be given up.

On the first of these points, Lord Malmesbury observed, "that on all former occasions a separate article had been agreed to, which appeared to answer every purpose they required, and which it was his intention, as the treaty advanced, to have proposed as proper to make a part of this:" on the second, he replied, "that this claim of restoring the ships was so perfectly unlooked for, that it was impossible for him to have been provided for it in his instructions:" and on the third, "that if the French republic had taken the Low Countries as they stood, charged with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what these words meant, and that if no exception was stated in the first instance, none could be made with a retro-active effect."

These were the observations that occurred to him on the first mention of the subjects to which they had adverted, but he would transmit a paper stating the three claims to his government for consideration. On the 15th of July, the French plenipotentiaries addressed a note

to Lord Malmesbury, in which it was stated, "that the French government, unable to detach itself from the engagements which it has contracted with its allies, Spain and the Batavian republic, establishes, as an indispensible preliminary of the negociation for the peace with England, the consent of his Britannic Majesty to the restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, not only from the French republic, but further and formally of those of Spain and the Batavian republic." Lord Malmesbury replied, "that the requisition of these terms, was, in effect, to declare the intention of France to put an abrupt termination to the treaty, as it proposed cessions on one side, without any compensation on the other: if this were the resolution of the Directory, the negociation was at an end; and it only remained for Great Britain to persevere in maintaining, with an energy and spirit proportioned to the exigency, a war that could not be ended but by yielding to terms at once disgraceful and unjust." The French plenipotentiaries, feeling the justice of these observations, expressed a willingness to apply to the Directory, for fresh instructions; but, though this assurance was given on the 23d of July, at a conference held between the plenipotiaries on the 28th of August, it was admitted that no specific instructions had arrived. It was at the same time announced, that the delay of communication arose from the dissatisfaction of the Batavian republic, at the suggestion of their settlements being retained by Great Britain. It was however notorious to all Europe, that the members of the Directory were at this period tottering in their seats, and that, during the delay of the negociation, their attentions were confined to their own preservation. During this crisis, another revolution, as has already been related, took place in France, which expelled two of its members, Barthelemi and Carnot, from the office of directors. These events led to the recall of the French ambassadors, then at Lisle, and to the appointment of citizens Treilhard and Bonneir d'Alco, as their successors. This change of negociators was not more unpleasant to the feelings of Lord Malmesbury, than it was inauspicious to the progress of the negociation. Immediately after their first interview, on the 13th of September, Lord Malmesbury was required to inform them, whether, as a preliminary to negociation, he was empowered to concede on the part of his government, that England should surrender "all the possessions she had gained from France, and her allies, since the beginning of the war:" and his Lordship was further required to return an explicit answer to this question in the course of the same day. On the 16th, his Lordship addressed a note to the French plenipotentiaries, in which he intimated, that "he neither could nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compensation—a principle which had been formally recognised as a basis of a treaty equally just, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers." On the same day the French ministers apprized his Lordship of "a decree of the executive directory," purporting, "that in case Lord Malmesbury should declare himself not to have the necessary powers for agreeing to all the restitutions, which the laws and the treaties which bind the French republic make indispensible, he shall return in four and twenty hours to his court, to ask for sufficient powers."

The obvious answer to this imperious mandate was returned by Lord Malmesbury at eight o'clock in the evening of the same day, in a note demanding the necessary passports for himself and his suite, to return to England within the time prescribed by the Directory. Previously to his departure, however, another meeting took place between the plenipotentiaries, in which his Lordship, without compromising his dignity as the representative of a great nation, urged every consideration that might induce the French ministers to recall their late unwarrantable proposals, but without effect; his Lordship therefore took his departure from Lisle on the morning of the 18th of September.

Parliament met on the 2d of November, and his Majesty expressed his firm conviction, "that the papers laid before the two Houses, would prove to them, and to the world, that in the late negociations at Lisle every step had been taken on his part which could tend to accelerate the conclusion of peace; and that he still retained an ardent desire for the attainment of that blessing." When the King's speech came to be taken into consideration by the Commons, the House presented an extraordinary appearance; the benches on the left of the speaker's chair no longer exhibited their usual occupants. Finding their counsels rejected, and their opposition unavailing, the opponents of ministers, with some few exceptions, had determined to withdraw for a time from their places in Parliament, and to leave the members of administration to pursue their own system of policy without controul. Under these circumstances, the address on the King's speech was voted in both Houses without a division.

When the papers relating to the negociation were taken into consideration by the Commons, an address passed both Houses by an almost unanimous vote, highly applauding the conduct of his Majesty's government, and expressing a firm determination to support his Majesty to the utmost, and to stand or fall with our religion, laws, and liberties.

It was considered by the nation at large, that the concessions offered by England to France at Lisle, were as great as it was proper to make, and that the claims of France were highly unreasonable and unjust. A great majority of the people consequently evinced an extraordinary and sudden renewal of ardour in the prosecution of the war, and the recent victory of Lord Duncan, added to the secession of the opposition from Parliament, which by many was considered as a dereliction of public duty, gave to the ministers an unusually high degree of popularity.

A bill was introduced, early in the pressent session, and speedily passed into a law, for continuing the existing restrictions on cash payments by the Bank of England; and on the 22d of November, Mr. Pitt brought forward his annual statement, relating to the public finances. The whole expense of the year amounted to twenty-five millions and a half; and for the purpose of furnishing a supply equal to this immense demand, Mr. Pitt declared it to be his intention to have recourse to a perfectly new and solid system of finance. Of this sum, six millions and a half would arise from the unappropriated produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills, and unmortgaged taxes. Of the nineteen millions then remaining to be provided for, he proposed to raise seven within the year, by a new impost, under the designation of a triple assessment, which would be regulated by the existing assessments—limited however to the tenth of each person's income—and from the application of this principle of taxation arose, at subsequent periods, the income and property taxes. Of the remaining twelve millions, four might be borrowed without creating an additional debt; the produce of the sinking fund, old and new, appropriated to the purpose of liquidating the national debt, being equal to that amount: the remaining eight millions he proposed to pay by continuing the triple assessment till the principal and interest were discharged, which would be the operation of little more than another year. This plan, he said, would extremely damp the hopes of the enemy, and shew to him, and to all Europe, that our national resources rose in proportion to the exigencies of our situation. Mr. Fox, at the request of his constituents, now again appeared in Parliament, and made the severest animadversions on the new scheme of finance. After a number of animated debates, however, the triple assessment bill passed the House of Commons, on the 4th of January (1798) when the opposition divided, 127 against 202.* During the progress of this bill through Parliament, a clause was introduced, on the motion of the speaker of the House of Commons, to

* Whilst the discussions on this new scheme of finance were pending, Lord Holland, the nephew of Mr. Fox, made his first appearance as a public speaker in the House of Lords, and displayed so much ability, as to draw from Lord Grenville expressions of admiration.

admit

admit of voluntary contributions towards the general defence of the country, now menaced with invasion by a powerful and enraged enemy; and the aggregate of the voluntary contributions thus entered into, under the sanction of Parliament, amounted to one million and a half, to which the bank of England contributed two hundred thousand pounds, the King twenty thousand, and the Queen five thousand, out of their private purses.*

A. D. 1798.] The next financial measure brought before the present session of Parliament (2d of April), was the redemption of the land-tax. The revenue at that time derived from the land-tax, amounted to two millions sterling; this Mr. Pitt proposed to set up at twenty years' purchase, when the three per cent. consols were at fifty, subject to a rise in the price to purchasers, according to the rise of stocks. Forty millions, sterling, the present amount of the land-tax, at twenty years' purchase, would amount to eighty millions three per cent. stock, affording an interest of two millions four hundred thousand pounds, and leaving, by this operation, a clear annual gain to the public revenue of four hundred thousand pounds. The person who purchased his share of the land-tax would obtain a landed security of his property, and that at a rate so favourable as to render it a very desirable object. What was of much more consequence to the interests of the state, eighty millions of capital would be taken out of the market. As to the terms that would be given, they should, Mr. Pitt observed, be such as would induce every person who was able, to become a purchaser. The proprietor was of course to have the right of pre-emption; and to simplify the operation, the purchase was to be made in stock, not in money. The bill further provided, that if the owner of the land should not be able to make the purchase within a time to be limited, his situation, or that of his heirs, should not be entirely hopeless, but a further period should be allowed to take advantage of the purchase. In the absence of the leading members of opposition, this bill passed into a law, without encountering any considerable difficulties; but from the radical defects of the plan, not more than about one fourth part of the land-tax was, within the space of the three succeeding years, bought up, and the advantage to the public, in point of revenue, did not within that period exceed fifty thousand a year. At the same time that the land-tax at four shillings in the pound was made perpetual, certain duties to the amount of that tax, on sugar and tobacco, were rendered annual; in order that the controul which Parliament previously possessed over the public purse might suffer no diminution.

A message had, early in the session, been sent to the two Houses of Parliament, apprising the members of the preparations making by the enemy for the invasion of these kingdoms, and soliciting the early attention of Parliament to the subject; notwithstanding which, some time elapsed before any regular plan could be matured for the national defence. Mr. Dundas, at length, moved for the introduction of a bill to enable his Majesty to call out a proportion of the supplementary militia; and, after an interval of some weeks, a second bill was introduced, for the encouragement of voluntary associations in defence of the country. This call was promptly obeyed; and no period in the history of Great Britain was ever distinguished by more striking manifestations of patriotic feeling and military ardour. A third bill was brought into the House by Mr. Dundas, for the revival of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, which, when a rebellion was impending in one kingdom, and when another was held in daily expectation of an invasion, could not with propriety experience any opposition.

Convinced that the dangers of the country were continually increasing, from the vast preparations accumulating on the coast of France, Mr. Pitt, on Friday, the 25th of May, moved for a bill for more effectually manning the navy; and, as his chief object was the temporary suspension of the protections of seamen, he expressed an earnest wish, that the bill should pass that day through its different stages, with a suitable pause at each if required; and that it should be sent to the Lords for their concurrence.

Mr. Tierney said, the very extraordinary manner in which the House was called upon to adopt this measure could not fail to create great and unnecessary alarm; and if the honourable gentleman persisted in hurrying the bill through its respective stages in the manner proposed, he should feel it his duty to give it his decided negative. Indeed, from all he had lately seen, he must view the measures of ministers as hostile to the liberty of the subject. Mr. Pitt, rising with considerable warmth, said—"If every measure adopted against the designs of France is to be considered as hostile to the liberties of this country, my idea of liberty differs widely from that of the honourable gentleman. If the measure be necessary, and as a notice of such an intention will enable those on whom it is meant to operate to elude its effects, how can the honourable gentleman's opposition to it be accounted for, but from a desire to obstruct the defence of the country?"——Mr. Tierney now rose, and called the Chancellor of the Exchequer to order; on which Mr. Addington, the Speaker, observed, that whatever had a tendency to throw suspicion on the sentiments of a member, if conveyed in a language that clearly marked that intention, was certainly irregular; of this the House would judge; but they would wait to hear the right honourable gentleman's explanation. Mr. Pitt said:—"If the House waited for his explanation, he feared it would wait a long time. He knew very well that it was not Parliamentary to state the motives that actuated the opinions of the members of this House; but it was impossible to go into arguments in favour of a question, without sometimes hinting at the motives that induced an opposition to the measures proposed. He submitted to the judgment of the House, the propriety of what he had urged, but he would not depart from any thing he had advanced by either retraction or explanation." Mr. Tierney immediately left the House, and the next morning sent Mr. Pitt a challenge. On Sunday afternoon, at three o'clock, the parties met on Putney-Heath, Mr. Pitt being accompanied by Mr. Dudley Ryder, and Mr. Tierney by General Walpole. After some ineffectual attempts on the part of the seconds to prevent further proceedings, the combatants took their ground, at the distance of twelve paces: a case of pistols was then fired at the same moment by both, without effect; to which another succeeded; but Mr. Pitt firing his second pistol in the air, the seconds interfered, and the matter was accommodated.†

In this year, as in the preceding, the Chancellor of the Exchequer found himself obliged to lay before the House a second estimate of supplies; when he took occasion to state, that the loan must be fifteen instead of twelve millions; and that the triple assessment, which was calculated at seven millions, would, it was apprehended, from the numerous modifications and abatements, be reduced to four millions and a half. The interest of the increased loan and deficiencies, he estimated at 763,000*l*, which he proposed to provide for by additional duties on salt, tea, dogs, horses and carriages, and by a tax on armorial bearings. The various duties on Houses and windows were, at the same time, consolidated into one table, graduating according to a regular scale, and diminished in some instances where the rise was disproportioned to the value of the Houses.

Mr. Wilberforce's annual motion for the abolition of the slave trade, was this session negatived by only 89 against 85.

The Duke of Bedford, (March 22) after a very animated speech, moved an address to the throne for the

* Frederic William II. King of Prussia, died in the month of November, 1797, after a reign of eleven years. He was succeeded by his son Frederic William III.

† A few days previously to this event, (May 19) his Majesty in council called for the council-book, and with his own hand erased the name of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox from the list of privy counsellors.

removal of ministers, which, after a long and vehement debate, was negatived by a majority of one hundred voices.

In an early period of the session, Earl Moira called the attention of the Lords to the state of Ireland, and "intreated the House to take into consideration the tendency of the oppressive and cruel system now practised with the authority of government, which, instead of removing discontents, had increased the numbers of the discontented, and would, he feared, if the system was not changed, ultimately separate Ireland from this country for ever." His Lordship's motion, to this effect, was opposed by Lord Grenville and the Lord Chancellor, on the ground that the House was not in possession of any authentic information on the subject; and that, supposing the evils complained of really to exist, the power to redress them was not vested in the British, but in the Irish Parliament. The question of adjournment was consequently put and carried. On the 16th of March, Earl Moira again brought the general state of the affairs of Ireland under consideration, and stated, that he had the affidavits of a hundred persons in his possession, to prove that torture had been employed, in extorting confessions from individuals against themselves, and against their neighbours; and that horrible devastation had been made on the Houses and property of persons accused of disaffection. The Marquis of Downshire replied, that zeal had carried the noble Lord too far in his representations against the executive government. He was ready to admit that some of the army, perhaps the undisciplined troops, might have committed excesses, but he would contend that it was not in consequence of any orders they had received either from their officers or from government. With respect to coercion, he saw the necessity of it, nor would he disguise, nor was he ashamed to acknowledge, that he was one of the first to recommend the executive government to issue the proclamation for putting the county of Down under martial law. Earl Moira rose to reply, but he was called to order by the Earl of Caernarvon, and his Lordship reluctantly suffered the conversation to drop, after observing that the documents he had referred to did not relate to any casual excesses of the troops.

Three months afterwards (June 15) Ireland being then in a state of actual rebellion, the Duke of Leinster, after an impressive speech, during the delivery of which his feelings seemed deeply agitated, moved an address, humbly requesting "that his Majesty would deign to direct the proper officers to lay before that House a full and ample statement of the facts and circumstances which led to the disastrous affairs of Ireland, and of the measures which had hitherto been pursued for the purpose of averting such momentous evils." A long and animated debate ensued; but the motion was negatived, by 51 against 18.

Lord G. Cavendish, in the House of Commons, after a pithy speech, on the same day, introduced a series of resolutions, recommending a system of policy to be adopted towards Ireland, at once firm and conciliatory, and wherein "severity should be tempered with mercy." These resolutions were seconded by Lord John Russel; but on the motion of Mr. Canning, for proceeding to the order of the day, all the resolutions were negatived, by two hundred and twelve to sixty-six members. Mr. Fox, in conformity with a notice previously given, then rose, and moved the following proposition:—"Resolved —That this House, (understanding it to be a matter of notoriety, that the system of coercion has been enforced in Ireland with a rigour shocking to humanity; and particularly that scourges and other tortures have been employed to extort confessions), is of opinion, that an immediate stop should be put to practices so disgraceful to the British name, and that our hopes of restoring tranquillity to Ireland, must arise from a change of system, as far as relates to the executive government, together with a removal from their stations of those persons by whose advice such atrocities have been perpetrated, and towards whom the people of Ireland can feel no sentiments but those of resentment and terror."

These discussions in both Houses of Parliament took place with closed doors, and the same system of secrecy was pursued on the 18th of June, when Lord Grenville rose to present a message from his Majesty, informing the House,—that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of different regiments of militia of this kingdom, had made to his Majesty a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces in Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion now unhappily existing in that country; a bill was accordingly produced by Lord Grenville, and read a first time. On Tuesday, the 19th of June, the address, empowering his Majesty to accept the offer of such regiments as should be willing to serve in Ireland, was carried after an animated debate. On the 19th of June, the same subject was introduced to the House of Commons, in virtue of his Majesty's message; on which Mr. Secretary Dundas observed, that as he was not aware of any objection that could reasonably be urged against the measure, he should content himself with moving the thanks of the House to his Majesty for his most gracious communication. Mr. Nichols said, if the militia force of this kingdom were sent to Ireland, the principle of the militia bill, as originally established, would be completely abandoned. Mr. Lawrence Palk, and Mr. Pierrepoint, contended against the measure as a gross and flagrant violation of the constitution; and Mr. Banks moved, as an amendment, that the House considered the proposition suggested in his Majesty's message as of the utmost consequence, and such as required further deliberation. Mr. Secretary Windham said, it had been suggested that the House ought to pause before it agreed to the address; but were they to pause while an actual rebellion existed in one corner of the empire, while the King's troops and rebels were fighting, and not to assist the former to bring the latter to a sense of duty? The objection that the English militia had been raised merely for the protection of England, and never to be sent out of it, did not appear to him stronger than might be urged in the case of fencible corps, who had been raised on similar terms. Mr. Tierney declared, that when the minister had such a proposition to make as the present, he ought to come down to the House clothed in sackcloth and ashes. There was no official communication to that House, even of the existence of a rebellion in Ireland, but in the message, calling upon them to take this unconstitutional step, in order to suppress it. The militia was a part of the constitution: where was a substitute to be found for this body? The tenour of the oath was 'to serve faithfully in Great Britain.' Mr. Wilberforce said, he was convinced that the measure was in itself objectionable, yet he must give it his decided support, on account of necessity. On a division of the House, there appeared, for the address, 118, against it, 47 voices. Bills, founded upon the message, were afterwards passed previously to the prorogation of Parliament, on the 20th of June.

England being thus deprived of about twelve thousand of its constitutional defenders, though still under the imminent apprehension of an invasion, a spirit of military ardour at once seized and pervaded the whole kingdom; and all ranks and orders of men, eagerly formed themselves into volunteer corps, commanded by officers of their own choice, acting under temporary commissions from the King.

The present year had been ushered in by the congress of Radstadt, in which it was proposed to discuss and settle all the disputes between the French republic and the German empire. The emperor, as the head of the Germanic body, in his capacity of King of Hungary and Bohemia, had acceded to the demands of the Directory, to render the Rhine the boundary of the commonwealth, and surrender Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz; and it was imagined that the system of sacrifices and indemnities might be speedily adjusted.* However, whilst

* While this assembly was discussing the terms of a pacification, the hierarchy which had governed a considerable part of Italy, and for

whilst the French plenipotentiaries were giving the most solemn assurances that their government panted for tranquillity, a war was suddenly declared against Switzerland, which, after a peace that had lasted for ages, were now condemned to experience all the horrors of the most rancorous hostility. The Swiss, attached from habit and interest to monarchical, were decidedly averse to republican France; and some of the cantons, Berne in particular, had not only refused during a considerable interval to recognize the French republic, but had countenanced the assembling of the emigrant army, and obliged the French minister to quit Soleure. Towards the end of the year 1797, certain menacing demands had been made by the French Directory on the Swiss cantons in general, but, for the cause just stated, it was expected that the thunder would spend its rage on Berne; and the Helvetic diet, chiefly at the instance of that state, immediately determined on a levy of twenty-six thousand men, while the armed force of two cantons, under the command of Colonel de Weiss, was sent, on the 14th of January, 1798, into the Pays de Vaud, to suppress a popular tumult, which had for its object the establishment of a democratic government. As soon as the French executive learned that Berne and Friburg had dispatched a body of soldiers and a train of artillery into the Pays de Vaud, a division of French troops just returned from Italy, was put in motion, and General Menard sent an aide-de-camp to the head quarters at Yverdun, with an intimation, "that the inhabitants of the bailiwick must be permitted to organize a government for themselves; and in case any violence was offered to them, force would be repelled by force." But this officer and his escort, being probably mistaken for an advanced guard, were either killed or wounded, and the minds of both armies became more inflamed against each other. The Vaudois in the mean time adopted a democratical form of government, and assumed the appellation of the republic of Leman. The cantons of Basle, Zurich, and Soleure, followed their example; but the Senates of Berne and Friburg, persisted in maintaining their ancient form of government.

The management of the war being confided to the French General Brune, he entered the territories of Berne on the 25th of January, and published a proclamation, containing professions, which appear to have been made only to be violated. Some unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain a truce, but a body of the invaders having advanced against the castle of Dornoch, seized that little fortress, while 13,000 troops summoned Soleure, which immediately opened its gates. Friburg, better prepared for resistance, determined to oppose the French; but Brune, having advanced at the head of a column, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of the garrison, headed by Verrer, the avoyer, who perished upon this occasion, took it by assault,—and on the 6th of March, the French army entered Berne. The ruling families were immediately displaced, the nature of the government was changed, the most respectable of the Senators were sent into exile, the treasures of the state were confiscated, and large military contributions exacted for the supply of the invading army. The Directory, determined on the subjugation of Switzerland, resolved to change the government from the federal into an united republic, which by means of a close and intimate union with France might be kept in continual dependance. The cantons of Berne, Zurich, Soleure and Friburg, hoping to obtain an ascendancy in the government, hastened to carry into effect the wishes of the Directory by chusing a legislature, and Arau was pitched upon as the scene of its deliberations: but the smaller states of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Glaris, and Appenzel, attached to the government of their fathers, which had for ages guaranteed their liberty, and secured their happiness, refused to send deputies to the new assembly, or to recognize its authority—Having assembled in arms, and appointed Paravicini their leader, they seized on Lucerne and menaced Zurich; but finding it impossible to awaken the slumbering spirit of resistance among their countrymen, and by one great national effort to expel the invaders, they retired to the fortresses of their native mountains, and took post near the lake of Zug. The French, now commanded by General Schawenburg, immediately advanced in great force against them, and commenced an attack. The leader of the confederates perceiving that valour alone was unavailing against superior numbers, trained to the art of war, feigning to retreat, enticed the assailants into an ambuscade, in consequence of which a complete defeat ensued. This bloody battle, in which several thousands of the French perished, was soon followed by a treaty, in which, though it was agreed to accept the new constitution as a bond of general union, an express stipulation was entered into, that the internal government of the smaller cantons, should continue as before, and they were at the same time exempted from all contribution. In this arrangement Underwalden refused to acquiesce on any conditions whatever. On this the French marched a large body of troops accompanied by artillery into that canton, and after a terrible battle, commenced on the 8th and continued with little intermission to the evening of the 9th of September, during which clubs and spears were in vain opposed to muskets and bayonets, and fragments from the rocks to a regular artillery, the gallant mountaineers were overcome, the town of Standtz taken by assault; the houses in its beautiful valley destroyed by fire, the inhabitants nearly extirminated, and neither age nor sex spared by a furious and inveterate soldiery. All Switzerland now subscribed to the new constitution; Lucerne was chosen as the seat of government, and an alliance offensive and defensive entered into between the French and the Helvetic republics. This treaty, however, did not restrain the rapacity of the French Directory, who still continued to levy contributions and impose exactions, to a most enormous and unfeeling extent.

Buonaparte, averting his eyes from the north, now directed all his attention to the east. Struck by the gigantic and important plan, conceived by the superior

for ages regulated the creed of a considerable portion of mankind, ceased to exist. Duphot, Chef de Brigade in the service of the French republic, having repaired to Rome, towards the end of 1797, for the purpose of espousing that sister of Buonaparte who was afterwards married to General Murat, became one of the victims of the commotions which took place on the 28th of December. On that fatal day, a mob, consisting of about one hundred persons, assembled at the palace of the French ambassador, Joseph Buonaparte, and demanded the assistance of France, for the purpose of overthrowing what they termed the papal tyranny, and establishing a republic in its stead. Joseph Buonaparte indisposed to countenance this project, dispatched Duphot to disperse the insurgents, and to prevail upon the papal troops to retire from the precincts of the ambassador's court; but while the General was engaged in this service, he was shot by a Roman fusileer. Joseph Buonaparte, after a lapse of fourteen hours, finding that no measures had been taken to avenge the late outrage, or to provide for the future security of his own person, retired into Tuscany. As soon as the murder of Duphot and the retreat of Joseph Buonaparte were made public at Milan, the people exclaimed—"Death to the assassin pontiff! Vengeance for our deliverers!" Troops were immediately levied, artillery prepared, and a declaration published, in which the fate of Rome was confidently predicted, and the odium of the late murder of the French General was cast upon the Pope and his counsellors; though it was perfectly clear, that this disastrous event produced the deepest disquietude in the breast of his holiness. The Directory feeling, or affecting to feel high indignation at the insult offered to their ambassador, and at the loss of their General, transmitted instructions to General Berthier, to march to the Roman capital. On the 10th of February (1798) the French army arrived at that place, and the castle of St. Angelo, containing the Pope and the greater part of his cardinals, surrendered on the first summons. The inhabitants, encouraged by the presence of the French army, assembled in the Campo Vaccino, the ancient Roman Forum, planted the tree of liberty in the front of the capitol, proclaimed their independence, and instituted the Roman republic. All the splendour and magnificence of which the Catholic worship is susceptible, were employed to celebrate this memorable victory over the head of its faith; every church in Rome resounded with thanks to the Supreme Disposer of events, for the glorious revolution that had taken place; and while the dome of St. Peter's was illuminated without, fourteen cardinals, dressed in the gorgeous apparel appertaining to functions they were fated soon after to abdicate, presided at a solemn Te Deum within the walls of that superb temple. The deposed pontiff was conveyed, by order of the Directory, first to Briançon, and afterwards to Valence, in France, where the infirmities of age and the pressure of misfortune terminated his existence, on the 29th of August, 1799, in the 82d year of his age, and the 24th of his pontificate.

mind

mind of Leibnitz, whose memorial upon the subject, to Louis XIV. had been found amongst the Court archives of France, he now affected to consider Egypt but as the fulcrum whence he might stretch an immense lever across the Arabian Gulph, to overturn the empire of Britain in Hindostan; nor would powerful allies, he thought, be wanting in the native princes of the Indian Peninsula, to wage an eternal war against those who had invaded their dominions, and almost annihilated their power. The Directory, eager to find employment for armies which the plunder of Piedmont and Lombardy had sharpened rather than satiated; and by no means indisposed to the removal of a General in whose presence all their power seemed to be eclipsed, at length consented to this romantic enterprize; and although this project was founded on the spoliation of an ally, the gross injustice of the expedition was lost sight of in the splendid advantages it promised to bestow. Although the Sublime Porte had kept its faith with the French republic inviolate, an armament was fitted out for depriving the Emperor Selim III. of his precarious but acknowledged sovereignty over Egypt, which yielded an annual tribute to his treasury, and supplied his capital with corn. The ports of Marseilles and Toulon were busied in refitting and launching ships, the fabrication of cordage, and the preparation of military stores; and while all Europe was contemplating the extent and destination of the armament, Buonaparte, accompanied by a few of his chief warriors, and a multitude of artists and men of learning, hastened from Paris to the borders of the Mediterranean, where he was joined by many thousands of the army of Italy, which, by an affected and far-fetched metaphor, he now addressed as "the right wing of the army of England."

His preparations being complete, he set sail from Toulon on the 20th of May, with a formidable veteran army, consisting of nearly 40,000 men, besides an immense quantity of artillery and military stores, and leaving Sicily on the left, was joined by a squadron of Venetian men of war, commanded by Rear-Admiral Brueix, who had proceeded from Corfu nearly at the same time. To this officer, who had served with no higher rank than that of Lieutenant of the royalnavy, was intrusted the command of the fleet, and he now repaired on board the Orient, of 120 guns. After a passage of eighteen days, this armament, consisting of about 300 sail, including ships of the line, frigates, and transports, descried Malta, and at break of day the next morning, commenced a general landing of troops and artillery upon the coast, without encountering any formidable resistance.

At the dawn of the succeeding morning, the enemy had encircled the city of Valetta, and on the 12th of June, the French entered the city, and became masters of the whole island. The Grand Master Hompesch, who had ranked as a sovereign prince, finding the people destitute of the requisite union and constancy to support their independence, quitted the island, and received at his departure the sum of 100,000 livres, with an engagement on the part of the invaders, to allow him a pension of 3000 livres a year from the French treasury, no part of which was ever paid. Thus Buonaparte contrived to obtain possession of the island of Malta, containing a population of 60,000 souls, and affording one of the most advantageous stations in the Mediterranean sea; while the ancient order of St. John of Jerusalem beheld itself bereaved of its territories, after possessing them during a period of nearly three centuries. Having appointed a provisional government, Buonaparte entrusted the care of his new acquisition to General Vaubois, and again proceeded to sea. After a passage of a week, the armament arrived in sight of Candia, and in the evening of the 30th of June, the fleet anchored in the Roads of Alexandria.

As soon as the French Admiral had cast anchor on the coast of Egypt, General Buonaparte hastened to disembark his troops, and to prepare for the attack of the city of Alexandria. A summons to surrender being disregarded, he commenced his attack on the 5th of July, and in a few hours carried, by assault, with a loss only of one colonel, and seventy soldiers, killed and wounded, a city which, in the sixth century, sustained a siege of fourteen months, and inflicted a loss of twenty-three thousand men upon the besiegers. To strike terror into the inhabitants, and to preclude further resistance, a dreadful slaughter took place amongst the Mamelukes and the Arabs, after the city had surrendered.

General Dessaix, provided with two field pieces, was now dispatched towards Cairo. Buonaparte, in the interim, issued orders for the fleet to shelter itself from the enemy in the old port of Alexandria; but on sounding the channel, it was found, that there was not sufficient depth of water for the Orient, and the road of Aboukir was therefore chosen as the fittest anchorage. The cannon, cavalry, and military stores having all been disembarked, and the chief command conferred on General Kleber, a flotilla was established in the course of a few days, on the Nile, and the city of Rosetta; situated at the mouth of the western arm of that river, was subdued. On the 7th of July, the main body of the army entered the desert, and after experiencing the most terrible privations, from heat and thirst, arrived at Dementour. Allowing themselves only one day's rest they advanced to Miniet Salame, where intelligence was received, that the beys were encamped in the neighbourhood, and that an armed flotilla had descended the Nile on purpose to attack the invaders. Next morning, the Mamelukes, to the number of four thousand, were discovered near the village of Chebreisse, situated on the left bank of the river. Here two separate and distinct actions immediately took place, the one on the water and the other on the land. Buonaparte, having advanced to the support of Kleber, formed his army into five squares, with the cavalry and baggage in the centre. Impelled by their natural impetuosity, the Mamelukes commenced the attack, and were suffered to approach within the reach of grape-shot, when the cannon suddenly opened, and forced the main body of the assailants to retreat; but some, bolder than the rest, continued to advance, and met their fate either at the muzzle of the musket or the point of the bayonet.

Immediately on this defeat of the land forces, the village of Chebriesse, was carried by assault, and the flotilla belonging to the beys retired, after a desperate action, in which six hundred were killed on the side of the vanquished, and only seventy on that of the victors. The French troops, pursuing their victorious career, advanced through the deserted villages, to Ernbabé, where on the 20th of July, they beheld towards the left, those famous pyramids, which had braved the storms of three thousand years, and in front, about six thousand Mamelukes, Arabs, and Fellahs, entrenched in the plain. Buonaparte, after making the same dispositions as at Chebreisse, gave orders for a charge, and the Mamelukes, after an unsuccessful attempt to break their way through a rampart of bayonets, fell back in disorder and left the field of battle in possession of the enemy. General Dugua, availing himself of the retreat of the native troops, advanced against the village, while two divisions under Generals Rampon and Marmont were detached towards the rear, and carried the entrenchments in the face of a masked battery of forty pieces of artillery. A body of Mamelukes and Fellahs, amounting to fifteen hundred, perceiving their retreat cut off by this movement, took post behind a ditch, where they defended themselves with great bravery, but not a single man escaped the fury of the French soldiery, being all either killed by the sword, or drowned in the Nile. Murad Bey, who commanded on this occasion, being forced to retreat, left behind him four hundred camels, his artillery, baggage, and provisions; and the victors, who seized on many fine Arabian horses, superbly caparisoned, found all the purses of the vanquished Mamelukes well stored with gold. This decisive victory, obtained with the loss of ten men killed, and about thirty wounded, opened the gates of Cairo to the invaders; the chief inhabitants hastening to the camp of Buona-

parte, solicited his protection, while the fortunate chieftain seized on this opportunity to visit the pyramids, and prophesied that his exploits would not be forgotten at the end of forty centuries.

Having conciliated the confidence of the sheiks and the principal families, by proclamations admirably adapted to their prejudices, and having organized a provisional government, Buonaparte marched against Mourad Bey, whom he forced to take refuge in Upper Egypt, while Ibrahim Bey, taking a contrary direction, fled towards Syria.*

The object of Buonaparte's expedition appears to have been altogether unknown in England, at the time of its sailing; but positive instructions were in consequence sent to Earl St. Vincent, then stationed off Cadiz, to select a sufficient number of line of battle ships to defeat his armament, whatever might be its destination. The First Lord of the Admiralty, in his dispatches to the Earl, says, "I think it almost unnecessary, to suggest to you the propriety of putting it under Sir Horatio Nelson." This appointment Earl St. Vincent had anticipated; and a detachment of ten sail of the line was dispatched under Captain Troubridge, to join the Rear-Admiral, who had been dispatched to the Mediterranean with a flying squadron. Rear-Admiral Nelson, thus invested with the command of a fleet of fourteen ships, thirteen of which carried seventy-four, and one fifty guns, determined to proceed in quest of the enemy. Steering his course towards Malta, he arrived off that island on the 22d of June, when he found that the enemy had quitted that place five days before his arrival, taking an eastward direction. Conjecturing, that Egypt must be the place of their destination, he sailed for the Port of Alexandria, where he arrived on the 28th, but they had not been seen on the coast of Egypt, nor could any satisfactory information be obtained at that place. Still acting upon his favourite maxim, that "perseverance in the profession will meet its reward," Nelson shaped his course northward for Caramania; thence he returned to Sicily; and, after obtaining refreshments and assistance of every kind for his squadron in the bay of Syracuse, he sailed once more for Alexandria in quest of the enemy. On approaching the coast of Egypt, on the 1st of August, he discovered thirteen sail of line of battle ships, moored in a strong and compact line, in the bay of Aboukir, the head-most vessel being close to the shoals on the N. W. and the rest of the fleet forming a kind of curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned on the S. W. The British Admiral, who from the anxiety of his mind, had scarcely taken either sleep or food for many days, now ordered his dinner to be served, while preparations were making for battle; and when his officers rose from table, and went to their separate stations, he exclaimed—"Before this time tomorrow I shall have gained a Peerage, or Westminster Abbey." The advantage of numbers, both in ships, guns, and men, was in favour of the French; they had thirteen ships of the line, and four frigates, carrying eleven hundred and ninety guns, and ten thousand eight hundred and ten men. The English had the same number of ships of the line, and one fifty gun ship, carrying in all one thousand and twelve guns, and eight thousand and sixty-eight men. The English ships of the line were all seventy-fours; the French had three eighty-gun ships, and one three-decker of one hundred and twenty guns; and the enemy's squadron was, in the opinion of the French commissary of the fleet, moored in such a situation, as to bid defiance to force more than double their own. The moment Admiral Nelson perceived the position of the French fleet, it struck him, that where there was room for an enemy's ship to swim, there was room for one of ours to anchor. Having explained to his captains his mode of attack, and given them the general instruction, first "to gain the victory—and then to make the best possible use of it;" the engagement commenced at six o'clock in the evening of the first of August. As soon as some of our van ships approached the small island of Bequieres, the Alert French ship began to execute the orders of Admiral Brueix, which were, to stand towards the British ships until nearly within gun shot, and then to manœuvre so as best to draw them towards the outer shoal lying off that island; but the British Admiral escaped this decoy, and hauled well round all the danger. On this island of Bequieres the French had established two batteries, but their distance rendered them useless. As our squadron advanced, the enemy opened a steady fire from the starboard side of the whole line, full into the bows of our ships; and at twenty-eight minutes past six, p. m. the French hoisted their colours. Captain Foley, who led the British van in the Goliath, had long conceived, that if the enemy were moored in line of battle in with the land, the best plan of attack would be to lead between them and the shore, because the French guns on that side were not likely to be manned, nor were ready for action; acting upon this plan of attack, he darted a-head of the enemy's foremost ship, Le Guerrier, doubled her larboard side, and having poured a destructive fire into the Frenchman, moved on to the Conquerant, whom he charged with tremendous fury, and in ten minutes shot away her masts: next followed the Zealous, Captain Hood, which attacked the Guerrier, on the side next the shore, and in twelve minutes, totally disabled her: third proceeded the Orion, Sir James Saumarez, and took her station between the enemy's fifth and sixth ships: the Theseus, Captain Miller, following the same example, encountered the third ship of enemy: the Audacious, Captain Gould, moved round to the fifth: then advanced the Vanguard, carrying the heroic Nelson, and his no less heroic Captain Berry, and anchored on the outside of the enemy's third ship, with six colours flying in his rigging, lest they should be shot away. Having veered half a cable, he instantly opened a tremendous fire; under cover of which the other four ships of his division, the Minotaur, Bellerophon, Defence, and Majestic, sailed on a-head of the Admiral. In a few minutes every man stationed at the first six guns, in the fore part of the Vanguard's deck, was killed or wounded; and three times in succession did the destructive fire of the enemy sweep away the seamen that served these guns. Captain Louis, in the Minotaur, nobly supported his friend and commander, and anchoring next a-head of the Vanguard, took off the fire of the Aquilon, the fourth in the French line. The Defence, Captain Peyton, took her station, with great judgment a-head of the Minotaur, and engaged the Franklin, of 80 guns, the sixth ship of the enemy on the starboard bow, which ship bore the flag of Admiral Blanquet de Chelard, the second in command. Thus, by the masterly seamanship of the British commanders, nine of our ships were so disposed as to bear their force upon six of the enemy. The seventh of the French line was the Orient, the Admiral's ship, a vessel of immense size, bearing one hundred and twenty guns: this stupendous adversary was undertaken by the Bellerophon, Captain Darby; while the Majestic, Captain Westcott, who engaged the Heu-

* "You will be told," observes Buonaparte, in a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of Egypt, after the surrender of Alexandria, "that I come to destroy your religion. Do not believe it. Be assured that I come to restore your rights, to punish usurpers, and that I reverence more than the Mamelukes themselves, God, his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran. If Egypt be their farm, let them show the lease that God has given them of it. There were formerly among you great cities, great canals, and a great commerce. What has destroyed them all? What but the injustice and tyranny of the Mamelukes? "Cadis, sheiks, imans, and tchisbadjees, inform the people that we are the friends of the Mussulmans." In a visit to the pyramid of Cheops, on the 13th of August, in the company of the principal muftis and imans of the city of Grand Cairo, he used the following expressions:—"Glory to Allah! There is no God but God; Mahomet is the prophet, and I am his friend."——"The divine Koran is the delight of my soul, and the object of my contemplation. I love the prophet, and I hope ere long to see and honour his tomb in the holy city: but my mission is first to exterminate the Mamelukes."——"Adriel, the angel of death has breathed upon them; we are come and they have disappeared."——"Be faithful to Allah, the sovereign ruler of the seven marvellous heavens, and to Mahomet his prophet, who traversed all the celestial mansions in one night. Be the friend of the Franks, and Allah, Mahomet, and the Franks will recompense you."

reux,

reux, the ninth ship on the starboard bow, received also at the same time the fire of the Tonnant, which was the eighth in the line. The other four ships of the British squadron having been detached previously to the discovery of the French, were at a considerable distance when the action commenced, and the shades of night began to close in upon them before they reached the scene of action. Captain Troubridge, in the Culloden, took the lead of these ships. As he came on sounding, the increased darkness of the night had greatly increased the difficulties of the navigation; and suddenly, after having found eleven feet water, before the lead could be hove again, he was fast a-ground, on the tail of the shoal of Bequieres, nor could all his own exertions, united to those of Captain Thompson, in the Leander, and Captain Hardy, in the Mutine brig, both of which came to his assistance, get him off in time to share in the danger and the glory of the action. It was, however, some satisfaction to the mortified spirit of Captain Troubridge, that his ship served as a beacon to the Alexander and Swiftsure, which must, else, from the course they were holding, have gone considerably further on the reef, and would inevitably have been lost. These ships, after escaping the peril to which they had been exposed, entered the bay, and took their stations, enveloped in darkness, as was the whole fleet, in a manner that is remembered with general admiration. At this juncture the Bellerophon, overpowered by the huge Orient, her lights extinguished, nearly two hundred of her crew killed or wounded, and all her masts and cables shot away, was drifting out of the line, towards the lee side of the bay, when the Swiftsure, which at first mistook her for a ship of the enemy, but was soon undeceived, came up, and taking her station, opened a steady fire on the quarter of the Franklin, and the bows of the French Admiral. At the same instant, Captain Ball, with the Alexander, passed under the stern of the Orient, and anchoring within side of his larboard quarter, raked him, and kept up a severe fire of musketry on his decks. The last ship which arrived to complete the destruction of the enemy was the Leander, Captain Thompson, who took his station in such a position as to rake both the Franklin and the Orient.

The conflict was now carried on in the darkness of the night, and the only light to guide the operations of the fleets was derived from the flashes of their cannon. The two first ships of the French line had been dismasted, within a quarter of an hour from the commencement of the action, and others had suffered so severely that victory was already certain—its extent was the only remaining question. The third, fourth, and fifth ships of the enemy were taken possession of at half-past eight. While the battle raged with its utmost fury, the British Admiral received a wound in the head, from a piece of langridge shot, which cut a large flap of the skin of the forehead from the bone, and, falling over his only remaining eye, left him in total darkness. Captain Berry, on whom the command of the ship during the remainder of the action devolved, was standing near his Admiral when he received this dreadful wound, and caught him in his arms as he was falling. The great effusion of blood occasioned an apprehension that the wound would be mortal: Nelson himself thought so; and on being taken down into the cock-pit, he called his chaplain to deliver his dying remembrances to Lady Nelson; but the surgeon, on examining the wound, pronounced it to be merely superficial, and the gloom which had taken possession of the whole crew, under the agonizing apprehension of the loss of their commander, was dissipated and turned into expressions of joy. The French Admiral Brueix, who sustained the honour of his flag with undiminished firmness, and had been three times wounded during the present engagement, without quitting his station, now received a shot, which almost cut him in two: still he remained upon the deck, and this hero, so well worthy of a better fate, survived his last wound only a quarter of an hour. Soon after nine o'clock, the Orient struck her colours and appeared in flames. The fire spread with astonishing rapidity. By the prodigious light of this conflagration, the situation of the two fleets could now be distinctly seen from the towers of Rosetta, a distance of thirty miles.—Finding it impossible to extinguish the flames, those who had escaped death in battle, endeavoured to save themselves by plunging into the sea. About ten o'clock, the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion, which was succeeded by a silence not less awful. The firing, as by common consent, instantly ceased on both sides, and the first sound which broke the portentous stillness, was the dash of the shattered masts and yards falling into the water from the vast height to which they had been cast by the explosion. About seventy of the crew of the Orient were saved by the English boats, and among the many hundreds who perished, were the Commodore Casa Bianca and his son, a brave and intelligent boy about ten years of age: they were for a time seen in the water, on the wreck of the Orient's masts, seeking each other, when the ship blew up, and put an end to their hopes and their fears. The Orient had on board money to the amount of six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

After a lapse of about ten minutes, the fire re-commenced with the ships to the leeward of the centre, and continued without intermission till three o'clock the next morning. It then grew very faint till about five, when it was resumed with redoubled fury; but it was, on the enemy's part, the resistance, not of hope, but of despair. At day break, the Guillaume Tell, and the Genereux, the two rear ships of the enemy, were the only French ships of the line that had their colours flying, and in the forenoon they cut their cables and stood out to sea, taking along with them two frigates. The Zealous, worthy of her name, instantly commenced the pursuit, but as there was no other ship in a condition to support Captain Hood, he was recalled. The firing continued in the bay with some intermission till two o'clock in the afternoon, when it entirely ceased. As soon as the Admiral thought the victory secure, he issued the following order:—"Almighty God having blessed his Majesty's arms with victory, the Admiral intends returning public thanks for the same, at two o'clock this day, and he recommends every ship doing the same."

During the action,* thousands of the worshippers of

* The following were the respective Lines of Battle:—

ENGLISH.

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
1 Culloden,	Captain Troubridge,	74	590
2 Theseus,	Captain Miller,	74	590
3 Alexander,	Captain Ball,	74	590
4 Vanguard,	Rear-adm. Sir H. Nelson, Captain Berry,	74	595
5 Minotaur,	Captain Louis,	74	640
6 Leander,	Captain Thompson,	50	343
7 Swiftsure,	Captain Hallowell,	74	590
8 Audacious,	Captain Gould,	74	590
9 Defence,	Captain J. Peyton,	74	590
10 Zealous,	Captain Hood,	74	590
11 Orion,	Captain Sir J. Saumarez,	74	590
12 Goliath,	Captain Foley,	74	590
13 Majestic,	Captain Westcott,	74	590
14 Bellerophon,	Captain Darby,	74	590

La Mutine Brig, T. M. Hardy.

FRENCH.

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
1 Le Guerrier,	*(taken)*	74	700
2 Le Conquerant,	*(taken)*	74	700
3 Le Spartiate,	*(taken)*	74	700
4 L'Aquilon,	*(taken)*	74	700
5 Le Souverain Peuple,	*(taken)*	74	700
6 Le Franklin,	Rear-admiral Blanquet, *(taken)*	80	800
7 L'Orient,	Admiral Brueix, commander in chief, Captain Casa Bianca. *(burnt)*	120	1010
8 Le Tonnant,	*(taken)*	80	800
9 L'Heureux,	*(taken)*	74	700
10 Le Timoleon,	*(burnt)*	74	700
11 Le Mercure,	*(taken)*	74	700
12 Le Guillaume Tell,	Rear-admiral Villeneuve *(escaped)*	80	800
13 Le Genereux,	*(escaped)*	74	700
	FRIGATES.		
1 Le Diane,	*(escaped)*	48	300
2 Le Justice,	*(escaped)*	44	300
3 L'Artemise,	*(burnt)*	36	250
4 La Serieuse,	*(dismasted and sunk)*	36	250

Mahomet lined the shores of Egypt, and for the three successive nights the whole coast and the adjacent country were illuminated in honour of the victory.—Thus ended an engagement which will ever rank amongst the most distinguished victories in the naval annals of the world—"Victory," said Nelson, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene—it was a Conquest." The result was, that out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the Admiral's ship of one hundred and twenty guns, and the Timoleon of seventy-four were burnt; while two eighty gun-ships, and seven seventy-fours were captured; and it was the firm persuasion of the British Admiral, that had he been more amply provided with frigates, all the enemy's transports and smaller vessels in the harbour would have shared the fate of the ships of the line. This deficiency of frigates he deeply regretted, and in his usual forcible way of expressing himself, said—"Should I die at the present moment, 'Want of frigates' would be found written on my heart." The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to eight hundred and ninety-five. Of the French three thousand one hundred and five, including the wounded, went on shore by cartel, and five thousand two hundred and twenty-five perished!—constituting a loss, during that glorious, but fatal night, of upwards of five hundred human beings an hour! One British officer of the rank of captain only fell; this was the brave Captain Westcott, who was killed early in the action, and whose place was supplied with great gallantry and skill by his Lieutenant, afterwards appointed, Captain Cuthbert.*

The sensation of this victory was felt over all Europe, and even to the distant shores of India; but it was at Radstadt where the effect became the most evident.† The deputation of the empire had already agreed to a plan of indemnities, by means of which, forty-four of the secular and ecclesiastical states were to make immense sacrifices to obtain peace; but the attack on Switzerland and Rome, and the expedition of Buonaparte into Egypt, joined to the opposition he had there encountered, and the recent disaster of the French navy, rendered a new contest on the Continent unavoidable.—At this juncture too, and, partly from the same causes, the Turks declared war against France; and Russia, under the government of the Emperor Paul, became an efficient member of the new coalition preparing against the French nation. This alliance was strengthened rather by the activity than the power of the King of Naples, who, after issuing a declaration of war against the republic on the 22d of November, put his army in motion against the French on the 23d of that month, and on the 29th succeeded in making himself master of the Roman capital.—But this success was of short duration, for on the 15th of December, the Neapolitan troops sustained a signal defeat at Civita Castillana.—This disaster was followed by the immediate evacuation of Rome, and such was the hard fate of Ferdinand IV. that, on the last day of the year, he was obliged to abdicate all his continental dominions, and to take refuge on board an English man of war.

It is now proper to advert to the affairs of Ireland.—It had some time been evident, that a dark and dangerous connection was carrying on between the heads of the society of United Irishmen and the French government, which a short time matured into a treasonable conspiracy, and which had for its aim nothing less than the subversion of the government of Ireland, and the entire dissolution of its connection with the sister kingdom. It is due, however, to the catholics, to observe, that the conspirators were by no means exclusively of that community; and that, reform, and catholic emancipation, were, by the leaders of the mal-contents, used rather to entrap the unwary, than as the true object of those under whose banners the great mass of the disaffected were preparing to shed their blood, and to sacrifice every enjoyment, personal and domestic. So early as the year 1794, the French government had sent an agent, a clergyman of the established church of England, and a native of Ireland, into these kingdoms, to acquire intelligence; and Jackson, the agent of the republic, at first took up his residence at the house of a British merchant, of the name of Stone, at Old-ford, near London. Finding, however, that the project of an invasion of England was hopeless, he repaired to Ireland, whence he carried on a correspondence with his friend, the English merchant; but they were both soon afterwards apprehended, and tried on a charge of high treason; when Stone was pronounced not guilty; but Jackson was convicted, and at the moment when sentence of death was about to be passed upon him, he fell down suddenly, and expired in the court. The conviction of Jackson served as an intimation to Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, a barrister-at-law, and the reputed founder of the society of United Irishmen, to abscond to France, along with Mr. Hamilton Rowan, and some other distinguished members of that dangerous association. In 1795, soon after the departure of Earl Fitzwilliam from Ireland, the society of United Irishmen received an important accession of men of talents and influence, among whom are to be enumerated, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, late a member of the Irish Parliament; the nephew and presumptive heir of Lord Longueville; Dr. M'Nevin, chairman of the catholic committee; Mr. Oliver Bond, an opulent Dublin merchant; and Mr. Emmet, a barrister.—About the close of that year, a regular communication was opened by the leaders of the society, with the French Directory, through the medium of

* The victory of the 1st and 2d of August was celebrated throughout England with bonfires and illuminations. His Majesty conferred the dignity of Baron of Great Britain, with a pension of three thousand a year, on the Admiral, who was called to the House of Peers, by the style and dignity of Baron Nelson of the Nile. The Grand Signior also transmitted a superb diamond chelengk, or plume of triumph, taken from one of the imperial turbans, and the King of Naples, at a latter period, granted the title of Duke of Bronte, with an estate in Sicily. Captains Berry and Thompson received the honour of knighthood, and the other commanders were presented with gold medals. The Turkish Sultan sent a purse of two thousand sequins to be distributed amongst the wounded, and the English nation did themselves the honour to raise by public subscription a much larger sum for the widows and children of those who perished in the action.

† In England, this year, during the spring, an expedition was fitted out against Maritime Flanders, for the express purpose of blowing up the bason, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal, as well as destroying the internal navigation, by means of which, transport-schuyts, instead of risking a sea voyage, were enabled to keep up an internal intercourse between Holland, France, and Flanders.—An armament accordingly sailed for the purpose, from Margate roads, on the 18th of May, under Captain (now Sir Home) Popham, with a body of troops, consisting of twelve hundred men, commanded by Major-General Coote. On the arrival of the expedition before Ostend, the necessary preparations were made for a descent, and while the Woolvereen, Asp, and Biter, returned the fire of the batteries, the Hecla and Tartarus bombs threw their shells with so much rapidity and precision, that the town was set on fire in several places, and the shipping did not escape without damage. On the 19th, a landing was effected to the north west, without opposition, and as soon as the soldiers had formed, they proceeded to burn several boats, demolish the sluice-gates, and effect a grand explosion, by which it was intended to destroy a great national work, which had cost the states of Bruges an immense sum of money, and had not been completed with a labour of five years. Thus having, as was supposed, rendered the Bruges canal unserviceable, the commander-in-chief attempted about noon to return on board the shipping, but he soon discovered that the wind was so high, and the surf so much increased, that the attempt was impracticable. Upon this it was deemed proper to occupy a position upon the sand hills, at a little distance from the beach, and by way of gaining time, the governor of Ostend was summoned to surrender; but this fate was unhappily reserved for the invaders themselves, as that officer found means in the course of the night to assemble a great force, with which he hemmed in the English early in the morning, and all resistance being in vain, they surrendered, after a gallant defence, in the course of which, Major-General Coote himself was wounded. Captain Popham endeavoured without effect to obtain an exchange of prisoners, and it appears at first to have been the intention of the French government to oblige the British troops to labour at the reparation of the works they had destroyed; but it was found on inspection, that the damage was but trifling, every thing being in a short time restored to its former state.

In the month of November, a small armament was dispatched against Minorca, under the command of Admiral Duckworth, and General Stuart. After a short and feeble resistance, the garrison surrendered to the British force, which did not sustain the loss of a single man.

The British government, finding that no portion of the island of St. Domingo could be restrained without immense sacrifices, instructed Major-General Maitland to agree with Toussaint L'Ouverture, now Commander-in-Chief in that colony, where he had formerly been a slave, to leave the island, on condition that he would guarantee the lives and property of all the inhabitants who might choose to remain; and these conditions being readily accepted, the British force sailed from the island on the 9th of May.

Mr. Tone and other Irish refugees; and early, in the following year, a proposition was received from the French government, and accepted by the secret committee of the society of United Irishmen, to send over an army to Ireland to assist in the projected effort to subvert the monarchy, and to separate Ireland from her British connection. The first agents of the insurgents demanded from France any number of troops not more than ten nor less than five thousand; but the French shewed a decided inclination, to send an army sufficient to conquer and to retain possession of the country—fifty or sixty thousand at least. Three armaments, one from Spain, a second from France, and a third from Holland, were destined to sail for the coast of Ireland, in the same year; but the defeat of the Spanish fleet by Earl St. Vincent, and that of the Batavian fleet by Lord Duncan, entirely disconcerted this plan of invasion. These disasters by no means discouraged the insurgents, who had their expectations buoyed up by an assurance, on the part of the French Directory, that such succours as circumstances would admit should arrive in Ireland from France, in the month of April, or May, 1798. At the commencement of this year, a grand effort was resolved upon:—In the month of February, a military commission was appointed by the executive council of the insurgents, and nocturnal assemblies were held in various parts of the kingdom, where the people were trained to the use of arms, to be directed in open warfare against government. At the same time, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, one of the pretended Executive Directory, repaired to London with an intention of proceeding to France, in company with one Binns, a very active member of the London Corresponding Society, James Quigley, an Irish priest, and two attendants of the names of Allen and Leary. Attempts had been recently made, with some success, to form a society of United Englishmen, on the model of the United Irish, and Quigley and Binns were the chief promoters of this design. In and about the town of Manchester only, the association had extended itself to no fewer than eighty divisions, containing from fifteen to thirty-six members each, and an association of the same nature was also established in Scotland, both of them maintaining an intimate intercourse with the original Corresponding Society in London, and acting upon the system marked out by the affiliated societies of Ireland. Government having received accurate intelligence relative to the motions and designs of O'Connor and his associates, these conspirators were taken into custody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a passage to France, on the 28th of February. After being confined some time in the Tower, they were removed to Maidstone, where they were tried by a special commission, on the 21st and 22d of May, two days before the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland; and Quigley, on whose person was found a paper, purporting to be an address "from the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France," was capitally convicted; and such was his devotion to the principles he had espoused, that he died with heroic fortitude, in what he considered the cause of his country. No evidence appearing against Allen and Leary, they were immediately set at liberty; but O'Connor and Binns, notwithstanding their acquittal, were detained on another charge of high-treason, preferred against them by the British government. After the proclamation of many districts in the southern and midland counties, the imprisonment and transportation of several persons implicated in the conspiracy, and other acts of power, a very severe wound was inflicted, on the 12th of March, upon the union, by the arrest of the thirteen members composing the provincial committee of Leinster, with other principals of the conspiracy, at the House of Mr. Oliver Bond, in Dublin. This arrest was grounded on the information of Thomas Reynolds, a Roman Catholic gentleman, of Kilkea Castle, in the county of Kildare, colonel of a regiment of United Irishmen, treasurer of the county in which he resided, and provincial delegate for Leinster. In these arrests were included the most active and efficient leaders of the union, and among others, Thomas Eddis Emmet, Doctor William James M'Niven, and Oliver Bond.

At the same time, a warrant was issued against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and a thousand pounds offered for his apprehension; but his Lordship for some time eluded the vigilance of the police, and remained for several weeks concealed in the city of Dublin. At length, however, he was discovered, on the 19th of May, in the House of Nicholas Murphy, a merchant, in Thomas-street, Dublin, in consequence of a hint given by Murphy's servant maid to a military suitor. On the police officers entering the room, the infatuated nobleman made a desperate, but hopeless effort to effect his escape, in which he wounded Mr. Justice Swan and Captain Ryan dangerously—the latter mortally; and was himself so desperately wounded in the shoulder by the shot of a pistol from Major Sirr, that, after languishing till the third of the following month, he died in extreme agony. This young nobleman, who was brother to the Duke of Leinster, and married to a French Lady of the royal blood of the Capets, a daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, was eminently qualified for the excitement and direction of revolutionary commotions, being a man of daring courage, a most active spirit, considerable powers of mind, and of a family highly respected for its ancient greatness by the lower classes of the Irish—the loss of such a man to the insurgent cause, and at such a juncture, cannot be estimated. The vacancies created in the directorial and other departments, by these arrests, were supplied without difficulty, but with men much less fit for the arduous task of overturning a settled government. Among the members of the new Directory were two brothers, of the name of Sheares, barristers by profession, and, politics apart, of unsullied reputation. To these new Directors, a government agent of the name of Captain Armstrong found ready access, and by a shew of great zeal in the cause, he had the address to obtain the confidence of the leaders, from whom he learned, "that a general rising must immediately take place; that the impatience of the people since the criminal prosecutions could no longer be restrained; and that it was become necessary to make a great and immediate national effort, and to relinquish the original plan of waiting for French succours." The project proposed was to seize the camp of Loughlin's-town, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin, all on the night of the 23d of May: and it was further determined, that a simultaneous rising should take place at Cork. On the 21st of that month, however, the two brothers John and Henry Sheares, with some others of the principal conspirators, were apprehended; the city and county of Dublin were declared by the Lord-Lieutenant and council to be in a state of insurrection; the guards at the castle, and at all the great objects of attack, were trebled; and the whole city was in fact converted into a garrison. Amongst the precautions taken on this occasion by government, was the augmentation of the several corps of armed yeomanry, a species of force that was first embodied in the month of October, 1796, in a kind of independent companies. These yeomanry corps were each composed of about fifty men, mostly cavalry, with a much smaller body of infantry attached to them, and were generally commanded by a captain and two lieutenants; the infantry being armed like a regular army, and the cavalry furnished with a pistol and sword each, to which sometimes a carbine was added. In six months from their first establishment, the numbers increased to thirty-seven thousand; and during the rebellion the yeomanry force exceeded fifty thousand.*

Of the means accumulated by the disaffected for carrying

* In 1759, under the administration of the Duke of Bedford, an alarming spirit of insurrection appeared in the south of Ireland, which manifested itself by numerous and frequent risings of the lower class of Roman Catholics, dressed in white uniforms, whence they were

rying their revolutionary enterprises into effect, some estimate may be made from the following facts: a paper, in his own hand writing, was given by Lord Edward Fitzgerald to Mr. Reynolds, the informer, which purported to be a return made by a national committee meeting, held the 26th of February, 1798, and from which it appeared, that the number of armed men in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, amounted to two hundred and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and ninety-six! and that the sum of 1485*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* was in the hands of the treasurer. Another return made by a meeting of Colonels, held on the 28th of March, 1798, reported, that their adherents, even among the King's troops, were in the proportion of one in every three, and that the insurgents were in sufficient force to disarm all the military within the bounds of their own counties. That the armoury of the rebel force was at one time most extensive cannot be doubted, when it is stated, that the following number of arms was seized by the different general officers in the year 1797, in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster alone; guns, 49,109—bayonets, 1,756—pistols, 4,463—swords, 4,183—blunderbusses, 248—musket-barrels, 119—sword-blades, 106—ordnance, 22—pikes, 70,630—exclusive of many arms seized or surrendered, which are not included in this return. In the same year, 14,973 pikes were surrendered in the county of Kildare alone, in consequence of the pardon offered by government to the repentant. And, in Dublin, on the 11th of May, 1798, five pieces of cannon, and five hundred pike-handles, were seized.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie having been appointed on the 12th of December, 1797, commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, his first step in the discharge of his public duty was to make a tour of observation throughout the island. The excesses committed by the military in the provinces called down the General's severe reprehension, and on his return to the capital, he caused it to be notified in general orders, "That the irregularities of the troops in Ireland had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy." The General, after the publication of his general orders, and under the influence of the observations he had made in his recent view of the country, endeavoured to impress the minds of those in power with his own opinions, that coercive measures to the extent determined upon were by no means necessary in Ireland. But not having succeeded in producing the effect he intended by these representations, and unwilling to tarnish his military fame, or to risk the loss of his humane and manly character, by leading troops to scenes of civil desolation, he resigned the chief command of the army in Ireland on the 29th of April, 1798, after holding that appointment little more than four months, and was succeeded by General Lake. In the month of March, orders were issued to the army by the Lord-Lieutenant, to proceed into the disturbed counties; and a manifesto, dated from head-quarters at Kildare, was on the 3d of the ensuing month addressed to the inhabitants, requiring them to surrender their arms in the space of ten days from the notice, on pain of large bodies of troops being distributed among them to live at free quarters; promising at the same time rewards to such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition, but denouncing exemplary severities if the country should continue in a disturbed state. On the advance of the military into the other counties, a similar notice was given to the inhabitants, and the troops in the county of Kildare, and part of those in the counties of Carlow and Wicklow, were quartered in the houses of the disaffected or suspected, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability of the owners. Great numbers of houses with their furniture were burnt, where concealed arms were found, or whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or other illegal practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Many irregularities were of course committed by common soldiers, without the approbation or knowledge of their officers, and many other acts of severity by persons not in the army—some from an unfeigned zeal for the service of the crown, and others to promote sinister purposes, or to gratify a spirit of personal animosity.

It now became evident, that nothing short of one of those tremendous convulsions, which shake states to their centre, could clear the political atmosphere of Ireland. The rebel chiefs had decided on open war, and the 23d of May was the day appointed for the general rising of the country.

Subsequently to the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the command of the rebel army devolved upon Mr. Samuel Neilson, who meditated an attack upon Newgate, in the city of Dublin, for the purpose of rescuing Lord Edward. With this view he assembled, at a house in Church-Lane, fifteen of the insurgent Colonels, on the night of the 22d of May, and having produced a map of the city, he assigned to each of them the post which they and their regiments were to occupy. In this operation Neilson was to have been seconded by a large body of rebels, headed by a chief of the name of Seagrave, by whose division a constant fire was to be kept up in front of the prison, while another party scaled the walls in a different quarter. Having carried the prison, the vice-regal residence, usually called the castle, was marked out as the next object of attack. This edifice was to be assailed in front and rear by different parties, while a select band was to ascend by ladders into the apartments of the principal members of government, and to secure their persons. Nor was it intended that the insurrection should be confined merely to the metropolis; the plan embraced the whole kingdom, and the signal for the general rising was to be the stoppage of the mail

were denominated "White Boys." The alledged object of these illegal proceedings, was, to prevent the inclosures of commons, the extortions of tythe proctors, and the exorbitant fees exacted by their own clergy. As soon as the excesses committed by these disturbers of the public peace had begun to subside, two rival factions arose, in 1784, and became distinguished by the names of "Defenders," and "Peep-of-day boys." These associations, originating, in a violent quarrel between two obscure individuals, soon assumed a religious distinction, and as the Roman Catholics, or Defenders, shewed uncommon zeal in collecting arms, the presbyterians, or peep-of-day-boys, began to disarm them, by visiting the houses of their antagonists at an early hour in the morning, when they often committed the most wanton outrages. The excesses on both sides at length became so intolerable, that it was found necessary to interpose the strong arm of the law. In the autumn and winter of 1792, so many barbarous outrages were committed by the defenders, whose numbers had enabled them to triumph over their adversaries, that, at the spring assizes in the county of Louth, in 1793, twenty-one defenders were sentenced to die, twenty-five to be transported, twelve to be imprisoned a certain time, for having conspired to murder different persons, thirteen indicted for murder traversed their trials, and bench warrants were issued against eighty other offenders who had all absconded. Nor were the crimes or the punishments all confined to one party, for at the assizes of Armagh, in the year 1795, three defenders, and two peep-of-day-boys, were all tried before Baron Power, and being convicted of the crimes laid in the indictment, his Lordship awarded against the whole number the punishment of death, which was promptly executed. The society of United Irishmen, which for some time was quite of a civil nature, is represented as having commenced in the spring of 1792, and as formed on the suggestion of Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone. The organization of this society was completed in Ulster, on the 10th of May, 1795; and it was not till the autumn of the following year, when Catholic emancipation and a reform in Parliament, the ostensible wish of all, were regarded as not otherwise attainable than by force, that the association began to assume a military form. Such, however, was its rapid progress, that in April, 1797, the number of men in Ulster alone, enrolled for insurrection, amounted to nearly one hundred thousand, provided, some with fire-arms, others with pikes, a store of ammunition, and a number of cannon. The spring of action with the defenders was religious animosity. The main object of the United Irishmen, when they became an organized military body, was, to combine all sects and parties in an alliance for the purpose of overturning the existing government. About the period when the society of United Irishmen began to assume a military character, another community arose, the object of which was declared to be "the preservation of public order, of the existing system of government, and the protection of all persons who conduct themselves with loyalty, without regard to difference of religion." Between the United Irishmen and this society, which was founded by the protestants of Armagh, in the year 1795, and took its name from William III. Prince of Orange, the zealous supporter of the reformed religion in Ireland, mortal animosities almost instantly arose; and, for some time previously to the breaking out of the rebellion, both parties had disgraced themselves by the commission of the most dreadful excesses.

coaches. This part of the project was indeed carried into effect, for, on the 23d, the Belfast mail coach was detained and burnt at Santry, the Cork mail at Naas, and that travelling in the direction of Athlone, at Lucan; but the rebels, not satisfied with detaining the Limerick mail, barbarously murdered both the guard and coachman near the Curragh of Kildare. Early in the morning of the 23d, all the yeomen in the city, amounting to about 3,500, and the few military in the garrison, were ordered by General Lake to repair to the respective alarm posts, while the Lord Mayor, Alderman Thomas Fleming, placed the city of Cork militia, with two battalion guns, at the north side of Stephen's green. It fortunately happened, that the royal canal and the grand canal, each fifty feet broad, and twelve feet deep, formed a complete fortification on the north and south sides of the city, and all the bridges of the city being occupied by military, the communication with the disaffected from without was in a considerable degree cut off.

This operation was not however carried into complete effect, as nearly 3000 men entered the city to the north, on the evening of the 23d, for the purpose of joining the insurgents. A large body of rebels, armed with pikes and muskets, assembled in Eccles-street, and its environs, as well as in various other parts of the city, and great numbers were advancing towards Dublin, with an intention of rushing into the city, as soon as the insurgents had carried the castle. At this crisis, Neilson, the rebel chief, was apprehended in the streets, by Mr. Gregg, after a desperate struggle; and on their leader being committed to prison, several thousand rebels, who were waiting with impatience the signal of attack, dispersed in various directions. By this means, the city was saved from the horrors of the impending struggle, for it appeared, on the evidence of two united Irishmen, that they were waiting for the orders of Neilson to rise in arms that night, with some thousands of the disaffected, to liberate the prisoners in Newgate and Kilmainham, and to surprise the castle and the city.—On the information of the same men, a great quantity of pikes were discovered, together with a travelling forge, on which was inscribed a disloyal and inflammatory motto. The plan of the rebels was, it appeared, to assemble by beat of drum; and it is well known, observes Sir Richard Musgrave, in his Memoirs of the Rebellion, "That, in another hour, the fate of the city and its loyal inhabitants would have been decided; for the mass of the people, armed with pikes and other weapons, were lurking in lanes and bye-places, ready to start forth on the first beat of their drums, and would have occupied all the streets, and assassinated the yeomen, before they could have reached their respective stations."—On the night of the 23d, and during the following day, several skirmishes were fought in the counties adjoining the seat of government, and the towns of Naas, Clane, Prosperous, Ballymore, Eustace, and Kilcullen, were attacked by the insurgent force; and Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monastereven, had to withstand similar assaults on the two following days. These feeble and unconnected efforts were not countenanced by a general rising; for Ulster, in which province alone 150,000 United Irishmen are said to have been enrolled and mustered, declined the contest, in consequence of the unpromising state of their affairs; and the progress of rebellion, unsanctioned even by the formality of a manifesto, had hitherto rather resembled the capricious freaks of a discontented mob, than the united efforts of a large portion of the nation.* War being openly commenced by the conspirators, the Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation on the 24th, giving notice that orders were conveyed to all his Majesty's general officers in Ireland, to punish according to martial law, by death or otherwise, all persons acting or in any manner assisting in the rebellion. The day following presented an opportunity for carrying into effect these heavy denunciations. On the 24th of May, an unusually large assemblage of the insurgents in the neighbourhood of Carlow, forty miles south-west of Dublin, indicated that an attack upon that place had been decided upon. On the 25th, the garrison, consisting of about four hundred and fifty, regular and militia force, under the command of Colonel Mahon, was attacked at two o'clock, by a body of the insurgents, amounting to 1000 or 1500 men. The rebels had assembled at the house of Sir Edward Crosbie, a mile and a half from Carlow, and on their advance into the town, they received so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled, and endeavoured to retreat, but finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, which being immediately fired by the soldiery, they met a miserable fate. About eighty houses were consumed in the conflagration, and for some days the roasted remains of human beings were falling down the chimnies, in which many of them had perished. The total loss of the rebels, on this occasion, could not be estimated at fewer than five hundred, while not an individual on the side of the loyalists was even wounded. After the defeat, the executions commenced, and about two hundred of the insurgents were hanged or shot.

While, by the successful operations of the loyalists, the communication was laid open between the various parts of the kingdom and the capital, which had for some days actually sustained a species of blockade, an insurrection burst out in a part of the kingdom where it was least expected, and in a few days the county of Wexford was in a flame. On the night of the 26th of May, the standard of rebellion was hoisted between Gorey and Wexford, and Father John Murphy, a Romish priest, of Boulavogue, placed himself at the head of the insurgents. Unfortunately, government, influenced by the representations of Earl Mountnorris, had not placed more than six hundred troops in the county of Wexford. On the 27th of May, being Whit-Sunday, two large bodies of the insurgents, both men and women, were collected, one on the hill of Oulart, mid-way between Gorey and Wexford, the other on Kilthomas-Hill, an inferior ridge of Slyieve-Bevee mountain, about nine miles west of Gorey. On the morning of the 27th, a body of yeomen, not exceeding three hundred, attacked the insurgents on the hill of Kilthomas, amounting to from two to three thousand, and commanded by Michael Murphy, another Romish priest. The infantry of the loyalist army, flanked at a considerable distance by the cavalry, advanced intrepidly up the hill, when the rebel force, notwithstanding their superior numbers, became panic-struck, and retreated in disorder, leaving one hundred and fifty of their companions dead on the field. The assailants, not satisfied with a victory so honourable to their skill and courage, tarnished the laurels of the day, by burning two Romish chapels, and about one hundred cabins and farm-houses, belonging to persons of that community, in their line of march. Very different from the battle of Kilthomas was the result of another action fought on the same day, on the hill of Oulart, and where Father John Murphy commanded in person. The insurgents, finding their retreat cut off, attacked their opponents with an impetuosity that overthrew all opposition, and so successful were their efforts, that a whole picked detachment of 110 men, from the North Cork militia was slain, with the exception of Colonel Foote and four of his men; while the loss of the rebels

* The insurrection prevailed principally in the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, Carlow, and Wexford, in the province of Leinster, and to the south of Dublin. Maynooth, Clane, Prosperous, and Naas, all in the county of Kildare, are none of them at a greater distance than 17 miles from the metropolis. Tinehaly and Arklow, in the adjoining county of Wicklow, are each about 35 miles from Dublin. Continuing the route southward, Hacketstown, Carlow, and Tullow, in the county of Carlow, are all within about 40 miles of that city. And passing into the still more southern county of Wexford, the principal seat of insurrectionary warfare, Gorey, in the N. E. and Newtownbarry or Buncludy, in the N. W. are each about 45 miles S. of Dublin, and 15 miles N. of Enniscorthy, which latter place, situated in the centre of the county of Wexford, at the western base of Vinegar-hill, is 58 miles S. of Dublin, 15 miles N. E of New Ross, and 11 miles N. of Wexford, where the standard of insurrection was so long unfurled. Wexford, the shire town of the county of that name, is 3 miles to the E. of the rebel station of Three Rocks, 19 miles E. of New Ross, and 67 miles S. of Dublin.

was only three men killed and six wounded. Father John marched from Oulart, flushed with victory. Passing through Camolin and Ferns, his force advanced to Enniscorthy, and that place was attacked about one o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, the 28th of May, by a rebel force amounting to seven thousand, of which about eight hundred were armed with muskets. Victory, which fluctuated for three hours, at length took her stand in the rebel ranks, and the military having no cannon to support them, were at length so completely overpowered as to be driven to the necessity of sounding a retreat. On this occasion, the loss of the garrison, including volunteers, amounted to about ninety. The loss of the rebels is differently estimated, but the probability is that at least three hundred of them fell.

On the part of the insurgent force, the next movement was to Vinegar hill, near Enniscorthy. While they halted at this place on the 29th, Mr. John Henry Colclough, of Battyteig, and Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, who, with Mr. Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, of Bargycastle, had previously been committed by the loyalists to the prison at Wexford, on suspicion of having favoured the rebel cause, were dispatched with a commission to endeavour to prevail on them to disperse. This unpromising mission entirely failed; and Mr. Colclough was ordered to return to Wexford, while Mr. Fitzgerald was detained by the enemy. So prompt were the rebels in their movements, that before the evening of the same day, their advanced guard was pushed forward to Three Rocks, within three miles of Wexford, and fixed upon that eminence as one of their future military stations. On the approach of the enemy, the consternation of the inhabitants of Wexford became extreme: suspicion haunted every bosom; and as a measure of precaution, orders were issued to extinguish all the fires, even those of the bakers, and to unroof all the thatched houses in the town, to prevent the incendiary operations of the disaffected. In this extremity, multitudes repaired for refuge on board the ships in the harbour; the shops were all shut, and many of the affrighted inhabitants sought security in flight. The military force at this time in Wexford consisted of three hundred of the North Cork militia, commanded by Colonel Foote; two hundred of the Donegal militia, under Colonel Maxwell; and five troops of yeomen cavalry; which, with two hundred armed inhabitants, principally Roman Catholics, amounted in the whole to about twelve hundred men. The command of this force devolved upon Colonel Watson, of the Shilmalier cavalry, who had formerly filled the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, and who discharged the arduous duties of his present situation with activity and skill.

The whole of the 29th was employed in preparation for the expected attack of the rebel force, amounting in number to at least fifteen thousand men, and now assembled at the Three Rocks station. In the course of the evening of that day, it was announced to the garrison, that General Fawcett was marching to Wexford from the fort of Duncannon, and that his arrival with a strong reinforcement of troops might be hourly expected. The General, having arrived in the night at Taghmon, pushed forward a detachment of eighty-eight men, including eighteen of the artillery with a howitzer, under the command of Captain Adams, of the Meath militia; but this detachment was unfortunately intercepted on the morning of the 30th, near the camp at Three Rocks, and after a sharp engagement, in which a majority of their number was killed, the survivors with their howitzer, fell into the hands of the enemy. The General, who had halted at Taghmon, on receiving the account of this disastrous affair, retreated precipitately towards Duncannon. The defeat of this detachment, and the subsequent retreat of the force under General Fawcett, remained unknown to the troops in Wexford for several hours; and Colonel Maxwell, acting upon the supposition that the General would be able to take the rebels in the rear, while he attacked them in front, sallied forth from the town on the morning of the 30th, taking with him the principal part of the regular force at that time in the garrison: but this operation proved altogether unsuccessful, and the Colonel was glad to secure his retreat, with the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Watson killed, and two privates wounded. On the return of the military from this unfortunate enterprise, a council of war was hastily assembled, at which it was determined to evacuate the town, and Mr. Counsellor Richards and his brother were appointed to proceed to the enemy's camp, for the purpose of informing their chiefs that the town would be surrendered into their hands without further resistance, on condition that the persons and property of the inhabitants should be respected. In the mean time the military, without apprising the inhabitants of their intention, had commenced their retreat, taking the route for Duncannon fort; and the insurgents, after some further parley, poured into the town over the wooden bridge by thousands, shouting, and exhibiting every mark of extravagant exultation. Their first step was to proceed to the prison, whence they instantly liberated Mr. Harvey, and insisted that he should become their commander. The inhabitants, rendered hospitable by their fears, entertained the rebels with great profusion, and every house in the town, not previously deserted, soon became decorated with green. After various scenes of disorder naturally attendant on such an occasion, parties were dispatched in boats to bring on shore all the men, arms, and ammunition, they could find in the ships and other vessels in the harbour. Among the persons brought on shore was Mr. John Boyd, the brother of Captain James Boyd. This unfortunate gentleman being immediately recognized, he was piked upon the beach; and a butcher of the name of George Sparrow, who had in some way rendered himself obnoxious to these sanguinary wretches, shared the same fate.

The inhabitants of Wexford enjoyed a temporary repose on the night of the 30th, which passed in comparative tranquillity; but early on the morning of the 31st, the streets were again crowded, and the confusion and plunder of the preceding day re-commenced. After much intreaty, the insurgent force was induced to move out of the town and encamp on Windmill-hills, where they divided into two bodies. After the main body had quitted the town, however, there remained a kind of rebel authority in the place, which assumed the office of supplying the camps, and issuing proclamations. The office of military commander was confided to Captain Keugh; and each of the wards had a company of guards, who performed the garrison duty of the place, and held a regular morning and evening parade.

By this time, the insurrection had become general throughout the country, except where the people were kept down by the presence of the military: all the forges, both in town and country, were in consequence continually employed in fabricating pike-blades; and timber of every description, fit for handles, was procured for that purpose. Four oyster smacks were fitted out in the harbour, and manned with five-and-twenty men each, to cruise off the bay, and to bring in vessels laden with provisions, to supply the markets, which were totally deserted by the farmers. All specie seemed to have vanished during the insurrection, and bank notes were held in such low estimation, that great quantities of them were destroyed in lighting tobacco-pipes, and in wadding for fire-locks. So much indeed was the value of paper money depreciated, and of specie advanced, that a pound of beef was regularly sold in the market of Wexford for one penny in cash, when a bank note of the nominal value of twenty shillings would not purchase the same weight of that commodity. Whilst the southern part of the county of Wexford was in this horrible state of commotion, the northern baronies towards Gorey were all frightfully agitated. On the morning of the 1st of June, the beautiful little town of Bunclody, three miles north-west of Enniscorthy, was attacked by a detachment of rebels, from the camp at Vinegar-hill, amounting to about five thousand in number, and commanded by Father Kern, a man of extraordinary stature, strength, and ferocity. The garrison, consisted of about five hundred, of whom three hundred

were militia, under Colonel Lestrange, of the King's county regiment. After a sharp engagement, during which the loyalists were at one time obliged to quit the town, the rebels were at length defeated, with a loss of about two hundred slain, while the loss on the side of the victors amounted only to two privates. This victory was of no small importance, as a different result would have opened a way for the Wexford rebels into the county of Carlow, the rising of whose inhabitants to co-operate with those of Wicklow and Kildare, already in arms, must have given great embarassment to government.

Whilst one division of the Wexfordian army, under Father John Murphy, were prosecuting their victorious career in the north; the other division, under Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, advanced to the west for the purpose of attacking New Ross, and took up their station on Carrickbyrne-hill, within six miles of that place. From Carrickbyrne they advanced on the 4th of June to Corbet-hill, an eminence about a mile and a half from Ross, and formed on its summit with some appearance of regularity. But the capture of the town was an object of considerable difficulty, as the garrison, which was commanded by Major-General Johnson, consisted of twelve hundred effective men, exclusive of one hundred and fifty yeomen, who had been for some time prepared for the attack, and were all judiciously stationed. About five o'clock in the morning of the 5th, 30,000 insurgents advanced against the town, in an irregular manner, uttering hideous yells: of this motley phalanx about one-fourth part was armed with muskets, and the remainder with pikes, in addition to four small field-pieces, and a few swivels. The rebels having marched up to the place with great bravery, drove in the advanced guard, and took possession of the alarm post. The first onset was furious, but they were repulsed at the Three-bullet gate, and charged with impetuosity by a detachment of the fifth dragoons: they, however, instantly rallied, and seized on a piece of artillery which they immediately turned against the troops. Having succeeded in this enterprise, they entered the town in great force, and, notwithstanding cannon were planted at the cross lanes, so as to sweep the streets as they advanced, such were the weight and impetuosity of the column formed by the assailants, that the main body of the garrison, overpowered by numbers, and intimidated also perhaps by the late successes of the rebels, fled over the bridge with great precipitation, to the right bank of the Barrow, taking the road to Kilkenny. The commanding officer, who had served during the war on the Trans-atlantic continent, indignant at beholding the success of the revolters, and the sudden panic of his own troops, rode up to the fugitives, and demanded if they meant to forsake their leader and their country? Being received with three cheers, he placed himself at their head, and advanced towards the Three-bullet gate, where a post was still maintained by the English. Having thus re-animated his men, he advanced against the dissipated column of the enemy; and that nothing might be wanting to secure the fortune of the day, he contrived to turn their rear, at the same time manning the trenches on the outside so far as to prevent the arrival of reinforcements. The assailants, who had not improved their first advantage, were now dispersed and overcome; and as raw troops can never be rallied, they retreated with the utmost speed, first to Corbet, and then to Carrickbyrne-hills, leaving 2,600 dead behind them. Lord Mountjoy, Colonel of the Dublin militia, fell in the first onset, and in the course of the battle, which was of ten hours duration, one ensign, four sergeants, and eighty-four of the King's troops, were killed, and one captain, and fifty-seven men, wounded.*

The army under Father Michael Murphy advanced to the attack of Arklow, on the 9th of June, the first day in which that post had been prepared for defence. Their numbers amounted to from 20,000 to 30,000 men, of whom nearly 5,000 were armed with guns; the rest being principally armed with pikes, exhibited, in some points of view, as they advanced to the attack, the appearance of a moving forest. This army was supported by two six-pounders, formerly taken from the regulars, and preceded by an advanced guard composed of horse and foot. The attack, which commenced at four o'clock in the afternoon, and continued for upwards of two hours, was fierce and irregular; but the steady continuance and incessant fire of the troops, together with the destruction occasioned by the cannon, rendered all their efforts abortive, and they were never able to penetrate into the place. One body was soon defeated, and charged by the cavalry under Colonel Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, who appears to have given no quarter; but the other, which had advanced to the side of the Charter School, and was led by the rebel chief, made a number of successive but abortive attacks on a barricade, whence they were driven by showers of musquetry and grape shot. At length Father Michael, after haranguing his followers, advanced with a standard on which a cross had been emblazoned, but though he had represented himself to be invulnerable, he was killed by a cannon shot; on which his troops instantly dispersed, and retreated, about eight o'clock at night, in a disorderly manner, towards Coolgrency.† This battle, though not altogether the most bloody, was perhaps the most important of the revolutionary war, since it probably decided the fate of Ireland. As the rebels were not pursued, their loss was not accurately ascertained, but it could not amount to less than three or four hundred, while the loss of the Durham fencibles, under Colonel Skerret, which supported the weight of the action, was only twenty privates killed and wounded. After the defeat of the rebels at Arklow, the insurgent army, now under the command of General Byrne, and anxiously awaiting the long promised succours from France, retreated to Limerick-hill, where they meditated an attack on Hacketstown, but the approach of General Lake compelled them to abandon that design, and to commence their retreat, on the 20th, for Vinegar-hill. The army under General Needham moved from Arklow to Gorey, on the 19th, and from thence towards Enniscorthy, on the 20th, for the purpose of co-operating with others of his Majesty's forces in a plan formed by General Lake, for surrounding the rebel station at Vinegar-hill. For this purpose different armies moved at the same time, from various quarters—that under Lieutenant-General Dundas, from Baltinglass; another under Majors-General Sir James Duff, and Loftus, from Tullow; that from Arklow, under General Needham, and a fourth from Ross, under Majors-General Johnson and Eustace. The march of the army from Ross served to surprise the rebel bands under Father Philip Roche, on Lacken-hill, who fled in the utmost confusion on the approach of the King's troops, leaving their tents, and a great quantity of plunder. This army separated into two bodies, one of which directed its march to Wexford, and the other to Vinegar-hill, where the Wexfordian insurgents were concentrating their force. This famous

* Some dastardly rebels, who had not dared to hazard their persons in the battle, turned their fury against objects equally void of criminality, and incapable of resistance. During the encampment of the rebels at Carrickbyrne-hill, a party of them were posted at Scullabogue, within half a mile of the camp, where a barn, thirty-four feet long, and fifteen feet wide, had been converted into a gaol for the confinement of their prisoners. In this horrible receptacle were immured 184 prisoners, Catholics and Protestants, but chiefly of the Protestant persuasion. When the rebel army began to give way at Ross, an express was sent, to put the prisoners to death. This sanguinary mandate, John Murphy, the Captain of the rebel guard, refusing to obey, it was repeated again and again; till at length the rebels set fire to the barn, while the wretched prisoners, consisting of men, women, and children, shrieking and crying out for mercy, crowded to the back door of their prison, which they forced open for the purpose of admitting air, or of effecting their escape; but the merciless assassins, some of whom continued to feed the flames by casting straw and other combustible matter into the barn, piked or shot the victims as they appeared in succession at the door; till at length their moans and cries gradually subsided in the silence of death, and every soul in the prison perished.

† This ecclesiastical chief had been supposed by his followers to be proof against all kinds of weapons, and even to be impervious to cannon shot. To favour this delusion, he frequently exhibited musket-balls, which he said he caught in his hands, as they flew from the guns of the enemy!

eminence,

eminence, with the town of Enniscorthy, at its foot, and the country for many miles in circumference, had been in possession of the rebels ever since the 28th of May, during which period, continual apprehension of death had attended the hapless loyalists, who had not succeeded in effecting their escape. The army commanded to march from different quarters, to surround the rebel post at Vinegar-hill, consisted, in the whole, of a force amounting to about 13,000 effective men, with a formidable train of artillery. With such a strength, judiciously directed, the whole insurgent army, estimated at 20,000, might have been taken or destroyed. The troops being divided into four distinct columns, advanced, early in the morning of the 21st, against the insurgents, while a fifth, under General Johnson, having carried the town of Enniscorthy, scaled the heights in different directions. But notwithstanding these formidable preparations, the revolters were enabled, from the strength of their position, to defend the line, during an hour and a half, and it was not till they were out-flanked, and nearly surrounded, that they gave way, leaving behind them thirteen light field-pieces. The slaughter was immense; for no quarter seems to have been given upon this occasion; and those who escaped the musket, when overtaken, perished by the bayonet; whilst the King's troops had not above one hundred either killed or wounded. The action was less bloody than might have been supposed, as the troops under General Needham, being unable to reach the position assigned them, left an opening through which the rebels retreated, and which from that circumstance was ludicrously called "Needham's gap." Through this opening an immense column retreated by the east side of the Slaney, part of which entered Wexford; while another, and more numerous detachment, headed by the chiefs, Murphy and Roche, reached the Three Rocks, and having held a hasty council of war, marched across the mountains to the county of Kilkenny. The town of Wexford was relieved on the same day as Enniscorthy. Brigadier-General Moore, whose troops had on the preceding day fought, and vanquished a rebel force of five or six thousand men at Goffs-bridge, near Horetown, received, on the morning of the 21st, a proposal from the inhabitants of Wexford to surrender the town, and to return to their allegiance, provided he would guarantee their lives and property. This proposal General Moore felt it his duty to transmit to General Lake, and marching directly for Wexford, he stationed his army within a mile of that place. The loyalists of Wexford, like those of Enniscorthy, had, since the fall of that place into the hands of the insurgents, been in a state of incessant apprehension and suffering.*

The Wexford insurgents, in the hope that their offer of surrender would be acceded to by General Lake, and conscious that it was impossible to oppose any effectual resistance to the overwhelming force brought against them, liberated Lord Kingsborough, (vide preceding note) and on the 21st, surrendered the town into his hands. Contrary to their hopes, General Lake insisted upon the unconditional surrender of the place, and in his answer to the proposal of the 21st, informed the inhabitants, that no terms could be granted to rebels in arms against their sovereign.

On the evacuation of the town by the main body of rebels, part of them, under Messrs. Fitzgerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, passed over the bridge to the eastern side of the river Slaney, and the rest, under Father Philip Roche, in an opposite direction, into the barony of Forth.†

The body of rebels which had retreated from Vinegar hill, and penetrated into the county of Kilkenny by the Scullagh gap, which separates the counties of Carlow and Wexford, burnt the village of Killedmond, and proceeded to Goresbridge, under the command of Father John Murphy, of Boulavogue. Having advanced in column, they were opposed by Lieutenant Dixon, who was posted there with a party, chiefly composed of dragoons; but he was at length obliged to retreat, as they had brought a swivel, and several pieces of cannon, to bear on his post, which he in vain endeavoured to maintain against such an overwhelming disparity of force. But their success was of short duration, for they were pursued by General Dunn and Sir Charles Asgill, and totally defeated, on the 26th of June, at Kilcomney-hill, with a loss of from two to three hundred slain, and ten light pieces of cannon taken, with seven hundred horses, and all the rest of their plunder. Murphy, the commander-in-chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken soon after, and being conducted to the head-quarters of General Sir James Duff, at Tullow, was hanged the same day, and his head placed on the market-house.

In the south, the spirit of rebellion was now happily approaching to its termination; and in the north, this revolutionary contest never exhibited a very formidable shape, for the disaffected Protestants in that quarter, shocked at the enormities perpetrated, and the intolerance displayed, and scandalized by the pretended miracles wrought by the blood-stained priests, Roche and Murphy, determined to resist the seduction. They indeed found means to keep possession of Antrim for a few days, though, on being attacked with cannon and musquetry, on the 7th of June, they were driven out of the town, with the loss of about two hundred slain, but not till Lord O'Neill, who commanded a regiment of Irish militia, had been mortally wounded. They were also re-

* Of this description of persons two hundred and sixty were confined in the gaol and other places of imprisonment, while the rest were prisoners in their own houses, under perpetual dread of being shot, piked, or famished. Several of the leaders of the rebellion exerted their utmost endeavours to prevent violence being offered to the prisoners, but there were others of their number that instigated, rather than restrained the sanguinary disposition of the rabble. Of the latter description appears to have been Thomas Dixon, (the brother-in-law of General Edward Roche) who, from a Captain of a trading vessel, had become a chief in the rebel army. During the occupation of the town by the revolters, a general slaughter of the prisoners was twice attempted in vain by this monster. Persisting in his bloody design, and choosing a moment of extreme agitation for its accomplishment, he contrived, on the 20th of June, to set on foot a great massacre. The prisoners being brought from the prison, were led to slaughter in successive tallies, surrounded by a guard of inhuman butchers; and preceded to the place of execution by a black flag, marked with a white cross, where they were put to death by various means, but principally by four men at once, who standing two before, and two behind each victim, thrust their pikes into his body, and elevating him from the ground, held him writhing in the air, till all signs of life were extinguished.—Some of the prisoners were slaughtered at the gaol, and others at the market-house, but the great butchery was on the bridge—a magnificent wooden fabric, ill adapted for such a hideous exhibition. This horrible spectacle was, it is said, regarded by a multitude of wretches assembled on the occasion, the greater part women, as a gratifying sight, and the congregated multitudes rent the air with shouts of exultation on each fresh arrival of victims at the fatal spot! The slaughter, which had commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon, continued till seven o'clock at night, when ninety-seven men had been deliberately massacred, and the news had arrived that the post of Vinegar-hill had been carried by the King's troops. Father Curran having in vain

† While the loyalists of Wexford were rejoicing in their deliverance, a most tragic scene was acting in Gorey. On the 20th of June, a party of the Gorey cavalry, about seventeen in number, on their return home to that place, in resentment for the injury the town had suffered, killed about fifty men, whom they found in their houses, or straggling home from the rebel army. On the 22d, a body of about five hundred rebels, retreating from Wexford, and directing their march to the mountains of Wicklow, on hearing of this slaughter, and being informed of the weakness of the party by whom it was perpetrated, determined on vengeance. With this view they marched towards Gorey, where a smart skirmish took place, which terminated in favour of the rebels, who, in pursuing the military, overtook a number of refugees flying from the place, and slaughtered thirty-seven of them upon the road, exclusive of some others who were dreadfully wounded but afterwards recovered. On this sanguinary day, which is yet remembered in Gorey, under the designation of Bloody Friday, no women or children were injured, because, as the rebels, who affected to act on a system of retaliation, said, no women or children had, on the 20th, been hurt by the loyalists.

supplicated the assassins to desist, commanded them to pray before they proceeded further in this work of death; and when he had thus brought them to their knees, he ordered them to cry, "O God! shew to us the same mercy that we shew to these surviving prisoners!" Lord Kingsborough, Colonel of the North Cork regiment of militia, who had been taken prisoner in the harbour of Wexford at the breaking out of the rebellion, and detained ever since, narrowly escaped from swelling the number of the victims, through the endeavours of Dr. Caulfield, the Romish Bishop. The only charge urged by Dixon and his bloody associates, against the objects of their diabolical fury, was, that they were orangemen, and the proof of their guilt rested upon the evidence of two wretches, of the names of Jackson and O'Connor, who were themselves confined in the gaol at Wexford, and became informers to save their own lives.

pulsed

pulsed in an ill-concerted attack on Carrickfergus; and at Ballynahinch, where they had determined to make a stand with six thousand men, under Munroe, the northern chief, they received a total overthrow. On the subsiding of this minor rebellion, in Ulster, another local rising took place in Munster, much inferior in vigour, and much more easily suppressed than that in the north. The principal action took place in the county of Cork, on the 19th of June, near the village of Ballynascarty. At this place, a division of two hundred and twenty men of the West Meath militia, provided with two six-pounders, and commanded by Sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Cloghnakilty to Bandon, by a body of about three or four hundred rebels in ambush, principally armed with pikes. After a smart engagement, during which the rebels were joined by two reinforcements, and the West Meath militia by about one hundred men of the Caithness legion, the assailants dispersed, with a loss of from fifty to one hundred men, while the loyalists lost only a sergeant, and one private.

The insurgent chiefs, Fitzgerald and Byrne, at length surrendered to Generals Dundas and Moore; and this sanguinary insurrection, which broke out on the 23d of May, and raged with intense fury till the 22d of the following month, was finally extinguished on the 12th of July.

Dublin, having escaped the horrors of insurrection, now became the theatre of public justice. The first person brought to trial was a rebel chief of the name of Bacon, in an extensive line of business, in the metropolis, and of the protestant persuasion. He was apprehended on the 2d of June, disguised as a female, and proceeding in a chaise to the country to join the insurgents. Being found guilty of high treason, he was executed on the 14th, on the same scaffold with Lieutenant Esmond, a Roman Catholic, convicted of heading the rebel forces. Henry and John Sheares, the sons of a banker at Cork, and educated for the bar, were condemned on the clearest evidence, and executed in the front of Newgate. The trial of John M'Cann, Secretary to the provincial committee of Leinster, followed on the 17th of July, and he suffered with Michael William Byrne, delegate for the county committee of Wicklow. Oliver Bond, a man of considerable fortune, and one of the principal conspirators, at whose house the Leinster delegates had been arrested on the 12th of March, was arraigned for high treason on the 23d of July, and his trial continued till seven o'clock on the morning of the 24th, when he was convicted. These trials were all by jury; but in Wexford, and other parts of the country, the more summary tribunals of courts-martial were resorted to. On the 25th of June, Matthew Keugh, the rebel governor of Wexford; the Rev. Philip Roche, the general; and seven others having been previously tried and convicted, were brought to the bridge at Wexford, and executed. Among the persons who suffered for high treason on the same bridge, were Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, John Henry Colclough, and Cornelius Grogan. Grogan died possessed of an estate of eight thousand a year. In the town of Wexford alone, not fewer than sixty-five persons were executed for the crimes of rebellion and murder.

The Marquis Cornwallis, having been appointed to succeed Earl Camden, in the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, made his entrance into the capital of that country, on the 20th of June. On the 3d of July, a proclamation from the new viceroy appeared in the Dublin Gazette, authorizing his Majesty's generals to afford protection to such insurgents as, having been simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance. To give the full sanction of law to this measure of consummate wisdom, a message was delivered from his excellency to the Irish Parliament, on the 17th of July, on which was grounded an act of amnesty to all, who, not being leaders, had not committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle, and who should comply with the conditions of the proclamation. This act was followed by a treaty between the government and the chiefs of the United Irishmen, negociated by Mr. Counsellor Dobbs, a member of the House of Commons, bearing date the 29th of July, and expressed in the following terms:—"That the undersigned state prisoners, in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen; and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever; and that, they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not to pass into an enemy's country;—if, on so doing, they are to be freed from prosecution: and also Mr. Oliver Bond, (then under sentence of death) be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope, that the benefit of this proposal may be extended to such persons in custody as may chuse to benefit by it."

Some of the rebel chiefs who had hitherto remained in arms, among whom was Aylmer, now surrendered their persons. Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Eddis Emmett, Dr. M'Nevin, Samuel Neilson, and other principals of the conspiracy, gave details on oath, in their examinations before the secret committees of the two Houses of Parliament; from which it appeared, that the rebellion originated in a system, formed, not with a view of obtaining either Catholic emancipation, or any reform compatible with the existence of the constitution, but for the purpose of subverting the government, separating Ireland from Great Britain, and forming a democratic republic; that the means resorted to for the attainment of these designs was a secret systematic combination, fitted to attract the multitude, and artfully linked and connected together, with a view of forming the mass of the lower ranks into a revolutionary force, acting in concert, and moving as one body, at the impulse, and under the direction of their leaders; that, for the further accomplishment of their object, the leaders of the conspiracy entered into a negociation in 1796, and finally concluded an alliance with the French Directory, in the summer of the same year, by which it was stipulated, that an adequate force should be sent for the invasion of Ireland, as subsidiary to the preparations that were making for a general insurrection; that, in pursuance of this design, measures were adopted by the chiefs of the conspiracy for giving to their societies a military form; that, for arming their adherents, they had recourse to the fabrication of pikes; that, from the vigorous and summary expedients resorted to by government, and the consequent exertions of the military, the leaders found themselves reduced to the alternative of immediate insurrection, or, of being deprived of the means on which they relied for effecting their purpose; and that, to this cause was to be attributed the premature breaking out of the rebellion, and probably its ultimate failure.

The principal prisoners, however, being found to abuse the lenity of government, by secretly labouring to revive the expiring flame of rebellion, were not liberated, but sent to Fort George, in the north of Scotland, where they continued in confinement till the conclusion of the war. They were then permitted to enjoy their liberty, on condition of withdrawing from his Majesty's dominions. Oliver Bond died, by a stroke of apoplexy, in prison.

Robberies and assassinations, would probably have ceased on the granting of protections, if some desperate marauders, reinforced by deserters from several regiments of Irish militia, had not remained in arms in the mountains of Wicklow, and the dwarf woods of Killaughrim, near Enniscorthy. These Banditti continued for many months to infest those parts of the country; but, after a little time, the woods, being scoured by the army, were cleared of their predatory inhabitants, who had ludicrously styled themselves

"The Babes in the Wood." The party in the Wicklow mountains continued under two chiefs of the name of Holt and Hacket, to annoy the country for a longer time, and in a more formidable degree, till a principle of retaliation was resorted to by the yeomen.*

Hitherto, the French Directory had contemplated the progress of the civil war in Ireland in perfect tranquillity; but, at a period when the arts of peace began once more to be cultivated, an expedition under General Humbert, consisting of 1030 privates, and 70 officers, embarked from Rochelle, in three frigates, and landing on the 22d of August, in the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, took up their head-quarters at the bishop's palace. Although a green flag was erected, accompanied by the emblem of a harp, incircled with the motto of "Erin go Bragh"—Ireland for ever, but few of the peasantry could be prevailed on to join the invaders, and of those few, scarcely an individual of any note was of the number.

Having left a small garrison under Colonel Charost behind him at Killala, to keep up the communication, and receive supplies, General Humbert clothed and armed all those who repaired to his standard, and immediately marched towards Castlebar. Advancing through Barnahgecby, instead of Foxford, he experienced no obstacle in his route from Ballina. The army collected at Castlebar, under General Lake, whom the Lord-Lieutenant had appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Connaught, consisted of from two to three thousand regular troops. Although Humbert relied chiefly for success on his own troops, yet, being desirous to magnify the appearance of his little army, he dressed up a number of the natives in uniforms, and afterwards contrived to post his new levies on the flanks, in such a manner as to protect his column from the fire of the enemy. The field of battle to which he advanced, on the morning of the 27th, consisted of a hill, at the north-west extremity of the town, where the English forces were drawn up in two lines, which crowned its summit; a small reserve was stationed in the rear, in a valley; and two curricle, and some battalion guns, were posted in front, and commanded a rising ground, over which the enemy must necessarily pass. About eight o'clock in the morning, the French, with their native allies, were seen advancing in column, driving a number of cattle before them to divert the fire of the artillery, which was extremely well served. Humbert, after reconnoitering, halted under cover of a rising ground, and pushed forward a body of his best marksmen, who advanced rapidly, and occupied some hedges in front, where they extended themselves, with a view of out-flanking the adversary. By an unfortunate precipitancy, the fire of the English lines, instead of being reserved, was expended before it could be available—a mistake of which the enemy taking advantage, rushed forward with his main body, and the sharp-shooters evincing a design to penetrate into the rear, the detachment posted for the purpose of supporting the guns retired in a panic, and abandoned their charge to the enemy. The Earls of Ormond, Longford, and Granard, endeavoured to rally their men, and they so far succeeded as to impede the progress of the assailants, but they were pursued with alacrity, and the royal Irish artillery, who had gallantly defended the bridge by means of a single gun, were at length charged by the horse, and nearly cut off.

The loss sustained by the British army upon this occasion has been vaguely estimated at five hundred men, and fourteen pieces of cannon, including four curricle guns; and the suspicion of disaffection among part of the troops, served to aggravate the disaster. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded exceeded two hundred. Castlebar, a place of some importance, on account of its situation, now became the head-quarters of the invaders, and a number of deserters from the Irish militia regiments, chiefly actuated by the hopes of a booty, joined this force; but to the honour of the French commander, he acquired the odium of many of his new allies, by his scrupulous regard to the lives and property of individuals. The British force, after the defeat of Castlebar, retreated the same night to Tuam, a distance of thirty miles from the scene of action, whence they proceeded towards Athlone.

Aware of the danger that might arise to the country, from the presence of an invading army, Lord Cornwallis came to the determination to take the field in person. He accordingly quitted Dublin on the 24th of August, and advancing by the way of the Grand Canal, through Philipstown and Kilbeggan, arrived on the 28th at Athlone, in the county of Westmeath, having performed a march of eighty English miles in little more than three days. Here he received the unwelcome intelligence of the defeat of his Majesty's forces under General Lake, on the 27th, and after a halt of two days, he proceeded, in the direction of Holly-mount, where he arrived on the 4th of September.

General Humbert, hoping to obtain succours, quitted Castlebar on the morning of the 4th, and moved with his whole force in the direction of Sligo. Finding his march impeded by the force under Colonel Crawford, and General Lake, on his rear, he relinquished his design on Sligo, and, after a number of skirmishes, arrived on the 8th, at Ballynamuck, so closely followed, that his rear-guard was unable to break down the bridge at Ballintra. The Marquis Cornwallis, on finding that the invader had quitted Castlebar, measured back his march from Holly-mount, and repassing the Shannon at Carrick, marched by Mohill to St. Johns-town, in the county of Longford, to intercept the enemy in front. By these skilful movements, the French General found his forces surrounded by a British army, amounting to upwards of 20,000 men. The rear-guard, consisting of about 200 infantry, being attacked by Colonel Crawford, was obliged to surrender.

The remainder of the troops under Humbert, continued to defend themselves for about half an hour; when, on the appearance of the main body of General Lake's army, they all surrendered, prisoners of war. The rebel auxiliaries, now accumulated to about 1,500, who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and about 500 of their number were slain in the pursuit, exclusive of about one hundred taken prisoners, among whom were found Teeling, Blake, and Roach, three of their chiefs. The number of French troops who surrendered on this occasion, amounted to 96 officers, and 748 non-commissioned officers and privates; having sustained a loss of 288, since their first landing at Killala. The quantity of ordnance, arms, and ammunition, taken this day, was officially stated at three light four pounders; five ammunition waggons, nearly full; one tumbril; 700 stand of arms, with belts and pouches,

* It would be difficult to estimate, with any degree of accuracy, the detriment sustained by the country from the rebellion; but some data are afforded in this inquiry, from the conflagrations that took place in the different towns, and from the compensation claimed by one class of sufferers: the towns of Carnew, Tinealy, Hacketstown, Donard, Blesington, and Kiledmond, were all destroyed by fire; in Ross, about three hundred houses, mostly those of the labouring classes, were consumed, and the greater part of Enniscorthy was laid in ashes. Such was the desolation committed in the towns, while a vast number of cabins, farm houses, and gentlemen's seats, were destroyed in the open country. By a message delivered to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, on the 17th of July, it was proposed to afford compensation to the suffering loyalists, on their claims being duly verified before commissioners; and an act of Parliament soon after passed, for giving to this measure of justice and humanity the force of law. Under this act, the claims of the loyalists alone amounted to upwards of one million pounds sterling! a sum of great magnitude, but it is supposed not equal to more than one third of the entire property destroyed by this ruinous conspiracy. Though the point has never been ascertained, how many rebels were in arms at any one time during the rebellion, it is generally believed, that the number of men at the posts of the Three Rocks, Lacken-hill, Vinegar-bill, and Gorey, amounted in the early part of the month of June, to 50,000, of whom four-fifths at least were Wexfordians; and to these may be added, about 20,000 assembled about the same period in the provinces of Ulster and Munster. That the number of human beings sacrificed was immense, may be supposed from the well known facts, that the male population in the county of Wexford and Wicklow experienced a very perceptible diminution; and that, during this sanguinary contest, 68 loyalists were massacred in the latter, and 450 in the former county, exclusive of the numbers that fell in battle.

and a great number of pikes: and the loss of the King's forces, was only three privates killed; twelve wounded, among whom was Lieutenant Stephens, of the carabineers; and three missing. Most of the towns which had fallen into the hands of the rebels, were about this time recovered, but Ballina and Killala still remained in their possession.

Previously to the march of General Humbert from Castlebar, on the 4th of September, he had called in all his forces, with the exception of three officers left at Killala, and one at Ballina, in command of the rebel garrisons at those places. At length, on the 22d of September, thirty-one days after the landing of the French army in Ireland, and fourteen days after its capture at Ballynamuck, the King's forces arrived at Ballina, and obliged the garrison to retreat to Killala. On the 23d, a large body of troops, under Major-General Trench, arrived at Killala; and "the peaceful inhabitants," says an eye-witness, "were now to be spectators of a scene they had never expected to behold—a battle! a sight which no person who has seen it once, and possesses the feelings of a human creature, would choose to witness a second time. A troop of fugitives in full race from Ballina—women and children tumbling over one another to get into the castle, (the bishop's residence,) or into any house in the town, where they might hope for momentary shelter—continued, for a painful length of time, to give notice of the approach of an army. The rebels quitted their camp to occupy the rising ground close by the town, on the road to Ballina, posting themselves under the low stone walls on each side, in such a manner as enabled them, with great advantage, to take aim at the King's troops; yet (strange to tell!) they were able only to kill one man, a corporal, and wound one common soldier. They had a strong guard also on the other side of the town towards Foxford, having probably received intelligence, which was true, that General Trench had divided his forces at Crosmalina, and sent one part of them by a detour of three miles, to intercept the fugitives that might take that course in their flight. The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about 1200 men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the rebels could not be ascertained; many ran away after the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town, in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers, on horseback, running upon death with as little appearance of reflection or concern as if they were hastening to a show. About 400 of these misguided men fell in battle, and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured, that their entire number scarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred. The French officers thought it their duty to lead the rebels, as many as they could bring forward, to the onset, though they were sure it was in vain. A regiment of highlanders (Fraser's fencibles) filed off to the right and left, to flank the fusileers behind the hedges and walls; they had a hard marshy ground on their left to surmount before they could come up with their object, which occasioned some delay, but at length they reached them, and made sad havoc among them. After a resistance of about twenty minutes, the rebels began to fly in all directions, and were pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry into the town in full cry. A considerable number were cut down in the streets, and of the remainder, but a few were able to escape into the Houses, being either pushed through the town till they fell in with the Kerry regiment, from Crosmalina, or obliged to take to the shore, where it winds round a promontory, forming one of the horns of the bay of Killala. And here too the fugitives were swept away by scores, a cannon being placed at the opposite part of the bay, which did great execution. A flying rebel having burst through the door of Mr. William Kirkwood, the magistrate, followed by six or seven soldiers, they poured a volley of musquetry after him, that proved fatal to Mr. Andrew Kirkwood, a most loyal and respectable citizen, while he was rejoicing at the victory, and in the very act of shouting out 'God save the King.' In spite of the exertions of the General and his officers, the town exhibited almost all the marks of a place taken by storm. Some Houses were perforated like a riddle; most of them had their doors and windows destroyed; the trembling inhabitants scarcely escaped with life, by lying prostrate on the floor, during the battle. Nor was it till the close of the next day, that their ears were relieved from the horrid sounds of muskets discharged every minute at flying and powerless rebels." The courts-martial assembled the day after the battle of Killala, and these tribunals were not dissolved till they had disposed of 185 prisoners. Among the number of the accused was General Bellew, of an ancient Irish family, who had served eighteen years in Germany.*

The French officers taken at Killala, all of whom had conducted themselves with humanity and honour, were sent to Dublin, and thence to London, where three of their number, Charost, Boudet, and Ponson, were, on the favourable report of Dr. Stock, the Bishop of Killala, set at liberty, and sent home without exchange. A number of rebel chiefs, and inferior insurgents, were tried and executed at Killala, and in other parts of the country; among whom were two Irishmen by birth, who had been in the military service of France before the invasion, and had come to Ireland in the French fleet. These were Matthew Tone and Bartholomew Teeling, made prisoners at Ballynamuck. These ill-fated men were tried at Dublin barracks, by a military tribunal, and, being found guilty of high treason, were executed, the latter on the 24th of September, and the former a few days afterwards. The little army landed at Killala, had been intended, it appears, only as a van-guard to a much more formidable force, which was in a short time to follow. Providentially for the safety of the British empire, the French government had been as tardy in seconding the operations of Humbert, as they had been in sending succours to the support of the rebel force in the south of Ireland.

The want of money is assigned as the cause of delay in the equipment of the second fleet, and, in the interim, before its appearance on the Irish coast, the Anacreon brig from France arrived at the little island of Rutland, from which were landed three boats full of men, and a number of officers, among whom was James Napper Tandy, one of the Irish emissaries to the French Directory, and who had attained the rank of General of brigade in the French service. This brig was full of arms and accoutrements, and contained a park of artillery; but when the adventurers found that the people, instead of joining them, fled to the mountains, and that the rebellion in Ireland was entirely suppressed, they reembarked, after distributing a number of inflammatory papers, and steered again for the French coast.

Some time afterwards, Napper Tandy, and two other Irish rebels, were apprehended by the agents of Great Britain, at Hamburgh, and conveyed to Ireland, where Tandy was indicted for high treason, in the year 1801, when, having pleaded guilty, by previous arrangement, he was suffered to leave the kingdom, and take up his residence in France. On the 17th of September, the day after General Rey quitted the coast of Ireland in the Anacreon, an expedition, consisting of one ship of the line, eight frigates, a schooner, and a brig, sailed from Brest, with a strong reinforcement, intended to co-operate with the force under General Humbert in Ireland.

Sir John Borlase Warren, who was cruising with seven sail of the line, in the Canada, off Lough Swilly, discovered the enemy's squadron about noon, on the 11th of October, in the N. W. quarter. The Bri-

* This infatuated man, having joined the invaders, was dignified with the pompous title of Generalissimo of all the allies of France, in the district from Ballina to West Port; but it soon became obvious, that his habits of intemperance were so inveterate, as to incapacitate him for all duty, and he was dismissed from the service. He had, however, proceeded so far as to incur the guilt of treason against his sovereign, and being found guilty, he was executed the next morning, along with Mr. Richard Bourke, of Ballina, another of the rebel chiefs.

tish

tish Admiral instantly threw out the signal for a general chase, and gave orders to form in succession as each ship of war reached her antagonist; but, from the great distance, and a hollow sea, it was found impossible to commence the action before the next morning, at which time it was discovered that the enemy's large ship had lost her main-top-mast. Still confident in their own strength, the French squadron bore down and formed a line of battle in close order upon the starboard tack; on which, the Canada threw out a signal for the Robust to lead, and the rest of the ships to form in succession in the rear of the van. An action of three hours and forty minutes ensued, at the end of which period, the enemy's three-decker, which proved to be the Hoche, struck, and three of the frigates following her example, hauled down their colours after a long and gallant resistance. The whole squadron, it appeared, was entirely new, and full of troops, stores, and every other equipment for the support and establishment of the invading force in Ireland. Five of the frigates, the schooner, and the brig, escaped, but three of the former were afterwards captured, and the armament being thus in effect destroyed, the object of the expedition was completely frustrated. Amongst the prisoners taken in the Hoche, was Theobald Wolfe Tone, the projector of the society of United Irishmen, long considered as the most active and able negociator among the Irish fugitives at Paris, and as the great adviser of most of the measures pursued by his rebellious countrymen. He was no sooner landed in Ireland than he was conveyed to Dublin, and put upon his trial by a court-martial, before which he defended himself with considerable ability and firmness, not attempting either to deny or to palliate his offence. The plea on which he rested, was that, of being a denizen of France, and an officer in the service of the republic; but when he found that this defence was unavailing, he requested that he might die like a soldier, and not as a felon: and be shot, according to military usage, rather than hanged. The court, however, did not judge it proper to accede to his request, and the unhappy culprit attempted to escape the ignominy that awaited him by cutting his throat in the prison. The wound was at first supposed not to be mortal, but, after languishing a short time, it terminated his existence. Holt, the last and most intrepid of the rebel chiefs, was glad to obtain the boon of his forfeited life, by exiling himself for ever from his native country.

Thus ended the insurrection in Ireland; in which more than 30,000 lives were sacrificed, and property to the amount of upwards of two millions sterling destroyed.

A. D. 1798.] On the meeting of Parliament, on the 20th of November, the speech from the throne spoke with just exultation of the late splendid triumphs of our navy under Lord Nelson, "which had turned an extravagant enterprise to the confusion of its authors, and afforded an opening which might lead to the general deliverance of Europe." The address moved in the Lords by the Earl of Darnley, and seconded by Lord Craven, was animadverted upon by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who exhorted the ministers "to draw from these victories, so justly celebrated, the advantages they were calculated to secure, and to make them the means of obtaining that most desirable of all objects, a safe and honourable peace."

The question upon the address, however, was carried in both Houses, without a division. On the 11th of December, Mr. Tierney moved, in the Commons, "That it is the duty of his Majesty's ministers to advise him not to enter into any alliance with foreign powers, that may hinder his Majesty from negociating a peace with France, whenever she may be disposed to enter upon a fair and equitable negociation." This motion was negatived. The bill for the renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was the next measure of importance that came under discussion; and it was agreed to, by both Houses, that the suspension should continue till the 21st of May, 1799.

The large and continually increasing expense of the war had induced the minister, in the course of the last session of Parliament, to bring forward for the sanction of the House, a new system of finance; the principle of which was to raise within the year a large proportion of the necessary supplies, which, aided by the operation of the sinking fund, should prevent any material addition being made to the public debt. The tax proposed for this purpose, called the triple assessment tax, was, however, found so inadequate to the purpose proposed, that the minister determined to abandon that unequal and oppressive impost, and to substitute in its stead a tax on income. Accordingly, on the 3d of December, the House having formed itself into a committee, Mr. Pitt rose, and said, that before he proceeded to open to the committee the important subject to which their attention would in the course of the evening be directed, it would be proper to state, that the supplies which would be necessary for the service of the present year, amounted to the sum of thirty-one millions, towards which the usual ways and means would produce six millions one hundred thousand pounds. It remained then to be considered in what way the deficiency should be raised. Here two leading principles occurred for the guidance of the House—either to raise the whole by loan upon the old funding system, or to raise a considerable part of the supplies within the year, upon the principle adopted in the last session of Parliament. Mr. Pitt then proceeded to state his new plan of finance, which was a tax on income. The commissioners, who should be vested with the power of determining upon the rate of every one's income, should be persons of respectable situations in life, removed from any suspicion of partiality; men of integrity and independence, and in case the party was dissatisfied with the decision of these commissioners, another body of commissioners should be formed, to whom an appeal might be carried. The next point for consideration was the mode of contribution that should be adopted. Under this head, it was his intention to propose, that no income under sixty pounds a year should be called upon to contribute, and that the scale of modification, up to two hundred pounds a year, as in the assessed taxes, should be introduced with restrictions. The quota which should then be called for should amount to full a tenth of the contributor's income. The returns to be made by the person assessed, subject to the inspection of a surveyor, who should lay before the commissioners such grounds of doubt as might occur to him on the fairness of the rate at which a party might have assessed himself. The party, however, should not be compelled to answer; his books should not be called for, nor his confidential clerks or agents examined; but, if he declined to submit to the investigation of his books, and the examination of his clerks, it should be competent for the commissioners to fix the assessment, and their decision should be final. In forming a rough estimate of the product of the proposed tax, he should state, on the authority of the board of agriculture, that forty millions of acres of land were at present in cultivation in this kingdom, the average rent of which he should estimate at twelve shillings and sixpence an acre, which would give twenty-five millions a year. In this, as in every other denomination of property, he should propose that every thing under sixty pounds a year should be exempt, and that modifications up to two hundred pounds a year should be admitted, for which he had in his calculation made a deduction of one-fifth. The sums to which the tax of ten per cent would apply would then stand thus:—

	L.
The land rental, after deducting one-fifth he estimated at	20,000,000
The tenant's rental of land, deducting two-thirds of the rack rent, he took at	6,000,000
The amount of the tithes, deducting one-fifth	4,000,000
The produce of mines, canal navigations, &c. deducting one-fifth	3,000,000
The rental of houses, deducting one-fifth	5,000,000
The profits of professions	2,000,000
The rental of Scotland, taking at one-eighth that of England	5,000,000
The income of persons resident in Great Britain, drawn from possessions beyond the seas	5,000,000
The amount of annuities from the public funds, after deducting one-fifth	12,000,000
The profits of the capital employed in our foreign commerce	12,000,000
The profits on the capital employed in our domestic trade, and the profits of skill and industry	28,000,000
	L. 102,000,000

A tax

A tax of ten per cent upon this amount would produce ten millions a year. The House would recollect that the assessed taxes were assigned to the payment of that part of the sum raised for the service of last year, which was not made a permanent debt, and of course this new tax upon income would be substituted in the room of those assessed taxes, and would be made applicable to the same purpose.

Mr. Tierney contended, that, by this bold measure a tenth part of the property of England was put in requisition—a measure which the French had followed in their career of revolutionary rapine, and which the Chancellor of the Exchequer first condemned, and then imitated; and, as a prelude to the project, a general disclosure of property must take place. The scale of taxation was also manifestly inadequate and unjust. If it were right that the scale should rise from sixty pounds to two hundred pounds per annum, why should it not continue to rise from two hundred upwards? The man of two hundred per annum would be deprived of a part of the comforts he possessed, while the man of twenty thousand per annum would still riot in the enjoyment of all his luxuries.

The bill having been committed, and the report brought up, Sir Francis Baring affirmed, that under the veil of secrecy, which covered the commercial returns, the bill would be evaded and frauds committed, beyond any thing it was possible to conceive. But, supposing the bill carried into effect, it was a tax upon industry and upon enterprise. Mr. William Smith declared his decided approbation of the principle of raising the supplies within the year, which could alone preserve the public finances from impending ruin; but the provisions of this bill he deemed in the highest degree exceptionable. By what criterion could it be adjudged fair and honest, to tax, in an equal degree, industry and indolence? A stock-holder, who received five hundred pounds per annum from his capital in the funds, and a shop-keeper of small property, who by active exertions made the same sum in his business, were similarly rated! Even in the funds, proprietors of the long annuities, of perpetual annuities, and of the exchequer annuities, which expire in five years, were, by this sweeping and indiscriminate mode of taxation, placed precisely upon a level. Mr. Pitt, in reply, observed that an hon. gentleman had said, that if two persons had each five hundred pounds per annum, one of whom derived his income from land, and the other from industry, they ought not both to be taxed equally at fifty pounds: but to complain of this inequality was to complain of the distribution of property; it was to complain of the constitution of society. Mr. Pitt concluded with observing, that the consequence of this tax would be to all alike, and that whoever contributed a tenth of his income, under the bill, would have a tenth less to spend, to save, or to accumulate. The House then divided,—for the further consideration of the report, 183; against it 17, —majority, 166. After undergoing several amendments, the bill was passed into a law on the 18th of March, and the 5th of April (1799) was fixed as the time for making the returns. The remaining supplies were to be made up from the new imposts on sugar, coffee, and stamps, aided by the recently imposed convoy-tax. One hundred and twenty thousand seamen and marines, and about 250,000 land forces, of different descriptions, were also voted. A bill to enlarge the time prescribed by an act of the last session, for the redemption of the land tax, and to make certain regulations respecting ecclesiastical property, and the property devised for lives and for long terms, was also carried into a law.

On the 22d of January, a message from the crown was delivered by Mr. Secretary Dundas; expressed in the following terms:—"His Majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of Parliament, and his Majesty recommends it to this House to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating this design, by disposing the Parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in a manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment, as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential to their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire."

This message was taken into discussion on the following day, when Mr. Dundas moved an address, importing that the House would proceed with all due dispatch to the consideration of the several interests recommended to their serious attention in the message. Mr. Sheridan declared, that he was perfectly ready, on this occasion, to give credit to ministers for purity of intention, as they could not be suspected of proposing a measure, which, in their own opinion, tended ultimately to the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. He said, that the object of this message was evidently an Union, though the word itself was not to be found in it. But, did the people of Ireland manifest any wish to unite? On the contrary, they had unequivocally declared themselves hostile to this design; and, if it were carried, it would be an union effected by fraud, corruption, and intimidation. Before the recommendation contained in the message was attended to, it was incumbent upon ministers to shew, that the last pledge of the English Parliament to the people of Ireland, by which their independence was recognized, and their rights acknowledged, had not produced that unanimity which the Parliaments of the two countries sought to cherish. And he concluded with moving, as an amendment to the address proposed, "that the House, for the first time, learned from his Majesty, with surprise and deep regret, that the final adjustment, which, upon his majesty's gracious recommendation, took place between the two kingdoms in 1782, had not produced the effects expected from that solemn settlement: and further, humbly to express to his Majesty, that his faithful Commons had strong reasons to believe, that it was in the contemplation of his Majesty's ministers to propose an union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding that final and solemn adjustment; humbly imploring his Majesty not to listen to the counsels of those who should advise such a measure at the present crisis."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer contended, that a permanent connection between Britain and Ireland was essential to the true interest of both countries, and that, unless the existing connection should be improved, there was, he had strong reason to believe, great risk of a separation.* After a debate of some length, Mr. Sheridan withdrew his amendment, and the original motion

* The settlement of the year 1782, Mr. Pitt said, was so imperfect, that it substituted nothing for that system which it demolished, and it was not considered as final even by the ministers of the time. It left the two realms with independent legislatures, connected only by the identity of the executive power—a very insufficient tie, either in time of peace or war, inadequate to the consolidation of strength, or the mutual participation of political and commercial benefits. The case of the regency exhibited a striking instance of the weakness of the connection; and if the two Parliaments had differed on the subject of the war, the danger of a disjunction would have been seriously alarming. The entire dissociation of the two kingdoms was one of the great aims of our enemies; and, as their eventful success in Ireland would expose Britain to extreme peril, the establishment of an incorporate union, by which their views might be effectually baffled, was a necessary act of policy. Great Britain had always felt a common interest in the safety of Ireland; but that interest was never so obvious and urgent as when the enemy attacked the former realm through the medium of the latter. The French had shewn by their conduct, that they deemed Ireland the most vulnerable part of the empire; and this consideration alone ought to enforce the adoption of a measure which would tend to strengthen and secure that country. Among the advantages which would accrue to Ireland from an incorporation with Britain, he mentioned, 'the protection she would secure to herself in the hour of danger, the most effectual means of increasing her commerce, and improving her agriculture, the command of English capital, the infusion of English manners, and English industry, necessarily tending to ameliorate her condition;' adding, that 'she would see the avenue to honours, to distinctions, and exalted situations in the general seat of empire, opened to all those whose abilities and talents enabled them to indulge an honourable and laudable ambition.' After some commercial statements, tending to shew the benefits derivable to Ireland from an union, he asserted the competency of the legislature, not by argument or demonstration, but by allegations of the danger of controverting such right

motion was put and carried.* On the 31st of January, however, the subject again came under consideration, when the order of the day being read, Mr. Pitt rose and said, that when he proposed to the House to fix that day for the further consideration of his Majesty's message, he indulged a hope that the result of a similar communication to the Parliament of Ireland would have opened a more favourable prospect than at present existed, of the speedy accomplishment of the measure then in contemplation. He had, however, been disappointed by the proceedings of the Irish House of Commons. He was convinced, that the Parliament of Ireland possessed the power, the entire competence, to accept or reject a proposition of this nature, a power which he by no means meant to dispute. But while he admitted the rights of the Parliament of Ireland, he felt, that as a member of the Parliament of Great Britain, he had a right to exercise, and a duty to perform; viz. to express the general nature and outline of the plan, which, in his estimation, would tend to insure the safety and the happiness of the two kingdoms. Should Parliament be of opinion that it was calculated to produce mutual advantages to the two kingdoms, he should propose it, in order to its being recorded on the journals of that House, leaving the rejection or adoption of this plan to the full and future consideration of the legislature of Ireland. Mr. Pitt remarked, that the union with Scotland was as much opposed, and by nearly the same arguments, prejudices, and misconceptions; creating the same alarms as had recently taken place in respect to Ireland: yet, could any man now doubt of the advantages which Scotland had derived from the union? One of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of Ireland, was the want of industry, and the want of capital, which were only to be supplied by blending more closely with Ireland the industry and capital of this country. In the present state of things also, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, no reasonable person would affirm that full concessions could be made to the Catholics, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. At the conclusion of a very able speech, he proposed a series of resolutions,† and moved that the House resolve itself into a committee to discuss the same in their proper order. Mr. Sheridan, in reply, again avowed his utter dislike and disapprobation of the measure, and stated his intention of moving the two following resolutions:

right. As the supposed loss of national independence formed, in the minds of many, a strong objection to the scheme, he argued, that the dreaded loss would be a real benefit, that the Irish would rather gain than lose in point of political freedom and civil happiness; and that, though a nation possessing all the means of defence, dignity, and prosperity, might justly object to an association with a more numerous people, Ireland, being deficient in the means of protection, and inferior in the requisites of political and civil welfare, could not be injured or degraded by such an union with a neighbouring and kindred state, as would connect both realms, by an equality of law and an identity of interest.

* The very day on which the message on the union was delivered to the two British Houses of Parliament, the session of the Irish Parliament commenced at Dublin; and a speech on this occasion was made by the Lord Lieutenant, which concluded with the following analogous declaration:—"The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and his Majesty commands me to express his anxious hope, that this consideration, joined to the sentiments of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the Parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection, essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire. The address brought forward in the House of Peers was opposed chiefly by the Lords Powers-court and Bellamont; who severally moved amendments, expressive of their disapprobation of a legislative union with Great Britain. On the first division, the numbers were 46 to 19, and on the last 35 to 17, in favour of the court. But, in the House of Commons, after a debate of twenty hours, the contest was so close, that only a majority of one appeared against the amendment;—the numbers being, on the division, 106 and 105; and when the question was put for agreeing to the address, the ministry had in their favour, only 107 against 105 voices. During the latter period of the debate, which continued till noon on the second day, the avenues to the House were crowded with people anxious to hear the result; which, when known, was hailed as a victory on the part of the anti-unionists, and the metropolis resounded with acclamations. The leaders of the opposition, elevated with hope, prepared for another conflict, which they did not doubt would give them a decided superiority. The address was reported two days afterwards (January 24th); when Sir Lawrence Parsons rose, and strenuously opposed its being received. After a violent debate, the motion of Sir Lawrence Parsons, for the omission of the obnoxious clause in the address, was carried by a majority of 111 to 106 voices. The exultation of the Irish metropolis, at this defeat of the ministry, was unbounded. The unionists were insulted and calumniated by every possible mode of attack. On the other hand, the chief speaker of opposition acquired a sudden and extraordinary increase of popularity. Attentive and calm observers nevertheless remarked, that the vehement enthusiasm of the capital did not extend to the nation at large. It was indeed apparent, that the weight of the landed interest was in favour of the measure; and that Cork, the second city of the kingdom, and the commercial towns in general, though greatly agitated and divided, were, upon the whole, rather friendly than hostile to it.

† "I. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such a manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by acts of the respective Parliaments of his Majesty's said kingdoms.

"II. That it appears to this committee, that it would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

"III. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdoms shall continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

"IV. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled "the Parliament of the United kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;" and that such a number of Lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the House of Commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by acts of the respective Parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said Parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned in such a manner as shall be fixed by an act of the Parliament of Ireland previously to the said union; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said Parliament of the united kingdom, shall, until the said Parliament shall otherwise provide, take and subscribe the same oaths, and make the same declaration, as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made by the members of the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

"V. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

"VI. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that his Majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times hereafter be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, with any foreign power, as his Majesty's subjects in Great Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export, between Great Britain and Ireland, of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles, there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties, as shall, previously to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective Parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased; that all articles which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts: that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties, over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid, shall be imposed, as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect: and that all other matters of trade and commerce other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united Parliament.

"VII. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively. That for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom in peace or war should be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective Parliaments previously to the union. And that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportions shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previously to the union.

"VIII. That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and that all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations from time to time, as circumstances appear to the Parliament of the united kingdom to require."

1st. "That

1st. "That no measures could have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity between Great Britain, which have not for their basis the fair and free approbation of the Parliaments of the two countries.

2dly. "That whoever shall endeavour to obtain such approbation in either country, by employing the influence of government for the purposes of corruption or intimidation, is an enemy to his Majesty and the constitution."

The House divided on the question of the speaker's leaving the chair; ayes 140, noes 15. After some further debates on the subject, Mr. Pitt's resolutions were carried by large majorities. On the 14th of February, the report of the committee was brought up, when, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, it was ordered, that a message be sent to the Lords, requesting a conference respecting the means of perpetuating and improving the connection between the two kingdoms.

The subject had previously been introduced into the House of Peers, by a message from the King, delivered by Lord Grenville. The address in answer to this message was voted unanimously by the House, which then adjourned. From this period, the business remained dormant in the Upper House, till Monday, February the 18th, when the message from the Commons was delivered by Earl Temple. A conference accordingly taking place in the painted chamber, the Lords deputed on this occasion soon returned with a copy of the resolutions moved by the House of Commons. On the 19th of March, their Lordships having been summoned, Lord Grenville moved, that the House do agree with the resolutions of the Commons. This motion, though strenuously opposed, was agreed to without a division.

On the 11th of April, the House having been again summoned, Lord Grenville moved an address to the throne, which was also carried without a division; but a protest was signed against it by the Lords Holland, Thanet, and King. A committee was then named, consisting of Lord Grenville, Lord Minto, Lord Auckland, and the Bishop of Llandaff, to draw up an address conformable to the motion; which having been effected, the Commons, in a second conference, (April 12,) were invited to join in the same, and to agree that it should be presented to his Majesty as the address of both Houses of Parliament, which was accordingly done in the most solemn manner.*

Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of July (1799;) when his Majesty was pleased to declare, "That the decision and energy which distinguished the councils of his ally the Emperor of Russia, and the intimate union and concert so happily established between them, would enable him to employ, to the greatest advantage, the powerful means intrusted to him by Parliament, for establishing, on permanent grounds, the security and honour of this country, and the liberty and independence of Europe. His Majesty, on the same occasion, expressed his satisfaction in seeing that internal tranquillity was in some degree restored to his kingdom of Ireland, the ultimate security of which could alone be insured by its intimate and entire union with Great Britain."

It is now necessary to revert to the affairs of the East.—After Buonaparte had obtained possession of Grand Cairo, and of the intermediate country between that city and Alexandria, as well as of the banks of the Nile, he established a kind of mongrel government, nearly resembling the French oligarchy; the chief object of which was, to station persons in different districts, to levy taxes for the benefit of the French, and to wrest from the people every thing which could contribute to the ease and comfort of their enemies. He established a Divan at Cairo, and an institute, in which the Scavans, whom he had brought with him from France, were employed. Buonaparte's arts, however, failed to produce the desired effect, and his arms alone could ensure the obedience which he courted, or avert the danger which he dreaded. A popular insurrection at Cairo had nearly proved fatal to his cause. A General Dupuy, and some hundreds of the French, were killed before it could be suppressed; of course, a much larger number of the insurgents perished, and not a few afterwards fell by the hands of the executioner; for Buonaparte acted the sovereign wherever he went, and treated all who opposed him, as traitors and rebels. Various skirmishes, and some sharp actions, took place between the invaders and the Mamelukes, under the command of the Beys, in different parts of the country, particularly in Upper Egypt, in all of which the superior discipline and tactics of the French baffled the rude courage and desultory attacks of their opponents. But though Buonaparte had thus frustrated every attempt to thwart him in his designs, and had succeeded in establishing, by his sword, an absolute dominion in the country immediately occupied by his troops, he still found himself in a situation of peril. For it could not be supposed, that the Porte would leave him in quiet possession of a portion of her territory; or that England would suffer him to reap the fruits of his iniquity, without an effort to wrest them from his hands. Indeed, the Porte had issued orders to the Governor of Syria and the Pacha of Damascus, to raise a body of troops to act against the French; and these orders had been implicitly obeyed. Buonaparte made a vain attempt to persuade the former of these officers, Ghezzar Pacha, that he was a friend of the Grand Seignior, and had no intentions hostile to his interests. Ghezzar made no answer to the communication, but ordered all the French who were at Acra to be seized and thrown into prison. Buonaparte was aware that, if an army was sent from Europe to attack him on the one side, while a Turkish force from Asia assailed him on the other, he might not be able to extricate himself from the difficulties with which he would be surrounded, and he, therefore, resolved to attack the Turks in the first instance, in the hopes of subduing them before they could receive assistance from other quarters. He accordingly made preparations for an attack upon Acra, the seat of Ghezzar's government, and resolved, if he should succeed in that attempt, of which he had not the smallest doubt, to march forward to Constantinople. He sent his train of artillery, destined for the siege of this place, by sea, in February 1799; he then divided his army into four divisions, under the command of Kleber, Bon, Regnier, and Lannes. The army proceeded to El-Arisch, where an action was fought, in which the French were successful. They then advanced into the fertile plains of Gaza. Having met with little opposition, they moved forward to Jaffa, (the ancient Joppa) a sea-port, on the coast of Palestine. The town of Jaffa was carried by assault, after a vigorous defence, which cost the French one thousand of their men. Numbers of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part of them having taken refuge in the mosques, and implored mercy from the French, their lives were spared. But that mercy which the soldiers had shewn, and cowards had they been if they had acted otherwise, was a stranger to the breast of their inhuman commander. Three days after the place had fallen, Buonaparte reproved his men for their ill-timed lenity, and, being determined, at all events, to relieve himself from the care and support of three thousand eight hundred prisoners, he ordered them to be marched to a rising ground, near Jaffa; where a division of French infantry was drawn up in front of them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Vollies of musquetry and grape shot were

* In Ireland, the further consideration of the bill was postponed till the 1st of August. It was, however, manifest, that the court were determined to persevere; and the Lord Lieutenant, on the termination of the session, announced, "that a joint address of the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain, had been laid before his Majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland." And he further declared, "that his Majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward, with earnest anxiety, to the moment when, in conformity to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his subjects in both kingdoms, they may all be inseparably united, in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution."

instantly

instantly played against the wretched victims, of his barbarous revenge; and Buonaparte himself, who had been viewing the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of applause. Indeed, he had some reason to dread the refusal of his troops to commit this base and cowardly act; for General Kleber had remonstrated, in the most earnest manner, and the staff officer, who commanded (for the General, to whom the division belonged, was absent) even refused to execute the orders without a written instruction; but the wily Corsican was too cautious to give such a testimony of his infamy, and, therefore, sent Berthier to enforce obedience to his orders. Buonaparte had previously inspected, in person, the whole body of the Turks, amounting to nearly five thousand men, with a view to save those who belonged to the towns, which he was proposing to attack. The age and noble countenance of a veteran Janissary attracted his observation, and he said to him, sharply,—"Old man, what business had you here?" The Janissary, undaunted, answered, —"I must answer that question by asking you the same, —your answer will be, that you come to serve your Sultan, so did I come to serve mine." The intrepid frankness of the reply, excited universal interest in his favour. Buonaparte was even observed to smile. "He is saved," whispered some of his aid-de-camps. "You know not Buonaparte," said one who had served with him in Italy; "that smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from a sentiment of benevolence; remember what I say." He was right.—The Janissary remained in the ranks, and was murdered with the rest of his countrymen. Such of the Turks as were not immediately killed by the shot, were put to death with the bayonet. Some French officers who were present, and on whose authority these particulars are related, declared that this was a scene, the recollection of which embittered their lives, and that, accustomed as they had been to acts of cruelty, they could not reflect on it without horror.*

At Jaffa, as at all other places of importance in his route, Buonaparte constituted a divan, of the principal inhabitants in the French interest, and after appointing Adjutant-General Gressier to the command of the place, he marched at the head of his troops for Acra, which, at this moment contained within its walls two singular men, who, with the romantic heroism of the days of chivalry, united all the knowledge appertaining to the modern art of war—Sir W. Sidney Smith, a British naval officer, of distinguished enterprise, and Colonel Phillippeaux, an emigrant officer of engineers, the school-fellow and early companion of the French commander-in-chief. After rescuing his friend, Sir Sidney Smith, from bondage in the Temple, and restoring him to liberty at the hazard of his life, Phillippeaux had accompanied him in the small squadron to which he had been appointed, and after cruising with the commodore in the Levant, had embarked for Syria, to employ his talents as an engineer, and to afford assistance to the Pacha. On the 19th of March, Generals Dommartin and Caffarelli reconnoitred the fortress, and it was then determined to attack the front of the saliant angle to the eastward. On the 30th, the trenches were opened about 150 fathoms from the wall, and advantage was taken of the garden inclosures, the fosse of the old town, and an aqueduct that crossed the glacis in their formation; but, as the besiegers were deficient in heavy artillery, and could only furnish their batteries with eight and twelve pounders, and mortars of five inches, the impression made by them was neither sudden nor formidable. On the day the trenches were opened, the garrison made a spirited sortie, but were repulsed with some loss, and forced to retire with precipitation within the walls. As the tower, against which the principal attack was directed, appeared to be pierced towards the afternoon of the 1st of April, and the counterscarp was supposed to be destroyed by a mine which had been sprung, the troops demanded and obtained leave to advance to storm the fortress. It soon, however, became evident, that but little pains had been taken to ascertain the nature of the works; for on rushing forward it was discovered, that a ditch of fifteen feet was to be passed, while the counterscarp was almost untouched, and the breach, which was not large,

* "These," observes Mr. Morier, (secretary to the Earl of Elgin, then the British ambassador at Constantinople) "were the prisoners, whom Assalini, in his very able work on the plague, alluded to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which produced the pestilential malady which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army. The bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault; since the field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

"Such a fact should not, however, be alledged without some proof or leading circumstance stronger than assertion, being produced to support it; but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy for obeying a command, when their submission became an act of necessity; therefore, to establish further the authority of the relation, this only can be mentioned—That it was Bon's division which fired, and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying themselves respecting the truth, by enquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing the division."

Notwithstanding the respectability of Mr. Morier, had his account of this affair stood solitary, suspicion might have thrown a doubt upon its veracity; but, unfortunately for the credit of Buonaparte, the most damning proofs of his infamy are on record, and Mr. Morier's testimony is amply supported.

Dr. Wittman, in his travels in Asiatic Turkey, says:—"After a breach had been effected, the French troops stormed and carried the place. It was probably owing to the obstinate defence made by the Turks, that the French commander-in-chief was induced to give orders for the horrid massacre which succeeded. Four thousand of the wretched inhabitants, who had surrendered, and who had, in vain, implored the mercy of the conquerors, were, together with a part of the late Turkish garrison of El-Arisch, (amounting, it has been said, to five or six hundred) dragged out in cold blood, four days after the French had obtained possession of Jaffa, to the sand hills, in the way to Gaza, and there most inhumanly put to death. I have seen the skeletons of these unfortunate victims, which lie scattered over the hills, a modern Golgotha, which remains a lasting disgrace to a nation calling itself civilized."

Dr. Wittman, after stating the fact of his having visited the scene of this massacre, observes:—"The surface of the ground had been sometime before thickly covered with the skeletons of the victims; but at the time of my visit they were much reduced in number; the Grand Vizier having ordered a large hole to be dug, into which as many as could be well collected were thrown. Sculls, bones, remnants of clothing, &c. &c. were still, notwithstanding, scattered over every part of the hillocks."

As though Buonaparte were anxious to "Out Herod Herod," in cruelty, and to convince his army that he would suffer no sentiment of humanity, nor any feeling of gratitude, to interfere with his interest, or even with his convenience, he followed up this atrocious act by another. Finding that the hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, he sent for a physician, whose name, as Sir Robert Wilson justly observes, ought to be inscribed in letters of gold, but whose personal safety has rendered it necessary to conceal. On his arrival, he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, which he concluded by observing, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick then in the hospital was the only measure which could be adopted for that purpose. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the cause of virtue and humanity, remonstrated strongly against the act, and represented the cruelty and atrocity of such a murder; but, finding Buonaparte persisted in his wicked purpose, and had even recourse to threats, he indignantly broke from him, and left his tent, with this memorable observation: "Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a butcher of human beings; and, General, if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them." Buonaparte, however, was not to be diverted from his object by any moral considerations, and he found an apothecary who had not the virtue to resist the weight of his authority, (but who has since made some atonement by an unequivocal confession of the fact) and who consented to become the minister of his guilt, and to administer poison to the sick. A sufficient quantity of opium was, accordingly, mixed with pleasant food, of which the unsuspecting victims freely partook; and, in a few hours, 580 soldiers, who had suffered so much for the tyrants of their afflicted country, and to gratify the ambition of this guilty individual, thus miserably perished by his order. On the return of Buonaparte from Syria, the same virtuous physician, who had refused to become the instrument of murder, and to destroy those whom it was his duty to protect, publicly accused the General, before all the members of the institute at Cairo, of high treason against the honour of France, against her children, and against humanity; and he there entered into all the particulars of the poisoning of the sick, and of the massacre of the Turks; and farther charged Buonaparte with having previously caused a number of French and Copts, who were infected with the plague, to be strangled at Rosetta; thus proving that this horrible mode of getting rid of his sick, was the result of premeditation, and a plan which he wished to introduce into general practice. In vain did the unfeeling wretch attempt to justify his conduct; the astonished members sate petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not an illusion.

had

had been effected upwards of six feet above the level of the works. Notwithstanding these obstacles, a body of grenadiers, headed by Mailly, an officer of the staff, descended into the ditch, and attempted to scale the wall; but their leader was shot, and it being discovered that the only effect produced by the late explosion was a small opening in the glacis, nothing could be achieved. The garrison was at first seized with terror, and many of the Turkish soldiers ran towards the harbour, but no sooner did they discover that the opening in the wall was several feet above the rubbish, than they returned to the charge, and showered down stones, grenades, and combustibles, upon the assailants, who were obliged to retire, after losing two Adjutants-General, Escale and Laugier, and a great number of men. This event afforded so much encouragement to the troops of the Pacha, that on the 5th they made another sally, in which they killed Detroye, Chef de Brigade, and several others of the besiegers. In the interim, the English squadron discovered, in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, a corvette, and nine sail of gun boats, laden with artillery and ammunition, intended to assist in the reduction of Acra. Seven vessels belonging to this flotilla, containing all the battering train, were captured; and this fortunate incident contributed greatly to save the city, no intelligence having been received by the French army of the three frigates which had sailed from Alexandria for Jaffa. At this period of the siege, Ghezzar dispersed his firmauns among the Naplouzians, as well as into the towns in the Said, requesting the true believers to rise and overwhelm the infidels. The British squadron, which had been driven from the unsheltered anchorage of St. Jean d'Acra by the equinoctial gales, had no sooner resumed its station, than another sortie was determined upon, for the purpose of destroying a mine, made by the enemy below the tower. In this operation, undertaken on the 7th, the British marines and seamen were to force their way into the mine, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally took place on the morning of the 7th, just before day-light; and Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the seamen-pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and by pulling down the supporters, destroyed all that could be destroyed in its present state; Colonel Douglas supported the seamen in this service with distinguished gallantry, and brought off Lieutenant Wright, who had scarcely strength left to get out of the enemy's trenches, from which they were not dislodged. In this gallant enterprise, Major Oldfield, to whom the command of the marines from the Theseus had been confided, was mortally wounded, and made prisoner.

All the neighbouring districts were now in arms, and the Samaritan Arabs evinced so much daring as to make incursions even into the French camp. Under these circumstances, Buonaparte dispatched first the General of Brigade, Junot, and afterwards Kleber, against the enemy, whom he was determined to drive across the Jordan. Finding that the troops already sent from the main army, strengthened as they had been by 1000 infantry, were still insufficient to crush the native force brought into the field, Buonaparte determined to proceed against the enemy in person. Having repaired through Fouli, along the defiles of the mountains, he perceived on the 16th, Kleber's division, consisting of 2000 Frenchmen, fighting at the foot of Mount Tabor, and nearly encircled by upwards of 25,000 horse. The commander-in-chief immediately formed his infantry and cavalry into three squares, with a design to cut off their retreat towards Jennin, where their magazines were established, and to drive them before him in the direction of the river, on the banks of which they would be overwhelmed by Murat. For this purpose, the Adjutant-General Le Turq, with the cavalry and two pieces of cannon, was detached against the Mamelukes, which he descried at some distance, while General Rampon was ordered to take the enemy in flank, and General Vial to intercept them in their flight. As soon as Kleber had received intimation, by the discharge of a twelve-pounder, that he was about to be succoured, he attacked and carried the village of Fouli with the bayonet; he then charged the cavalry, which had already been thrown into confusion by the French horse under Rampon, and obliged them, after experiencing much loss, to retire behind Mount Tabor, where a great number were drowned in the river Jordan.

Having burnt the Naplouzian villages, and killed such of the inhabitants as had incurred his displeasure, Buonaparte hastened to return to the camp before Acra, and took with him his état major, the division of General Bon, and the corps of cavalry under General Murat. The siege was now pushed on with increased vigour, and the invaders at length beheld the completion of the mine destined to destroy the tower, which had so long withstood all their efforts; but, on setting fire to the mine on the 25th, the operation was found to be incomplete. Although one of the angles was carried away, the breach remained as difficult of access as before, and such showers of burning materials were poured down upon a body of grenadiers, who were ordered to reconnoitre the means of communication between the tower and the other parts of the fortress, that they were compelled to retire, and General Caffarelli, and the Chef de Battaillon Say, perished in these enterprises, while General Veaux, and several other officers of distinction, were dangerously wounded. The garrison, invigorated by the presence of the English, and defended by the skill of Phillippeaux, who unfortunately soon after died, of a fever contracted by want of rest, and extraordinary exertions in the public service, had by this time erected cavaliers, and constructed two places of arms, together with batteries, so contrived as to flank the tower, and produce all the advantages arising from a cross-fire. But on the 1st of May, after many hours heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery, brought by the enemy from Jaffa, a fourth attempt was made to mount the breach, now much widened. The Tigre moored on one side, and the Theseus on the other, flanked the town-walls; and the gun-boats, launches, and other row-boats, continued to flank the enemy's trenches, to their great annoyance, till at length they were repulsed with loss, and obliged to desist from the attack. At this time, though the forty-fourth day of the siege, the garrison had the satisfaction to find themselves in a better state of defence than they were on the first day the enemy opened their trenches, and the gallant defenders of Acra felt increased confidence that they should be able to resist every assault of the besiegers. The enemy, notwithstanding their various repulses, continued to batter in breach with progressive success, and up to the 9th of May, had made nine several attempts to storm, but had as often been beaten back with immense slaughter. The garrison had long been in expectation of a reinforcement, under Hassan Bey, who had originally received orders to advance against Alexandria, but was afterwards directed to proceed to the relief of Acra. It was not however till the fifty-first day of the siege, that this fleet made its appearance; and the approach of so much additional strength was the signal to Buonaparte for a vigorous and persevering assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement could disembark. The constant fire of the besiegers was suddenly increased ten-fold, and notwithstanding the exertions of the garrison, supported by the fire of several cannon and carronades, under the able direction of Mr. Schoder, the master's mate of the Theseus, Mr. Jones, midshipman of the Tigre, and Mr. Bray, the carpenter of the same ship, the enemy continued to gain ground, and on the night of the 8th of May, they had succeeded in making a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower. Day-light on the 9th shewed the French standard unfurled on the outer angle of the tower, and their troops had covered themselves in the lodgment, having constructed two traverses across the ditch composed of sand bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them.

them. At this most critical point of the contest, Hassan Bey's troops, though they had advanced half way towards the shore, were still in their boats. Sir Sidney Smith, whose energy and talents gave effect to every operation, landed the boats on the mole, and placing himself at the head of the crew, marched them to the breach, each man being armed with a pike. A heap of ruins between the besieged and besiegers served as a breast-work for both; the muzzles of the muskets touched, and the spear heads of the standards locked. Ghezzar Pacha, hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing cartridges with his own hands. This energetic old man, coming behind his British allies, pulled them down with violence, saying, "if any harm happen to our English friends, all will be lost." The whole of the reinforcements being now landed, the Pacha, with some difficulty, so far subdued his jealousy as to admit the Chifflick regiment, of 1,000 men, into the garden of his seraglio. From thence a vigorous sally was made, with an intention to obtain possession of the enemy's third parallel or nearest trench, but the Turks were unequal to such a movement, and they were driven back into the town with loss. The sortie, although it did not succeed, had the effect of obliging the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, and the flanking fire of the garrison, aided by a few hand grenades, thrown by Mr. Savage, midshipman of the Theseus, dislodged them from the Tower, and killed or dispersed all that remained at that station. Determined to persevere, the enemy effected a new breach by an incessant fire directed to the southward, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall, much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. The group of French Generals and aides-de-camp, which the shells from the sixty-eight pounders had frequently dispersed, was now re-assembled on an eminence, rendered famous by the exploits of an English chief, and Buonaparte was distinguishable on Richar Cœur de Lion's Mount, burning with rage, and indicating, by his gesticulations, that the attack was to be renewed. A little before sun-set, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with solemn step. At the suggestion of the Pacha, the breach was not this time defended, but a certain number of the enemy was let in, and then closed upon, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the Pacha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay headless corpses, the sabre in one hand, and a dagger in the other, proving more than a match for the bayonets. The survivors, finding the assault desperate, hastened to sound a retreat, and General Lannes, who was seen encouraging his men to mount the breach, was carried off severely wounded by a musket-shot. In this conflict, General Rombaud was killed, and on the same day, General Bon received a mortal wound, of which he soon afterwards expired. Thus ended a contest, continued with little intermission for five and twenty hours, and in which, nature, sinking under the exertion, demanded repose.

As the troops of Buonaparte before Acra relaxed in their zeal, and the capture of the place became dubious, chagrin and indignation began to be visible in the face and actions of that General, who, for the first time in his life, beheld himself foiled, and that too by a town scarcely defensible according to the rules of art; while the surrounding hills were crowded with a multitude of spectators, awaiting the result of the contest, to declare for the victor. The plague also had, by this time, found its way into the French camp, and 700 men had already fallen martyrs to that terrible malady. In this deplorable situation it was determined by the French commander-in-chief to make a last effort, and General Kleber's division was recalled from the fords of Jordan, to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acra, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and about three-fourths of their officers. Before this reinforcement could commence its operations, another sally was made by the Turkish Chifflick regiment, on the night of the 10th of May. These troops, acting under the command of Soliman Aga, the Lieutenant-Colonel, succeeded in making themselves masters of the enemy's third parallel; but the impetuosity of a few of the Turks carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards, though they succeeded before their retreat in spiking four guns. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Buonaparte's intention, were thus obliged to spend their time and strength in recovering these works, in which they succeeded after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing in statu quo, except the loss of men, which was considerable on both sides. After this failure, the French grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions, sacrificed in former attacks by Buonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors, that even seamen could take advantage of them. Exasperated by disappointment, Buonaparte directed his last effort to purposes of revenge. With this view he ordered that all the batteries, cannon, and mortars, should be directed against the palace of Ghezzar, and that the remainder of the siege-ammunition should be expended in demolishing the fortifications and other public buildings. To check this work of destruction, the besieged made two vigorous sorties from the garrison on the 16th of May, in both of which they were driven back with loss. During the night of the 17th, the French army began the removal of the sick, the wounded, and the park of artillery; and on the 18th and 19th, the advanced-guard, under General Junot, quitting the camp before Acra, marched towards Egypt, and took a position at Saffarie. On the 20th, the garrison, perceiving the force of the French to be much weakened, made a general sortie, which they repeated in the afternoon with increased vigour. Neither of these efforts was attended with complete success, and in the course of that day the French removed their battering cannon, having previously destroyed an aqueduct of several leagues in length, which supplied the town of Acra with fresh water, and reduced all the magazines and crops in its vicinity to ashes. This night, at nine o'clock, the Generale was beaten, and the siege, after sixty days continuance, was raised; the besieging commander representing Acra as a place not worth the sacrifice of a few more days!

Buonaparte was obliged to leave behind him all his heavy artillery, either buried or thrown into the sea, where it was easily raised; and his battering train, amounting to 23 pieces, fell into the hands of the English. The French, after blowing up the fortifications of Jaffa and Gaza, and inflicting a terrible vengeance on those who had defended their country against the invaders, passed over the desert, and were received by the inhabitants of Cairo, ignorant of recent events, as victors. Unabashed by his late check, and unintimidated by the sinistrous communications of a soldiery, who had lately murmured against and even menaced their chief, Buonaparte distributed recompenses to some, inflicted marks of ignominy on others, and so far regained the confidence of all, that in the course of a few days his army offered to encounter new toils and new dangers in Egypt, under a commander whom they were on the point of sacrificing in Syria.

Buonaparte's attention, after his arrival in Egypt, had been directed to the accomplishment of one essential part of his project—the establishment of a communication and concert with the great enemy of the British government in India, Tippoo Sultaun, for the grand purpose of extirpating the English from their Oriental Settlements. He apprized Tippoo of his arrival on the shores of the Red Sea, and requested him to send some confidential person, with whom he might confer on the subject of their mutual plans. Tippoo, too, on his part, had established a close intercourse with Zemaun Shah, a native prince of great power and influence, in order

order to concert such a formidable attack upon the English, as, it was hoped, they would be unable to resist. Mr. Pitt, however, most fortunately for the interest of his country, had placed, at the head of the Indian government, a young nobleman, of a mind possessing, in a peculiar degree, every qualification for a great statesman. The wisdom, the vigilance, the energy, decision, zeal, resolution, and activity, of Lord Mornington, (now Marquis Wellesley) were eminently calculated to meet, and to subdue, those serious dangers which threatened the subversion of British power in the East. After his Lordship had removed all the previous difficulties which he had to encounter, he assembled, with promptitude, a force adequate to the great design which he had formed of curtailing, if not of destroying, the means of annoyance which were possessed by the Sultaun of the Mysore, to a very alarming extent. Being now prepared for attack, he communicated to Tippoo the knowledge which he had acquired of his hostile designs, of his alliance with the French, and of his preparations for war, and offered, if he would forego these projects, which were as hostile to existing treaties, as they were subversive of sound policy and good faith, to send an officer to treat with him, for the establishment and preservation of a friendly intercourse between him and the British government. The wily Sultaun sent an equivocal answer to this candid communication, and, while he sought to elude the vigilance of the English policy, he hastened his preparations for the destruction of English power. But Lord Mornington was not to be led astray by Indian artifice. Equally wise in council, and vigorous in action, he ordered the British army to take the field at the commencement of the year 1799. It was commanded in chief by Lieutenant General Harris, who, after a series of successful operations, set himself down before the capital of Tippoo's dominions, at the latter end of April, and, on the last day of that month, began to batter in breach. On the 3d of May, a practicable breach was effected, and, on the following morning Seringapatam, was taken by assault. Tippoo himself, and several of his chiefs, perished in the action. This splendid achievement afforded the means of consolidating the strength of the British dominion in the East, by annihilating the most dangerous of all the native powers, and by gaining possession of a country, and of fortresses, which, while they increased internal security, supplied a fresh barrier against external attack. The French Directory had thus the mortification of being not only foiled in one of their greatest attempts, but of witnessing the utter extinction of those means and resources by which they hoped to accomplish it. In a word, their friendship proved as fatal to Tippoo, as their enmity had proved to the minor princes of Europe.

After the return of Buonaparte, from Syria to Egypt, the Turkish force made a vain attempt to recover that country from the French. The undisciplined Mussulmans were, after an obstinate action near Aboukir, defeated with great loss, on the 25th of July, and compelled to retire. Buonaparte, however, ruminating on his repulse at Acra, where he had, for the first time, experienced defeat and disgrace, and fearful that his attempts to impose on his followers, whom, on the present occasion, he had succeeded in persuading, that his expedition to Acra had answered every purpose for which it had been undertaken, and had covered the army with glory, might not always be successful, resolved to repair to a country more congenial with his disposition and pursuits. This resolution to betray his duty, to abandon his post, and to desert those gallant men who had braved every danger, and had faced death and destruction in every form, at his command, was only exceeded in baseness by the mode in which it was accomplished. Leaving a sealed packet, addressed to General Kleber, nominating that officer to the command of the army in Egypt, during his absence; he embarked suddenly, on the 24th of August, with Generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, and Andréossi, accompanied by Monge, Beutholet, and Arnaud, members of the Egyptian institute, and attended by several Mamelukes; the future guards of his person. He communicated his intention to none but those whom he intended to accompany him, he stripped the military chests of the last sol; and he left the army in a most deplorable state. He was a deserter too, in every sense of the word; for he left his command without orders, and even without permission; and had he been tried by the articles of war, then in force in every country of Europe, France herself not excepted, he must have been found guilty, and have suffered an ignominious death as a deserter! However, by that singular good fortune, to which he had so often been indebted, he escaped repeatedly from the vigilance of the English cruisers, and landed, first at Ajaccio, and then at Frejus. On his arrival at Paris, on the 16th of October, he was courted by all parties, and invited by the Directory to a grand festival, during which it was found impossible to veil that jealousy and distrust which now began to prevail between the General and several of the members of the government.

Hitherto the Congress at Radstadt had proved ineffective. The late expedition into the Roman territory had proved eminently disastrous to the King of Naples, now an exile from his kingdom; and, on the 7th of January, (1799) an armistice was signed by Prince Pignatelli, on behalf of the Neapolitan government, by which the French forces under Championnet, obtained possession of the city of Capua, and thence advanced to the capital, which they entered, on the 23d, after a gallant, but unavailing resistance.

Naples was then proclaimed a republic, under the designation of the Parthenopean commonwealth; and the provisional government was confided to twenty-one citizens, chosen by the French General.

Whilst the French plenipotentiaries were menacing the ministers of the Emperor of Germany with a renewal of hostilities, if a passage were afforded to the Russian troops into Italy; and, while the army under Championnet was employed in establishing the Parthenopean republic, the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, in front of Coblentz, was obliged, after a memorable defence, to capitulate, on the 24th of January, to the French General D'Allemagne.

About the conclusion of the preceding year, the British government had formed a treaty with a new ally, for the purpose of opposing the successes of the arms of France, for checking the extension of the principles of anarchy, and for securing the re-establishment of the balance of Europe. The Emperor Paul, of Russia, entered into a combination against the French republic, with all the zeal inspired by a chivalrous attachment to the cause of legitimate government, and an hereditary passion for military glory. An appearance of negociation was still kept up at Radstadt; but the Emperor of Germany, dissatisfied with the provisions of the treaty of Campo Formio, and being now certain of powerful co-operation in the event of a renewal of the contest, no longer concealed his sentiments. In a short time, the armies of the rival powers had taken the field. The Austrian forces, to the amount of 55,000 men, assembled between the Inn and the Lech, under the command of the Archduke Charles. Generals Starray and Hotze headed about 20,000 more in the Palatinate, and the country of the Grisons; General Bellegarde occupied the Tyrol, with about 25,000; and an army of at least 60,000 under General Kray, prepared to enter Italy, and re-conquer Lombardy. The command of the French "army of the Danube" was confided to General Jourdan, whose plan of the campaign was on the most grand and imposing scale. He proposed, that he himself should be placed at the head of 80,000 men, while three subordinate bodies, consisting, one of 40,000 for the Rhine, another of 40,000 for the Tyrol, and the last of 20,000 for Switzerland, should act under his direction. The army of Italy was at the same time to be augmented to 140,000 soldiers, and 80,000 were to be reserved for home service. But the French General, on his arrival at his head-quarters, found that he had over-rated his force. Relying on the speedy arrival of succours, he addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated, that the Austrians had already passed the

the line of demarcation. He then made the necessary dispositions, and, on the 1st of March, crossed the Rhine in three different places. General Bernadotte, having summoned Philipsburg, which was resolutely defended by the Rhinegrave of Salm, immediately formed the blockade of that fortress with the army of observation; while Manheim readily obeyed the summons of another body of French troops, and opened its gates to the invaders.*

The Archduke removed his head-quarters, on the 20th of March, to Umerdorf, near Biberach, and determined to give battle immediately to the French, who had now reached Pfullendorf, and were posted on a line with their right at Salmansweiller and Mandorf, their centre near Stokach, and their left at Mingen. The day was contested with great bravery on both sides, and Jourdan continued to maintain his position, until night put an end to the action; when, under cover of darkness, he retreated to a station near Engen. On the 25th, a second battle was fought on the plain of Lieblingen, in the midst of woods; and such was the eagerness on both sides, that the two commanders-in-chief, after reconnoitring in person, instead of assuming as usual, a centre position in the rear, fought at the head of their respective troops. Night, which again put an end to the combat, left the victory undecided; and the ensuing morning discovered the invaders renewing their attack on the village of Walevis, which had been gallantly defended the preceding evening. Being, however, once more foiled, and despairing of success on any other point, General Jourdan, after sustaining a loss of about 4000 men, fell back, with his centre on the heights of Villengen and Rothwell, to cover the valley of Kintzig; while the right wing, under General Ferino, took post at the entrance of the Val D'Enfer; and the left, commanded by St. Cyr, occupied the banks of the Kniebiss. The Archduke, following up his success, dislodged the enemy from these positions, with considerable loss, and obliged them, after a disorderly retreat, to re-cross the Rhine at Lauttemburg and Strasburgh; while Jourdan returned to Paris, and imputed the blame of his miscarriage to the government, who had ordered him, contrary to his own judgment, to attack the imperialists with an army, inferior to what he had proposed.

Massena, to whom the command of the army of Switzerland was confided, had taken the field for the purpose of driving the Austrians from the mountainous regions inhabited by the Grisons. But the defeat of the grand army in Suabia checked his career, and enabled the Archduke Charles to derange the plan of operations marked out for the French armies, by marching his victorious troops along the banks of the Rhine towards Switzerland.

Notwithstanding the rupture between France and the Emperor, the congress of Radstadt continued to sit. The Austrian plenipotentiaries at length withdrew, and those of the republic were preparing to follow their example, when they received a letter from Colonel Barbacsy, of the Szekler huzzars, dated the 28th of April, enjoining them to depart within the space of twenty-four hours. Determined to comply without loss of time with this peremptory order, they set out that very night, two hours after sun-set; but no sooner had they advanced a quarter of a league from the city, than they were despoiled of their papers, and two of their number assassinated. Bonnier fell, pierced with many wounds; Roberjot was murdered while clasped in the arms of his wife, who vainly hoped to afford him protection; but Jean Debry, though cut with sabres, in the presence of his two daughters, his secretary, and servants, fortunately escaped, by feigning that death which the assassins intended for him. After wandering during the whole night in a wood, he was fortunate enough to return unperceived to Rastadt.

This extraordinary affair astonished all Europe, and produced the most violent complaints on the part of the French government. The gallant Archduke promised to inflict the most exemplary punishment on such of his troops as might have committed so foul a murder, and actually delivered up to Massena twelve individuals found near Radstadt, clothed in the uniform of the Szekler huzzars, though it afterwards appeared that they did not belong to that regiment. Germany has never yet beheld this guilty and mysterious deed either explained or expiated; but there are strong reasons for suspecting, that the Directory themselves were implicated in its perpetration.

The chief command of the French armies in Italy had been transferred from Championnet to Sherer, and his first efforts were directed against Tuscany. Having obtained possession of the capital, the port of Leghorn was at the same time seized by General Miollis, and all the property appertaining to the subjects of Britain, Portugal, Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, and the states of Barbary, subjected to sequestration; while the grand Duke and his family were furnished with a guard of honour, and allowed to proceed without molestation to the German capital. Scherer then marched to Mantua, where it was determined to attack the enemy before they could receive any reinforcements from Suabia, or had effected a junction with the Russians. The command of the Austrian army had been intrusted to General Kray, who now occupied Verona, and the neighbourhood of that city, with a body of 20,000 men; from eight to 10,000 were posted at Porto Langnano; the heights of Pastringo, Cyse, and Calmasino, were fortified with great care; and while the right wing extended to the lake of Garda, the left was posted on the Adige, over which were thrown two bridges of boats, which at once maintained the communication, and in case of exigency would facilitate a retreat. The French army was on this occasion formed into several divisions, five of which were to attack the enemy in front, while the sixth, under General Serrurier, received orders to pass the Adige, and after forming a junction with other troops, posted in the neighbourhood of Trent, to turn the enemy's flank in the mountains. On the 26th of March, the action commenced in the neighbourhood of Castel Nuovo, between the lake of Garda and the Adige. The battle continued with various success from sun-rising till night; during which General Moreau, who served as a volunteer, and assumed the direction of the right wing of the army, took 1400 prisoners; but Scherer being routed, Moreau was obliged to relinquish his advantages, and retreated across the Adige to Peschiera. In the course of the day, the post of Massino was carried by the French no less than seven different times, by means of fresh troops; but they were finally repulsed with severe loss, and General Kaim, who was himself wounded, observed in his report, "That there was no former example of so deadly a fire of musket shot having been maintained without interruption during the space of eighteen hours." Three days after this sanguinary conflict, Scherer again attacked all the Austrian posts. Having dislodged General Kaim from his position before Verona, he threw bridges over the Adige, and detached a division which drove back the advanced posts of the imperialists to within half a league of that city, and succeeded in gaining a height which covered their right flank. To repel this attack, General Kray detached the division of General Frolich, which, marching through the city, fell upon the French in three columns, and, after an obstinate resistance, drove them from the eminence. This retreat was so precipitate, and the pursuit so vigorous, that the bridges were broken down, and almost a whole column of the enemy were prevented from passing the Adige. Part of them were in consequence compelled to surrender, and the remainder made a fruitless attempt to escape through the moun-

* In reply to the declaration circulated by General Jourdan, the Archduke published a proclamation, dated the 3d of March, from his head-quarters at Friedburg, in which he impeached the faith of the Directory. These manifestoes were followed by declarations on the part of the Emperor, and on the part of the Directory, in which they charged each other with violating the faith of treaties, and with again plunging the continent of Europe into all the horrors of war.

tains. In this battle, so disastrous to the arms of France, their loss was estimated at 7000 men.

The Russian commander dispatched by the Emperor Paul arrived at Verona, on the 18th of April, with his advanced guard, and took upon himself the command of the Austro-Russian army, now estimated at 100,000 men. At this critical period Scherer resigned to Moreau the command of his reduced and dispersed army. A retreat having therefore become absolutely necessary, Isola della Scala and Villa Franca were abandoned in succession; the Mincio was crossed, and the fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua being abandoned to their fate, Generals Kray and Klanau formed the blockade of both, with a body of 25,000 men. Suworow, the Russian General, hastened to avail himself of the advantages he enjoyed over a retreating foe, and two days after his arrival at head-quarters, the town and citadel of Brescia, with a garrison of 1000 men, capitulated to the troops under his command. Various successes crowned the exertions of the allied army; an engagement, fought on the 27th of April, determined the fate of the Cisalpine republic, and on the morning of the following day, the conquerors entered the city of Milan. About the same time, the Field-Marshal Count de Bellegarde obtained an uninterrupted series of successes, in the mountainous regions of the Engadine; while Hotze, by a general attack on the French troops in the Grison country, dislodged them from all their positions between Luciensteig and Coire, with a loss on the part of the enemy of sixteen pieces of cannon, and 2000 prisoners. In Switzerland, several partial insurrections directed against the French authorities took place at the same period; the whole canton of Uri was in arms; the people of the Valais, protected by a body of Austrians, under General Kaim, had risen in mass; and a great part of the Valteline was in possession of the imperialists. Peschiera also surrendered after a short siege to General Count St. Julien; Mantua was closely pressed; the capital of Piedmont was at the same time threatened by a column of the allies; and Moreau, yielding to superior numbers, was obliged to abandon his strong position between the Po and Tenaro, after defeating General Vukassowich on the banks of the Bormida. The disasters of the French in Italy were productive of extraordinary changes in the southern part of that peninsula, and subjected those who had taken part in the revolutions in Naples and Rome to the most terrible responsibility. Ferdinand IV. although he had abandoned his capital, was not wholly forsaken by his subjects. The inhabitants of the provinces, in particular, still retained an affection for their absent King, and a zeal of sufficient energy to render them ready to sacrifice their lives in his cause.—These sentiments had been carefully cherished by the Cardinal Ruffo, who repaired to Calabria, where he raised a number of new levies round the royal standard.

Having overcome the detachments sent against him, in several actions, Ruffo determined on still greater exploits. No sooner was intelligence received that the French had evacuated Naples, than, after collecting the wreck of General Mack's army, and being joined by a body of English and Russians, he marched against the capital, of part of which he made himself master on the feast of St. Anthony. The executive directory of Naples, the members of the legislature, and all those who had held any offices under, or had countenanced the Parthenopean republic, were now driven from the city, and obliged to take shelter within the fortresses, which fell in succession into the hands of the royal forces; and, on the 13th of July, Fort St. Elmo, the last and the strongest of these military stations, was obliged to capitulate to the allies assisted by a body of British seamen. The satisfaction derived from the retreat of the French army was not confined to the kingdom of Naples, but extended to every part of Italy. In Tuscany, 40,000 of the inhabitants, on learning the disasters of Moreau and Macdonald, immediately flew to arms, and attacked the republicans on every side. The garrison of Florence immediately abandoned the capital, on which the populace cut down the tree of liberty, and the ancient magistrates resumed their functions. A few days after, a column of Austrians obliged the invaders to abandon Lucca; and Leghorn was evacuated in consequence of a capitulation which restored the former government. Rome, however, remained unconquered; but the most vigorous measures were now taken to subdue that city; and while a body of Tuscan troops, aided by a detachment of Neapolitans, invested the ancient capital of the world, Captain Troubridge, who had appeared off the mouth of the Tiber, with an English squadron under his command, summoned General Grenier, the commander of the garrison, to surrender. Feeling an entire confidence in the good faith of the British, a negotiation was entered into with the Captain, which terminated in a convention on the 20th of September, by which it was agreed to surrender Rome, Civita Vecchia, and the posts adjacent to both, on condition that the troops should be sent to France; that the allies of the republic, who had either acted in a public capacity, or served along with the Romans, should be allowed to depart unmolested; and that no Roman citizen should be called to account for his conduct during the occupation of Rome by the French.

General Macdonald, having reached Florence, collected the scattered French forces throughout Tuscany, and finding himself at the head of 38,000 troops, he determined immediately to act on the offensive. After forcing the allies to raise the siege of Fort Urbino, he dispatched Oliver against Modena, of which he obtained possession on the 12th of June, and drove the Austrians beyond the Po; while General Kray, alarmed at the progress of the enemy, drew off his heavy artillery from before Mantua, and posted himself in such a situation as to prevent that city from being relieved. Macdonald continued to advance, and having arrived at Piacenza, and formed a junction with General Victor, he attacked General Ott on the same day, and obliged him to fall back on the castle of Giovanni. As soon as Suworow had obtained intelligence of the victorious career of the French General, he marched with the principal part of his force to Alexandria, leaving General Kaim to prosecute the siege of Turin in his absence. He advanced to the Trebia, at the head of seventeen battalions of Russians, twelve battalions of Austrian dragoons, and three regiments of cossacks, and by forced marches arrived with his advanced guard to the support of General Ott, who was in full retreat. At a village six miles distant from Piacenza, a general engagement took place, on the 17th,* which, having been continued through the following days, terminated in

* Suworow began the attack, on the left wing of the French, with fixed bayonets, while their right wing and flank were assailed with equal impetuosity. Macdonald, who had advanced against the centre, seeing himself assailed on all sides, fell back behind the Tidone, where he received the enemy with so brisk a fire of artillery and small arms, that nothing further could be effected in the course of the night. Early the next morning, the allies crossed the Tidone, on the banks of which they had encamped the preceding night, and advanced in four columns against the French, who were drawn up in line of battle along the course of the Trebia, one of the most rapid rivers in Italy. At length the van-guard, under the command of Prince Pangrazion, with four squadrons of the Karaczay horse, and four regiments of Cossacks, reached the left wing of the French army a little after noon. Having turned the flank, they again assailed the adversary with fixed bayonets; and so terrible was the charge, that 500 republicans remained dead on the field of battle; while the Adjutant-General, two Colonels, and 600 privates of the Polish regiment of Dembrouski, were made prisoners, and two pieces of cannon, and a standard, taken. By another attack made on the centre, the French were driven over the Trebia; but Macdonald, undismayed, soon after re-crossed the river with a body of 10,000 men. The French, now become the assailants, were received with undaunted resolution by a Russian column, and forced, by an uninterrupted fire of musketry and cannon, which continued till eleven o'clock at night, to retire, and remain on the opposite bank of the river. Still the conflict was not decided. The third day's battle did not commence until two hours after noon, as the French waited for a reinforcement under General Lapoype, while the allies were not disinclined to obtain a respite after the multiplied evolutions of the two former actions. At length, though the expected reinforcement had not

in favour of the allies. The vanquished army took advantage of the approach of night to retire in two columns to Piacenza, where the four French Generals, Olivier, Ruska, Sulm, and Cambran, with several field-officers, and between four and 5000 soldiers, who had been wounded in the late murderous actions, were left behind, and fell into the hands of the enemy.

Moreau, taking advantage of Suworow's absence, left Genoa at the head of 29,000 men, and marching by the Bochette, Gavi, and Novi, descended into the plain, where, on the 20th of June, he attacked and beat Field-Marshal Bellegarde, who had been left to superintend the blockade of Alexandria. As soon as the Russian Field-Marshal received intelligence of these events, he abandoned the pursuit of Macdonald, and endeavoured by a rapid counter-march to overtake General Moreau, who, after fighting another battle, retreated within the precincts of the Ligurian republic. Suworow, however, was consoled in this disappointment by the intelligence of the surrender of Turin, on the 22d of June, and with the capture of Bologna, which fell into the hands of the allies eight days afterwards. Macdonald pursued his march towards Lucca, where he entered the Genoese territory, and formed a junction with Moreau. Thus ended an expedition, in which the French lost more than 12,000 men.

Destitute of a covering army, the Italian fortresses were now obliged to yield to the besiegers. The surrender of Fort Urbino, and St. Leon, were followed in rapid succession by the capitulation of the garrison of Alexandria, and the capture of the almost impregnable fortress of Mantua; the former on the 21st, and the latter on the 28th of July. Suworow, having now conquered the greater part of Italy, began to menace the southern departments of France; but he was kept in check by the army of Moreau, which still occupied its formidable position in the neighbourhood of Genoa, and prevented the advance of the allies by threatening to fall upon his rear. The young men of the requisition were, at the same time, put in motion on the frontier, and Championnet was employed in assembling an army of 40,000 men, in the vicinity of Grenoble. Supplies were also sent to the army of Italy, and the chief command of that army was transferred from General Moreau to General Joubert, who received orders to act on the offensive, and to attempt the immediate relief of Tortona. In pursuance of this order, the French General advanced against the enemy at the head of 36,000 combatants, and encamped, on the 15th of August upon the heights of Novi. The allies were superior in numbers; Suworow and Melas were at the head of 35,000 troops, of their respective nations; 15,000 Piedmontese, who had formerly obliged the garrison of Cevi to surrender, now acted as light troops; while General Kray entered the camp on that very day with 18,000 troops, set at liberty by the fall of Mantua.

Suworow, determined to anticipate the French, whom he knew to be most formidable when they were the assailants, attacked their left wing. General Joubert, in advancing at the head of his staff, was struck with a ball, which pierced his heart. The loss of their General diminished not the ardour of the soldiers. The allies were received every where with intrepidity. The two armies were engaged along the whole extent of their line. The slaughter was terrible, but no impression was made on either side. Thrice did Suworow charge the centre of the enemy, in person, at the head of his gallant veterans, and thrice was he repulsed by the French legions. Moreau again took upon him the command. In the mean time, General Melas, with the left wing of the allies, reached the heights of Novi, on the side of Pietalle, and marching along the banks of the Setivia, completely succeeded in turning the right flank of the French army. This grand manœuvre decided the victory. The danger of being surrounded, compelled the French General to abandon the field of battle to the allies, who took four Generals, and 4000 prisoners, with 37 pieces of cannon, and 57 tumbrils. The rear-guard of the enemy suffered much in the attempt to cover the retreat; and night, which alone saved them from destruction, enabled them to rally their scattered forces, and once more to occupy their former position near Genoa.*

No sooner did the French cease to be formidable, than the fatal effects of jealousy began to be visible, both in the councils and in the camps of the two nations; and the suspicion and distrust of the armies had, at length, attained such an alarming height, that it was deemed impolitic to confine their exertions to the same theatre. It was consequently resolved, that Melas should continue the war in Italy; while the Russians, under Suworow should enter Switzerland, and after defeating the army of Massena, should penetrate the territories of the French republic. The commencement of the campaign in Switzerland was peculiarly auspicious to the French; but their successes were of short duration, for as soon as the season for military operations would permit, the Archduke Charles dispatched Count Neuondorff and Major-General Piaezce, against Schaffhausen and Peterhausen, and both these places fell, about the 18th of April, into the hands of the Austrians. After a succession of engagements, the Austrians were enabled to establish their head-quarters at Zurich, on the 7th of June, and obliged General Massena to retreat to Mount Albis, his left being flanked by the Rhine, and his right by the lake of Zug. Massena, however, having received fresh supplies of men and provisions, advanced over Mount Albis, and recommenced operations against the Archduke, before that Prince had effected a junction with a large body of Russians, now in full march for Schaffhausen. A column of the republicans, detached across the Limmat, penetrated into the Austrian camp, on the 14th of August, and who carried terror and dismay into that city, which they had been so lately forced to abandon. To relieve Massena from the joint pressure of the Austrians and Russians, the French army of observation encamped in the neighbourhood of Mentz, received orders to take the field; and General Muller, to whose charge this duty was confided, accordingly established his head-quarters at Manheim, and pushed his advanced guard as far as Heidelberg; while Baraguay d'Hillers, advancing with a body of troops drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, imposed a contribution upon Francfort, passed the Maine, and joined his countrymen in the territories of Darmstadt. No sooner had the Archduke learnt that a body of French troops, after entering Suabia, was levying contributions, and seizing on the rich harvests of Germany, than he sent forward a strong detachment, and having conferred the command of the Austrian army in Switzerland on General Hotze, soon after re-crossed the Rhine in person. Massena, availing himself of the absence of the Prince, determined once more to obtain a decided superiority in Switzerland, before the arrival of Suworow should render a defensive system necessary. Accordingly, after a number of evolutions, he approached Zurich on the 24th of September, and ordered Lecourbe to enter the

not arrived, the republicans determined on a final effort, and the left wing attempted once more to cross the river; but, after a gallant struggle, they were driven back with considerable loss, by Prince Pangrazion. Soon after, the assault was renewed with redoubled violence, on the column commanded by General Sweykowski. In two subsequent attacks the French succeeded in regaining the opposite bank of the Trebia, and the fate of the combat hung for a considerable time in suspence; but at length, after a horrible carnage, a column, which had been ordered to assail the flank of Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Ott, was forced to retreat before the iron ramparts of the Russian phalanx, and Prince Pangrazion, whose skill and gallantry had contributed so much to secure the victory that awaited the allies, having advanced with a body of infantry, while the Austrian

General Melas brought up the artillery at a critical moment, Macdonald was compelled to retreat to the right bank of the Trebia. The trophies obtained by the allies on this occasion, consisted of the field of battle, on which upwards of 1,200 of the enemy lay extended, 700 prisoners, three stand of colours, and several pieces of artillery.

* The battle of Novi was attended with immense advantages to the allies, as it permitted them to send a body of troops into Switzerland, and rendered them masters of Tortona, which had agreed to surrender, if not relieved before a stipulated day. Nor did the Russian General fail upon this occasion to receive the most gracious testimonies of approbation from his sovereign, who, by a special ukase, conferred upon him the title of Prince Italiski.

valley

valley of the Grisons, and turn the left wing of the allies, commanded by Hotze. On the morning of the 25th, the battle commenced with equal gallantry on both sides. General Hotze, however, received a mortal wound early in the engagement, and was taken lifeless from the field. General Petrasch, upon whom the command of the left wing now devolved, finding himself overpowered by numbers, soon found it necessary to retreat; and Prince Koraskow, unable to withstand the reiterated assaults of the enemy's columns, was obliged to give way; on which the French troops carried Zurich by assault, and a considerable body of Russian troops posted in that city was obliged to surrender. The immediate result of this battle consisted in the immense slaughter of the Austro-Russian army: the capture of 5000 prisoners, 100 pieces of cannon, and 15 standards, in addition to the principal part of the baggage of the Russians; and the immediate retreat of the allies, first to the banks of the Thur, and afterwards across the Rhine.

Suworow, having crossed the plains of Piedmont, defeated the troops of Lecourbe, and possessed himself of the heights of St. Gothard, was now about to enter the canton of Uri, when he received an imperfect account of the defeat of the allies at Zurich; and this disastrous intelligence was speedily confirmed by the approach of the retreating Russians. Foaming with rage at a sight so novel to a general unaccustomed to see the Russian legions fly before their adversaries, he had recourse to threats, and intimated to Prince Koraskow, that "He should answer with his head if he made another retrograde step." That unfortunate General, burning with desire to vindicate his character to so gallant a chief, immediately re-assembled the wreck of his troops; and having been joined by a body of Austrians, the corps of Condé, and the Bavarian contingent, determined to attempt a diversion in favour of his commander, by re-assuming his former position before Zurich, during the absence of Massena. But the latter proved his superiority by securing all the intermediate passes, so as to render a near approach not merely difficult, but even fatal.* At length, amidst incessant toils and continual combats, the Russians arrived, on the 3d of October, in the valley of Mutten, and took possession of the bridge after a most obstinate resistance.

The post of Brunnen was also carried the next day: but here ended the progress of the Russian hero. Suworow, after penetrating into the canton of Schwitz, was so conscious of his critical situation, that he determined, for the first time in his life, to retreat. This was accordingly effected in a masterly manner. The loss of the allies, in this series of engagements, was computed at 25,000 men, and that of the French, at 15,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The French had become once more masters of Switzerland, had retaken St. Gothard, and begun to menace the country of the Grisons. General Muller again penetrated into Germany, seized on Francfort, Manheim, and Heidelberg, and threatened to lay all that portion of the empire under contribution.

During the rejoicings of the court of St. Petersburgh at the news of the brilliant successes of Suworow in Italy, the Emperor Paul, indignant that the Germanic states were not actuated by a zeal, ardent as that with which he was inspired, issued an official notification, addressed to all the members of the Germanic empire, calling upon them to unite their forces with his, and expressing his determination, if properly supported, "Never to sheath the sword till he had seen the downfall of the monster which threatened to crush all legal authorities." Scarcely had this declaration reached those to whom it was addressed, when Suworow, alike discontented with his allies and his colleagues, having collected the wreck of his army at Coire, ordered the remains of Koraskow's troops, and the corps of Condé, to form a junction with him at that place; and, after some delay, he proceeded to Bohemia, where he spent the winter. Of 100,000 men, who had either left Russia with him eight months before, or joined his army within that period, scarcely 50,000 reached the banks of the Lech. The veteran, overwhelmed with grief and disappointment, retired to his native country, where, exposed to the frowns of fortune, and the neglect of his Prince, he soon perished, either by poison or despair.†

No sooner had the Austrian army, under Melas, advanced into the neighbourhood of Coni, and prepared to lay siege to that fortress, than General Championnet, collecting his whole force, marched to Savigliano to give him battle. On the morning of the 4th of November, the action commenced by a furious attack directed against the column of General Grenier by General Ott, which forced the republicans to retreat towards Genola. On every other part of the line the attack of the Aus-

* Suworow, undismayed by the difficulties of his situation, displayed prodigies of valour and intrepidity, although engaged on a new theatre, entangled in the defiles of a country with which he was totally unacquainted, and engaged in a novel species of warfare. His troops, fainting under the burthen of their accoutrements and provisions, and but just snatched from the delicious climate of Italy, paused, and contemplated with horror, the snow and ice elevated above the clouds. At times they began to murmur, and declared they would rather lay down their arms than be exposed to incessant combats, where valour was unavailing, and where life itself was a burthen. This aged chief, whose fortitude never forsook him, dismounting from his horse, and exposing himself to the fire of the enemy, and the fatigue of the common soldier, used by turns to praise the perseverance of the bold, and repress the despair of the timid. At one time he would take advantage of the impulse of superstition, and advancing before the rest, exhibit the revered statue of St. Nicholas to the lagging columns, who, afraid of being bereft of both their patron and their general at once, immediately resumed their march. At another, relying on their affection for his person, he would, as a last resourse, stretch his aged limbs on the cold ground, and desire the troops to dig his grave, and cover his body over with earth, adding, "That it was the only favour he could demand from those who had refused to follow their father." This species of eloquence was too obvious to be mistaken, and too forcible to be resisted; his soldiers, electrified by the despair of their general, not only seized once more their arms, but solemnly swore that they would never abandon their leader.

† Alexander Suworow Riminiski Italiski, born in the year 1730, was descended from an ancient family. His father, who had been a General, and afterwards became a senator, intended him for the magistracy; but young Suworow, aspiring only to arms, entered into the service of his country as a common soldier, in 1746, and in the seven years' war against Prussia, advanced step by step to the rank of Colonel. During the campaigns in Poland, from 1769 to 1772, he attained increased renown, and the order of Newski was conferred upon him by Catharine II. His successive victories over the Turks, at Silistria, and Kinburn, obtained for him the orders of St. George and St. Andrew; and his successes over the Tartars exalted him to the rank of commander-in-chief. In 1789, he was employed at the head of a detached body of Prince Potemkin's army, acting in concert with the Austrian General, the Prince of Cobourg, against the Turks, and on the 21st of July, gained with him the battle of Forhani; but, on the 22d of September, the General of the Austrian army having suffered himself to be surrounded by that of the Grand Vizier, 100,000 strong, Suworow, who had only 10,000 men, fell unexpectedly upon the Turks, and after a terrible conflict remained master of the field of battle. This victory, gained near the river of Riminisk, obtained him the surname of Riminiski, and the title of Count of the Roman empire. While acting under the command of Prince Potemkin, he was ordered to storm and carry the Ottoman fortress of Ismail, which had withstood a siege of seven months, and still defied all the efforts of General Gudowitsch. On the third day after his arrival before that city he assembled his troops, and concluded an address, calculated to inflame their military ardour to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, in these terms:—"Soldiers! provisions are dear—no quarter!" The attack was then made; twice the Russians were repulsed, and driven back with terrible slaughter, but the third effort was successful, the city fell, and 20,000 Turks were put to the sword. This victory he announced to the Empress in these laconic terms, "Madam, the proud Ismail is at your feet." In his first wars, after taking the town of Toutoukai, his dispatch was equally brief, "Glory to God; praise to Catharine!" said Suworow, "the town is taken, and I am in it!" In 1792, he carried Warsaw, and in the capital of Poland repeated the sanguinary scenes of Ismail. For this victory, he was rewarded with the title of Field-Marshal; and the Empress, in a letter addressed to the victorious Marshal, and written by her own hand, said:—"You know, General, that I do not promote any one before his turn, but you have made yourself Field-Marshal by the conquest of Poland." After the death of Catharine, Suworow fell into disgrace at court, for venturing to condemn the love of innovation displayed by her successor; but at length the capricious Paul re-instated him in his favour; and in the year 1799, the command of the Austro-Russian army was confided to the hero of Ismail. On his return to Russia, in January, 1800, he was coldly received by the Emperor, and died on the 18th of May, in the same year, at his estate of Polendorff, in Esthonia, at the age of seventy-one. The Emperor Alexander has erected to him a statue, to which, on its inauguration, Suworow's ancient companions in arms paid the military honours that he would have received himself, and Prince Constantine pronounced his eulogium.

trians

trians was made with equal energy and success, and the approach of night again saved the French army from ruin. The siege of Coni was now prosecuted with vigour, and on the 2d of January, (1800) the French commander agreed to capitulate, when 2,500 republicans became prisoners of war. The success of the allied arms in Italy served to compensate the sovereigns of Europe for the losses they had this year sustained in other quarters; but on the whole, the campaign was less auspicious in its conclusion than at its commencement. And the defection of the Emperor of Russia damped the future expectations of the court of Vienna, and laid the foundation of those melancholy disasters which ensued.

The English government, sensible of the importance of Holland, as a foe, or a confederate, and aware that the exactions made upon the Dutch people by France had become a source of disaffection, determined on fitting out a formidable expedition, for the purpose of depriving the enemy of the resources drawn from the Batavian republic, and of restoring the Prince of Orange to the rank of Stadtholder, and Captain-General of the forces. As an army of 30,000 men was required upon this occasion, an application had been made to Russia, and the Emperor Paul had consented to furnish 17,593 troops, and a detachment of six ships, five frigates, and two transports. He exacted, however, as the terms of his co-operation, an immediate advance of upwards of 100,000*l.* exclusively of 63,000*l.* monthly. While Russia was making preparations at Cronstadt and at Revel, the hereditary Prince of Orange repaired to Lingen, on the Emms, where he assembled all the stadtholderian party capable of bearing arms, and opened an active intercourse with the partisans of his family in Holland. In the mean time, a considerable body of troops was assembled on the coast of Kent; and it was determined, that there should be two successive expeditions, the first under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the other under the Duke of York.

The English fleet, and the first division of the army, embarked on board 150 transports, sailed from Margate and the neighbouring ports on the 13th of August, under the convoy of Vice-Admiral Mitchel, to join Lord Duncan, who was cruising in the North Seas; and the whole fleet came to anchor off the Texel roads, on the 22d. The signal was now given, and every preparation was made for landing; but towards evening the wind became high, and the fleet was compelled again to weigh anchor, and put to sea in the night. This unfortunate event revealed to the enemy the intended point of debarkation, and it was not till the morning of the 26th that the fleet could be brought to anchor off the northern extremity of the province of Holland. Two great objects were to be embraced upon this occasion; the first was the possession of the Helder, which would not only confer upon the invaders a sea-port, and an arsenal, but contribute greatly to the second, which was the possession of the Batavian fleet, most of the seamen and some of the officers of which were greatly discontented with the government. At day-light on the morning of the 27th, the troops began to disembark to the south-west of the Helder point, and during the morning, the bomb vessels, sloops, and gun brigs, being stationed so as to open a well directed fire, scoured the beach, and prevented all opposition. No resistance was made to the landing of the troops, but as soon as the first division had begun to move forward, they were attacked, near Callanstoog, by a body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, under the command of General Daendels. A warm, but irregular action ensued, which lasted from five o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon, during which, repeated attempts were made to dislodge the right of the British, now posted on a ridge of sand-hills, stretching along the coast from north to south, and incapable of forming more than one battalion in line of battle; but the narrowness of the position was, on the whole, favourable to troops entirely destitute of horse and artillery, so that the enemy, instead of being able to make any impression, were at length obliged to retire to another position, two leagues in the rear. Encouraged by this success, General Abercrombie determined immediately to attack the Helder, although occupied by 2000 troops. The brigades commanded by Majors-General Moore and Burrard were accordingly destined for this undertaking, and had received orders to hold themselves in readiness; but about eight o'clock on the evening of the 28th, the Dutch ships, which had anchored in the Mars Diep, got under way, and the garrison was withdrawn. Vice-Admiral Mitchel, who held the command in the absence of Lord Duncan, found means to open a direct communication with the Dutch fleet, and on the 28th obtained possession of seven ships of war in the Nieuve Diep, and about thirteen Indiamen, and transports. Having shipped pilots at the Helder, the British Admiral afterwards got under sail with his squadron, consisting of nine men of war, and five frigates, for the purpose of reducing the remainder of the Dutch fleet, which he expressed his determination to follow to the walls of Amsterdam, unless they surrendered. Accordingly, at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th, the line of battle being formed, orders were given to prepare for action, and notwithstanding two ships and a frigate ran on shore, the English passed the Helder Point and Mars Diep, and continued their course along the Texel in the channel that leads to the Vleiter, the Dutch being then at anchor at the Red Buoy. Admiral Mitchel now sent Captain Rennie with a summons to Rear-Admiral Storey, the Batavian commander, which was in some measure anticipated by the arrival of two Dutch officers, at the earnest request of whom, the British squadron was anchored within sight of, and at a short distance from the enemy. In about an hour after, the fleet, (consisting of one ship of 74 guns, five of 68, two of 54, two of 44, one of 32, and one of 16) which had mutinied against its officers, and in favour of the Orange party, was reluctantly surrendered to Admiral Mitchel by the Dutch commander. The surrender of the Dutch fleet having occasioned great consternation throughout all the provinces of Holland, the president of the Batavian Directory repaired to the Legislative Assembly, and delivered an animated speech, for the purpose of arousing the people. General Brune, too, a pupil from the school of Buonaparte, being appointed commander-in-chief, published an energetic address. Whilst the Dutch and the French authorities were thus exerting themselves, the British army, which had hitherto occupied the sand-hills, advanced, on the 1st of September, and assumed a position with the right to Petten, on the German ocean, and the left on the Oude Sluys, on the Zuyder Zee. By this evolution, a fertile country was open to the invaders, while the canal of Zuyper, immediately in front, contributed greatly to strengthen their position, and enabled them to remain on the defensive until the arrival of additional forces. The Batavian government having collected a considerable force in front of the British lines, determined upon an attack, which was commenced at day-break on the 10th, with a force amounting to 12,000 men. The advance, particularly on the left and centre, was made with great intrepidity; but though two of the detachments had penetrated upon this occasion within a few yards of the positions occupied by the British, they experienced a degree of resistance that reflected great honour on the army, and about ten o'clock they were obliged to retire to their former position, with a loss of from 800 to 1000 men, besides one piece of cannon and a considerable quantity of military stores, while the loss of the English did not exceed 200. The aspect of affairs being now deemed peculiarly auspicious, the second division of troops, consisting of three brigades, was embarked, and the Duke of York proceeded to Holland to assume the command of the Anglo-Russian army.

Speedily after the Duke's arrival at the Helder, on the 13th of September, he had the satisfaction to witness the landing of the Russian auxiliary troops, consisting of between 17 and 18,000 effective men, under General D'Hermann; he also found the hereditary Prince of Orange collecting and forming the deserters

from the Batavian troops, as well as the volunteers from the Dutch ships, into regular battalions. The British Field-Marshal, now determined to embrace the first opportunity to make an attack upon the whole of the enemy's positions, and orders were accordingly issued for that purpose. The army moved forward in four columns, through a country which in every direction presented the most formidable obstacles. The column under Lieutenant-General D'Hermann commenced an attack about three o'clock in the morning of the 19th of September, and by eight had succeeded so far as to be in possession of Bergen; but finding the place abandoned, they relaxed their efforts, and gave themselves up to pillage. The enemy instantly seized this opportunity to retrieve the day. Rallying his broken battalions under cover of the woods, and availing himself of the assistance of a seasonable reinforcement drawn from Alkmaar, he attacked the dispersed Russians at different points with so much impetuosity and effect, that notwithstanding their utmost exertions, they were compelled to retire in disorder from Bergen to Schorel. The failure of this detachment decided the fate of the action; for although Lieutenant-General Dundas succeeded in his attack on the village of Walmenheysen, while Sir James Pulteney stormed and carried Ouds Carspel, at the head of the Lange Dyke, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie captured Hoorne without opposition nearly at the same time, yet the army was under the necessity of resuming its former position.

After the expedition had been delayed some days, the army was again put in motion, and on the 2d of October, an attack took place on the whole of the enemy's line. The troops were again divided into four columns, under Generals Abercrombie, D'Essen, Dundas, and Pulteney; and the plan was so combined as to enable the principal corps to communicate with each other by means of intermediate detachments. At half past six o'clock in the morning the engagement commenced by Colonel Macdonald's reserve, which carried a redoubt in front of the village of Campe; while the main body of the first column, conducted by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, marched by the margin of the tide towards Egmont-op-Zee, where, in the after part of the day, the hostile armies where to decide the fate of the battle. The road being thus cleared on the right, the centre column ascended the sand-hills at Campe, where they made a vigorous attack upon the enemy, and carried the heights of Schorel. The enemy still continued to keep up a heavy cannonade between Schorel and Schoreldam, till the Russian column, supported by Major-General Burrard's brigade, advanced upon their position and took possession of Schoreldam. The commander-in-chief, perceiving that the corps on the sand-hills were unequally engaged, immediately ordered the brigade under Lord Chatham to advance from the plain to their support. This movement was executed with the happiest effect, and by out-flanking the enemy, obliged them to abandon the range of sand-hills, and to take shelter in the almost impervious woods that lined their eastern border. The enemy having rallied his force, took up a strong position at Bergen, from which it was absolutely necessary to dislodge him. With this view a general charge was ordered, which was pushed with so much vigour and effect as to place the British and Russian force in possession of the whole range of sand-hills. In the midst of this arduous struggle, General Abercrombie, marched with little opposition to within a mile of Egmont-op-Zee, where the enemy had posted on the hills a large body of cavalry and infantry, with a determination to resist their further progress. Major-General Moore's brigade, charged the enemy's strong position, but the push of the British bayonet was received with firmness, and returned by a counte-charge. The contest was maintained with undiminished fury till the close of day, and the field was covered with the slain. The 92d regiment distinguished itself, and suffered severely. Its Colonel, the Marquis of Huntley, was struck with a rifle-shot in the shoulder; and Major-General Moore, after receiving two wounds, was compelled to quit the field. But it was to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, that this brave column chiefly owed its success; and who though two horses were shot under him, seemed wholly insensible of danger. The shades of night now began to prevail, when the enemy, determined to make one more effort to retrieve the fortune of the day, advanced with his chasseurs in the face of the British column, and charged the horse artillery with so much impetuosity as to cut down several of the troops, and to carry off two guns in triumph. But this success was of short duration; for several squadrons of the 7th and 11th dragoons, with Lord Paget at their head, suddenly issuing from a recess between two sand-hills, fell upon the cavalry of the enemy, who, incapable of sustaining the shock, rushed into the sea to avoid the British sabres. The route now became complete, but a small proportion of the enemy, favoured by the approaching darkness, effected their escape, leaving their prize cannon behind. About sun-set, the reserve, under Colonel Macdonald, joined the first column, to which it had been attached in the morning; upon which, the enemy yielded up the well-contested ground, and retired towards Beverwyck. The force of the enemy opposed to the combined armies in the battle of Alkmaar, was estimated at 25,000, and their loss is stated at 3,000; while the loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 1,600, and the loss of the Russians, to 600 men.

The enemy, during the night, evacuated the strong positions on the Lange Dyke, and the Koe Dyke, as the extensive range of elevated sand-hills. In the course of the succeeding day, the allies took possession of Egmont-op-Hoof, Egmont-op-Zee, and Bergen. The town of Alkmaar, the head-quarters of General Brune, and the seat of government of the state of North Holland, opened its gates, while a number of troops went to the standard erected by the Prince of Orange. To improve these advantages, the Duke of York determined to drive the enemy from Beverwyck, and Wyck-op-Zee, and to advance towards Amsterdam. The advanced posts were accordingly pushed forward, and the village of Schermerhoorn, Acher-Sloop, and Limmen, occupied on the 6th, without resistance, by the British; but the column of Russian troops, under Major-General D'Essen, in attempting to gain a height near Baccum, was at first firmly opposed, and then vigorously attacked by a strong body of the enemy's troops. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, observing the critical situation of the Russians, marched his column to their support; the enemy at the same time succouring his advanced corps by fresh forces; the action, though not intended to be fought that day, soon became general along the whole line, and was contested on both sides with the most determined resolution. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the right and centre of the allied army began to lose ground, and to retire upon the villages of Egmont, where they made a determined stand, and with the effective co-operation of the brigade under Major-General Coote, held the enemy in check during the whole day. Evening now set in, accompanied with deluges of rain, yet still the engagement continued, with varied success, and unavailing obstinacy. Even the darkness of the night, combined with the severity of the weather, proved insufficient to terminate the combat. The fire of the small arms was incessant, and the vivid flashes, running along the undulating line of the hills, extended in various directions into the plain; while the gloom of the horizon was at intervals dispelled by the flame of the cannon, and the illuminated train of the shells. About ten o'clock at night, the firing entirely ceased, and the Anglo-Russian troops remained in undisturbed possession of the field; the engagement however proved undecisive, and the enemy, who soon after received a reinforcement of 6000 troops, maintained their position between Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee. The allied army now found itself placed in a situation so critical as to require the greatest military talents, united with the most mature experience, to direct its future operations.

tions. Directly opposite lay the enemy, in a position almost impregnable, and rendered confident by the accession of strength just received. A naked, barren, and exhausted country, thinly studded with a few ruined villages, scarcely affording shelter for the wounded, extended all around. The right wing of the allied army was indeed protected by the ocean; but a considerable body of troops, led by an active and resolute commander, threatened the left, and occupied the almost inaccessible position of Purmurend. To these local obstacles were superadded others, still more formidable. The weather had set in since the evening of the 6th of October with increased inclemency; and the roads were so entirely broken up, that it was with extreme difficulty that the urgent necessities of the troops could be supplied; to these complicated evils the whole army lay exposed on the unsheltered sand-hills of North Holland—their arms and ammunition rendered unfit for use, and their tents and clothing continually drenched with torrents of rain. Nor did the stadtholderian party shew any disposition to support the armies engaged in fighting their battles, but on the contrary remained inactive, and apparently indifferent to the success of the common cause. After weighing all these considerations, the Duke of York gave orders to withdraw the forces from their advanced position, which was accordingly effected, to the great regret of the troops, who were unacquainted with some of the principal difficulties that opposed their career. About seven o'clock in the evening of the 7th of October, the night being extremely dark, and the rain descending in cataracts, a very unexpected order was issued for the troops to assemble, and about ten o'clock at night the whole army was in full retreat towards Pellen and Alkmaar.

By this sudden and decided measure, the retreat was effected, in the face of a vigilant and active foe, without disorder, or immediate pursuit, and with little comparative loss. As the troops, however, could not be embarked in the face of a superior army without considerable loss, the Duke of York and Admiral Mitchel entered into a negociation with General Brune, in consequence of which an armistice was agreed upon. It was stipulated, "That the combined English and Russian army should evacuate the territories of the Batavian republic by the 30th of November; that the Dutch Admiral, De Winter, should be considered as exchanged; that the mounted batteries at the Helder should be restored in their present state; that 8000 prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, should be restored without conditions to their respective countries; and that Major-General Knox should remain with the French to guarantee the execution of this convention."

These terms, although justified by the critical situation of the troops, were doubtless humiliating; but the proposition of restoring the Batavian fleet, surrendered by Admiral Storey, and which was at first advanced by General Brune, was received with just indignation; and his royal highness the Duke of York threatened, in case of perseverance in this point, to cut the sea-dykes and inundate the whole country. Thus ended the expedition against Holland, whence so many advantages had been anticipated. But though the military and political objects of the expedition failed, the naval department of the enterprise was crowned with complete success, and a hostile fleet, the last remnant of the maritime power of a nation which once rivalled Britain on the ocean, was drawn from a position where it was capable of exciting alarm, and added to the already gigantic force of the British navy.*

The French Directory, which had long been in the enjoyment of supreme power, was rapidly verging towards its dissolution, when Buonaparte arrived from Egypt, and was received in Paris with every possible demonstration of public favour. The Abbe Sieyes, constantly intriguing, was secretly gratified with the popularity enjoyed by Buonaparte; and after disclosing to him certain projects which he entertained, solicited his powerful aid, for the purpose of carrying them into execution. Various secret conferences were now held, at which Sieyes, (at that time in the Directory) Roger Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouche, Volney, Rœderer, Reinhard, and Buonaparte, with his brothers Lucien and Joseph, were present. Rumours were now industriously circulated, that a new plan of government was forming for the republic. Buonaparte appeared very little in public, but he was actively employed in attaching to his fortune men of talents and enterprise; and at the public entertainment given to him by the Directory, he endeavoured to lull their apprehensions by giving as a toast, "An union of all parties." On the evening of this festival, Buonaparte assembled the conspirators at the House of M. La Mercier, the president of the council of ancients, and on that occasion each individual had assigned to him the part that he was destined to act in the conspiracy against the Directory. At five o'clock in the morning of the 18th Brumaire (November 9,) by a manœuvre of the conspirators, in the council of ancients, it was proposed, without communicating with the directory, that the assembly should, in virtue of the 102d and 103d articles of the constitution, adjourn to St. Cloud; that General Buonaparte should be charged to put the decree in execution; and that, for that purpose, he should be appointed commander of all the forces. This decree being passed by a great majority, the sitting was then dissolved amidst loud cries of "Long live the constitution of the third year!" Buonaparte instantly issued two proclamations, addressed to the national guard of Paris, and to the soldiers of the republic, announcing his appointment to the command of the city guard, and of the army, and inviting them to support their general in his endeavours to restore to the public the blessing of "liberty, victory, and peace." He then marched ten thousand troops to the Thuilleries, and guarded every avenue to that place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass. Three of the Directors, and all the citizens of Paris, were in complete ignorance of the proceedings that had taken place, and were made acquained with them for the first time by the proclamations with which the walls of the capital soon became placarded. The Director, Barras, who had refused to give in his resignation, was exiled to his country seat under a guard of cavalry, while Goheir and Moulins remained almost passive spectators of the events which deprived them of power, and imposed a new form of government upon their country. In the mean time, the council of five hundred had assembled, filled with astonishment and distrust. At length, the president, Lucien Buonaparte, entered the hall, and read the decree from the council of ancients, which removed the sittings of the legislative body to the palace of St. Cloud. He then dissolved the assembly, and quitted the hall amidst a violent clamour. The remainder of the day as well as night of the 18th was occupied in preparing and arranging the concerns of the following day. On the 19th, the castle of St. Cloud was surrounded by troops in the morning before day break, and the council of five hundred, as well as the council of ancients, assembled at that place at two

* In the West Indies, this year, the flourishing settlement of Surinam was wrested from the hands of the Dutch. A body of troops having been collected in the islands of Grenada, St. Lucie, and Martinico, by Lieutenant-General Trigge, were embarked soon after on board a small squadron, consisting of two line of battle ships and five frigates, under the command of Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour. On their arrival off the mouth of the river Surinam, Governor Frederici, after some hesitation, capitulated to the British force, and on the 20th of August, this flourishing and extensive settlement was obtained by Great Britain, without firing a gun. The British navy, during the whole of this year, did not lose a single vessel of war; while no less than twenty frigates, corvettes, and luggers, belonging to France, and ten to Spain, were either taken or run on shore. The Dutch navy may be said to have been annihilated. In addition to the ships of war seized by Admiral Mitchel in the Nieuve Diep, and the Texel, the Batavian republic lost a forty-gun ship—the Hortog Van Brunswick, in the straits of Sunda; and as the sailors were obviously disaffected to the new government, all further exertions by sea on the part of that power were wholly interdicted.

o'clock

o'clock in the afternoon. In the council of five hundred the proceedings were opened by Gaudin, a member of the council, who proposed that a committee of seven members should be appointed to take into consideration the best means of providing for the public safety. This motion was vehemently opposed by several members of the jacobin party, who, darting forward into the tribune, exclaimed, "Down with the dictators"—"The constitution or death! These exclamations were followed by a motion, that every member should renew his oath to preserve the constitution of the third year, which was carried by acclamation. No sooner had the ceremony of renewing the oath been performed, than another violent debate arose, upon the motion, that the assembly should proceed to the election of a new Director, to fill up the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Barras. Buonaparte, on being informed of the tumultuous discussion in the council of five hundred, repaired, in great agitation, first to the council of ancients, and then to the hall of the council of five hundred, and accompanied by a few grenadiers without arms. Advancing towards the top of the hall, the council was instantly in motion —"A General here!" exclaimed they, "Down with the tyrant!"—"Outlaw the Dictator!"—"Kill him, kill him. Several of the members, rushed towards him, drew forth their poniards; and Arena, one of the deputies, and a native of Corsica, aimed a blow at him with a dagger, which Thome, a grenadier, parried with his arm, and was wounded. The president, Lucien Buonaparte, having with great difficulty obtained an audience, exclaimed, "The General has undoubtedly no other intention than to impart to the council very important information respecting the present situation of affairs." Buonaparte stood for a moment astonished and speechless; for though he had expected opposition, he was not prepared for such a scene as he here encountered. General Lefebvre at length rushed into the hall with a body of armed grenadiers, to rescue their chief from the dangers with which he was environed; and Buonaparte returned to the soldiery drawn up in the court of the palace. The members instantly decreed, that the council of ancients had no power to invest Buonaparte with the command, as that authority could be conferred by the Directory alone. The president animadverted with great energy on the disorders of the day, and on the ferocious insults offered by some of the members towards an illustrious General, who had rendered the most signal and permanent services to the republic. "Outlaw him!" exclaimed several of the members, "he has this day disgraced his military renown, and deserves death from the hand of every patriot."

The assembly had now become a mob, and the president was assailed on every side. His authority being at an end, and his life exposed to the most imminent peril; he darted from his chair, and divesting himself of the insignia of his office, placed his toga and his scarf upon the bench, and rushed to the tribune. His voice was instantly drowned in exclamations against the military usurper, and tears of agony and indignation started from his eyes. Immediately pistols and poniards were presented to his breast, to compel him to resume his office, and to pronounce the decree of outlawry against his brother, but he remained inflexible, and General Lefebvre being at that moment deputed by Buonaparte, entered the hall at the head of a detachment of the military, and surrounding the president, conducted him in safety to the court of the palace. The troops, animated by the presence of their General, listened with profound attention to the president, while he declared to them, that he, as well as his brother, had been threatened with assassination; that the council of five hundred no longer existed; that the minority had become rebels, and were holding the poniard of sedition and despotism over the heads of the unarmed majority; and he, as president, invoked the aid of the military force to expel those representatives of the poniard from the council chamber, where they were at the moment exercising acts of despotism and violence, and were on the point of overthrowing the republic. The president concluded this harangue by exclaiming, "Long live the republic." To which his military auditors replied, "Long live the republic!"—"Long live Buonaparte!" The General, now perceiving that the critical moment had arrived, ordered the troops to enter the hall of the council of five hundred. The grenadiers instantly advanced; when a deputy exclaimed: "Is it thus, soldiers, you tarnish the laurels you have gained in battle? Do the guardians of the national representation dare to menace its safety and independence?" Many of the other members, addressing the soldiers, conjured them, in the name of liberty, not to follow their leaders; when on a sudden the pas de charge was heard, and the voices of the speakers were drowned in the sound of military music. At the word of command the grenadiers brought their muskets to the charge, and a dreadful scene of alarm and dismay pervaded the whole assembly. The chamber was soon cleared of the members of the council, and cries of "Long live the republic!" "Long live Buonaparte!" sent forth by the military, shook the lofty domes of St. Cloud. The first imperfect intelligence of these events had filled the metropolis with apprehension, but no sooner were the circumstances attending this military usurpation made known, than the Parisians appeared overjoyed at the final subversion of the jacobin power, and cherished the hope of a new and better government.

In the evening, the council of five hundred, as well as the council of ancients, again assembled; but the former, from which the jacobins had withdrawn, now appeared of a different complexion from that which it had worn in the early part of the day. Lucien Buonaparte, their president, proposed a resolution, to the effect; That General Buonaparte, and the other Generals and officers, as well as the troops, had deserved well of their country. This resolution, which was carried without opposition, was succeeded by a proposal from Chazal, one of the deputies, that a committee of five members should be appointed, to consider the propriety of forming a new government. Boulay de la Meurthe presented a report from a secret committee, containing the project of a decree for appointing a new government, and prefaced his motion for the adoption of the report by an animated address, in which he enlarged on the profligacy and incapacity of the Directory, on the defects of the constitution itself, and on the necessity of a strong executive power, capable of giving solidity to the state, and preventing the return of anarchy. The council then decreed, "that the Executive Directory no longer existed; that certain deputies, to the number of sixty-one, on account of their excesses, particularly in the sitting of that morning, were no longer members of the national representation; that an executive consular committee should be provisionally appointed, consisting of Citizen Sieyes and Roger Ducos, ex-directors, and General Buonaparte, under the designation of consuls of the French republic; that they should be invested with the full powers of the Directory; that the two councils should each name twenty-five commissioners, charged to prepare the changes in the organic dispositions of the constitution, the object of which changes was to consolidate and guarantee inviolably the sovereignty of the people." This decree was instantly communicated to the council of ancients, by whom it was passed at midnight; on which the three consuls, being summoned to the hall of the council of five hundred, took the oath to preserve liberty and equality; and, on the following day, they entered upon the public functions, at the palace of the Luxembourg. The legislative commissioners at the same time commenced their sittings. In forming the new administration, Lucien Buonaparte was constituted minister of the interior; and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his office of minister for foreign affairs.

The fabric of a new government was at length completed by the legislative commission, and approved on the 13th of December by the consuls and members of the legislative committee. This constitution was accordingly submitted to the suffrages of the citizens of the French republic at large; and on the

29th,

29th, it was proclaimed at Paris with great solemnity.*

Buonaparte, finding himself, to his great astonishment, quietly placed in possession of supreme power, and of the palace of the Bourbons, deemed it expedient to assume a kingly tone; and, therefore on Christmas day, he addressed a letter direct to the sovereign of these realms, to announce to his Majesty the happy event which had taken place in France. "Called by the wishes of the French nation," said he, "to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper on entering into office to make a direct communication of it to your Majesty. The war which has for eight years ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain grandeur, commerce, prosperity, and peace? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first importance, as well as the highest glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty, who reigns over a free nation with the sole view of rendering it happy. Your Majesty will see in this overture my sincere wish to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, perhaps necessary to disguise the independence of weak states, prove, in those that are strong, only the desire of deceiving each other. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted; but I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world."

The British government took some time to consider what would be the proper answer to give to an application at once so unexpected and so unprecedented, both in form and substance; and, at length, on the 4th of January, a letter was sent, by Lord Grenville, to Talleyrand, containing an official note, in which it was observed, that the King had given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He never was, nor had been engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He had no other view than that of maintaining against all transgression, the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he had contended against an unprovoked attack, and, for the same objects, he was still obliged to contend; nor could he hope that this necessity would be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negociation with those whom a fresh revolution had so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage could arise from such negociation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it should distinctly appear, that those causes had ceased to operate which originally produce the war, and by which it had since been protracted; and, in more than one instance renewed. The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribed all her present miseries, was that which had also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilized nations. For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France, had, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To that indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, (His Majesty's ancient friends and allies) had successively been sacrificed. Germany had been ravaged; Italy, though then rescued from its invaders, had been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His Majesty had himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burthensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdom. Nor had these calamities been confined to Europe alone; they had been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and were to countries so remote, both in situation and interest, from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors. While such a system continued to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation could be lavished in its support, experience had shown that no defence, but that of open and steady hostility, could be availing. The most solemn treaties had only paved the way for fresh aggression; and it was to a determined resistance alone that was now due whatever remained in Europe of stability for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion. For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his Majesty could not place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific disposition. Such professions had repeatedly been held out by all those who had successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe; and whom the present rulers had declared to have been all, from the beginning, and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace. Greatly, indeed, would his Majesty rejoice, whenever it should appear that the dangers to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, had been so long exposed, had really ceased; whenever he should be satisfied, that the necessity of resistance was at an end, that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles had ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction, which had endangered the very existence of civil society, had, at length, been finally relinquished;—but the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his Majesty's wishes, could result only from experience, and from the evidence of facts. The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad; such an event would at once have removed, and would, at any time, remove, all obstacles in the way of negociation for peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory; and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquility and peace, that security which they were now compelled to seek by other means. His Majesty made no claim to prescribe to France what should be the form of her government, or in whose hands she should vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation. His Majesty looked only to the security of his own dominions, and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he should judge that such security could, in any manner be obtained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that country from whose internal situation the danger had arisen, or from such other circumstances, of whatever nature, as might produce the same end, his Majesty would eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification. Unhappily no such security yet existed; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government would be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In that situation it could, for the present, only remain for his Majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war, which his regard to the happiness of his subjects would never permit him either to continue be-

* This constitution exhibited, indications of superiority over the Directorial system. Out of an aggregate of thirty-three millions and a half, of which the population of France at that time consisted, Rœderer estimated the male inhabitants of age, and qualified to vote, at five millions; who reduced themselves to five hundred thousand notables of departments; reduced again to five thousand notables of France; from whom are chosen five hundred legislators of the senate, tribunate, and legislative body; one grand consul, and two puisne consuls. The senate and tribunate are chosen not "by" the five thousand notables of France, but "out" of that class. A body of eighty members, first constituted representatives of the nation, either by competent election or by the acquiescence of the people, under the title of conservators, choose first, all the members called to exercise the legislative power; and secondly, (the consuls) the three chiefs of the executive power, the first of whom afterwards chooses the ministers and the other agents of the government.

THE VOLUNTEERS OF LONDON REVIEWED IN HYDE PARK,
BY HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE THE THIRD, ACCOMPANIED
BY THE PRINCE OF WALES, DUKE OF YORK, &c.

Printed for T. Harris, Aldermanbury, London, 1814.

yond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as might best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

In the reply to this answer of the British cabinet, dated January the 14th, 1800, Buonaparte renewed the often confuted assertion, that France was not the aggressor in the war; that, so far from having provoked it, she had, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, and her disinclination to conquests, her respect for the independence of all governments; and it was not to be doubted that, occupied entirely at that time with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations. But, from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe had entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real long time before it was public; internal resistance was excited; its opponents were favourably received, their extravagant declarations were supported; the French nation was insulted in the persons of its agents; and England set particularly this example by the dismissal of the Minister accredited to her. Finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honour, and in her safety, long time before the war was declared.—That M. Talleyrand should have subscribed his name to an assertion so monstrously false, is really astonishing. The war was declared against England and Holland, by France, on the 1st of February, 1793, and, at the very end of the preceding year, this very man, Talleyrand himself, had informed his government, that England was only intent on preserving a rigid neutrality. He knew, therefore, that he uttered a falsehood, at the moment when he penned the above sentence in his official note. But the note proceeded in the same strain, and with the same confidence, to assert, that it was to the projects of subjugation, dissolution, and dismemberment, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France had a right to impute the evils which she had suffered herself, as well as those which had afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time, without example, with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences. Assailed on all sides, the Republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence; and it was only for the maintenance of her own independence that she had made use of those means which she possessed, in her own strength, and the courage of her citizens.

In the answer, which Lord Grenville forwarded on the 20th of January, the King expressed his concern in observing, that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, were systematically defended by her present ruler under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised. His Majesty refused to enter into the refutation of allegations then universally exploded, and, in so far as they respected his Majesty's conduct, not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted, both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they related, and also by the express testimony (given at the time) of the government of France itself. The French Minister was referred to the first note of the British government for his Majesty's opinion of the present overtures.

Parliament had assembled at the early period of the 24th of September, (1799) and having passed a bill, for engrafting a large proportion of the militia into the regular army, adjourned to the 21st of January, 1800. After the adjournment, the first subject of importance that engaged the attention of Parliament, was the correspondence which had recently taken place between the British and the French governments. Ministers inquired what possible advantage could result from a negociation with France at this moment? They asked, whether the consular government presented a greater certainty of a favourable termination of a treaty, than any of the revolutionary governments which had preceded it? They re-capitulated the proceedings of Buonaparte at Milan, Modena, Genoa, Venice, Malta, and Egypt, and recurred to them as so many unanswerable arguments against any confidential reliance on the advances now made by that general.* The minority, on the other hand, animadverted on the precipitation of ministers, in closing the door at once to all hopes of pacification.† The conduct of his Majesty's ministers, however, in rejecting the overtures made by the first consul, was approved by decided majorities in both Houses; and it was accordingly determined to carry on the war on a large and extensive scale. To enable the allies to bring the greatest possible number of troops into the field, negociations were immediately entered into with the Emperor, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the Elector of Bavaria; the army of Condé, and the Swiss regiment of Rovera, were also taken into the pay of England, and it was proposed and agreed to by Parliament, to enable the treasury to advance the sum of half a million of money, until the subsidiary treaties had been signed and adjusted.

On the 28th of February, Mr. Tierney moved, 'that it is the opinion of this House, that it is unjust and unnecessary to continue the war for the purpose of restoring monarchy in France.' Ministers indignantly repelled the insinuation conveyed in these terms, and denied that the restoration of monarchy was the object of the war; they opposed, however, Mr. Tierney's motion, which was negatived by a very large majority; as were two other motions of similar tendency in the course of the session. The late expedition to Holland, became another subject of inquiry and crimination against ministers; and on the 10th of February, Mr. Sheridan prefaced a motion for examining into the causes of the failure of the late expedition, by a very copious speech, in which he acquitted the commander-

* "You cannot," said Mr. Pitt, "look at the map of Europe, and lay your hand upon that country against which France has not either declared an open and aggressive war, or violated some positive treaty, or broken some recognized principle of the law of nations. The all-searching eye of the French revolution looks to every part of Europe, and to every quarter of the world, in which can be found any object of acquisition or plunder. Nothing is too great for the temerity of its ambition; nothing too small for the grasp of its rapacity. This is the spirit which animated its birth, and this is the spirit which will not desert it till the moment of its dissolution. This system arose out of the nature of the revolution, and has been invariably pursued, under Brissot, and under Robespierre, by Sieyes, as well as Barras. At present, a supreme power is placed at the head of this nominal republic, with a more open avowal of military despotism than at any former period. The different institutions, republican in form and appearance, are now annihilated. They have given way to the absolute power of one man, concentrating in himself all the authorities of the state, and differing from other monarchs only in this, that he wields a sword instead of a sceptre. Under these circumstances, I see no possibility of such a peace as will be attended with established tranquillity; and as I cannot be content with its nominal attainment, I will not grasp at the shadow, when the reality is beyond my reach." Lord Grenville maintained that Buonaparte had two objects in his late proposition: the one, to slacken the efforts of the British nation; the other, to sow jealousies among the allies of England. "This same individual, now so desirous of peace," added he, "was formerly eager to conclude the treaty of Campo Formio, for the express purpose of employing all the forces of France against England. It was he who, contemplating our ruin as the last exploit of his military career, sent his two confidential agents, Berthier and Monge, to the Directory, and charged the latter to declare, that the French Republic and the government of England were incompatible with each other."

† The Duke of Bedford reproached them with a design of retarding the return of peace, until the moment when, passing through a series of revolutions, the monarchy of France should be restored. Considering this project as chimerical, he complained of the unnecessary prolongation of the war on account of the allies, whose disinterestedness and constancy had not been experienced, and at a time too, when the situation of Ireland was eminently critical, and the taxes were becoming daily more burthensome. Mr. Fox, in the House of Commons, concluded an interesting speech, which embraced a wide field of argument, and comprehended a retrospect of the events of the last ten years, in these words: "I have discharged my duty, I have told you my opinion. I think you ought to have given a civil, clear, and explicit answer to the overture which was fairly and handsomely made to you. If you were desirous that the negociation should have included all your allies, as the means of bringing about a general peace, you should have told Buonaparte so; but I believe you were afraid of his agreeing to the proposal. I know that public opinion, if it could be collected, would be for peace as much now as in 1797; and I know that it is only by public opinion, not by a sense of duty, not by the inclination of their minds, that Ministers will be brought, if ever, to give us peace."

in-chief, the officers, and the army, who had been sent to the Helder, of all blame; and attributed their misfortunes solely to the impolicy and rashness of ministers. Mr. Dundas, in opposing the motion, insisted on the advantages which had accrued to Britain from the Dutch expedition, particularly the capture of the Dutch fleet, and the diversion of the French arms from the Upper Rhine to Holland: he objected to the motion, however, on more general grounds, as it consigned to Parliament the task of publicly criticising military operations, which was not their duty or department. Such investigations, he contended, could produce no good, and would only clog and harass the measures of government.

Mr. Sheridan's motion was negatived by 216, against 45; and a similar motion, introduced by Lord Holland, in the Upper House, was also negatived by a large majority.

The military and naval forces appointed for the service of the year 1800, were nearly the same as in 1799. Mr. Pitt, in detailing the means for raising this supply, estimated the income tax at 5,300,000*l.* exclusive of 1,700,000*l.* appropriated to the payment of interest for 32,500,000*l.* but he expressed the strongest expectation, that it would turn out to a better account. He had negociated a loan of 18,000,000*l.* but the assignment of 1,700,000*l.* of the income tax, to the payment of a part of the interest, rendered 313,000*l.* sufficient for the remainder. The consolidated fund he reckoned at about 4,000,000*l.* exchequer bills 3,000,000*l.* and an advance of 3,000,000*l.* bearing no interest for six years, from the bank, as a premium for the renewal of the charter for twenty-one years, which, together with the loan, made up the sum of 39,500,000*l.* These financial proposals, which underwent a variety of strictures from the vigilant observation of Mr. Tierney, were ultimately carried.

Mr. Pitt having moved (February 17) for an advance of 500,000*l.* to the Emperor; it was opposed with great energy by Mr. Tierney; who conjured the House to recollect that the war had now continued seven years, at the expence of 200,000,000*l.* on the pretext of its being just and necessary. Just it could not be, if the object of it were to force upon the French nation the restoration of the Bourbons; nor necessary, because we had refused to negociate when the opportunity was presented to us. If this sum were granted, much larger demands would follow; and thus we were to lavish our blood and treasure in a cause for which no one plain, satisfactory, intelligible reason could be assigned, and he defied the ministers to name it. Mr. Pitt rose, and declared that he found no difficulty in stating the object of the war in a single sentence, nay, even in a single word—security. It was also more than this: it was security against a danger the greatest that had ever threatened the world: a danger which never existed before in any period of society; which had been felt and resisted by all the nations of Europe, but by none so successfully and uniformly as our own. Our resistance had not been confined to external force, it had joined internal policy and wise legislative measures, to oppose jacobinism in the bosom (he was sorry to have found it there) of our own country. How was it discovered that jacobinism had disappeared in France? It was now centered in one man, nursed in its school, who had gained celebrity under its auspices, and was at once the child and the champion of its atrocities—Buonaparte. Granting that 200,000,000*l.* had been expended for the words "just and necessary," they had been expended for the best of causes—to protect the dearest rights, to defend the most valuable privileges,—the laws, the liberties, the happiness of our country; and, for such objects, as much more would we spend, and as much more could we find.

On the annual motion for the renewal of the Habeas Corpus suspension act, in the course of this month, warm debates ensued, in both Houses; but it finally passed by great and decided majorities.*

On the 15th of January, 1800, the Irish Parliament met at Dublin; and, on the 5th of February, a message from the Lord-Lieutenant was delivered to each House of Parliament, intimating the King's desire that the resolutions passed by the Parliament of Great Britain, should be submitted to the attentive consideration of the Irish legislature; and expressing his hope that the great object to which they related, might be matured and completed by the wisdom of the two Parliaments, and the loyal concurrence of the people. On this occasion, the secretary of state, Lord Castlereagh, to whose management the business was intrusted, arose, and entered into a comprehensive view of the measure proposed, recommending it by arguments analogous to those of Mr. Pitt and other advocates of the union in the British Parliament. On moving the first resolution, after a vehement debate, the numbers were, in favour of the court 158, against it 115. The tumults of the populace of Dublin were upon this occasion very alarming; and a military guard of cavalry was found necessary to preserve the Parliamentary advocates of the union from personal insult and violence. On the 10th of February, the business was once more introduced into the House of Peers, by the Earl of Clare, late Lord Fitzgibbon, Chancellor of Ireland, in a speech of extraordinary ability. On moving the first resolution, this nobleman declared himself "satisfied in his judgment and conscience, from an attentive observation of what had passed in Ireland for the last twenty years, that the existence of her independent Parliament had gradually led to her recent and bitter calamities." And, he avowed that he had, for the preceding seven years, pressed upon ministers the urgent necessity of union, as the last remaining resource to preserve this country to the British crown. No Peer in opposition ventured on this occasion formally to enter the lists against this distinguished orator. The Lords Dillon, Powerscourt, Farnham, and Bellamont, however, declared in successive speeches their disapprobation of the measure; which was defended by the law Lords, Carleton and Kilwarden, and various other Peers: after which, the question upon the first resolution was put, and passed the House by 75 against 26 voices. The succeeding resolutions were in the course of a few weeks carried through this House with the same or greater facility. In the course of these debates three different protests, drawn with vigour and ability, were entered upon the journals of the House, signed by the Duke of Leinster, the Marquis of Downshire, the Lords Pery and Moira, the Bishop of Down, and about twenty other Peers, expressive of their highest indignation at these proceedings. On the 17th of February, the House of Commons being in a general committee, Mr. Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, made an able speech in vindication of the measure, blended, however, agreeably to the too frequent custom of the Irish Parliament, with virulent party and personal reflections. Mr. Grattan retorting in high and bitter language, a vehement altercation arose, which was, in the sequel, productive of a challenge from the Chancellor of the Exchequer to that gentleman. A duel ensued, in which five shots were exchanged, and Mr. Corry was wounded, though not dangerously. After a debate no less vehement than any of the former, the question of adjournment was put and negatived; and the 1st of January following was fixed as the æra whence the union of the two kingdoms was to date its commencement. On the 27th of March, the whole business being completed, Lord Castlereagh moved an address to his Majesty from the Commons, declaratory of their approbation of the resolutions transmitted to them, "which they considered as wisely calculated to form the basis of a complete and entire union of the two legislatures: that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings;

* Towards the end of March, Mr. Dundas stated, in a committee of the whole house, the prosperous condition of the East India Company. He admitted the increase of debts and the decrease of assets in India and China to the amount of 2,700,000*l.*; but the increase of assets and the decrease of debt in Europe, he computed at about 3,800,000*l.* so that the company had gained, upon the balance, a million and upwards, in the course of the year.

and that the resolutions now offered were those articles, which, if approved by the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both Parliaments." This address being agreed to by the two Houses, was immediately transmitted by the Lord-Lieutenant, to England.

On the 2d of April, the joint address of the Irish legislature was the subject of a message from his Majesty to both Houses of the British Parliament. The measure was opposed in the House of Peers by Lord Holland; but, on a division, only three Peers, the Earl of Derby, and the Lords Holland and King, voted against the motion, while it was supported by eighty-two.

In the Commons, Mr. Pitt, assuming the sense of the House to be determinately favourable to the measure, proceeded to discuss the particular manner of carrying it into effect. As to the propriety of allowing one hundred Irish members to sit in the imperial Parliament, though the particular number might not be of the first importance, he thought it sufficiently suited the proportional contribution of the two countries to the public exigencies of the empire. The mode of selection was the next point. He wished not to augment the influence of the crown. The selection adopted by the Parliament of Ireland was rather calculated to favour the popular interest. The members for counties and principal cities would be sixty-eight, the rest would be deputed by towns the most considerable in population and wealth. Thus, the choice would provide at once for the security of the landed interest, and for the convenience of local information; and as the proposed addition would not make any change in the internal form of British representation, it would entail none of those dangers which might attend innovation. It would not expose us to the dangers of political experiments, under the specious name of reform; experiments which, whatever his opinion respecting reform might have once been, he was now convinced would be hazardous in the present circumstances. As it might be wished that very few of the members thus sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number entitled to be placemen should be limited to twenty, and that the imperial Parliament should afterwards regulate this point, as circumstances might suggest. The number of Peers who should represent the whole body of the Irish nobility, was fixed, he thought very properly, at thirty. Four would suffice to inform the Parliament of the state of the church; and the rest would form a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland, and the number of the Irish commoners. The election of the temporal Peers for life, he recommended as a mode more conformable to the spirit of nobility, than that which was settled at the Scotch union. The right reserved for Irish Peers, to sit in the House of Commons, as representatives of the counties or towns of Great Britain, would furnish them with opportunities of acquiring Parliamentary and political experience, and would render them fitter to serve their country, when called to a higher assembly. The permission of creating new Peers for Ireland he also justified; for though in Scotland the Peerage might long maintain itself without any accession, from the great extent of inheritance allowed by the patents, there was a risk of the Irish Peerage fast diminishing, unless it were recruited, on account of the very limited nature of the successions. In the article respecting the church, he noticed the clause introduced by the Parliament of Ireland, providing for the presence of the clergy of that country at convocations which might be held in this island, and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legislature the discussion of the claims of the Catholics to future emancipation. The next article, he observed, would grant a general freedom of trade, with only such exceptions as might secure vested capital, and prevent a great shock to any particular manufacture, or to popular fears and prejudices. It was stipulated, that almost all prohibitions should be repealed, and that only protecting duties to a small amount should be imposed on some few articles. If the British manufacturers should sustain partial loss in consequence of any of the new regulations, their liberality would induce them to consider it as compensated by general advantage.

Mr. (now Earl) Grey strenuously opposed the plan of the union. His principal objections were founded on the unpopularity of the union among the Irish people; on the means of corruption and intimidation which had been used to accomplish the measure; and the great dissimilarity between the case of Ireland and that of Scotland, with respect to incorporating with England; an argument which he chiefly directed against those supporters of the measure who had ascribed the progress of Scottish prosperity to the dissolution of her native Parliament.—His motion, however, for limiting the number of Irish placemen, who should sit in the united Parliament, to nineteen, instead of twenty, was negatived without a division. Early in May, the remaining articles having been severally investigated, and approved by very decisive majorities, Mr. Pitt moved that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, acquainting him that the House had proceeded through the great and important measure of a legislative union, which they had the satisfaction to see was nearly in strict conformity with the principle laid down in his Majesty's message. This was carried without a division; and the address and resolutions being forthwith transmitted to the House of Peers, the assent of that assembly was obtained without any material alteration. A joint address, as usual on great occasions, was presented to the throne. A bill, grounded upon the resolutions, was then introduced, and passed through both Houses with great facility—the first day of the new year, January 1st, 1801, being the æra from and after which the union of the two kingdoms was to take effect. On the 2d of July the royal assent was given to this important bill; and on the 29th of the same month the session was terminated by a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty expressed the peculiar satisfaction with which he congratulated the two Houses of Parliament on the success of the steps which they had taken for effecting an entire union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. The Irish session also, which had been prolonged till the union bill passed in England, in order to its ratification, with the several alterations and additions made by the British Parliament, with other necessary regulations respecting the election of the Irish representatives to the imperial legislature, was terminated on the 2d of August, and with it the existence of the Parliament of Ireland.*

The life of our venerable sovereign was again attempted this year; but that providential protection which had hitherto been extended over him was graciously manifested in his deliverance. On the 15th of May, just at the moment when the King had entered the royal box at Drury-Lane Theatre, and while he was bowing to the audience with his usual condescen-

* The uncommon failure of the harvest of 1800, rendered this year memorable for the pressure of wide spread and real distress, as well as for the gloomy anticipations of severe scarcity. The interference of the legislature, when Parliament again assembled, in attempting to remedy, or at least to palliate, the public calamity, was judiciously confined to recommendatory, rather than to coercive measures. The committee appointed to deliberate upon the subject, suggested in their reports such methods of relief as appeared most effectual for diminishing the consumption of corn by economy and substitution, and held out encouragement to the extended growth of potatoes at home, and the importation of corn from foreign countries. The committee at the same time suggested the granting of bounties for the encouragement of fisheries; and proposed the temporary but entire disuse of corn in the distilleries. To give effect to the proceedings of the legislature on this important subject, his Majesty issued a proclamation, towards the close of the present year, recommending the greatest economy and frugality in the use of every species of grain, and "exhorting and charging all masters of families, to reduce the consumption of bread in their respective families by at least one-third of the quantity consumed in ordinary times, and in no case to suffer the same to exceed one quartern loaf for each person in each week."

sion,

sion, a person, who sat near the middle of the pit, rose up and fired a horse pistol, apparently at his Majesty. For some seconds, the house remained in a silent agony of suspense, but no sooner had they begun to recover from their surprise, than the man who fired the pistol was dragged into the orchestra, and carried into the music room, behind the scenes. On the Duke of York entering the apartment, the prisoner, who proved to be a discharged soldier of the name of Hadfield, exclaimed, "God bless your royal highness! I know you!" He added, that he had been with the Duke ever since the battle of Famars—that he was tired of his life, and wanted to get rid of it—and once or twice repeated, "the worst has not happened yet." On examining the royal box, a perforation was discovered in the canopy, about fourteen inches above his Majesty's head, and a flattened slug, which had rebounded from that place, was found in the orchestra. The veneration and affection which the nation bore to his Majesty were on this occasion awakened into enthusiastic joy at his escape, and addresses of congratulation were presented by both Houses of Parliament, by the universities, and in fact by the whole kingdom. On the 26th of June, Hadfield was arraigned for high treason, but it was clearly proved that he had for some years laboured under a degree of insanity, in consequence of several desperate sabre wounds in his head, which he had received when acting as a sergeant in the British army in Holland, in 1794. He was therefore pronounced, "Not guilty, being under the influence of insanity at the time the act was done;" but he was very properly ordered to be detained and kept in custody. For a time, he was confined, as a lunatic, in Bethlem Hospital; but, having once nearly effected his escape, he was, for greater security, transferred to Newgate.

After the unexpected discomfiture of the Russian army at the close of the last campaign, and the consequent triumph of the French arms in Switzerland, by which one main part of the plan of the campaign had been defeated, a total change took place in the command and disposition of the allied forces. The wayward disposition of the Russian Emperor, Paul, little inclined to listen to a calm investigation of facts, and easily led away by the hasty impulses of passion, had conceived an insuperable disgust at the unexpected disasters which had befallen his troops, in Switzerland and in Holland; and he, in consequence, recalled his whole army from the scene of action. The Archduke Charles, too, who gave fair promise of emulating the example of the most renowned warriors, had, by the crooked policy, and ruinous influence, of the Aulic Council, which had controuled all his operations, and thwarted all his views, been deprived of the command of the Austrian troops. The Austrians, in Germany, were now led by the veteran, General Kray; while Melas continued to command the imperial force employed in Italy. The first operation of any consequence, on the side of Italy, was the siege of Genoa, by the Austrians, who were assisted by an English squadron, under the command of Lord Keith. Massena defended the city. After a series of actions, in which many thousand lives were lost on both sides; Genoa surrendered to the Austrians on the 4th of June. Meantime, Buonaparte collected a powerful army of reserve, in the plains of Burgundy, of which he took the command, about the middle of May. Having effected the passage of the Alps with little opposition, he entered the plains of Lombardy; and advancing, with rapidity, compelled the Austrians to evacuate Milan and Pavia. Crossing the Po, he attacked a body of Austrians at Montebello, and forced them to retire. Melas, whose inactivity was unaccountable, had neglected to oppose any adequate resistance to the inroads of the enemy, and was so badly informed of his movements, that he thought Buonaparte was at Dijon at the time when he was in Lombardy. Being, at last, however, awakened from his lethargy, he marched to encounter the victorious army. On the 16th of June, a general action took place, near the village of Marengo, which, during nine hours, raged with great fury. About four in the afternoon, the Austrians had completely driven in every division of the French, and were on the point of obtaining a complete victory. At this critical period, the French General Desaix, who had been taken prisoner on his return from Egypt, and imprudently liberated in time to be present at this action, proposed to Buonaparte to point some pieces of artillery against a particular part of the Austrian column, which, in the pursuit, had been injudiciously weakened; and if he made the impression which he expected, he intended to improve the advantage by bringing up the reserve, under his own command. Buonaparte was, at this time, so confused at his discomfiture, and so enraged, that he had lost all presence of mind, and was incapable of giving any distinct orders. Desaix, then, was left to follow the dictates of his own judgment; he executed the proposed manœuvre; it was productive of the expected effect; he led on his division with great gallantry and resolution, and turned the tide of victory in favour of the French. He fell, however, in the attempt. The battle lasted till the close of the day, when the French remained masters of the field. To the capture of the Austrian General, Zach, as he was hastening to give the necessary orders for repairing the confusion occasioned by the attack of Desaix, may the disastrous issue of this battle be principally ascribed. Still the loss of the French was more considerable than that of the Austrians;—the former was stated, by accounts most to be relied on, to be from 12 to 14,000 men; while that of the latter did not exceed 9,000. The Austrian soldiers were so enraged at having victory thus wrested from their hands, that they were loud in their calls upon their commander, the next morning, to renew the contest. Instead of obeying this patriotic call, Melas concluded an armistice, and afterwards a convention, by which he consented to restore to the French, all the fortresses which Suworow had taken from them in the preceding campaign.

The French army, under Moreau had entered Suabia, at the latter end of April, where it was opposed by General Kray. After various movements of little importance, they, at length, compelled the Austrians to retire, and, entering Bavaria, took possession of Munich, levied contributions on the Elector, and threatened the Hereditary States of the Emperor. Thus pressed, the Austrians deemed it expedient to consent to an armistice, which was concluded with Moreau, on the 14th of July. Count St. Julien was sent to Paris, by the Austrian court, where he exceeded his powers by signing a separate treaty of peace with France on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio. This treaty the Emperor formally disavowed, and refused to conclude any treaty, unless England was included in it. At the beginning of September, a proposal was made, through Mr. Otto, the French commissary, residing in London, to the British ministers, for concluding a naval armistice, on which condition alone the first consul would consent to prolong the armistice with Austria. A long correspondence took place on this subject, but it evidently appearing that the only object of Buonaparte was to obtain an opportunity of sending supplies to Malta and Alexandria, both of which were strictly blockaded by an English squadron; and, as a new armistice was, during the negotiation, concluded with Austria, on condition of the surrender of the three important fortresses of Philipsburgh, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt, into the hands of the French, who thus secured an opening into the Hereditary States of Austria, the proposal was ultimately rejected on the 9th of October. This armistice terminated on the 29th of November, when Moreau resumed offensive operations. The Archduke John, at first obtained a considerable advantage over the French; and he resolved to improve it by making a general attack on their lines, at Hohenlinden, on the 3d of December. But the elements proved more formidable to the Austrians than even the arms of the enemy. In consequence of a great snow, which fell on the morning of the attack, the central column of the army alone reached the destined point; while an opportunity was afforded

afforded to the French to send a division; between that column and the left wing, so as to fall on the rear of the column, at the very moment when it began the attack in front. Still, under this manifest disadvantage, the Austrians gallantly supported the unequal contest for several hours, and made the French pay dearly for the victory which accident and superiority of numbers had secured to them. The battle of Hohenlinden terminated the struggles of the Emperor, for the recovery of those states which the enemy had wrested from him. He soon after sued for peace; and, on the 9th of February, 1801, signed the treaty of Luneville; by which France obtained a cession of all the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine, making that river, from the place where it leaves Switzerland to that where it enters Holland, the boundary of the new republic; thus realizing the original projects of the first revolutionists. The acquisition of this territory destroyed one of the chief barriers against the encroachments of France in the north of Europe. But, that no doubt might be left of the determination of France, to overawe the empire, by the continual fear of hostile incursions into Germany, the restitution of Dusseldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburgh, Cassel, Kehl, and Brisac, on the right bank of the Rhine, were rendered of little value by a stipulation that they should remain in the same state in which they were at the moment of their evacuation, that is, in ruins. France, therefore, retained the power of interposition in the affairs of Germany, by the right which she had reserved to herself by this treaty, to settle the indemnities to be secured to the German Princes, who were proprietors of the territory ceded to her, on the left bank of the Rhine; and by her ability, in consequence of these cessions, to make sudden irruptions into the heart of the Hereditary States of Austria. Istria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian Isles in the Adriatic, were secured to Austria, together with Venice, the Bocca di Cattaro, the canals and the country included between the Hereditary States of Austria, the Adriatic sea, and the Adige, from the Tyrol to the mouth of that sea;—the towing-path of the Adige to form the line of limitation. France took to herself, and for her vassal, the Italian republic, or kingdom, as it was soon destined to be, the dominions of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Modenese, whose sovereigns were to be indemnified for the territory, thus iniquitously wrested from them, by other territories to be wrested, in a manner equally iniquitous, from the sovereign Princes of Germany.

After Buonaparte's flight from Egypt, Kleber entered into a convention, at El Arish, with the commander of the Turkish forces, by which he agreed to evacuate that country, and to return, with his troops, to Europe. And this convention having been referred to Sir Sidney Smith, by the Turks, it received his sanction; it was signed on the 24th of January, 1801. As soon, however, as the British cabinet were apprized of the fact, without being informed that Sir Sidney Smith had any share in the transaction, they considered that it would be highly impolitic and improper, to suffer such a French force to arrive in Europe, to reinforce the armies acting against their ally, in Italy or Germany; and, accordingly, sent instructions to Lord Keith, the commander of the British fleet, in the Mediterranean, to prevent the execution of it, by capturing the troops, on their departure from Alexandria. These instructions were communicated to Kleber by the Admiral, when that General apprized the Turks, that there was an end to the convention; after which hostilities were renewed, and some advantages were gained by the French. The moment, however, the ministers received certain information, that the treaty of El Arish had received the sanction of a British officer, although he was wholly unauthorised to act in a diplomatic character, at that time, and, consequently, had no power to sign such an agreement, they rather chose to risk all the inconvenience, which might result from the presence of Kleber's army in Europe, than to subject the national character even to an unfounded imputation of a breach of faith, and sent counter-instructions to Lord Keith, authorizing him to fulfil the terms of the treaty, and to suffer the French to pass unmolested. While a negociation was opened with Kleber, pursuant to these instructions, that General was assassinated at Cairo, by a Turkish emissary, (on the 14th of January, 1801,) when the command of the French army devolved on Menou, who had publicly professed the Mahometan faith, and added to his own name that of Abdallah.*

In consequence of our unrivalled dominion on the ocean, it appears to have been in agitation, at the commencement of the campaign, to make a powerful diversion in favour of the allies, by means of an irruption into the southern provinces of France; but the sudden return and singularly good fortune of Buonaparte, prevented the execution of this design. Lord Keith, however, appeared with a strong squadron off Genoa, and assisted General Melas in conducting the siege of that city. Some ships detached by the Vice-Admiral, in conjunction with others sent thither by the King of Naples, contributed greatly to the reduction of the fortress of Savona; and when the imperial commander found it necessary to convert the attack of Genoa into a blockade, the British cruisers intercepted all supplies, and actually produced a surrender in consequence of the famine that ensued.†

In the course of the summer, the western departments of France were frequently menaced by the appearance of hostile armaments. Sir Edward Pellew, in the Impetueux, with a flying squadron, and three troop ships, made an attack on Quiberon, on the 4th of June. The Thames and Cynthia having cannonaded the south-west end, and silenced some batteries, Major Ramsay landed with a small body of soldiers and destroyed them; but Fort Penthievre proved too strong to be reduced. The same commander was also successful in an attempt upon the Morbihan, having seized several sloops and gun-vessels, and burnt a national corvette of eighteen guns, by means of a detachment from the Queen's regiment, assisted by the gun-launches under Lieutenant Pinfold. Sir John Borlase Warren also succeeded in an attack on a convoy at anchor near a fort within the Penmarks; and in the destruction of fifteen sail of merchantmen and four armed vessels intended for their protection, within the sands of Boverneuf bay. These exploits, combined with many others of a similar nature, were calculated to annoy the commerce of the enemy, and to put an actual stop to their coasting trade; but what was of still greater consequence, they intercepted the supplies of wine, brandy, flour, and provisions, intended for the fleet at Brest.

In April, the island of Gorec, on the coast of Africa, surrendered to Commodore Sir Charles Hamilton, commanding the Ruby and Melpomene ships of war, without the slightest attempt at resistance.

In August, an expedition was fitted out, under the command of Sir James Murray Pulteney, and Sir John Borlase Warren, whose first destination was against the Spanish port of Ferrol. After the troops were landed, however, the place was found too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success, and the at-

* Buonaparte, before he quitted Egypt, had a secret conference with General Menou, in which he is said to have informed him, that Kleber, to whom he could not avoid leaving the command of the army, was inclined to evacuate the country, in the event of an honourable capitulation being to be obtained; and he ordered him, if Kleber should capitulate, to rid himself of him, and to take the command himself. Kleber did capitulate, and Menou executed his orders. The janissary, who assassinated Kleber, did not know his employer, but it has been confidently stated to have been Menou, under the orders of Buonaparte, who enabled him to enter the house of the General.

† On the morning of the 17th of March, the Queen Charlotte, Lord Keith's flag ship, mounting 120 guns, and one of the finest ships in the British navy, four or five leagues off Leghorn, was discovered to be on fire. All the ships in the harbour, foreign as well as English, put off to her relief, and afforded her every possible assistance; but about eleven o'clock, she blew up with a tremendous explosion, and suffered in a moment almost total destruction! By this event upwards of 600 seamen and marines perished, and of the whole crew not more than 150 escaped with their lives, among whom was the Admiral, who happened to be on shore.

tempt was therefore relinquished. A more formidable force, both naval and military, was sent against Cadiz, under Lord Keith, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie, but as a pestilent disorder raged in the city, daily destroying numbers of the inhabitants, as it was, nevertheless, capable of making a long resistance, and, as the army had another and more important object in view, the destruction of the French in Egypt, this expedition was also abandoned.

Malta, so unjustly seized by Buonaparte, in his voyage to Egypt, had now experienced a blockade of two years both by sea and land, during which time General Vaubois, the French governor, had been summoned no less than eight different times. At length, all hopes of receiving supplies from France having vanished, an attempt was made to save two frigates, La Diane and La Justice, in the harbour; but the former, while making an effort to escape, was overtaken and captured, while the latter, under cover of the night, eluded the vigilance of the British squadron, and effected her escape to France. A few days after this, General Vaubois assembled a council of war in the national palace; and it appearing, that the magazines of provisions had been entirely exhausted for more than a month; that the liquors of all kinds were nearly expended; and that bread, the only food remaining for the garrison and the citizens, must fail in the course of a week, it was determined to capitulate, and on the 5th of September, the island was surrendered into the hands of the British.

The island of Curaçao, in the West Indies, one of the few remaining colonies of the Batavian republic, voluntarily placed itself under the protection of the arms of his Britannic Majesty, on the 13th of the same month.*

Notwithstanding these successes, the close of the eighteenth century was marked by circumstances of a gloomy and discouraging nature to England. All her plans for humbling the pride, curbing the ambition, and restraining the power, of her implacable enemy, had completely failed; France had reduced the continent of Europe to that situation which enabled her, almost without the fear of opposition, to parcel out its various states at her pleasure, for the purpose either of dispossessing those who viewed her with a jealous eye, or of reward. A very large portion of the territory included between the Texel and the Bay of Naples, was occupied by her tributaries and vassals, or by princes who trembled at her frown, and held their tottering power by the frail tenure of her ruler's will. Prussia, indeed, and Russia, had not yet bent beneath the weight of her arms, nor sunk before the machinations of her intriguing spirit. But the Emperor Paul, forsaking his alliance with England, had become her enemy, and the Prussian Monarch, who had for some time, held the scale of victory in his hands, and might have made it preponderate against France, had he so chosen, with a contempt of all regard for the security of his own throne, and with a degree of folly scarcely to be conceived, indulged his ancient jealousy of the house of Austria, contemplated her humiliation with pleasure, passively looked on while France was trampling, with ferocious disdain, on all the settled institutions of surrounding states, vainly imagining, that he possessed the ability to stop her wild career, whenever her efforts should be directed against himself, and, more effectually to favour her views, joined a hostile confederacy of the northern powers, which, at the instigation of Paul, had been recently formed against England.

The principles of this compact† had been adopted and acted upon by Denmark and Sweden; the right of search had been actively resisted; and all the communications which had taken place between Great Britain and the Northern powers only seemed to demonstrate the firm resolution of the latter to persist in a line of conduct which must reduce this country to the necessity of either degrading herself in the eyes of Europe, by submitting to a wanton violation of her acknowledged rights, or of resisting the assertion of those hostile principles by arms. The Emperor of Russia had carried his violence still farther, by imposing an embargo on all British ships in his ports, and by the sequestration of all British property. This confederacy aiming a deadly blow at the maritime power of Great Britain, at a period of severe pressure, when forsaken by her continental allies, and threatened with famine at home, was a counterpart of the memorable armed neutrality of 1780, which had the same object in view. An acquiescence in such claims, which went the length of maintaining the right of a neutral power, however insignificant, to carry on, in time of war, the trade of a belligerent power, and to supply her with whatever was necessary for the support of the contest in which she was engaged, would have been equally dangerous and dishonourable. For, if the principle were once admitted, that free bottoms made free goods, and that no merchantmen could be subjected to search which were under the protection of a ship of war, a Danish or a Swedish frigate, might cover the whole foreign and country trade of France, and exempt her from the expence of insurance, and the risk of capture. It was a claim which took from maritime superiority all its lawful advantages, and sheltered weakness beneath the flag of fraud. It contravened all the principles which, for a century, had regulated the conduct of naval powers; and which England, in particular, had always proclaimed, supported, and enforced. It struck, indeed, at the very source of our prosperity, and could not be submitted to without a sacrifice, which must be speedily followed by the loss of our national wealth, greatness,

* Amongst the miscellaneous events of the year, it may be mentioned, that, on the evening of the 24th of December, as Buonaparte was going in his carriage from the Thuilleries to the opera, he passed through the Rue Vicaise, a narrow street, in which stood a car of uncommon construction, containing a barrel filled with combustibles, and placed in such a situation as almost to obstruct the way. The coachman drove with rapidity; but, scarcely had he passed the car, when it blew up with a dreadful explosion; killed some, wounded others, and shattered the adjoining buildings to their foundation. Several of the assassins, or presumed assassins, concerned in this plot, framed, as it was said, by a combination of royalists and jacobins, were brought to public execution.

At Rome, the conclave sat till the month of March, 1800, when the choice of the sacred college, for a new Pope, fell upon Cardinal Chairemonte, bishop of Tivoli, who took the name of Pius VII. He was accounted a man of good sense, moderation and discretion. He was of the order of the Benedictines, and had been raised successively to the dignity of abbot, bishop, and cardinal. In a few weeks after his elevation, he set out for his own dominions, and on his arrival at Rome, on the 9th of July, the city was illuminated, and his holiness was received with every demonstration of joy.

† 1. "Every ship may freely navigate from one harbour to another; and on the coasts of the Belligerent nations.

2. "The effects which belong to the subjects of the Belligerent powers in neutral ships, with the exception of contraband goods, shall be free.

3. "In order to determine what shall be considered as a blockaded harbour, such denomination shall be admitted to apply only where the disposition and number of the ships of the power by which it is invested shall be such as to render it apparently hazardous to enter; and that every ship which shall go into a blockaded harbour, that is evidently so blockaded, violates the present convention as much as if the commander of the blockade had previously advised it of the state of the harbour, and it had nevertheless endeavoured, by force or artifice, to obtain admission.

4. "With regard to neutral ships, except those which for just reasons, and upon evident grounds, shall be detained, sentence shall be pronounced without delay; the proceedings against them shall be uniform, prompt, and lawful; over and above the indemnity to which they shall be entitled for the damage they have sustained, complete satisfaction shall be given for the insult committed against the flag of their Majesties.

5 "The declaration of the officers who shall command the ship of war, of the King or Emperor, which shall be convoying one or more merchants' ships, that the convoy has no contraband goods on board, shall be sufficient, and that no search of his ship, or the other ships of the convoy, shall be permitted. And the better to insure respect to those principles, and the stipulations founded upon them, which their disinterested wishes to preserve the imprescriptible rights of the neutral nations have suggested, the high contracting parties, to prove their sincerity and justice, will give the strictest orders to their captains, as well of their ships of war, as of their merchant ships, to load no part of their ships, or secretly to have on board any articles, which, by virtue of the present convention, may be considered as contraband; and, for the more completely carrying into execution this command, they will respectively take care to give directions to their Courts of Admiralty to publish it whenever they shall think it necessary; and to this end, the regulation which shall contain this prohibition, under several penalties, shall be printed at the end of the present act, that no one may plead ignorance."

and independence. It was, therefore, resolved by Mr. Pitt to resist this cowardly combination of northern dictators, to the utmost of our power, and at all hazards; and, every attempt at procuring redress, by negociation, having failed, the most active preparations were made to extort it by arms.

The British Parliament assembled for the last time on the 11th of November. Previously to this period, the increased price of provisions had been productive of a degree of public distress almost unequalled. The crop of 1800, like that of the preceding year, had been generally deficient in every country in Europe. The scarcity, which was great and deplorable, bore every symptom of long continuance; and rumours of monopoly and forestalling increased the feeling of the evil, by imparting to it the aspect of injustice, rather than of misfortune. It may, however, be fairly disputed, whether monopoly had any part in aggravating the existing scarcity; and it became clear that no alleviation of the evil was to be found in the legislative and judicial invectives which were uttered against these invisible agents. During this scarcity the sober and industrious classes of the labouring poor sustained their hardships with laudable patience; and though there were some riots in the metropolis and other parts of the country, no general ebullition burst forth that required to be suppressed by bloodshed. To alleviate the public distress, the dangerous measure of a maximum was, on the 5th of December, brought forward in Parliament by the Earl of Warwick, who proposed to fix the highest value of wheat at ten shillings per bushel, although the actual price was at that time more than twenty. But the false and mischievous notion of an artificial scarcity, upon which this proposal proceeded, was exploded by the calm wisdom of Parliament; the motion was rejected, with marked disapprobation; and the legislature confined its efforts to suggesting expedients for diminishing the consumption and encouraging the foreign supply. High bounties were granted on importation; the baking of mixed and inferior flour was enforced by act of Parliament, and the distillation of spirits from grain was prohibited. To the honour of the wealthier part of the community, the hand of charity was also more liberally opened, than at any period which the history of human sufferings has to record.*

The discussion of the late negociations, which occupied a part of this short session, produced no debates of importance; and the supplies having been granted, Parliament was prorogued on the last day of the year, by the King in person. His Majesty, before he retired, ordered the Chancellor to read a proclamation, declaring that the individuals who composed the expiring Parliament should be members on the part of Great Britain of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

On the 1st of January, 1801, a royal declaration was issued concerning the style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of Great Britain and Ireland; and also to the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof. In the new heraldic arrangement the fleur-de-lis was omitted, the title of King of France was expunged; and the royal dignity was in future to be expressed in the Latin tongue by these words: "Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor"—and in the vernacular language—"George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith." On the same day, the Great Seal of Britain was delivered up and defaced, and a new seal for the empire was given to the Lord Chancellor. A new standard also, combining the three crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, was hoisted, amidst the discharge of artillery, in each of the three capitals of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the new year, thus rendered peculiarly memorable, was ushered in with every demonstration of joy. The imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled on the 22d of January, and proceeded to elect a speaker, when Mr. Henry Addington, who had so long and so ably filled the chair of the Lower House of Parliament, was again placed in that elevated situation. On the 2d of February, the King repaired to the House of Lords; and, from the throne, he congratulated the senate on the union which had been so happily effected. The other topics of the speech embraced only painful occurrences.† The debates on the address were highly interesting. In the Peers, Earl Fitzwilliam, who had hitherto contended strenuously for the continuance of the war, and the restoration of the Bourbons, treated the contest as hopeless. He, however, insisted on the propriety "of an inquiry into the causes of the failure, when such large and almost unbounded powers had been intrusted to ministers, and when they had had the whole of Europe to assist in the common cause; it was also necessary to be informed, why, instead of succeeding against an ancient enemy, they had at once plunged the nation into a contest with her allies?" He added, "that the new conflict in which we were about to engage was, as far as Sweden and Denmark were concerned, one of our own seeking, as we had it not in our power to suspend the discussion of the question relative to the neutral code, in the same manner as in 1780, when this country was in a less difficult situation than at present." Lord Grenville defended the conduct of ministers, and maintained that the claim of searching neutral vessels originated in the law of nations and the rights of nature, and that the assertion of this right constituted the foundation of her commerce and her wealth, and was the bulwark of the naval and military glory of Great Britain. On a division, the address was carried by a majority of seventy-three to seventeen voices.

In the Commons, Mr. Pitt, after repelling a variety of objections, insisted, "that our very existence as a nation depended on our possessing and exercising the right of searching neutral vessels," and he lamented that any member of that House "should only have begun to doubt, when our enemies were ready to begin to combat;" he maintained that our claims on the present occasion arose not only out of positive treaties, but out of the law of nations; and he asked, "if we were to permit the navy of our enemy to be supplied and recruited? to suffer blockaded ports to be furnished with stores and provisions? and allow neutral nations, by hoisting a flag on a sloop or a fishing-boat, to convey the treasures of South America to Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest or to Toulon?" The House at length divided, when the majority in favour of ministers was 245 against 63.

Determined to overawe or to dispel the confederacy, an order in council was issued, dated the 14th of January, imposing an embargo on all Russian, Danish, and

* Among other causes of dearth, the great increase of the national population was repeatedly mentioned; and in the course of the session, a bill was brought into Parliament by Mr. Abbot, for ascertaining the population of Great Britain, which passed into a law; and upon an actual enumeration of the people, it appeared, to the general surprize, that they amounted to nearly eleven millions—a result exceeding the highest previous conjecture; and it is probable that the aggregate population of Great Britain and Ireland amounted at this period to sixteen millions.

† "The unfortunate course of events on the continent," said the King, "and the consequences which must be expected to result from them, cannot fail to be matter of anxiety and concern to all who have a just feeling for the security and independence of Europe. Your astonishment, as well as your regret, must be excited by the conduct of those powers, whose attention at such a period appears to be more engaged in endeavours to weaken the naval force of the British empire, which has hitherto opposed so powerful an obstacle to the inordinate ambition of France, than in concerting the means of mutual defence against the common and increasing danger. The representations which I directed to be made to the court of St. Petersburgh, in consequence of the outrages committed against the ships, property, and persons of my subjects, have been treated with the utmost disrespect; and the proceedings of which I complained have been aggravated by subsequent acts of injustice and violence. Under these circumstances, a convention has been concluded by that court with those of Stockholm and Copenhagen; the object of which, as avowed by one of the contracting parties, is to renew their former engagements for establishing by force a new code of maritime laws, inconsistent with the rights, and hostile to the interests of this country. In this situation I could not hesitate as to the conduct it became me to pursue. I have taken the earliest measures to repel the aggressions of this hostile confederacy, and to support those principles which are essential to the maintenance of our naval strength, grounded on the system of public law so long established and recognized in Europe."

Swedish

Swedish vessels in the ports of Great Britain; but the court of Berlin, although a party to the league, was treated upon this occasion with peculiar deference and respect. Preparations were also made to send a fleet into the Sound, and to hazard all the evils likely to result from a war, which threatened to exclude the British flag from the navigation of the Baltic, and her commerce from the shores of the Elbe, the Ems, the Vistula, and the Weser. On the other hand, the utmost exertions had for some time past been made in all the ports of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. Their combined navy, if fitted out by a simultaneous movement, would have amounted to nearly eighty sail of the line; and these, together with the numerous gun-boats and floating batteries which they either possessed already or could have easily constructed, might have rendered their narrow seas and difficult coasts impervious to attack.

The union of Great Britain and Ireland was, not without reason, regarded by Mr. Pitt as the transaction which reflected the greatest lustre upon his administration; and although he had uniformly opposed the claim of Catholic emancipation during the existence of the separate legislature of Ireland, he had, it was understood, to facilitate this favourite object, given, in concurrence with his colleagues, assurances to the Irish Catholics, of a complete participation in all political privileges, as soon as the union should have taken place. When this proposition was stated in the cabinet council, the King, astonished and alarmed at the nature and extent of the claim, in very peremptory terms refused his assent to the measure being brought forward by ministers in Parliament; on the ground that his assent could not be given in consistence with the oath which he had taken at his coronation.* The mind of the King was deeply impressed with this idea; and the cabinet ministers, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer at their head, finding it impossible to carry their point, were under the necessity of tendering their resignation.†

This offer the monarch accepted, and after much consultation, the offices of First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, were conferred upon Mr. Addington, the Speaker of the House of Commons. The post next in dignity, that of Secretary for foreign affairs, hitherto held by Lord Grenville, was given to Lord Hawkesbury. Earl St. Vincent was placed at the head of the Admiralty in the place of Earl Spencer; Lord Eldon, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, formerly Sir John Scott, succeeded Lord Loughborough in the Court of Chancery. Lords Hobart and Pelham were nominated Secretaries of State, in the room of Mr. Dundas and the Duke of Portland. Mr. Yorke succeeded Mr. Windham, as Secretary of War. His brother, the Earl of Hardwicke, was destined to the Vice-Regal office in Ireland. Lord Lewisham was placed at the head of the board of controul. And in this general change, the Duke of Portland and Lord Westmoreland alone retained their stations in the cabinet, the former as president of the council, and the latter as Lord Privy Seal. On the 10th of February, Mr. Addington resigned his office as Speaker of the House of Commons; and on the following day Sir John Milford was chosen in his stead. The agitation of the King's mind had however so materially affected the state both of his bodily and mental health, that the new arrangements, although nearly completed, were not formally announced, and a total interruption of the regal functions ensued, during which the former ministers continued to discharge the duties of their respective offices. On the same day that Mr. Addington resigned his office of Speaker, the Earl of Darnley moved for an inquiry into the state of the nation. On this occasion Lord Grenville acquainted the House, that his Majesty's servants, not being able to carry into effect a measure which they deemed essential to the tranquillity and prosperity of the empire, had tendered to his Majesty the resignation of their several employments, and that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to dispense with their services. On which representation the Earl of Darnley consented to postpone his motion. The routine of Parliamentary business went on as usual during the illness of the King. His Majesty having at length recovered, the appointments of the new ministers were announced in the accustomed and regular form; and on the 17th of March, Mr. Addington was sworn into his high office; and Mr. Pitt was divested of that power which he had exercised seventeen years.

In the course of the spring, Denmark, who had taken the most efficacious measures for excluding the vessels of Great Britain from the navigation of the Elbe, took possession of Hamburgh. The King of Prussia, irritated at the seizure of one of his vessels, the Triton, laden with contraband goods, had already seized on the bailiwick of Ritzebuttle, and the port of Cuxhaven, under pretence of securing the independence of the north of Germany; and soon determined to recur to a measure which had given a new turn to the politics of England, and is supposed to have had no small influence on the peace that ensued. His Majesty of Prussia, after publishing a declaration complaining of the oppressions practised by Great Britain, ordered a body of troops to enter Hanover, on the 30th of March, seized on the capital, levied contributions, and obliged the generals and officers to engage not to serve against the House of Brandenburgh. In the interim, a British fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, and four frigates, together with a number of gun-boats and bomb-vessels, in all fifty-four sail, had been fitted out in the north sea, and on the 12th of March proceeded from Yarmouth Roads for the Baltic.

The command of this expedition was intrusted to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, assisted by Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, and Rear-Admiral Totty, the last of whom was so unfortunate as to lose his flag-ship on a sand bank off the coast of Lincolnshire. As it was hoped that Denmark, whose trade and prosperity had experienced an unexampled increase during the war, might be prevailed upon to sue for forbearance, the first efforts of this armament were directed against her capital, while Mr. Vansittart, a new minister plenipotentiary, was instructed to endeavour to detach the court of Copenhagen from the northern alliance. The Prince Regent of Denmark, however, who had governed many years in the name of his father, declared, that he was determined to adhere to his engagements. On the 30th of March, the English squadron passed the sound without encountering any resistance. After anchoring about four or five miles from the island of Huin, Sir Hyde Parker, in company with Lord Nelson and Rear-Admiral Graves, surveyed the formidable line of ships, rideaux, galleys, fire-vessels, and gun-boats, flanked and supported by extensive batteries on the two islands called The Crowns: these were supported by two ships of seventy guns, and a large frigate in the inner road of Copenhagen, while two sixty-four gun vessels, without masts, were moored on the flat towards the entrance to the arsenal. Lord Nelson, who had made an offer of his services to conduct

* The Coronation Oath, as settled at the period of the revolution, and first used at the coronation of William and Mary, in the year 1689, consists of the following questions and answers:

"Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes of Parliament agreed upon, and the laws and customs of the same?"

'I solemnly promise so to do.'

"Will you, to the utmost of your power, cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?"

'I will.'

"Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion as by law established? And will you promise unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as, by law, do, or shall appertain unto them or any of them?"

'All this I promise to do.'

Then the King or Queen, laying his or her hand upon the gospel, says, "The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep. So help me God."

† Some persons considered, that the ostensible differed entirely from the real cause of this event; and that, despairing of an honourable termination of the war, Mr. Pitt voluntarily seceded, in order to give his friend, Mr. Addington, an opportunity of negociating a peace.

the attack, and had for that purpose shifted his flag from the St. George to the Elephant, a vessel of smaller size, immediately gave directions for buoying the channel of the outer deep and the middle ground, after which the detachment, consisting of twelve sail of the line, with frigates, bombs, and fire ships, selected for the assault, passed in safety, and anchored off Draco.

On the morning of the 2d of April, the Vice-Admiral made the signal to weigh and engage the Danish line of defence, which was found to consist of six sail of two deckers, eleven floating batteries, mounting from twenty-six, twenty-four, to eighteen, eighteen pounders, and one bomb-ketch, together with several schooner-rigged gun vessels; these were supported by the Crown Islands, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, together with some batteries thrown up on the island of Amak. The shallowness of the water and the intricacy of the navigation prevented the complete execution of the projected plan; for the Bellona and Russel grounded before they had reached the stations assigned to them, while the Agamemnon, being unable to weather the shoal of the middle, was obliged to anchor. These vessels were intended to out-flank and overawe the batteries of the Crown Islands, as well as the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth. The action began at five minutes past ten; at half an hour afterwards, the first half of the fleet was engaged, and before half past eleven the battle became general. The Elephant's station was in the centre, opposite to the Danish Commodore Fisher, who commanded in the Dannebrog, a sixty-two gun ship. The distance was nearly a cable's length, and this was the average distance at which the action was fought. The Glatton had her station immediately a-stern of the Elephant, and the Ganges, Monarch, and Defiance a-head, the distance between each not exceeding half a cable. At one, p. m. few if any of the enemy's ships had ceased to fire. The Isis had greatly suffered by the superior weight of the Provostein's fire; and had it not been for the judicious diversion made in her favour by the Desirée, who raked the Provostein, and for the assistance afforded by the Polyphemus, the Isis would have been destroyed. The Monarch was also suffering severely under the united fire of the Holstein and the Zealand, while the Bellona had received serious injury by the bursting of some of her guns. The division of the commander-in-chief acted according to the preconcerted plan, but could only menace the entrance to the harbour. The Elephant was warmly engaged by the Dannebrog, and by two heavy praams on her bow and quarter. Signals of distress were flying on board the Bellona and the Russel, and of inability in the Agamemnon. The contest had not yet declared itself in favour of either side; but in this posture of affairs the signal was thrown out on board the London, Admiral Parker's ship, for the action to cease. Lord Nelson, who was then walking the starboard side of the quarter-deck, said to Captain Foley, with considerable agitation—"Do you know what's shewn on board of the commander-in-chief?" "Why, to leave off action!" "Leave off action!" and then added with a shrug, "Now, damn me if I do." "You know, Foley," added he, "as I have only one eye, I have a right to be blind sometimes;" and then, with an archness peculiar to his character, putting the glass to his blind eye, he exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal." Captain Riou, perceiving the blank in the original plan for the attack of the crown batteries, owing to the Bellona and Russel having grounded, and to the Agamemnon having anchored, proceeded down the line with his squadron of frigates early in the engagement, and bravely attempted, but in vain, to fulfil the duties which three ships of the line had been directed to assist him in; and the general signal of recall, made by the commander-in-chief, had the good effect at last of saving Riou's squadron from destruction.*

The action continued with unabated vigour; but about two, p. m. the greatest part of the Danish line had ceased to fire: some of the lighter ships were adrift; and the carnage on board the vessels of the enemy, who reinforced their crews from the shore, was dreadful. The Danish commodore's ship was now on fire, and was found to be drifting in flames before the wind, spreading terror and dismay throughout the enemy's line. The usual lamentable scene then ensued; and the British boats rowed in every direction to save the crew, who were throwing themselves from her at every port-hole; few however were left unwounded in her, and fewer still could be saved. About half past three she blew up with a terrible explosion. After the Dannebrog was adrift, and had ceased to fire, the action was found to be over along the whole line a-stern of the British fleet, but the ships a-head, and the crown batteries, as well as the prizes made by the British, still continued to fire. Lord Nelson losing his temper at this, observed, "That he must either send on shore and stop this irregular proceeding, or send in our fire-ships and burn the prizes. He accordingly retired into the stern gallery, and wrote with great dispatch the following letter:

"*To the Brothers of Englishmen, the brave Danes.*

"Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark, when no longer resisting; but if the fire is continued on the part of Denmark, Lord Nelson must be obliged to set on fire all the floating batteries he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave Danes who have defended them.

(Dated) "On board his Majesty's ship Elephant,
"Copenhagen-Roads, April 2, 1801.

(Signed) "Nelson and Bronte,
"Vice-Admiral under the command of Admiral
"Sir Hyde Parker."

This was conveyed on shore through the contending fleets, by Captain Sir Frederic Thesiger, who acted as his Lordship's aide-de-camp; and who found the Prince near the sally-port, animating his people, and sharing their dangers. It deserves to be remarked, that this letter, which exhibited a happy union of policy and courage, was written at a moment when Lord Nelson perceived, that in consequence of the unfavourable state of the wind, the Admiral was not likely to get up to aid the enterprise; that the principal batteries of the enemy, and the ships at the mouth of the harbour, were yet untouched; that two of his own division had grounded; and that others were likely to share the same fate.

The firing from the crown batteries, and from the leading ships of the British, did not cease till past three o'clock, when the Danish Adjutant-General Lindholm, returning with a flag of truce, directed the fire of the batteries to be suspended. The signal for doing the same was then made to the British ships, and the action closed after five hours' duration, four of which were warmly contested, and during which the whole of the Danish line, to the southward of the Crown Islands, amounting to seventeen sail, were sunk, burnt, or taken. This mission of the adjutant-general's was to ask the particular object of sending the flag of truce," to which Lord Nelson replied, that his object in sending the flag of truce was humanity: he therefore consented that hostilities should cease, and that the wounded Danes might be taken on shore; and he would take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes, as he should think fit. On this, his royal highness sent his adjutant-general Lindholm again on board the Elephant, and a negociation was entered upon, which terminated in an armistice for fourteen weeks, during which "the treaty of armed neutrality," as far as related to Denmark, was to be suspended.† As soon

* When Riou, who had been previously wounded in the head, by a splinter, found that he was obliged to retreat, he exclaimed, "What will Nelson think of us?" At this moment his clerk was killed by his side; and by another shot several of the marines shared the same fate. The captain then exclaimed—"Come, my boys, let us all die together!" and the words were scarcely uttered, when a raking shot severed him in two, and deprived the British service of one of its greatest ornaments.

† In recording the memorable engagement off the city of Copenhagen, the gallantry displayed by the Danes ought not to be passed over in silence. Notwithstanding the long peace they had enjoyed, the batteries both afloat and ashore were manned, and the guns served with

soon as the disabled vessels were refitted, the British squadron sailed to Carlescrona, and on the 18th of April arrived off that port. Sir Hyde Parker lost no time in informing the governor, that the Danish court had been induced to conclude an armistice, by which the disputes between the courts of Copenhagen and St. James's had been accommodated, and "to require an explicit answer from the court of Sweden, relative to its intention to abandon the hostile measures, adopted in conjunction with Russia against the rights and interests of Great Britain." To this Vice-Admiral Cronstedt replied in the name of the King, "that it was the unalterable resolution of his Swedish Majesty not to fail for a moment in fulfilling with fidelity and sincerity the engagements he had entered into with his allies; but that he would not refuse to listen to equitable proposals for the accommodation of disputes, provided they were made by plenipotentiaries, sent on the part of the King of Great Britain to the united powers." On receiving this answer, the admiral left the bay without firing a gun; and all future hostilities with the northern states were happily prevented by the death of the Emperor Paul, who fell by the hands of his courtiers, on the 22d of March.*

As soon as Alexander I. son of the deposed Emperor, succeeded to the throne of his father, he published an ukase, revoking several of the acts of the late government, and restoring the British seamen to liberty. Baron Lisakeewitsch, the Russian minister at the court of Denmark, having notified those events to Admiral Parker, the Admiral immediately returned to Kioge bay, to await the orders of his court in consequence of this new and interesting change, and in the mean time the benefits of the armistice were extended to the court of Stockholm. About the same period, Lord St. Helen's arrived at the court of St. Petersburgh, in quality of minister plenipotentiary for England; and by a convention signed in the Rusian capital on the 17th of June, the Emperor on the one hand allowed the right of search, under certain restrictions, by ships of war, but not by privateers; while on the other hand, the merchandise of the produce, growth, and manufacture of the countries engaged in war, might be purchased and carried away by the neutral powers; but by a subsequent explanatory declaration, the commerce between the mother country of a belligerent and her colonies was expressly excluded from the benefit of this arrangement. It was also stipulated by one of the articles that Sweden and Denmark should receive back their ships and settlements on acceding to this treaty, and with these terms they both very readily complied. Thus Great Britain, partly by the sudden demise of the Emperor Paul, and partly by the thunder of her navy, saw a confederacy dissolved which aimed at the decrease of her maritime greatness, and was calculated to involve her in a new and disastrous war.†

The

---

with a degree of promptitude and valour that would have conferred credit on veteran troops. The English Vice-Admiral himself confessed that the combat was far more terrible than the action at Aboukir; and when it is recollected that two captains of the British navy, Captain Riou and Captain Mosse, lost their lives, and Captain Sir T. B. Thompson a leg; and that the total of killed and wounded of the British amounted to nearly one thousand; while the loss of the enemy was stated in Lord Nelson's dispatches at four times that number, it must be allowed that the resistance was noble.

* Sir John Carr, in his "Travels in Russia," in 1804, gives the following history of the Emperor Paul's assassination, upon the authority of one of the assassins, who maintained that the resolution was taken by the actors in this catastrophe from an opinion, "that to save the empire it was necessary that the emperor be removed:" "It was the custom of the emperor to sleep in an outer apartment next to the empress, upon a sofa, in his regimentals and boots, while the grand Duke and Duchess, and the rest of the imperial family, were lodged at various distances, in apartments below the story which he occupied. —In the dead of the night of the 10th of March, O. S. Count P—Z —(late a disgraced courtier) and the rest of the conspirators, amounting to eight or nine persons, having previously changed the guard, passed the drawbridge, easily ascended the stair-case which led to Paul's chamber, and met with no resistance till they reached the anti-room, when a faithful hussar, who always slept at the Emperor's bed-room door, awakened by the noise, challenged them and presented his fusee: much as they must have all admired the brave fidelity of the guard, neither time nor circustances would admit of an act of generosity, which might have endangered the whole plan; Z—drew his sabre and cut the poor fellow down. Paul, awakened by the noise, sprang from his sofa; at this moment the whole party rushed into his room: the unhappy sovereign, anticipating their design, at first endeavoured to intrench himself in the chairs and tables; then recovering, he assumed a high tone, told them they were his prisoners, and called upon them to surrender. Finding that they fixed their eyes steadily and fiercely upon him, and continued advancing towards him, he implored them to spare his life; declared his consent instantly to relinquish the sceptre, and to accept of any terms they would dictate. In his raving, he offered to make them princes, and give them estates, and titles, and orders without end. They now began to press upon him, when he made a convulsive effort to reach the window: in the attempt he failed, and indeed so high was it from the ground, that had he succeeded, the expedient would only have put a more instantaneous period to his misery. In the effort, he very severely cut his hand with the glass; and as they drew him back, he grasped a chair, with which he felled one of the assailants, and a desperate resistance took place. So great was the noise, that notwithstanding the massive walls and thick folding-doors which divided the apartments, the Empress was disturbed, and began to cry for help, when a voice whispered in her ear, and imperatively told her to remain quiet, otherwise, if she uttered another word, she should be put to instant death. Whilst the Emperor was thus making a last struggle, the Prince Y—struck him on one of the temples with his fist, and laid him upon the floor: Paul recovering from the blow, again implored his life; at this moment, the heart of P—Z—relented, and upon being observed to tremble and hesitate, a young Hanoverian resolutely exclaimed, "We have passed the rubicon: if we spare his life, before the setting of to-morrow's sun, we shall be his victims!" Upon which he took off his sash, twined it twice round the neck of the Emperor, and giving one end to Z—and holding the other himself, they pulled for a considerable time with all their force, until their miserable sovereign was no more; they then retired from the palace without the least molestation, and returned to their respective homes. At seven o'clock the intelligence of the demise of Paul, by apoplexy, as it was stated, spread through the capital, and his son, Alexander, who had already mourned his father's fate, mounted the throne of the unfortunate monarch. The punishment that awaited the assassins was slight in the extreme: Count P—Z—was ordered not to approach the imperial residence, and the governor of the city, another of the principal conspirators, was transferred to Riga. Thus perished the son of Peter III. who, after a short reign, fell a sacrifice to the masculine ambition of a female, and the treason of a few contemptible conspirators." Dazzled with the exploits of Buonaparte, Paul contemplated the First Consul of France with the same degree of enthusiasm as had been formerly shewn by his unfortunate father in respect to Frederic the Great. A private correspondence had actually taken place between them, compliments were interchanged, and projects of a new and portentous kind broached. Seven thousand Russian prisoners in France were immediately liberated without exchange, or ransom, and after being clothed in new uniforms, and armed from the depots of the republic, placed at the disposal of the enraptured Czar. To fill up the measure of this wonderful change in the sentiments of the court of St. Petersburgh, Count de Kalitschew, a Russian nobleman, was dispatched to Paris, in the character of ambassador-extraordinary; and that prince, who had afforded an asylum to the unfortunate remains of the Bourbon family, and who kept a court for and recognised Louis XVIII. as the legitimate sovereign of France, now acknowledged the French Republic, and testified his admiration for her first magistrate.

† As soon as the peace of Luneville had been signed, the consular government of France determined to punish Portugal for its attachment to England. Queen Mary, the widow of her uncle Peter III. incapacitated by a mental malady, from the exercise of the royal functions, still retained the semblance of sovereignty; but the kingdom was governed by her son, as regent. The Prince of Brazil, conscious that his country had been repeatedly saved, and his family continued on the throne, in consequence of the support and protection of Great Britain, from whom he now expected the assistance of an auxiliary army, was devoted to that power, and, notwithstanding the menaces of the court of Madrid, had hitherto rejected the idea of any treaty that tended to exclude British ships from the ports of Portugal. The King of Spain, fearful of an invasion on the part of the republic, published a manifesto, on the 27th of February, in which he complained that Europe had been scandalised at Portugal's presenting a secure asylum to the squadrons of the enemy, from which they were enabled to issue forth and seize on the vessels of Spain, and on those of a republic united to him by friendship. This manifesto announced the recall of the Spanish ambassador from the court of Portugal, and concluded with a declaration of war against that country. The counter-manifesto, published by the court of Lisbon, on the 21st of April, was replete with energy, and worthy of the most prosperous days of the Portuguese monarchy. After congratulating the nation on retaining its independence, notwithstanding the subjugation of so many other countries, the prince regent maintained that Portugal had always evinced a scrupulous fidelity to its promises in respect to foreign states; that war had been declared against them because they had observed the faith of treaties; and that the measures now taken by the enemies of Portugal were intended to degrade and debase her by reducing her to the necessity of supplicating for the preservation of her commerce. However, Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, having been declared generalissimo of the Spanish army, immediately entered Portugal, and in the course of less than two months over-ran that country. The prince regent, finding all his efforts to resist the Spaniards in vain, was obliged to consent to a treaty of peace, which was signed at Badajos, on the 6th of June. By this treaty, Spain obtained possession of the province of Olivenza, and it was stipulated that no armed ships, appertaining to the enemies of that country, should be admitted into the harbours of Portugal.

These proceedings, however, did not appear in exact conformity with

The force which had been destined against Egypt, in the preceding year, after the reduction of Malta, had repaired to Gibraltar, to recover from the inconveniences of a long cruise in a boisterous season. In December, 1800, they landed at Malta, whence they sailed, in two divisions, for Marmorice, in the hope and expectation of deriving material assistance from the Turks. They were deceived, however, in this respect; and, indeed, they laboured under such disadvantages, as had seldom been experienced by troops in a similar situation. They knew little or nothing of the country they were going to attack; they were possessed but of one map, and that most grossly incorrect; they had no other guide than Sir Sidney Smith, who was unacquainted with the interior of the country; they could derive no information but from Mr. Baldwin, who had been the British consul, at Alexandria;—and they were so ill-informed of the actual state of the enemy's force, that, at the highest computation, they estimated it only at 10,000 French, and 5,000 auxiliaries;—and this estimate even exceeded the number stated in the official information sent from England, on which the expedition was founded. In point of fact, the French force, at this time, amounted to no less than 32,180 men;—while Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who commanded the expedition, had under him not more than 12,000 effective men. Notwithstanding the disparity of force, and so many other discouraging circumstances, the British commander resolved to make the attempt, at least, to dislodge the French from Egypt. Aboukir Bay was the point chosen for landing the army, and, at two o'clock in the morning of the 8th of March, 1801, the first division, consisting of the reserve, under Major General Moore, the brigade of guards, under Major General Ludlow, and part of the first brigade, composed of the royals, the first battalion of the 54th, 200 of the second battalion, the whole amounting to about 5,500 men, under the command of Major General Coote, assembled in the boats, while the remainder of the first and second brigades were put into ships stationed close to the shore, to be ready to give speedy support to the troops that were to land first. The boats were appointed to rendezvous near the Mondovi, which was anchored at about gun shot distance from the shore. At three o'clock, the signal rocket was fired; and the boats moved onward to the destined spot. But it was near nine o'clock before they could all collect, and proceed, in regular order to the shore. The right flank of the boats was protected by the Cevelle cutter, and the Dangereuse, and Janissary gun vessels: the left by the Entreprenant cutter, Malta schooner, and the Negresse gun-vessel; on each flank also were two armed launches of the fleet. The gallant hero of Acra, with a detachment of seamen, directed to co-operate with the army, had charge of the launches which contained the field artillery. The Tartan and Fury bomb-vessels were so placed as to cover the landing with their fire; and the Peterell, Camelion, and Minorca, were moored with their broadsides to the shore. The shore formed the arch of a circle, the extremities of which, distant about three miles from each other, projected about one mile into the sea. And, as the ships were stationed just within this arch, the boats had a mile to go before they reached the shore. The land rose from the beach, forming a variety of sand-hills, and, in the centre, one much larger than the rest, rising to the height of sixty yards, and nearly perpendicular. It was a position peculiarly favourable for resisting a landing army; and, as the French had had ample notice of the approach of the English, they had spared no pains to increase its natural advantages, by troops and seamen, placed in situations which gave them the best command of the beach, and exposed themselves to the least possible danger. Indeed, so confident was the French commander, Menou, that no serious attempt would be made to land here, that he sent only two thousand men to receive the English. This was a fatal blunder of his; for, had he opposed their landing with fifteen or twenty thousand men, as he easily might have done, the enterprize would have been too hazardous to be undertaken, and too desperate to succeed. About nine in the morning, the signal was made for the boats to advance towards the shore. They sprang forward with amazing rapidity, at the same moment; and, as soon as the French had recovered from the astonishment which the intrepidity of the assailants had excited, they opened upon them a most dreadful fire, from twelve pieces of cannon stationed on the heights, and from the castle of Aboukir, at one end of their line.

Such was the quantity of shot and shells thrown from this commanding position, that the destruction of the whole division seemed inevitable; and, as the boats approached the shore, they were further exposed to a heavy fire of grape shot and musquetry. The effect of these on the water has been compared, by an eye-witness, to the fall of a shower of hail. Yet, strange to say, only one boat received any material damage. The reserve leaped out of the boats on the shore, and formed as they advanced; the 23d and 40th rushed up the principal sand-hill, without firing a shot, and drove the enemy from their post with the bayonet. They pursued them till they carried two nole-hills in the rear, which commanded the plain to the left. They were followed by the 42d regiment, who also ascended the height, notwithstanding the fire from two pieces of cannon, and a battalion of infantry;—when they reached the summit, they sustained a charge from two hundred French dragoons, whom they soon compelled to retire with precipitation. These dragoons, however, rallied behind the sand hills, and, attacking the guards, as they were landing on the beach, threw them into momentary confusion; but the timely approach of the 50th regiment, which was already formed on their right, checked the enemy, and gave time for the guards to present a front, when the enemy were again repulsed with considerable loss. At the very moment when the 54th and royals landed, a column of six hundred infantry was advancing, with fixed bayonets, against the left flank of the guards; but as soon as they perceived those regiments, they fired a volley and retreated. In about an hour and a half, the French were driven from every position, with the loss of three hundred men, eight pieces of cannon, and many horses. The boats immediately returned for the remainder of the troops, and, by the great exertions of the navy, the whole army was landed by the evening. In this affair the English

---

with the interests and views of France; and General St. Cyr, who had been invested with the character of ambassador to the court at Madrid, immediately placed himself at the head of a body of 24,000 troops, entered Portugal, and invested the fortress of Almeida, within thirty leagues of the capital. No sooner was this event known at Lisbon, than the court became alarmed for its safety, and as the subsidy of 300,000*l.* voted to that state by the British Parliament, was unaccompanied by a body of troops, as had been originally intended, a peace soon after took place between Portugal and France. By this treaty, signed at Madrid, on the 29th of September, Portugal engaged no longer to admit either British ships of war or merchantmen into her harbours; the limits of the dominions of the republic in Guiana were extended; and commercial immunities highly favourable to France were obtained. On the other hand, the British ministry, being apprehensive lest the island of Madeira should be delivered up to the enemy, sent a squadron thither, with a small body of land forces under Colonel Clinton, who, debarking on the day of his arrival, obtained possession of the forts which command the bay of Funchal.

In the interim, such of the states of Europe as had not yet made their peace with France, being terrified into submission by the victories of Marengo and Hohenlinden, and bereaved, in consequence of the treaty of Luneville, of all efficient co-operation, were eager to submit to the conqueror. The King of the two Sicilies, alarmed at the approach of an army under General Murat, withdrew his troops in succession from the territories of Tuscany and Rome; and at the moment when the French were about once more to enter his kingdom, he contrived, by the powerful intercession of Russia and Spain, to prevent the re-establishment of the Parthenopean republic. This treaty, however, by means of which he purchased his safety, was humiliating; for he agreed to shut the ports of Naples and Sicily to the ships of war of Great Britain and the Ottoman Porte, and to renounce, with Porto Longone, his possessions in the isle of Elba, the presidial states in Tuscany, and the principality of Piombino. He stipulated, by a specific article, to pay the sum of 500,000 livres, by way of indemnification for the lives lost and the damages sustained by the French party, during the late disorders in the kingdom of Naples; and he was obliged also solemnly to agree to permit all those who had been either imprisoned or banished on account of their political opinions, to be liberated, and return to their native country.

had

had six hundred and fifty-five men, killed, wounded, and missing; of whom one hundred and two only were slain. The British army continuing to advance, attacked the French, who had taken up a formidable position on the road to Alexandria. This action, which lasted several hours, was fought on the 13th of March.

The English suffered severely by the enemy's decided superiority in cavalry and artillery, and, after sustaining a destructive fire, under multiplied disadvantages, during the greater part of the day, the General did not think it prudent to persist in his intention to force the heights on which the enemy were posted; and, therefore, ordered the army to return to the position which they occupied in the morning. It was in this position that the British army sustained and repelled the memorable attack of the 21st of March. The preceding evening Sir Sidney Smith received a letter from an Arab chief, apprizing him of the arrival of General Menou, at Alexandria, with a powerful force, and of his intention to attack the English the next morning. The commander-in-chief, wholly unacquainted with the disposition and character of these Arabs, gave no credit to the friendly communication, notwithstanding the avowed confidence which the gallant and intelligent officer, to whom it was addressed, and who was best able to appreciate such intelligence, reposed in it. The attack began, on the right of the British lines, at half past three in the morning, and continued till ten, when Menou, finding every effort to carry the British position unavailing, ordered his men to retire. The loss of the French, on this day, was estimated at four thousand men, about one fourth of whom were killed. The English had two hundred and thirty-five officers and men killed, twelve hundred and fifty wounded, and two-and-thirty missing. Among the wounded were General Moore, Brigadier-Generals Hope, Oakes, and Lawson, and Sir Sidney Smith. Sir Ralph Abercrombie also received a mortal wound, by a musquet ball, in the thigh, early in the day, which he concealed from the army till the period for exertion was past, when his strength failed him, he was carried off the field, and conveyed on board the Admiral's ship, where he died on the 28th of March. His death was universally, and most deservedly lamented;—for his mind was stored with every great and good quality, and his heart was the seat of every virtue.* The French General, Roix, was among the killed.—The standard of the legion to which Buonaparte, with his usual arrogance, had given the appellation of Invincible, was taken by Anthony Lutz, a private in the Minorca regiment, which took an active and distinguished part in the business of the day.† The action, on the part of the British, was, exclusively, confined to the right wing, which did not consist of more than six thousand men, and which defeated nearly double the number of the enemy, whose whole force, with the exception of eight hundred, was directed against them.

On the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, the command devolved on General Hutchinson.—It was, for some time, a matter of doubt with the new commander, whether he should lay siege to Alexandria; or proceed further into the country, and, after forming a junction with the Turkish army, which was hastening to join him, by the way of Syria, endeavour to reduce Grand Cairo, and to cut off all communication between the French on the coast, and every part of the interior. After duly weighing every circumstance, and, particularly, the inadequacy of his force to form the siege of Alexandria, he wisely resolved to adopt the latter plan of operations. The junction between the English and Turkish armies was effected at the beginning of June; and, on the 15th of that month, General Hutchinson wrote to General Belliard, who commanded at Cairo, calling upon him to prevent a needless effusion of blood, and offering him the most honourable terms to induce him to surrender the place. This the French commander peremptorily refused, and, in order to inspirit his men at the approach of the English, ordered a feu de joie to be fired, by the garrison, for the capture of Ireland. Belliard, however, had no seriou intention of defending the place; he knew the incompetency of his army to guard such extensive fortifications; he was aware, that the inhabitants were, to a man, hostile to the French; and he was sensible that his own troops desired nothing so ardently as to return to Europe. He, therefore, prudently, sent a flag of truce to the English camp, and, after a long conference, a capitulation was signed, on the 27th of June, by which the French engaged to evacuate Cairo, on being allowed to return, with their arms, to Europe. This capitulation was carried into effect on the tenth of the following month, when the English and Turks took possession of the city, and both their flags were hoisted on the citadel. The total amount of persons included in the capitulation amounted to upwards of fourteen thousand; exclusive of women and children; and the military alone, including five hundred men who deserted to the Mamelukes, after the capitulation, amounted to 14,172. General Hutchinson, having received some reinforcements from England, in the month of July, which swelled his army to 16,000 men, resolved to commence the siege of Alexandria. The approaches to the town were made under circumstances highly honourable to the valour and good conduct of the besieging army, who drove the enemy from post to post, till the French commander, Menou, finding no prospect of relief from Europe, and no hopes of ultimate success from further resistance, agreed, on the 1st day of September, to surrender the place, on condition of being sent to Europe. The whole force, in Alexandria, at the period of this capitulation, was 10,528 men; the last of which sailed from the harbour on the 18th of September.

Thus, with a force apparently so inadequate to the accomplishment of the task which they were sent to perform, did the British army wrest this important country from their enemies, and restore it to their allies. Intelligence of the final conquest of Egypt by the English reached Paris, before the British cabinet could be apprized of it, through an inconsiderate permission, granted by General Hutchinson to the French commander, to dispatch a swift sailing vessel to apprize his government of the event, the moment the capitulation was signed. It is too much, perhaps, to expect the General and the politician to be united in the same person; but, without meaning to impute culpable negligence to the British General, it is impossi-

* Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. &c. was the son of George Abercrombie, of Tillebodie, in Clackmannanshire, Esq. and was born about the year 1738, or according to his epitaph at Malta, in 1733. After receiving a liberal education, he entered by choice into the army, in 1756, and was advanced through the regular gradations to the rank of Major-General, which he attained in September, 1787. On the breaking out of the revolutionary war, in 1792-3, he was employed on the continent, and had the local rank of Lieutenant-General conferred upon him. In the action on the heights of Cateau, he commanded the advanced guard, and was wounded in the battle of Nimeguen. In 1795, he was created Knight of the Bath, and appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in the West Indies. On his arrival he obtained possession of the island of Grenada, and soon after of the settlements of Demarara and Essequibo. His next conquests were the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent; and in February, 1797, the Spanish island of Trinidad capitulated to him. On his return to Europe he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, from which he was, in 1798, elevated to the office of Governor of Fort Augustus and Fort St. George. Previously to this, as has been already seen, he was appointed commander-in-chief in Ireland; and, afterwards, in Scotland. When the enterprise against Holland was undertaken in 1799, Sir Ralph Abercrombie held a principal command under the Duke of York. A more favourable enterprise soon afforded him an opportunity of immortalizing his name. This was the expedition undertaken for the purpose of dispossessing the French of Egypt. But it was, as has been seen above, his destiny to fall in the moment of victory; and on his removal from the field of battle to the Foudroyant, he heroically exclaimed, "I can feel no pain, when I think on the bravery of those fine fellows whom I have just left."

† Sergeant Sinclair, of the 42d regiment, and Lutz claimed equally this trophy, and it appears that each merited the honour: Sergeant Sinclair first took it, but being ordered forward by an officer, he gave it to a private, who was killed. When the Minorca regiment advanced, the French had recovered their colours; but Lutz wrested them from the man who had possession of them, and then bayoneted him.

PLATE OF GENERAL ARTICULATE.

ble not to lament, that he did not take special care in the critical state in which Europe was then placed, that his own government should be first apprized of an event, of which the interest of their country required that they should receive the earliest possible information. In consequence of the knowledge thus obtained, the first consul of France derived an important advantage, in a treaty of peace which he hastily concluded with the Turks, and which contained many provisions highly favourable to the French, who had grossly violated every agreement which they had entered into with the Porte, and who had even invaded her territory in time of peace,—and greatly prejudicial to the English, who, from the important assistance which they had rendered to the Turks, and from their honourable and disinterested conduct towards them, on all occasions, were entitled to every return which justice, generosity, and gratitude, could suggest or confer. The evacuation of Egypt (the Turkish ambassador not knowing that it had actually taken place) was the consideration held out by the French, for the benefits which they claimed, and the privileges which they acquired, by this new treaty.

Whilst the possession of Egypt was uncertain, Buonaparte determined to point all his efforts against the only enemy either unsubdued or unhumbled by the arts and arms of France. Large bodies of troops were accordingly collected in the maritime departments of France; ships, guns, and flat-bottomed boats, were built and equipped; the ports of Belgium and of Holland were crowded with armed vessels; camps were formed at Bruges, Gravelines, Boulogne, Brest, Granville, Cherbourg, and St. Maloe's; and the deeds about to be performed by those armies which had forced the passage of the Bormida, the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, and gained the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden, were vaunted in the consular proclamations and manifestos of France. Buonaparte affected to consider the English as a nation rendered effeminate by wealth, and unwarlike by commerce; and it was confidently predicted that the steel of the French would prove more than a match for the gold of the Britons. On the other hand, the whole island was in motion; and one uniform spirit of patriotic defiance was breathed by the inhabitants. The volunteer battalions and companies were increased, a numerous and respectable body of yeomanry cavalry was formed, the fencible regiments were disciplined into a knowledge of the military art, and the militia, many regiments of which had served in Ireland, received a considerable augmentation by means of the supplementary levy. From the votes of supply for this year, it appears, that, including all orders and descriptions of men ready to act by sea and land, the amount approached to nearly half a million,* Buonaparte, surrounded by a brilliant assemblage of troops, affected to blend all the state of the ancient Kings of France with that of the Emperors of the west; being surrounded by numerous guards, attended by the prefects of the palace, and appearing on great occasions alone in the presence of the people. The Elector Palatine of Bavaria about this time negotiated a treaty, by which he renounced the duchies of Juliers, Deux Ponts, and their dependencies, together with the bailiwick of the Palatinate of the Rhine, situated upon the left bank of that river. The surrender of Alexandria, and the consequent evacuation of Egypt, as we have seen, produced a peace between France and the Ottoman Porte.

By a convention with the Pope, ratified on the 10th of September, Buonaparte was not only acknowledged to possess all the privileges of the ancient monarchy so far as concerned public worship, but new and essential immunities were obtained for the Gallican church. His Holiness agreed to procure the resignation of the prelates who had adhered to the old establishment, and the chief magistrate was to nominate to the vacant sees. A new formula of prayer was introduced; and the holy father covenanted in behalf of himself and his successors, that those who had acquired the alienated property of the church should not be disturbed. By a concordat, the apostolical and Roman faith was declared to be the religion of the state, and the Catholics were to pay one-tenth of their taxes to defray the expences of public worship.

The British fleets, squadrons, and detachments, whether employed for home defence, or occupied in distant quarters of the globe, distinguished themselves this year by their accustomed zeal and devotion in the cause of their country. In March, Admiral Duckworth made an easy capture of the Swedish Island of St. Bartholomew, as well as of the Danish settlements of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, which were of course restored to those powers, in virtue of the treaty of St. Petersburgh. The islands of St. Martin and St. Eustatia were also reduced; while in the east, the Batavian settlement of Ternate, the chief of the Molucca islands, surrendered on the 21st of June, after a vigorous resistance, to a small squadron under the command of Captain Hayes. In the Mediterranean two severe actions took place; the former of which proved unfortunate. Admiral Sir James Saumarez commanded a squadron of ten ships of the line, which blockaded the port of Cadiz. Receiving intelligence that three French line of battle ships and a frigate were lying at anchor in the road of Algezira, under cover of the batteries on shore, he conceived the bold design of attacking them in that situation. On the 6th of July, he proceeded with six sail of the line, under a favourable breeze, in the sanguine hope of capturing the French ships; but on a sudden the wind failed, and the English squadron could not, with every effort, engage the enemy in a regular or close action. The Hannibal, Captain Ferris, in bearing up, unfortunately took the ground in a position where she lay exposed to a tremendous fire from one of the land batteries. Admiral Saumarez, perceiving the dangerous situation in which the Hannibal was placed, made an attempt to silence the battery, by running his own ship between her and the shore; but this manœuvre did not succeed, for being himself placed at a distance of only three cables' length from another battery, the Admiral was compelled to retire, and to his inexpressible chagrin, to leave the Hannibal a prey to the enemy: Captain Ferris, although at length forced to strike, maintained the contest with distinguished constancy, and suffered a loss of 143 men in killed and wounded, before he surrendered his vessel into the hands of the enemy. However, by the indefatigable exertions of the British officers and seamen, who received every assistance from the garrison of Gibraltar, the whole squadron, with the exception of the Pompée, was speedily refitted and ready for sea, when a new and more propitious opportunity occurred of distinguishing their valour. The three sail of French line of battle ships engaged in the late action had been reinforced by five more, under the command of Don Juan Joaquin de Moreno, as well as by a French seventy-four, carrying a broad pendant. These vessels, with the Hannibal, which was with some difficulty warped into deep water, and a number of frigates and gun-boats, got under weigh with an intention of returning to Cadiz safe, in consequence of their numbers, and assured, as they imagined, of an easy victory, in case of a contest with a detachment which had been so recently foiled. Notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force, Sir James Saumarez hoisted the signal for battle, and followed the enemy, who had just cleared Laboreta Point, at eight o'clock in the evening of the 13th of July. Captain Keates having received orders to attack the sternmost ship, and keep between the fleet and the shore, the Superb accordingly made sail, and began the engagement at eleven o'clock at night, by firing on several of the enemy's ships, which formed a cluster, and in consequence of the darkness engaged with each other through mistake. The Cæsar, in the course of a few minutes, began also to open on a Spanish three-decker that had

* For the sea service, including 39,000 marines 135,000
Regular forces, including cavalry and infantry 193,187
Militia, including Irish 78,046
Fencibles of both countries 31,415
Total land and sea force, exclusive of volunteers ..... 437,648.

hauled her wind; but the Spanish ship was soon after observed to be in flames, and shortly after ran on board another vessel of the same force, to which the conflagration extended with uncommon rapidity, so that, after the lapse of a short, but awful period, they both blew up. These vessels proved to be the San Herminigeldo, and the Real Carlos, each of 112 guns, and 1,250 men, the former carrying the Admiral's flag, and both of them officered from the noble families in Spain. The English commander, perceiving that these ships could present no formidable resistance during the rest of the action, passed on to the assistance of the Superb, Captain Keates, then engaged with the St. Antonio, of 74 guns, carrying the broad pendant of Commodore Le Roy, which had before been silenced, and now struck her colours. After the firing had ceased, it became so dark that none of the enemy's squadron were visible; the Cæsar, however, continued her course, during a heavy gale, in chase of the remainder of the fleet, and at the approach of the morning could only discover one French ship, which proved to be the Formidable, of 84 guns, endeavouring to reach the channel leading through the shoals of Conil. But as the wind suddenly failed at this moment, one ship alone was enabled to bring her to action; and Captain Hood, after a spirited engagement, had nearly silenced the enemy, when his mainmast, which had been wounded before, was unfortunately shot away, and a calm ensuing, the Formidable effected her escape into Cadiz. The Venerable soon after struck on a bank, and was for some time threatened with ship-wreck, but fortunately she was at length extricated from her perilous situation, with the loss of her masts only, and returned, with the fleet to Gibraltar. Thus ended an action in which the superiority of the enemy was immense; and Sir James Saumarez was gratified with the thanks of the two Houses of Parliament, and rewarded with a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year.*

The most interesting exploit of this campaign yet remains to be noticed. Lord Nelson, having collected a flotilla, determined to attack the enemy in their own ports, and thus put an end to the menace of invasion. He accordingly hoisted his flag on the 2d of August, as Vice-Admiral of the blue, on board the Medusa, and proceeded with two sail of the line, two frigates, and several smaller vessels, to Boulogne, where the French had assembled a great number of gun-boats, armed brigs, and lugger-rigged flats. Perceiving that twenty-four of these were anchored in a line in front of the harbour, a signal was hoisted, on which the bombs weighed with a favourable wind, and threw their shells with such effect, that in the course of a few hours three of the flats and brigs were sunk, and six driven on shore. Lord Nelson was of opinion that the remainder of the flotilla might be captured by a bold and well-concerted evolution, to be performed by the boats of his squadron. He accordingly directed the expedition to be undertaken on the night of the 15th of August, by five divisions, (one of which carried howitzers) under the command of five Captains (Somerville, Cotgrave, Parker, Jones, and Conn) of the royal navy. Having left the Medusa within half an hour of midnight, they immediately steered for the harbour's mouth, and the firing commenced before one, but owing to the darkness of the night, with the tide and half tide, the divisions separated; and from all not arriving at the same moment with Captain Parker, was to be attributed the want of success.†

Whilst every shore re-echoed with the thunder of hostility, the inhabitants of both France and England had become heartily tired of the war. For some time past an active intercourse had taken place between the two governments. Flags of truce and of defiance were actually displayed at the same time, and in the same strait; so that while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded and blockaded by hostile squadrons, the ports of Dover and Calais were frequently visited by the packet-boats and the messengers of the courts of St. James's and the Thuilleries. The negociation had been carried on in London, between Lord Hawkesbury, on the one hand, and Louis William Otto, who had been some time resident in this country, as a Commissary for the exchange of prisoners, on the other; the former, by a departure from the established rules of diplomatic etiquette, having consented to reduce himself to a level with a private citizen of France. It had continued during the whole of the summer; and, in its progress, many impediments arose, and some curious discussions took place, relative to the Liberty of the Press in this country, which Buonaparte was fearful might be employed to delineate the hideous features of his own character, in the colours of truth. With every disposition to concede, as far as possible, the British Ministers made a firm stand at this point, and Lord Hawkesbury resisted, strongly and resolutely, every attempt to encroach on that freedom of discussion, to which much of the excellence of the British Constitution may fairly be ascribed. At length, the Cabinet of Paris having received Menou's dispatches from Egypt, hastened the conclusion of the business; and, on the first of October, the preliminaries were signed by Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto. This intelligence was immediately communicated in a note to the Lord Mayor, and diffused general satisfaction throughout the whole kingdom. At the end of eleven days, the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the part of the first consul, was brought from Paris by Colonel Lauriston, who, as well as the French plenipotentiary, was drawn threw the streets of the metropolis in his carriage by the populace. By this treaty Great Britain restored to France and her allies every possession or colony taken from them during the war, with the exception of the Spanish Island of Trinidad, and the Dutch settlements at Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to become a free port, and Malta was to be restored to the order, but under the express guarantee and protection of a third power, to be fixed upon in the definitive treaty. In order to bring that treaty to a speedy conclusion, Lord Cornwallis was dis-

* In the course of this year, Captain Rowley Bulteel, in the Belliqueux, with a convoy of East-Indiamen, which were mistaken by the enemy for men of war, captured the French frigates, La Concorde and La Medée, the former of forty-four and the latter of thirty-six guns, in the neighbourhood of Brazil, forming part of a squadron which had committed great depredations on the coast of Africa. The fleet under Vice-Admiral Rainier in the East Indies seized a number of valuable prizes, particularly two Dutch ships in the neighbourhood of Java. Captain T. Manby, in the Bourdelois, belonging to Rear-Admiral Duckworth's detachment in the West Indies, nearly about the same time dispersed a small armament fitted out by Victor Hughes for the purpose of intercepting the outward-bound convoy. In the Mediterranean an action singularly severe was fought on the 10th of February, between the Phœbe, Captain R. Barlow, and the French frigate L'Africaine, of forty-guns and 715 men, of whom many were soldiers bound for Egypt: the commander of the frigate, though incapable of contending with the British vessel, would not yield until his ship became a mere wreck, with five feet water in her hold; all her guns were also dismounted, and his decks crowded with the dying and the dead; the number of the latter amounted to 200, and the wounded to 143, while the loss on board the Phœbe amounted only to one killed and twelve wounded. Lord Cochrane, in the Speedy sloop, of fourteen four-pounders, and fifty-four men and boys, performed a brilliant exploit, by boarding and capturing the Spanish Zebeck frigate, of thirty-two guns, and 319 seamen and marines, off Barcelona. His Lordship also distinguished himself about the same time, in the same vessel, with Captain Pulling, of the Kangaroo, sloop of war, and after a spirited and successful attack on a convoy, anchored on the coast of Spain; on which occasion, a detachment from the British vessels landed and blew up the tower of Almarana.

† "The most astonishing bravery," says Lord Nelson, in a letter to Earl St. Vincent, dated August the 16th, "was evinced by many of our officers and men, and Captains Somerville, Cotgrave, and Parker, exerted themselves to the utmost." (Captain Jones, owing to the rapidity of the tide, was thrown to the westward of the line.) "Conn, in the command of the howitzer boats, did every thing that was possible; indeed, all behaved well, and it was their misfortune to be sent on a service in which the precautions of the enemy had rendered it impossible to succeed. We have lost," adds the Vice-Admiral, "many brave officers and men, one hundred and seventy-two killed and wounded. My gallant dear friend, Captain Parker, who was my aide-de-camp, had his thigh very much shattered; I have my fears for his life. The loss has been very heavy, and the object was great. The flotilla, brigs, and flats, were moored by the bottom to the shore and each other by chains; therefore, although several of them were carried, yet the very heavy fire of musketry from the shore which overlooked the flotilla, forced our people to desist, without being able, as I am told, to set them on fire." Captain Parker died of his wounds.

patched

patched to France. Amiens was the scene of negociation, appointed by the First Consul; and his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, received the full power to treat with the British Plenipotentiary. In the course of the discussion which ensued, France, with her usual artifice, started fresh difficulties, and preferred fresh demands; which occasioned so much delay, that it was supposed by many, that war would be renewed. On the 25th of March, (1802) however, matters were finally arranged, and the seal was put to the treaty of Amiens; which differed but little from the preliminaries of London. Malta was to be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, till such time as the Knights could form a sufficient force themselves, for the defence of the island, the independence of which was to be secured by France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.*

Thus

* DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE.

Between his Britannic Majesty on the one part; and the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Batavian republic, on the other part.

HIS Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of peace, in the preliminary articles signed at London the 1st of October, 1801, (9th Vendemiaire, year 10.)

And as, by the 15th article of the said preliminaries, it has been stipulated, that plenipotentiaries should be named on each side, who should proceed to Amiens, for the purpose of conducting a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting powers:

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named for his plenipotentiary the Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the most illustrious Order of the Garter, Privy Counsellor to his Majesty, General of his armies, &c.; the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, the Citizen Joseph Buonaparte, Counsellor of State; his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the government of the Batavian Republic, have named for their plenipotentiaries, videlicet, his Catholic Majesty, Don Joseph Nicholas d'Azara, his Counsellor of State, Knight of the Great Cross, of the Order of Charles III. ambassador extraordinary to the French Republic, &c.; and the government of the Batavian Republic, Roger John Schimmelpenninck, their Ambassador Extraordinary to the French Republic; who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, which are transcribed at the end of the present treaty, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors, on the one part; and the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian Republic, on the other part. The contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their states a perfect harmony, and without allowing, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or land, to be committed, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might hereafter affect the union happily re-established, and they shall not afford any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who should cause prejudice to any of them.

II. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, and on paying the debts they have contracted during their captivity. Each contracting party shall respectively discharge the advances which have been made by any of the contracting parties, for the subsistence and maintenance of the prisoners in the countries where they have been detained. For this purpose a commission shall be appointed by agreement, which shall be specially charged to ascertain and regulate the compensation which may be due to either of the contracting powers. The time and place where the commissioners, who shall be charged with the execution of this article, shall assemble, shall also be fixed upon by agreement; and the said commissioners shall take into account the expences occasioned, not only by the prisoners of the respective nations, but also by the foreign troops, who, before they were made prisoners, were in the pay, or at the disposal of any of the contracting parties.

III. His Britannic Majesty restores to the French Republic, and her allies, namely, his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic, all the possessions and colonies which belonged to them respectively, and which had been occupied or conquered by the British forces in the course of the war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon.

IV. His Catholic Majesty cedes and guarantees, in full right and sovereignty, to his Britannic Majesty, the island of Trinidad.

V. The Batavian Republic cedes and guarantees, in full right and sovereignty, to his Britannic Majesty, all the possessions and establishments in the islands of Ceylon, which belonged, before the war, to the Republic of the United Provinces, or to their East-India Company.

VI. The Cape of Good Hope remains in full sovereignty to the Batavian Republic, as it was before the war.

The ships of every description belonging to the other contracting parties shall have the right to put in there, and to purchase such supplies as they may stand in need of, as heretofore, without paying any other duties than those to which the ships of the Batavian Republic are subjected.

VII. The territories and possessions of her most faithful Majesty are maintained in their integrity, such as they were previously to the commencement of the war.

Nevertheless, the limits of French and Portuguese Guiana shall be determined by the river Arawari, which falls into the ocean below North Cape, near the isle Neuve, and the island of Penitence, about a degree and one-third of north latitude. These limits shall follow the course of the river Arawari, from that of its mouth which is at the greatest distance from the North Cape to its source, and thence in a direct line from its source to the river Branco, towards the west. The northern bank of the river Arawari, from its mouth to its source, and the lands which are situated to the north of the line of the limits above fixed, shall consequently belong in full sovereignty to the French Republic. The southern bank of the said river from its source, and all the lands to the southward of the said line of demarkation, shall belong to her most faithful Majesty. The navigation of the river Arawari shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have taken place between the courts of Madrid and of Lisbon, for the settlement of their frontiers in Europe, shall however be executed, conformably to the treaty of Badajos.

VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights, of the Ottoman Porte, are hereby maintained in their integrity, such as they were previously to the war.

IX. The Republic of the Seven Islands is hereby acknowledged.

X. The islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, shall be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and shall be held by it upon the same conditions on which the Order held them previously to the war, and under the following stipulations:

1. The Knights of the Order, whose langues shall continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as soon as that exchange shall have taken place. They shall there form a general chapter, and shall proceed to the election of a grand master, to be chosen from among the natives of those nations which preserve langues, if no such election have been already made since the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace. It is understood that an election which shall have been made subsequently to that period, shall alone be considered as valid, to the exclusion of every other which shall have taken place at any time previously to the said period.

2. The governments of Great Britain and the French Republic, being desirous of placing the Order of St. John, and the island of Malta, in a state of entire independence on each of those powers, do agree, that there shall be henceforth no English nor French langues; and that no individual belonging to either of the said powers shall be admissible into the order.

3. A Maltese langue shall be established, to be supported out of the land revenues and commercial duties of the island. There shall be dignities, with appointments, and an auberge, appropriated to this langue; no proofs of nobility shall be necessary for the admission of Knights of the said langue; they shall be competent to hold every office, and to enjoy every privilege, in the like manner as the Knights of the other langues. The municipal, revenue, civil, judicial, and other offices under the government of the island, shall be filled at least in the proportion of one half by native inhabitants of Malta Gozo, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if it can be done: at that period the island shall be delivered up to the Order in the state in which it now is, provided that the grand master, or commissioners fully empowered according to the statutes of the Order, be upon the island to receive possession; and that the force to be furnished by his Sicilian Majesty, as hereafter stipulated, shall be arrived there.

5. The garrison of the island shall, at all times, consist at least one half of native Maltese; and the other shall have the liberty of recruiting for the remainder of the garrison from the natives of those countries only that shall continue to possess langues. The native Maltese troops shall be officered by Maltese: the supreme command, of the garrison, as well as the appointment of the officers, shall be invested in the grand-master of the Order, and he shall not be at liberty to divest himself of it, even for a time, except in favour of a Knight of the Order, and in consequence of the opinion of the council of the Order.

6. The independence of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be under the protection and guarantee of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia.

7. The perpetual neutrality of the Order and of the island of Malta, and its dependencies, is hereby declared.

8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and navigation of all nations, who shall pay equal and moderate duties. These duties shall be applied to the support of the Maltese langue, in the manner specified in paragraph 3, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, and to that of a Lazaretto, open to all flags.

9. The Barbary States are excepted from the provisions of the two preceding paragraphs, until, by means of arrangement to be made by the contracting parties, the system of hostility which subsists between the said Barbary States, the Order of St. John, and the powers possessing langues or taking part in the formation of them, shall be terminated.

10. The Order shall be governed, both in spiritual and temporal matters, by the same statutes that were in force at the time when the Knights quitted the island, so far as the same shall not be derogated from by the present treaty.

11. The

Thus ended the revolutionary war, in the defeat of all the hopes and expectations which had been formed, of indemnity for the past, and of security for the future; and, in the accomplishment of all those gigantic plans of subversion and conquest, which had been conceived by the first founders of the French Republic; and pursued, with unremitting activity, by all her successive rulers. By the peace of Amiens, a great part of the Continent of Europe was laid prostrate at the feet of France; and French influence remained predominant from the German Ocean to the Bay of Naples. In short, Jacobinism triumphed; her child and champion "established his ascendancy;—her firmest advocates were honoured and rewarded;—and the stamp of success was given to her boldest projects. Not one of the objects which the Princes originally confederated against France professed to have in view, was attained. On the contrary, her power was extended, her territories were enlarged, her influence was increased, and her principles had surmounted every obstacle opposed to their progress. Her government, it is true, had assumed a new form, less terrific in appearance than the murderous system of Robespierre and his sanguinary associates, but more despotic in reality. A military despotism, formed out of the elements of Jacobinism, destroyed every vestige of civil liberty, and imposed the most galling and odious fetters on the minds, as well as the persons, of the people. England, indeed, had escaped the yoke to which the powers of the Continent had, in a greater or lesser degree, submitted. She had

---

11. The stipulations contained in paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8. and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the Order, in the customary manner. And the grand-master, (or, if he should not be in the island at the time of its restitution to the order, his representative) as well as his successors, shall be bound to make oath to observe them punctually.

12. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish two thousand men, natives of his dominions, to serve as a garrison for the several fortresses upon the island. This force shall remain there for one year, from the period of the restitution of the island to the Knights; after the expiration of which term, if the order of St. John shall not, in the opinion of the guaranteeing power, have raised a sufficient force to garrison the island and its dependencies, in the manner proposed in paragraph 5, the Neapolitan troops shall remain, until they shall be relieved by another force judged to be sufficient by the said powers.

13. The several powers specified in paragraph 6, videlicet, Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present arrangement.

XI. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples, and the Roman territory; the English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean, or in the Adriatic.

XII. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present treaty, except where otherwise expressly provided for, shall take place in Europe within one month, in the continent and seas of America and of Africa in three months, and in the continent and seas of Asia within six months, after the ratification of the present definitive treaty.

XIII. In all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may have been at the time of the signature of the preliminary treaty; and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation shall remain untouched.

It is farther agreed, that, in all the cases of cession stipulated, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of this present treaty, for the purpose of disposing of their property acquired and possessed either before or during the war; in which term of three years they may have the free exercise of their religion and enjoyment of their property.

The same privilege is granted in the countries restored to all those, whether inhabitants or others, who shall have made therein any establishments whatsoever during the time when those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

With respect to the inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is agreed, that none of them shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, in their persons or properties, under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to any of the contracting powers, nor on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts posterior to the present treaty.

XIV. All sequestrations imposed by any of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts, of whatever description, belonging to any of the contracting powers, or to their subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of this definitive treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals, the subjects or citizens of any of the contracting powers respectively, against individuals, subjects, or citizens, of any of the others, for rights, debts, property, or effects whatsoever, which, according to received usages and the law of nations, ought to revive at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before competent tribunals; and in all cases, prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries where the claims were made.

XV. The fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent islands, and of the Gulf St. Lawrence, are replaced on the same footing on which they were previously to the war; the French fishermen and the inhabitants of St. Pierre and Miquelon, shall have the privilege of cutting such wood as they may stand in need of in the bays of Fortune and Despair, for the space of one year from the date of the notification of the present treaty.

XVI. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may have been made at sea after the signature of the preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed that the vessels and effects which may have been taken in the British Channel, and in the North Sea, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the said preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side; that the term shall be one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary islands inclusively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the equator; and, lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

XVII. The ambassadors, ministers, and other agents of the contracting powers, shall enjoy respectively, in the states of the said powers, the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which public agents of the same class enjoyed previously to the war.

XVIII. The branch of the house of Nassau, which was established in the republic, formerly called the republic of the United Provinces, and now the Batavian republic, having suffered losses there, as well in private property as in consequence of the change of constitution adopted in that country, an adequate compensation shall be procured for the said branch of the house of Nassau for the said losses.

XIX. The present definitive treaty of peace is declared common to the sublime Ottoman Porte, the ally of his Britannic Majesty; and the Sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession thereto with the shortest delay possible.

XX. It is agreed, that the contracting parties shall, on requisitions made by them respectively, or by their ministers or officers duly authorized to make the same, deliver up to justice persons accused of crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party, provided that this shall be done only when the evidence of the criminality be so authenticated, as that the laws of the country where the persons so accused shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the offence had been there committed. The expences of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by those who make the requisition. It is understood that this article does not regard in any manner crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed antecedently to the conclusion of this definitive treaty.

XXI. The contracting parties promise to observe sincerely and bona fide all the articles contained in the present treaty, and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects or citizens; and the said contracting parties generally and reciprocally guarantee to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXII. The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties in thirty days, or sooner, if possible, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the twenty-seventh day of March, one thousand eight hundred and two; the sixth Germinal, year ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) CORNWALLIS.
(L. S.) JOSEPH BUONAPARTE.
(L. S.) J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.
(L. S.) R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

Separate Article.

It is agreed, that the omission of some titles, which may have taken place in the present treaty, shall not not be prejudicial to the powers or to the persons concerned.

It is further agreed, that the English and French languages, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not form an example, which may be alledged or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice the contracting powers whose languages have not been used; and that for the future, what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of, powers which are in practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in any other languages, shall be conformed with; the present treaty having nevertheless the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, of the French Republic, of his Catholic Majesty, and of the Batavian Republic, have signed the present separate article, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the twenty-seventh day of March, one thousand eight hundred and two; the sixth Germinal, year ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) CORNWALLIS
(L. S.) JOSEPH BUONAPARTE.
(L. S.) J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.
(L. S.) R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

secured

secured her constitution and her government from the effects of that revolutionary poison which had destroyed so many ancient institutions, and which had subverted so many thrones. She had even enlarged her dominions, by the acquisition of an important settlement in Asia, which afforded her the long sought for advantage of a safe and commodious harbour for her effects in the Eastern Ocean; and by an island in the West-Indies, of consequence more from its relative situation to the Spanish Main, than from its produce or probable revenue. She had also kept inviolate her faith with her allies, and had preserved her national character pure amidst surrounding corruption. Here ends the catalogue of her advantages.* In every other point she had completely failed. None of the objects which she had pursued in common with the other powers of Europe, had she been able to attain. Her failure, indeed, was not owing to any defect either of wisdom in her councils, or of vigour in her efforts. She had bounteously opened her treasures to those who fought for the preservation of social order, against revolutionary anarchy;—she had made every exertion which her undaunted spirit could suggest, and her ample resources command. And, had her allies but displayed equal wisdom, resolution, and vigour, their united efforts must have been crowned with success.—All ranks and descriptions of men, however, hailed the return of peace with rapture; bonfires, illuminations, and public entertainments exhibiting but a faint expression of the general joy.

* In closing this portion of our history, it may be remarked, that, in the progress, and by the termination of the war, France had obtained every object which could be coveted by a great people, save that for which she originally affected to contend—her own liberty. The history of France, from the dawn of the revolution to the ratification of the treaty of peace at Amiens, presents several grand epochs, all of which interest the community, and afford materials for the pen of the historian, but each varies in shape and feature from that which precedes, as well as that which follows it. The first period exhibits a numerous body of men, long retained in thraldom by the despotism of their government, arousing from the slumber of ages, indignantly bursting their manacles, and declaring themselves free. The monarchs of the continent, decked in the recent spoils of violated Poland, immediately associate, under pretence of assisting a prince more gentle, more amiable, and consequently more beloved, than themselves; a war ensues, the schock of arms takes place, and the forest of Argonne, and the heights of Valmy, decide a campaign pregnant with the fate of France and of Europe. A sudden transition takes place, and all the horrors of a civil war seemed fated to accompany all the disasters of a foreign contest. A sovereign, revered as a martyr by one part of the nation, and detested as a traitor by another, perishes by a violent death; monarchy itself is annihilated with Louis XVI. and a republic proclaimed upon his tomb. The founders of the commonwealth are doomed, to perish in their turn, and that too, though the special order of Providence, by the very instrument employed for the decapitation of the Bourbon king. Robespierre, adored by the populace during his life, and Marat, deified after his assassination, are next wafted along the sanguinary torrent to the possession of supreme power, and rule for a while by means of spies and executioners—of terror and of blood. A less unfavourable epoch next presents itself, and the directorial government promises to repair the errors and the crimes of the tyrants. Immense armies take the field, decisive battles are fought, great victories achieved, and Germany is prepared for dismemberment, and Italy for subjugatien. At length a military adventurer arises and conquers, first for the republic, and then for himself. In consequence of a peace, as brilliant as the war which he achieves, he seems to consider Europe too small a theatre for his ambition; and arriving with a powerful fleet and army in Africa, aspires to imitate the Macedonian hero, and finish his career of conquests by the subjugation of Asia. After gaining many victories over the degenerate Turks and the warlike Mamelukes, he at length experiences a repulse before an ill-fortified city garrisoned by the half disciplined troops of a rebel pacha, but led by an European chief—a Christian Knight—a new Cœur de Lion—and is reduced to the mortifying necessity of treating with the Ottoman Porte, whose confidence he had betrayed, and whose dominions he had invaded. Fearful of remaining uncertain of his destiny, he leaves Egypt and his army by stealth; arriving suddenly in Europe, takes advantage of the corrupt and feeble government of those who happen to be invested with the administration of public affairs; surrounds himself with an ambitious soldiery, and uniting the wily policy of Monk with the decisive conduct and victorious careeer of Cromwell, becomes sovereign under the name of consul. Not yet secure on his recently acquired elevation, he flies into Italy by a route deemed impassable, again overwhelms veteran armies and ancient states, once more erects new commonwealths, renders his foes and his confederates tributary, extends the limits of France, and of his own power, and is hailed, first as the pacificator of the continent, and then as the transquillizer of Europe. Such is a brief epitome of a revolution which commenced with the mild despotism of a French King, and issued in the accession of a military chieftain; who, after a long series of successful crime and sanguinary glory, was destined to fall unpitied and despised!

It may further be remarked, that, in the month of December, 1801, while the negociations at Amiens were yet pending, a grand consulta assembled in the city of Lyons, consisting of four hundred and fifty persons, convoked by the authority of the Cisalpine republic, and chosen from her citizens. The object of the meeting was to determine upon a permanent constitution for the new republic; and early in the year 1802, the first consul arrived at Lyons, to assist in person at the deliberations. A committee of thirty members was appointed to prepare the business; and on the 25th of January, the new plan of government was presented, and received the immediate and unanimous sanction of the whole body. An essential part of this plan was to vest the supreme magistracy in the hands of the first consul, who, on the following day, repairing to the hall of the consulta, in regal state, formally declared his acceptance of the honour thus conferred upon him. The appellation of the Cisalpine was changed by acclamation to that of the Italian Republic, of which Buonaparte was declared president for ten years. But the term republic was a mere figure of speech, for the form of government, suggested by the committee, and adopted by the assembly, was in reality an absolute monarchy, the whole of the executive, and a principal part of the legislative power being vested in the first consul. While the personal authority of the head of the French government was thus extended, and while in the Italian republic a new satellite was ordained to move within the influence of French attraction, France itself received a considerable accession of territory by the acquisition of Piedmont and Parma, which territories were, by a decree of annexation, added to the territory of France, and constituted an integral part of the republic. The famous convention, known by the name of the Concordat, concluded between the first consul and the Pope,(a) received, in the month of April, 1802, its final ratification from the French legislative body, by a majority of two hundred and twenty-eight to twenty-one voices. And this imposing event, in conjunction with the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence by a solemn Te Deum, at the Cathedral church of Notre Dame, and grand illuminations in the city and vicinity of Paris. Cardinal Caprara, legate from his holiness, was escorted to the Thuilleries by an honorary guard of cavalry, and the crosier was borne before him to the palace. In his speech to the first consel he complimened him in the following words: "The arm that gained battles, and signed peace with all nations, restores splendour to the temples of the true God, re-builds his altars, and re-establishes his worship." The first consul, in reply, extolled the apostolical virtues of his eminence, and expressed his own satisfaction at this "new triumph of christianity." At Rome also high mass was performed, on Ascension Day, at the church of St. Jean de Lateran, by the pope in person, accompanied by every demonstration of joy, for the restoration of the Gallican church. Nor was it without reason that the sovereign pontiff, who scarcely two years before had been in a state of melancholy exile, exulted in the happy change in his fortunes. With the pope, the college of cardinals, the members of which had wandered over Europe in extreme distress, seeking in vain for some safe asylum, were reinstated in their thrones and palaces.

(a) The Concordat, which ordained that the Roman Catholic religion should be the established religion of France; guaranteed universal liberty of conscience to the French people of every persuasion. The hierarchy of the catholic church of France was to consist of ten archbishops, and fifty bishops, the former to enjoy a fixed annual revenue of fifteen thousand francs, (625*l.* sterling) and the latter a revenue of ten thousand francs. The parish priests were divided into two classes for the larger and the smaller parishes. The salary of the first class was not to exceed 15,000 francs 615*l.* nor that of the second 1000 francs, or 410*l.* The archbishops and bishops were to be nominated by the first consul, and afterwards confirmed by the pope. And the church relinquished all claims to its confiscated revenues and domains. The different protestant churches were established on the same political model; none but Frenchmen were permitted to exercise the functions of an ecclesiastic, either in the catholic or protestant churches; and no person could be elected a minister or pastor of any protestant church, who had not studied a fixed period in one of the French seminaries appointed for that purpose.

BOOK XXXI.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS, IN 1801, TO THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BOURBON DYNASTY, AND THE GENERAL SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE, IN 1816.

32. GEORGE III.

A. D. 1801.] THE 29th of October, the second session of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland was opened by the King in person, who in a speech from the throne announced the favourable conclusion of the negociation begun during the last session of Parliament. His Majesty at the same time declared his satisfaction, that the difference which at that time existed with the northern powers, had been adjusted by a convention with the Emperor of Russia, to which the Kings of Denmark and of Sweden had expressed their readiness to accede, and by which "the essential rights for which we contended were secured." He then proceeded to state, that "preliminaries of peace had also been ratified between himself and the French Republic; and he trusted that this important arrangement, while it manifested the justice and moderation of his views, would also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character." In the Upper House, the address was moved by Lord Bolton; and the Duke of Bedford, in a speech which contained much censure of the late, and praise of the present administration, declared his cordial concurrence in the address, which was agreed to, without a dissentient voice.

In the Lower House, Mr. Fox expressed the same sentiments of approbation respecting the peace, in which he was warmly seconded by Mr. Pitt, who described the peace as glorious and honourable. On the other hand, Mr. Windham, the late Secretary at War, avowed his entire disapprobation of the preliminary treaty recently signed with France, and declared himself to be a solitary mourner in the midst of public rejoicings. In signing that treaty he thought that his honourable friends, the present ministers, had signed the death-warrant of the country. Mr. Sheridan, adverting to the terms in which Mr. Pitt had spoken of the peace, said that he could not agree that the conditions were glorious and honourable. It was, in his opinion, a peace of which every one was glad, but no one proud. The motion was finally carried with the same unanimity as in the Lords.

The subject of the preliminary treaty was taken formally into consideration by the Lords, on the 3d of November, and a decided opposition to the terms of the peace, was expressed by the Earls Spencer, Caernarvon, and Fitzwilliam, the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Grenville, and the Bishop of St. Asaph. The treaty was defended by the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Bedford, the Earls of Moira, Westmoreland, and St. Vincent, Lords Hobart and Pelham, and the Bishop of London; and the address was carried by 114 against 10.

On the same day, a similar address was moved in the House of Commons; which, after considerable discussion, was agreed to, without a division.

On the 13th of November, the articles of the treaty with Russia having been laid before the House of Peers, the Earl of Darnley moved an address of thanks and approbation to the throne. This address was vehemently opposed by Lord Grenville, who condemned the treaty in almost all its provisions; and, from the tenor of his Lordship's remarks, it was obvious that no accommodation with the northern powers could have taken place, under the administration which had recently been dissolved. The question was carried in both Houses without a division.

When Parliament assembled, after the recess, the Chancellor of the Exchequer called the attention of the House to certain papers before them, relative to the civil list, by which it appeared, that the pecuniary affairs of the sovereign were again deeply in arrears; and a committee was appointed to examine the accounts now presented to the House. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Manners Sutton, Solicitor to the Prince of Wales, advanced a claim of right on the part of the Prince against the crown, or rather against the public, for the amount of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, received during his minority, and applied to the use of the civil list, which must otherwise have been supplied from other sources. The aggregate of the sums so received, on an accurate estimate, appeared to be little less than 400,000*l*. Mr. Fox declared strongly in favour of the equity of this claim, but admitted that the sums voted for the payment of the Prince's debts ought to be deducted from the balance accruing to the Prince. On the 29th of March, the report of the committee was taken into consideration, when it appeared that a debt amounting to no less than 990,000*l*. had been contracted since the passing of Mr. Burke's reform bill, exclusive of the arrears discharged in the years 1784 and 1786, and that since that time the provisions of the bill had been wholly neglected. After a long and animated discussion, this sum was voted by the House: but the Chancellor of the Exchequer allowed that measures ought to be taken to prevent in future any such accumulation of debt.—Two days after, Mr. Manners Sutton brought forward the question of the claim of the Prince of Wales to the arrears of the revenues arising from the Duchy of Cornwall, and concluded with moving for the appointment of a committee to inquire what sums were due to his Royal Highness from that quarter. The Chancellor of the Exchequer considered it as inconsistent with his duty to concur in this motion. As to the legal question, he did not pretend to decide upon it; but he thought the discussion ought not to be entertained in that House; not at least till it appeared in proof, that on application for redress, supposing the wrong to exist, relief could not be obtained elsewhere. He concluded by moving the order of the day, which was carried by 160 against 103.*

On the 29th of March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer

* On the 28th of January this year, expired, after a long and painful illness, John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, and Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. This nobleman possessed, from situation and character, a powerful ascendancy over the affairs of that country at a most critical period of its history. In the elevated and arduous situation of Lord Chancellor, to which he was advanced in the year 1789, he discharged

chequer gave notice of his intention to repeal the tax imposed by the late minister upon income. Mr. Addington acknowledged the burthen of the tax to be very grievous; though the necessities of the state had rendered its adoption necessary; but as this impost was originally proposed as a war-tax, it should cease with the occasion that had given it birth. On the 5th of April, the minister brought forward his plan of finance for the year. The income-tax had been mortgaged by Mr. Pitt, for the sum of 56,445,000*l.* three per cents, for which the present minister, in consequence of the repeal of this tax, was obliged to make provision. The loan for Great Britain he stated at 23,000,000*l.*; the capital in the different funds, created by the conversion of 8,500,000*l.* of exchequer bills into stock, previously to the Christmas recess, was 11,238,062*l.* and the aggregate sum for which interest was to be provided, appeared to be no less than 97,934,137*l.* the interest of which was stated at 3,162,000*l.* To defray this enormous demand, very heavy additional duties were imposed on beer, malt, and hops. A considerable increase was also made to the assessed taxes; and the last article to which ministers had recourse at this crisis, was a tax on imports and exports, being a modification of the convoy duty. The produce of the new duties combined he estimated at 4,000,000*l.* an excess which compensated for the deficiency of divers of the taxes imposed in the course of the war. In the progress of the business of the revenue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed and carried into effect several important alterations in the sinking fund bills of Mr. Pitt.*

The Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer soon after brought forward the business of finance relative to the revenue of that kingdom. It appeared, from the statement presented to the House, that the debt of Ireland had arisen, within the last ten years, from 2,300,000*l.* to 36,000,000*l.* paying an interest for the most part of six per cent. The deficiency of ways and means, when compared with the supplies, was at 1,660,000*l.* which sum he proposed to raise by loan, in addition to a former loan of 2,000,000*l.* which the contractors for the English loan had agreed to furnish upon the same terms. Mr. Corry at the same time proposed several new taxes, necessary to defray the interest of these new loans, which were agreed to.

Mr. Addington moved (April 9) for a bill, to continue, till the 1st of March, 1813, the restrictions on payments in specie at the bank, a motion that was carried with little opposition. Three days afterwards, a vote of censure on the former administration was formally moved by Sir Francis Burdett; but, as a vote of censure upon that body, by the present House, would have been a sentence of self condemnation, there was little propriety in the motion, and still less prospect of its success. Lord Belgrave moved, as an amendment, "that the thanks of this House be returned to his Majesty's late ministers, for their eminent services, in the exertions they made to preserve to us unimpaired the blessings we enjoyed during the whole of the late contest." The speaker having suggested the irregularity of this proceeding, the motion of amendment was, at the request of Mr. Pitt himself, withdrawn; and the original proposition was negatived, by a majority of 246 to 39. A motion, yet more strange and absurd, was made on the 7th of May following, by Mr. Nichol, for an address to his Majesty, thanking him for the removal of the Right Hon. William Pitt from his councils. Lord Belgrave, as before, moved an amendment, expressive of the high approbation of that House respecting the character and conduct of the late minister and his colleagues. Mr. Fox declared himself unable to vote either for the original motion, or for the amendment. He could not vote thanks for the dismission of the late minister, till that dismission was ascertained; and this was a matter of doubt, as it was alledged by Mr. Pitt and his friends, that he was not dismissed, but voluntarily resigned, from inability to realize his plan of Catholic emancipation. The motion of Lord Belgrave was carried by a majority of more than four to one; and also a second motion, by Sir Henry Mildmay, "that the thanks of the House be given to the Right Honourable William Pitt," by 211 against 52.

These attacks on the character of Mr. Pitt seemed to increase his popularity. His birth-day was celebrated in the city of London with great enthusiasm. Earl Spencer, late First Lord of the Admiralty, presided in the chair, and in his glowing admiration of Mr. Pitt, gave as a toast to the company met to celebrate his birth: "The pilot who weathered the storm."

On the 13th of May, the grand debate relative to the definitive treaty of peace came on in both Houses of Parliament, when its stipulations and provisions were attacked and defended with more than ordinary ability. Lord Grenville, in particular, concluded a most severe and elaborate investigation of the terms of the treaty, by moving that an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, acknowledging his Majesty's prerogative to make peace and war, but declaring that it was impossible for the House to see without alarm the circumstances that had attended the conclusion of the present treaty, by which sacrifices had been made on the part of this country without any corresponding concessions on the part of France: that in the moment of peace France had exhibited indubitable proofs of the most ambitious projects; that these considerations imposed on his Majesty's government the necessity of adopting

---

charged the duties of his office with a manly decision, and commanding ability, that extorted the applause of his political adversaries. The Earl was succeeded in the Chancellorship of Ireland by Sir John Mitford, speaker of the English House of Commons. Upon him the title of Lord Redesdale was conferred; and the speaker's chair was filled by Charles Abbot, Esq. a lawyer of eminence and activity in business, and who had the merit of possessing an intimate acquaintance with the forms, usages, and customs of the House. Another national loss was shortly afterwards sustained by the death of Francis, Duke of Bedford, who, after an illness of a few days' duration, died at Woburn Abbey, on the 2d of March, not having completed the thirty-seventh year of his age. An admirable eulogy upon his character was delivered in the House of Commons, by his friend Mr. Fox.

Nearly at the same period, died the Chief Justice of England, Lloyd, Lord Kenyon. This noble judge, was warm in his temper, honest in his intentions, learned in his profession, and impartial in his administration of public justice. His judicial attainments were great, and upon them he wisely sought to build his fame. He was the advocate of virtue, and the inflexible punisher of vice, however great or powerful the offender. He was succeeded by the Attorney-General, Edward Law, a distinguished lawyer, who was created on his promotion to the chief-justiceship, a peer of the realm, under the title of Lord Ellenborough.

* The last or new fund, provided for liquidating the debt contracted since the year 1786, was much larger than the original fund established for the liquidation of the old debt, contracted before that period. These two funds the minister proposed to consolidate, and to perpetuate, till the whole of the debt, both old and new, should be completely liquidated. The original fund had now arisen to 2,534,187*l.* and the new to 3,275,143*l.* making together 5,809,330*l.* The debt contracted previously to the year 1786, amounted to something more than 259,000,000*l.* and the new debt amounted to nearly 300,000,000*l.* something less than 40,000,000*l.* having been redeemed by the old, and upwards of 20,000,000*l.* by the operation of the new fund. The whole of the existing funded debt, including the loan of the present year, was consequently about 540,000,000*l.* the interest amounted annually to the vast sum of upwards of 17,000,000*l.* This amazing debt would, nevertheless, by the wonder-working operation of the sinking fund appropriated to its liquidation, supposing that fund improved at the average interest of four per cent. per annum only, be completely discharged in the comparatively short period of thirty-four years. The Sinking or Consolidated Fund was first established in its present form by Mr. Pitt, in the year 1786, but the public are indebted to Dr. Price, for the foundation upon which this pillar to public credit was erected. The fund in question is formed by the appropriation of one million a year, which is regularly set apart for the liquidation of the national debt; and to which are added such government, temporary, and life annuities, as may fall in during each year. These sums constitute a principal, which, being placed at compound interest, and suffered to accumulate, had, as early as the year 1802, extinguished nearly sixty millions of the public debt. "A nation, when it applies the income of such a fund to current expences rather than the redemption of its debts, chooses to lose the benefit of compound interest, in order to avoid paying simple interest—and the loss in this case is equal to the difference between the increase of money at compound and simple interest. The following calculation will shew what that difference is:—One penny put out at our Saviour's birth, to five per cent. compound interest, would, in the year 1791, have increased to a greater sum than would be contained in three hundred millions of earths, all of solid gold! but if put out to simple interest, it would, in the same time, have amounted to no more than seven shillings and sixpence! All governments that alienate funds destined for reimbursements, choose to improve money in the last rather than in the first of these ways." "Price on Public Credit."

adopting measures of precaution; and that, whilst that House relied on his Majesty's wisdom to be watchful of the power of France, they thought it necessary to assure him of their ready and firm support in resisting every encroachment on the rights of the British empire. The treaty was censured also by the Duke of Richmond, Earl Darnley, and Lord Caernarvon; and defended by Lords Auckland, Pelham, and Hobart, the Lord Chancellor, and the Earls of Westmoreland and Roslyn. The motion of Lord Grenville was at length negatived by 122 against 16. On the same day, the terms of the definitive treaty underwent a discussion equally animated in the House of Commons. Mr. Windham, in a speech of peculiar energy, which occupied upwards of three hours in the delivery, attacked the stipulations of the treaty in all their parts; concluding by moving an address similar to that proposed in the House of Peers by Lord Grenville. The terms of the peace were strenuously defended by Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Addington, and others. The debate was prolonged to a very late hour—the Lords Temple and Folkestone, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and others of that party, passionately inveighing against the terms of the peace, which were on the other hand defended by the Whigs, though on grounds considerably different from those taken by ministers. Mr. Sheridan closed the debate with a speech of great animation. He remarked that the discussion of the necessary, though disgraceful treaty of peace, furnished the best defence of the conduct of those who had uniformly opposed the war. For his part he supported the peace because he supposed it the best that ministers could obtain. Their predecessors had left them to choose between an expensive, bloody, fruitless war, and a hollow, perilous peace. For the attainment of what object or purpose, Mr. Sheridan inquired, did we go to war?—To prevent French aggrandizement. Have we done that?—No. We were at least to rescue Holland. Is that accomplished?—No. But the recovery of Flanders and Brabant, we pronounced a sine qua non of peace. Are they recovered? No. Then came security and indemnity. Are they obtained?—No. The late minister told us, that the example of a jacobin government in Europe, founded on the ruins of a holy altar, and the tomb of a martyred monarch, was a spectacle so dreadful and infectious to Christendom, that we could never be safe while it existed, and it was our duty to put forth our last effort for its destruction. For these fine words, which had at last given way to "security and indemnity," we had sacrificed nearly two hundred thousand lives, and expended three hundred millions of money—and had gained Ceylon and Trinidad, which might henceforth be named the Indemnity and Security Islands. He admitted the splendid talents of the late minister, but he had misapplied them in the government of this country. He had augmented our debt, diminished our population, abridged our privileges, and had done more to strengthen the power of the crown at the expense of the constitution than any minister who had ever conducted the affairs of this country. The House at length divided on Mr. Windham's address, when the majority in favour of the treaty amounted to 276 against 20. On the 28th of June, the last day of the session, the new speaker presented the money bills to his Majesty, and on the day following Parliament was dissolved by proclamation.*

A. D. 1803.] Already the feverish peace, or rather the uncertain truce, which had been concluded at Amiens, was rapidly drawing to a close. It was, indeed, easily perceived, by those intelligent Englishmen, who had recently visited France, that nothing was farther from the wish and disposition of Buonaparte than to maintain a state of real peace and cordial harmony with Great Britain. He never could forgive the noble opposition which she had made to the revolutionary power of France; he considered the freedom of her constitution as a libel on the galling despotism which he had established in his new empire; and the liberty of her press, through the medium of which the most bitter truths were conveyed to his irritable mind, was a source of constant disquiet, and of incessant complaint, to one whose conscience acknowledged that his crimes set the powers of exaggeration at defiance. In rapid progress he had risen to the summit of supreme power, and a trembling people had recently conferred on him the Consulate for life.† But the extent of his authority at home only served to render him more impatient of contradiction abroad; and, as he had succeeded in subduing, by military terror, all opposition in his own territories, he had the presumption to imagine that he could as easily silence the voice of reproach in foreign countries. The success, indeed, which had attended all his nefarious attempts, in the different states of the Continent, seemed to justify this opinion. He had brought his negotiations in Germany, consequent on the peace of Luneville, to a successful termination; and, having rendered Russia and Prussia the simple tools of his power,

* During this session the sum of 10,500*l.* was voted to Dr. Edward Jenner, for the promulgation of his invaluable discovery of the system of vaccine inoculation, by which it was hoped ultimately to extirpate the small pox. A reward of 1,200*l.* was also voted to Mr. Henry Greathead, for the invention of the life boat, by which it was said that the lives of five hundred seamen had been saved in one year. The sum of 5000*l.* was also voted to Dr. James Carmichael Smyth, for his discovery of the nitrous fumigation, for preventing the progress of contagious disorders—a process which had been introduced into the navy and army hospitals with the most beneficial effects.

† On the 6th of May, (1802) the definitive treaty of Amiens was presented to the tribunate, on which occasion a proposition was made in that assembly to confer some striking mark of the public gratitude on "the great pacificator." This proposal was unanimously agreed to, and having received the ready concurrence of the other constituent bodies, the senate, on the 8th of the same month, decreed, that this mark of gratitude ought to be the re-election of Buonaparte to the consular dignity for ten years succeeding the term for which he had been already chosen. The first consul, in imitation of the first Roman emperor, when this proposal was communicated to him, declared, "that the interests of his glory, and of his happiness, suggested that the termination of his public life should be the moment that the peace of the world was proclaimed; the glory and happiness of an individual, however, must be silent when the interest of the state and the voice of the public call upon him." "But," added he, "it was the suffrages of the people that invested me with the chief magistracy, and I shall not consider myself sure of still possessing their confidence, if the act for retaining me in that situation be not ratified by the public voice.—In the three last years fortune has smiled on the republic; but, (said he in conclusion, and in terms almost prophetic) "fortune is inconstant, and how many men has she loaded with her favours who have afterwards outlived them!" In compliance with the wish of the first consul, registers were opened in the different departments for inscribing the suffrages of the citizens on this subject; but as a full indemnity for this condescension, the question was, in the mean time, materially changed, and in the new form it stood—"Shall Buonaparte be elected Consul for life?" A second question was in a short time subjoined—"Shall Buonaparte be invested with the power of naming his successor?" Both questions, by dint of artifice and terror, were carried by the immense majority of 3,577,259 citizens, who voted in the affirmative, while only 9,074 ventured to negative these daring innovations. In the tribunate, one dissentient voice alone was heard—that of the republican minister at war, Carnot. On the third of August, the act of the senate was presented to the first consul, who, on receiving this distinguished mark of public confidence, thus addressed the senate—"The life of a citizen belongs to his country; the French people wish that the whole of mine should be devoted to them. I obey their will. Content with having been called by the order of Him from whom all things emanate, to bring back upon the earth justice, order, and equality, I shall hear my last hour sound without regret, and without an undue anxiety about the opinion of future generations." The event was celebrated with great magnificence in Paris, and addresses of congratulations poured in from every part of the republic; and subsequently from almost every court on the Continent.

Anxious to aggrandize the army, and aware that to their instrumentality he was indebted for his present elevation, Buonaparte had for some time contemplated the formation of a military order of nobility, under the designation of the Legion of Honour. The legislature, in obedience to the will of the first consul, accordingly decreed, that a legion of honour should be established in France; and that that body should be composed of fifteen cohorts, and a council of administration. That each cohort should consist of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty subordinate officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries; that the first consul should always be the chief of the legion, and of the council of administration; and that the members of the legion should be appointed for life. The pay of each grand officer to be five thousand francs, of each inferior officer, one thousand francs, and of each legionary, two hundred and fifty francs. All military men who had received arms of honour to be members of the legion; those citizens also who had rendered eminent services to the state in the late war, or who, by their knowledge, talents, and virtues, had contributed to establish and defend the principles of the republic, or had caused the government to be respected, to be eligible to that appointment: and Joseph Buonaparte, the brother of the first consul, was elected grand-master of the new order. Thus was the consular throne not only declared permanent, but a military order of nobility was created for its protection and support.

made-

made his will the law; plundered, at his pleasure, the ecclesiastical princes of the empire, to indemnify those whose territories he had seized on the French side of the Rhine, and taken special care to reward, most amply, those wretched potentates who had displayed the most cowardly subserviency to his interests, and the most base treachery to their lawful chief. Among these, the petty sovereigns of Bavaria, Baden, and Wertemburgh, were raised, by him, to the dignity of Electors, as preparatory to their subsequent elevation to the rank of Kings. He had been equally successful in reviving the ancient jealousy between the Prussian monarch and the Emperor of Germany. The former of these sovereigns, with a littleness of soul, an imbecility of mind, and a miserable want of foresight, while intent on the humiliation of a rival no longer formidable, and on the pursuit of petty schemes of personal aggrandisement, enlarged the influence and power of an implacable enemy, and prepared the way for his own destruction. In Italy, also, Buonaparte had assumed the sovereignty, under the denomination of President of the Italian Republic, for such was the title now assumed by the Cisalpine Republic. He had united the kingdom of Sardinia and the Duchy of Parma to France; and he had taken effectual means for rivetting the chains of Switzerland. Possessed of power so extensive, and inflated by success so unexpected, Buonaparte was little solicitous to afford proofs of a pacific disposition to the only enemy who had resisted his efforts with effect. In fact, the stand which England alone had made against his towering ambition, had severely galled his pride, and increased the inveteracy of his hatred. The idea, that she should presume to question his omnipotence, while the trembling powers of the Continent submitted their necks to his yoke, was intolerable to a mind which acknowledged no honourable principle of action, which was inaccessible to every laudable sentiment, which regarded all competition as an intolerable presumption, and opposition to his will, as an unpardonable crime. With this disposition Buonaparte betrayed, in all his communications with the British Cabinet, an overbearing and insupportable pride. First to Otto, and afterwards to his Ambassador, General Andreossy, he sent instructions to complain of the freedom of those animadversions, which the public writers of Great Britain passed on his character and conduct. And those complaints were reiterated as well by Talleyrand, as by the First Consul himself, to Lord Whitworth, who, in November, 1802, had repaired to Paris as Ambassador to the French Court. In all the communications which took place on this subject, Buonaparte betrayed a petulance of temper utterly incompatible with the new character which he had to support, and a profound ignorance of the laws and constitution of this country. He could not be persuaded, that the British Government were unable to exercise, over the press, the same unlimited power, the same boundless tyranny, which he himself exercised over every public writer, throughout his vast dominions. It was impossible, to make him understand, that, in England, the ministers were subject to the same legal restraints as the lowest subject of the realm, that they could proceed only according to the forms of law; and that, if what the law deemed a libel should be uttered, or written, against the first potentate in Europe, he must, in order to punish the offender, have recourse to the same modes of proceeding, which are prescribed to Englishmen themselves, under similar circumstances. Every attempt to procure new laws for imposing additional restraints on the press, having proved fruitless; and the First Consul remaining unconvinced by the forcible and judicious observations of Lord Hawkesbury,* a constant state of irritation and ill will continued to prevail between the two countries. From general complaints, the great Consul descended to particulars; and, in the autumn of 1802, he directed his agent Otto, to prefer complaints against certain English public writers, and against Peltier, who conducted a Journal, in the French language, intituled, L'Ambigu. Although, as Lord Hawkesbury had pertinently observed, in his instructions to Mr. Merry, who was then at Paris, the French press poured forth constant libels against the English government, libels, too, authorised by the French Cabinet; although Rheinhardt, the Jacobin representative of Buonaparte, at Hamburgh, had violated the neutrality of the Senate, and had compelled them to insert a most virulent attack upon the English government, in the Hamburgh paper; although Buonaparte, himself, had publicly uttered similar libels; and although, to use the words of Lord Hawkesbury, it might, indeed, with truth, be asserted, that the period which had elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty had been marked with "one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult, on the part of the French government;"—so ardent was the desire of the British ministers to gratify Buonaparte, and so averse were they from the adoption of any line of conduct which could have even a tendency to produce a renewal of hostilities between the two countries, that they instructed the Attorney General to file a criminal information against Peltier, in compliance with the demand of Buonaparte, preferred through the medium of Otto. The cause was tried before Lord Ellenborough, on the 21st of February, 1803; and, in the course of that trial, such principles were advanced, in support of the prosecution, both from the bar and the bench, as, were they to be received as the law of the land, would effectually annihilate the liberty of the press. The defendant was convicted, but the renewal of hostilities was allowed to secure him from punishment.† At the very time when this extraordinary trial was pending, the difference between the two governments was such as to render hostilities unavoidable. At the latter end of February, Lord Whitworth had a personal interview with Buonaparte, in which the latter so far forgot himself, as personally to insult the British Ambassador, and to threaten his government, in the presence of other diplomatic characters. On this occasion he openly avowed his

* The communication here alluded to is Lord Hawkesbury's letter to Mr. Merry, dated August 28th 1802. In this his Lordship observes, "I am sure you must be aware that his Majesty cannot, and never will, in consequence of any representation, or any measure, from a foreign power, make any concession which can be in the smallest degree dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The Constitution admits of no previous restraints upon publications of any description; but there exist judicatures, wholly independant of the Executive government, capable of taking cognizance of such publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the punishments which the delinquents may deserve. These judicatures may take cognizance, not only of libels against the government and the magistracy of this kingdom, but, as has been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory of those in whose hands the administration of foreign governments is placed. That our government neither has, nor wants, any other protection than that which the laws of the country afford; and though they are willing, and ready, to give to every foreign government all the protection against offences of this nature, which the principle of their laws and constitution will admit, they never can consent to new-model their laws, or to change their constitution, to gratify the wishes of any foreign power."

† The Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, who presided on the trial, in summing up the evidence, observed, that it was manifest, that the nature and direct tendency of the publications charged in the indictment, was to interrupt and destroy the peace and amity now happily subsisting between Great Britain and France, and that such publications were, in point of law, a libel. To shew that the writings of M. Peltier, then under the consideration of the court, contained a direct incitement to the assassination of the first consul, Lord Ellenborough cited the following passages:—"Oh! eternal disgrace of France! Cæsar, on the banks of the Rubicon has against him in his quarrel, the Senate, Pompey, and Cato, and the plains of Pharsalia. If fortune be unequal—if you must yield to the destinies, Rome, in this sad reverse, at least, there remains to avenge you, a poignard among the last Romans." Again, "As for me," says the writer, "far from envying his (Buonaparte's) lot, let him name, I consent to it, his worthy successor. Carried on the shield, let him be elected Emperor. Finally (and Romulus recalls the thing to mind) I wish he may have this apotheosis." Every body, his Lordship said, knew the supposed story of Romulus; he dis-appeared, and his death was supposed to be the effect of assassination. His Lordship farther said, that he was certain the verdict of the Jury would be founded upon the real facts of the case, and that no recollection of the past, or expectation of the future, would warp their minds from the straight and even course of justice: they would consider the necessary effects of plans of assassination and murder, and that if they were not discountenanced and discouraged in this country, they might be retaliated on the safety of all that was most dear to us.

ambitious designs, clearly developed his views upon Egypt, (which, indeed, had been fully explained in a report previously made by his agent, Sebastiani, who had been sent, in a military capacity, to that country,*) boldly justified his unprincipled usurpations in Switzerland, Piedmont, and Italy, and peremptorily insisted on the immediate evacuation of Malta, as the sine quà non of continued peace. By the treaty of Amiens, the King had stipulated to restore, within a given time, the island of Malta to the order of St. John, under the express guarantee of its independence and neutrality by the principal powers of Europe. Circumstances, however, tending to destroy the independence of the order itself, by depriving it of a considerable portion of its revenue, had subsequently arisen, which rendered it highly imprudent to carry that article of the treaty into effect. Besides, the stipulation had been made with a reference to the relative situation of the contracting parties, at the time of concluding the treaty. That situation had experienced a material change, by the fresh acquisitions of territory, which Buonaparte had afterwards made, and by the consequent addition of power which he had secured. Buonaparte's intentions, too, to dismember the Turkish empire, and to monopolize the commerce of the Levant, objects against which specific provisions were made in the treaty, were too notorious not to call for measures of adequate precaution on the part of Great Britain. The British ministers, indeed, were to blame only for having carried a system of conciliation and concession to a greater length than was compatible with the dignity of the national character. At last, the inutility of every attempt to make Buonaparte recede from the fixed purpose of his mind, and to listen to the claims of justice, became so obvious, that the British ambassador received orders to return to England. He accordingly left Paris, on the 12th of May, (1803,) and, on the 18th of that month, the declaration of the British cabinet was published.

We must now briefly revert to other subjects, domestic as well as foreign.—Towards the close of the preceding year (1802) a treasonable plot was discovered, of which Colonel Despard was the head, and indeed the only individual of any consideration in the conspiracy. The object of this conspiracy was the death of the King, and the subversion of the constitution; but the means by which these traitorous designs were to be effected were so little adapted to the magnitude of the enterprise, that it seemed scarcely possible that the design should have originated with any man in a sane state of mind. The plan concerted by Colonel Despard, was to ingratiate himself with the soldiery, and particularly with the guards, by which means he hoped to have at his disposal a select corps, trained to the use of arms, and advantageously situated for the execution of his atrocious purpose. The first object of the conspirators was to secure or destroy the King on his return from Parliament at the opening of the session, to accomplish which it was proposed to load the great gun in the park with long-ball, or chain-shot, and to discharge the contents at his Majesty's carriage as he passed! At the same moment, other parties were to seize the Tower, to surround the two Houses of Parliament, to take possession of the Bank, to destroy the telegraph, and to stop the mail coaches, which last event was to be, as in the Irish rebellion, a signal for a general rising throughout the country. This insane project was to be executed by about forty individuals, and those in the lowest situation in life, both as to rank and intellect. Among the assumed partisans of this sanguinary plot were two soldiers in the guards, of the names of Blaine and Windsor, who, through the medium of Mr. Bownas, an army agent, with whom they were in regular communication, laid before government all the proceedings of the conspirators.

On the 16th of November, the day appointed for the meeting of Parliament, a general meeting of the conspirators, amounting to about thirty in number, was held at the Oakley Arms, in South Lambeth, in the borough of Southwark, where they were all arrested and committed to prison. The arrests, which were conducted in every respect according to the due form of law, excited much surprise, but no extraordinary alarm. On the 7th of February (1803) Colonel Despard was brought up for trial before a special commission, at the New Sessions House, in the borough of Southwark, on which occasion Windsor, Blaine, one Emblyn, a watchmaker, and others of the conspirators, was admitted as evidence for the crown. It appeared from the testimony of these witnesses, that on the Friday preceding the 16th of November, Colonel Despard met some of the seduced soldiery, and others of the conspirators, for the first time, at the Flying Horse at Newington; and that he spoke freely of their traitorous designs, and the best mode of carrying them into execution. At this meeting the intercepting and shooting the King on his way to Parliament was discussed, as well as the probable difficulties attending such a traitorous enterprise; on which the Colonel exclaimed, "If nobody else will shoot him, I will;" adding, with much solemnity, "I have well weighed the matter, and my heart is callous." Every other part of the design was then adverted to and freely debated. Colonel Despard spoke of the strength of the conspiracy at Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham, and of his own activity in forwarding the cause. The people, he said, were every where ripe, and the death of the King would be a signal for a general rising.

It further appeared, that through the medium of one Francis, with whom he seemed to have been confiden-

tially

* The report of Colonel Sebastiani, submitted to the chief consul, and inserted in the Moniteur of the 30th of January, 1803, consists of observations made in discharge of a mission, undertaken by order of the French government, to the principal cities of Egypt and Syria. The remarks of Colonel Sebastiani are more military than commercial, and his report abounds with compliments paid in every stage of his journey to the first consul. "The Egyptian astrologers," says he, "make predictions every day, on what concerns the first consul." "In Egypt, chiefs, merchants, people, all like to talk of the first consul—all offer up prayers for his happiness. All the news which concerns him spreads from Alexandria or Damietta to the Pyramids and the Grand Cataracts with astonishing rapidity." Even Ghezzar, the Pacha of Acra, was found to have conceived a high esteem for the French, and in speaking of Buonaparte, is represented by Colonel Sebastiani to have said, "In stature Buonaparte is small, but he is nevertheless the greatest of mankind. I know that he is deeply regretted at Cairo, where they wish to see him again!" On the 16th of October, 1802, Colonel Sebastiani arrived at Alexandria, and on the same day he waited upon General Stuart, commandant of the English forces by sea and land: "I communicated to him," says the report, "the order of the minister for foreign affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria, and if the English still occupied that place, to demand a speedy evacuation, and the execution of the treaty of Amiens. General Stuart then told me, that the evacuation of the place would shortly be effected; but seeing that I insisted, and that I desired an answer less vague, he declared to me that he had no orders from his court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he should pass the winter there. General Stuart," continues the Colonel, "is a man of mediocre talents: he has for his aid de-camp a French emigrant, called the Chevalier de Sades, a man of talents, and an enemy to France, who has much influence over the General." "The English army in Egypt," says Colonel Sebastiani, towards the close of his report, consists of 4,430 men. They wholly and exclusively occupy Alexandria and the neighbouring forts, and the Turks who formed the garrison of some of these forts have been removed. The Pacha of Cairo furnishes to the English army, corn, rice, wood, and provisions, without any payment. The consumption is treble what it should be: they commit great waste. A great misunderstanding reigns between General Stuart and the Pacha. The Turkish army amounts to about 16,000 men. The Pacha of Alexandria is, as one may say, a prisoner with the English. The Turkish soldiers are without discipline, and their officers are destitute of the first principles of the military art. Six thousand French would at present be enough to conquer Egypt." "Ghezzar's army at present consists of from 13,000 to 14,000 men, of which 9,000 are employed in the siege of Jaffa. The weakest part of the fort of Acra is towards the sea, and particularly the point which defends the entrance to the port. The English wished to interfere as mediators between the Emir and Ghezzar, but the latter refused their mediation." On announcing to the Captain Bey, commander of the forces of the Ottoman Porte at Alexandria, that the agents of French commerce would assemble in Egypt: "This communication," says Colonel Sebastiani, "gave them the greatest pleasure, and they did not conceal that they saw with grief the stay of the English in their country. Ghezzar, too, said, that he should himself be the French commissary at Acra, and should take care that their countrymen were well received; he desired that the commissary sent by the first consul should reside at Seide, as that was the most commercial part of his dominions." Such are the materials which form the memorable report of Colonel Sebastiani.

tially connected, Colonel Despard had himself sworn and attempted to swear soldiers and others into engagements, binding them to the destruction of the King and government; and finally, that on the evening of the 16th of November he was, with about thirty other persons, sitting in full convention, assembled for treasonable purposes, at the Oakley Arms public house, in Lambeth, where certain papers were found indicative of their wicked designs, and affording evidence that their ulterior purpose was to be carried by the conflict of arms, and not by the force of reason and argument. After a trial which lasted nearly eighteen hours, and in which very honourable testimony was given to the conduct of Colonel Despard as an officer while in the army, by Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clark, and Sir Evan Nepean, he was found guilty; the foreman of the jury, adding, at the time the verdict was delivered, "My Lord, we do most earnestly recommend the prisoner to mercy, on account of the high testimonials to his former good character, and eminent services." On Wednesday, the 0th of February, the court resumed its sittings at nine o'clock, and proceeded on the trials of the other prisoners, twelve in number. The evidence on these trials was substantially the same as on that of Colonel Despard; and after an investigation which continued without intermission till six o'clock the following morning, the jury, at five-and-twenty minutes before eight, returned a verdict of guilty against John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, J. Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, and John Macnamara; recommending Lander, Newman, and Tyndall, to mercy.* Thomas Phillips and Samuel Smith were acquitted; and the charge against John Doyle was abandoned at the close of the evidence. Colonel Despard was then sent for, and placed at the bar in front of the other prisoners; when Lord Ellenborough passed the awful sentence of death upon these unfortunate men, in one of the most impressive speeches ever perhaps delivered upon a similar occasion.

On the evening of Saturday, the 19th of February, his Majesty's warrant for the execution of Colonel Despard and his associates reached the gaol. The Colonel seemed more surprised than affected. On Sunday, at three o'clock, Mrs. Despard had a last and most affecting interview with her unfortunate husband, and though he sustained himself with considerable firmness at the moment of their final separation, he soon after became deeply agitated, and for a short time lost his wonted composure. Between six and seven o'clock in the evening, he threw himself upon the bed, and fell into a short sleep. At eight he awoke, and in the hearing of one of the officers of the prison, said—"Me—they shall receive no information from me—no! not for all the gifts, the gold, and the jewels, in possession of the crown." He then composed himself to sleep, and remained on his bed till about half past four o'clock in the morning, at which hour he arose, and continued to pace his cell, till he was led out to execution. Most of the other prisoners spent much of their time in prayer, and received the sacrament at seven o'clock in the morning, but Colonel Despard refused to attend, and remained in his cell. Between eight and nine o'clock on Monday, the 21st of February, the execution took place, on the top of the New Gaol, in the Borough, with the usual forms in cases of high treason, in the presence of innumerable spectators.† Thus terminated a conspiracy, unexampled in the annals of history for the extent of its designs, when contrasted with the weakness and paucity of its means.‡

About this time, Ireland once more became the theatre of conspiracy and rebellion. Mr. Robert Emmett, a young man of specious and promising talents—the brother of Thomas Eddis Emmett, who had, previously to the rebellion of 1798, abandoned a respectable situation at the bar, in order to erect an Irish republic, and effect a separation from Great Britain—had been sufficiently unguarded in his conduct, while the late disturbances existed, to become an object of the vigilance of government, and had found it prudent to reside abroad so long as the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; but on the removal of that obstacle he returned to Ireland, and arrived in that country in the month of December, 1802. The death of Dr. Emmett, his father, one of the state physicians in Dublin, had placed the sum of two thousand pounds in ready money at his disposal; and with this exchequer he proposed to himself the subversion of the government of Ireland! His principal associates at this time were, Dowdall, a man who had formerly filled an inferior office under the Irish House of Commons; Redmond, a man of narrow means, engaged in a small line of trade; Allen, a bankrupt woollen manufacturer; and Quigley, a mechanic of considerable address, who having been outlawed in 1798, had since that period resided in France, and had recently returned to Ireland, under circumstances which clearly indicated his agency in the approaching insurrection. In another part of the country was Mr. Thomas Russel, who had served as an officer in the British army with some reputation, and who, unlike the majority of those that had imbibed the political principles of the revolutionary school of France, was religiously inclined, even to enthusiasm. This unfortunate man was among the number of those banished to Fort George, in Scotland, at the close of the late rebellion, whence he was allowed to embark for France, and did not return to his native country till the spring of the year 1803.

Emmett and Dowdall were stationed in Dublin; Quigley in the county of Kildare; and Russel in the populous districts of the north; while others of less note were subdivided through various parts of the country, with authority from their leaders to forward the object of their rebellious mission by every means in their power. Some important assistance was also expected, in the acquisition of a person of the name of

* After an imprisonment of some years they were liberated by an act of royal clemency.

† The minor culprits displayed the utmost penitence, and expressed their fervent prayers for the divine mercy; but the unhappy principal declined all spiritual assistance from the clergyman, and was never observed, during the whole period of his confinement, to engage in any exercise of devotion. He was the last to ascend the scaffold, which he did with great firmness, and his countenance never underwent the slightest change. He viewed the multitude assembled with perfect calmness, and with a firm and elevated voice thus addressed them: "Fellow citizens, I come here, as you see, after having served my country faithfully, honourably, and I trust usefully, for thirty years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold, for a crime which I am no more guilty of than any man that is looking upon me. This I solemnly declare: but though his Majesty's ministers know that I am not guilty, they avail themselves of the legal pretext which they have of destroying a man, because they think he is a friend to truth, to liberty, and to justice, and because he has been a friend to the poor and to the oppressed. But, fellow-citizens, I hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate, and perhaps the fate of many others who may follow me, that still the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, will triumph over falsehood, despotism, and delusion, and every thing else hostile to the interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have nothing more to add, but to wish you all that health and happiness, and that freedom, which I have made it my endeavour, as far as lay in my power, to procure for every one of you and for mankind in general." Immediately after this speech the crowd cheered, but the impulse immediately subsided; and at seven minutes before nine, the sufferers were launched into eternity. After hanging about half an hour the bodies were cut down: Colonel Despard the first: his head was then severed from his body, and the executioner, holding it up to the view of the populace, exclaimed—"This is the head of a traitor, Edward Marcus Despard." The same ceremony was afterwards performed on the other bodies, after which they were all put into shells, the other part of the sentence having been remitted, and the populace dispersed without any indication of tumult.

‡ Colonel Despard appears to have been a man of an ardent mind, of inflexible resolution, and of a high and daring spirit. Having served his country for a long series of years, and having, it is said, been refused the compensation he thought due to his professional claims, he became the victim of chagrin and disappointment, and indulged a spirit of resentment, which led him to form dangerous connections, and to cover culpable designs under the mask of patriotism: but being thrown into prison, and severely treated, under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and precluded from all redress by the act of indemnity which succeeded, his resentment was converted into the madness of revenge, which he scrupled not to gratify by engaging in attempts the most criminal and atrocious. Of his six fellow-sufferers—the victims of his seduction and example, one only of them was, like their leader, an Irishman by birth, the others were all Englishmen; two of them, Wood and Francis, were private soldiers in the guards, and the other four were all handicrafts men, in low circumstances.

Dwyer,

Dwyer, a leader of banditti in the Wicklow mountains, who had remained in arms from the period of the rebellion in 1798. His party did not ostensibly exceed twenty, but he was supposed to possess considerable influence over the peasants of that district. On the first arrival of Mr. Emmett in Ireland he resided in obscure lodgings, under the name of Hewitt. About the end of April, however, he engaged, with Dowdall, a house and premises of some extent, near the heart of the city. Surrounded by about twenty of his associates, he there established a depot of arms. Muskets and other weapons were procured as opportunity served, a large manufacture of pikes was secretly carried on, and bullets to the amount of upwards of thirty thousand were fabricated. On the 21st of July, a person was found loitering near the depot, and being supposed to have observed some suspicious proceedings, he was seized by the conspirators, and would have been put to death but for the interference of Emmett, at whose instance he was confined, and compelled to labour in forming pikes, and other services conducive to the furtherance of the object of the conspiracy. At this crisis an accident occurred which threatened to lead to a premature developement of the whole plot: an explosion of a quantity of gunpowder took place in the house of one of the conspirators in Patrick street, but by the address of the conspirators, or the remissness of the police, this incident did not lead to any discovery. Though the persons immediately connected with Emmett, Russel, Dowdall, and Quigley, the principals in the plot, did not exceed from eighty to one hundred; yet these infatuated men were so sanguine in their expectations, as to suppose that the spirit of rebellion would at their bidding pervade the whole kingdom; and the usual intimation, the stoppage of the mail coaches, was to be the signal of revolt in the country, while the first object of the insurgents in the metropolis was to secure the seat of government, and the principal persons engaged in its administration. For some days previously to the fatal explosion, information had been conveyed to government of threatening assemblages of the people; and other indications tended to awaken a suspicion that "a rising," as it was termed, was in agitation. On the morning of Saturday, the 23d of July, the day appointed for this momentous enterprise, unusual crowds of peasants were observed on the great south road to Dublin, directing their hurried steps towards the capital from all parts of the county of Kildare, which lies in that direction, and in which district Quigley had exercised his pernicious functions. The city continued to fill during the whole of the day; and it was observed by travellers and others, that many parts of Kildare were emptied of the adult part of the male population. Towards evening the populace began to assemble in vast numbers in St. James's Street and its neighbourhood, without having any visible arrangement or discipline. The next object was to arm the body thus collected; for which purpose pikes were deliberately brought out from the store in that neighbourhood, and with unmolested regularity placed along the sides of the streets, for the accommodation of all who might choose to equip themselves. The inhabitants during this alarming scene were panic-struck, and seeing no prospect of succour or protection, withdrew within their houses, barred their doors and windows, and implored the protection of providence. About nine o'clock, the concerted signal that all was in readiness, was given by a number of men riding furiously through the principal streets; but general alarm was not excited, until Mr. Clarke, the proprietor of a considerable manufactory in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and who had that afternoon apprised government of the intention of the insurgents, was shot at and dangerously wounded. About the period of this premeditated assassination, a small piece of ordnance, which had been in readiness for the purpose, was discharged, and a sky-rocket let off at the same moment, so as to be observed throughout the whole city. Mr. Emmett, at the head of his chosen band, now sallied forth from the obscurity of his head-quarters, in Marshalsea-Lane, and brandishing his sword in the street, excited his followers to action. Before they had reached the end of the Lane in which they were assembled, a confidential member of the party discharged his blunderbuss at a person dressed in a military uniform, who was passing hastily along the street. The ball of the assassin unhappily took effect, and thus perished Colonel Browne, a most respectable and meritorious officer, and one of the first victims of this sanguinary night. From this period, it is remarkable, nothing more is heard of Emmett, or any of his brother conspirators, till we find them beneath the power of the offended justice of their country.

The circumstance from which this commotion derived a degree of consequence far beyond that which would naturally belong to the ordinary acts of turbulence in a disaffected country, and in an ill-regulated metropolis, was the dreadful catastrophe of the chief justice of Ireland, the Lord Viscount Kilwarden. This unfortunate nobleman had, on the day of the insurrection, retired to his country seat, near four miles from Dublin, as was his custom after having passed the week in fulfilling the duties of his exalted situation. On the first intimation of the circumstances which denoted disturbances being conveyed to him, his Lordship, who, ever since the period of the outrages in 1798, had been in perpetual apprehension of being surprised and assassinated by rebels, ordered out his carriage, and taking with him his daughter, and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, set off instantly for Dublin, where he expected to find protection and safety. Unfortunately for the lord chief justice and his family, the carriage appeared in Thomas Street immediately after the opening of the depot, and was surrounded by a mob of armed persons. His Lordship announced his name, and earnestly prayed for mercy; but in vain. The party were all dragged from the carriage, and Lord Kilwarden and his nephew fell to the ground, pierced with innumerable wounds, but the lady was permitted to pass through the whole rebel column to the castle without molestation! The alarm having been universally spread, the approach of a small military force, hastily collected, caused the cowardly and ferocious wretches to abandon their mangled prey; and as soon as the streets were a little cleared, some humane persons ventured to approach the scene of blood and massacre. The body of Mr. Wolfe was found quite dead, at the distance of a few yards from the place where the carriage had been stopped; but his unfortunate uncle, Lord Kilwarden, still survived. His Lordship was immediately carried to the nearest watch house, where he received such assistance as could be procured, and while the vital spark still quivered on his lips, this truly great man exclaimed—"Murder must be punished, but let no man suffer for my death, but on a fair trial, and by the laws of his country." These were his last words.* About half past ten o'clock the rebels were in their turn severely attacked; the mighty projects and elaborate preparations of the chiefs were all discomfited and dissipated in less than an hour, by two subaltern officers of the 21st regiment, each having about fifty men under his command. After the rebels had taken possession of certain streets, they put to death several persons in military attire, and cut off a number of regulars and volunteers who were anxiously repairing to the rendezvous appointed for them in case of danger. While

* Arthur Wolfe, Lord Viscount Kilwarden, was a native of Ireland, and had served the crown, in the usual gradations of the highest offices of the law. He became Solicitor-General of Ireland when Viscount Carleton was promoted to the Common Pleas, and Attorney General, on the late Lord Clare's accession to the seals. The Earl of Clonmell was his Lordship's immediate predecessor in his high office of Chief Justice of Ireland. As crown prosecutor, during a period which unfortunately called for the frequent exercise of the duties of that office, he was fair, candid, and gentle; disposed to give the accused every advantage, and always less desirous to exaggerate guilt, than to ascertain innocence. As a judge, no man ever attempted to censure him on any other ground than a strenuous, and what some considered an overstrained assertion of the liberty of the subject. He was an upright, honest man, who well knew how to appreciate law and justice, and who had fully and deeply impressed on his mind the sound maxims of both.

engaged

engaged in this murderous pursuit, Lieutenant Brady, with about fifty men, came unexpectedly upon the rear of the mob; and while attempting to seize the first pike-man he met, a shot was fired from an entry, by which one of his soldiers was wounded. The Lieutenant, finding these acts of aggression repeated, ordered his men to fire, and in a few minutes the mob fled in every direction, leaving the Lieutenant and his party completely masters of the field. A column of rebels proceeding down Thomas Street, seemed desirous to attack the light company of the 21st under Lieutenant Douglas, and two or three shots were discharged at the soldiers, when the mob advancing as if to charge, received a volley from the troops, which obliged them to fall back; a second volley dispersed them, and after this no further attack or resistance was experienced.

No return was ever made of the number of lives lost on this occasion, but the most probable conjecture is, that of soldiers and volunteers there were about twenty, and perhaps about fifty of the insurgents. Nor is it easy to form an opinion of the number of rebels in arms, though various conjectures have been made, some carrying their muster roll up to 3000, and others diminishing their force to 500.* The entire failure of the rebellious enterprise of Emmett and his associates reduced their proclamations and decrees to the standard of waste paper; and every precaution was immediately taken by the government to restore the public tranquillity. The privy council issued a proclamation, calling on the magistrates to unite their exertions with those of the military power, and offering a reward of one thousand pounds for the discovery and detection of the miscreants who murdered Lord Kilwarden. A reward was also offered to those who should discover the murderers of Lieutenant-Colonel Browne; and an official notice was issued by the Lord Mayor, requiring all the inhabitants of Dublin, except yeomen, to keep within doors after eight in the evening. At the same time, bills for suspending the Habeas Corpus act, and for placing Ireland under martial law, were passed with uncommon rapidity through their different stages in the Parliament of the united kingdom. Arrangements were also made for sending large bodies of troops from England, and every measure which prudence could suggest, or courage execute, was immediately adopted, for the preservation of the public tranquillity. On this occasion, the Roman Catholics, with Lord Fingal at their head, came forward in the most loyal and patriotic manner, and after expressing their utmost abhorrence and detestation of the enormities committed on the 23d of July, made an offer to government of their assistance and co-operation. By these and similar exertions the flame of rebellion was completely extinguished.

Russel, who had attempted to erect the standard of rebellion in the north, was also completely disappointed, and it does not appear that more than twelve persons, and those of the lowest rank, and most desperate characters, ever entered into his treasonable designs. Disappointed in all his endeavours, he returned to Dublin soon after the 23d of July, where he remained concealed in the house of Mr. Mulet, a gun-smith, till the 9th of September, when he was apprehended by the vigilance of the police, and on the following day committed to prison. Emmett fled in despair and mortification from Dublin, to the adjacent mountains. But there he was pursued, and obliged again to seek refuge in Dublin, where he was in about a month traced to the house of a Mrs. Palmer, and, having been secured, was committed to prison. Dowdall and Allen escaped out of the country; but Redmond was arrested at Newry, at the moment when he was about to take his passage for America; and Quigley and Stafford were soon after taken in the interior of the country. A special commission was issued for the trial of the rebels, and Edward Kearney, a calenderer; and Thomas Maxwell Roche, an old man, of nearly seventy years of age, were found guilty, and executed in Thomas Street, the focus of the insurrection. Several others experienced a similar fate; but the most important of these judicial proceedings was the trial of Robert Emmett, Esq. who was arraigned on the 19th of September, and found guilty on the clearest evidence.† On the following day this misguided young man, only in the 24th year of his age, was executed on a temporary gallows in Thomas Street. In the ensuing month, Mr. Thomas Russel also expiated his offences under the hands of the executioner.—Quigley and Stafford were arraigned on the 29th of October; but in consideration of their having made a full disclosure of all the circumstances connected with the conspiracy, no further proceedings were had against them, nor any of the remaining prisoners.

---

* The plan of the insurrection, as developed in the papers afterwards found in the depot, embraced the whole of Ireland, a certain number of men from each parish being fixed on to march for the capital. The explosion, however, was confined to Dublin and its immediate vicinity. A schism, which divided the leaders, produced this premature attempt, one party being desirous of coming to immediate action, and the other wishing to postpone the execution of their plan, till the co-operation of a foreign force could be procured. The activity of the government soon discovered the depots, detected the plans, and annihilated the resources of the conspirators. At the Malt Store, in Dirty Lane, the principal of their depots, were found eight thousand pikes, and thirty-four thousand ball cartridges, besides a number of hand grenados, and other military stores. On the banks of the river, at a place called the Coal-Quay, a second depot was found: in the apartment where it was discovered, the wainscot had been removed to a considerable distance from the wall, and constructed so as to move like a sliding door. Behind this was found an immense number of pikes and other weapons. In many parts of the city, and chiefly in vacant grounds, and against what are termed dead walls, boxes of pikes were discovered, formed so as to resemble logs of timber; their situation and contents being well known to the adherents of the conspirators. In Bridgefoot Street, and Smithfield, was also found a quantity of clothing, among which was a magnificent suit of green and gold, evidently intended for some insurgent General. But perhaps the most material discovery was the finding of the papers connected with the insurrection, and which, as they not only pointed out the leaders of the conspiracy, but also all the places in the country, which were considered as favourable for similar movements, enabled government to take effectual means to prevent or repel any further effort on the part of the disaffected. The most remarkable of the papers found at the depot, was a proclamation or manifesto of the intended provisional government to the people of Ireland. This address was written in a turgid and inflated style, much resembling some of the papers published in the early part of the French revolution, and among other assertions stated, "that the present effort was for the developement of a system which had been organized within the last eight months." It obscurely intimated that the conspiracy of Despard was a branch of the same system; and laid down as the basis of the whole, an eternal separation from British connection; and concluded with a declamatory invective against what was termed the tyranny of England. There was also in the archives of the rebels, an address to the citizens of Dublin, and the project of a decree, by which the abolition of all tythes was announced; no transfer of debenture or public securities was to take place till the national government should be organized; the troops of the line were to be treated as prisoners of war, but the Irish militia, yeomen, and volunteers, found in arms against the republic fourteen days after the date of the decree, were made liable to suffer death by the sentence of a court-martial. And among other regulations in this decree was a provision for electing a house of representatives.

† Before the awful sentence of the law was pronounced, Mr. Emmett addressed the court in a long and animated speech, in which he candidly avowed that it was his intention to separate Ireland from her dependence on Great Britain, and gloried in the measures he had taken to accomplish his purpose. He at the same time solemnly disclaimed all agency or connection with France:—"Small indeed," exclaimed he, "must have been our claims to patriotism or to common sense; absurd indeed our professions of the love of liberty, if I and my associates could encourage the profanation of our shores by a people who are themselves slaves, and the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery on others. Did I live to see a French army approach this country, I would meet it with a torch in one hand and a sword in the other: I would receive them with all the destruction of war! I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their very boats, before our native soil should have been polluted by the tread of a foreign foe. If they succeeded in landing, I would burn every blade of grass before them; raise every house, contend to the last for every inch of ground, and the spot in which the hope of freedom should desert me, that spot I would make my grave. What I cannot do, I leave as a legacy to my country, because I feel conscious that my death would be unprofitable, and all hope of liberty would be extinct, the moment a French army obtained a footing in this land." After some further observations in the same strain, he concluded thus: "My lamp of life has nearly expired; my race is finished; the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. All I request at departing from the world is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph, for as no man who knows my motives will dare to vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them; let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, till other times, and other men, can do justice to my character."

Previously to this period, France had succeeded in obtaining a complete ascendancy in Switzerland; and, also, to a certain extent, as already intimated, in Germany.* In the West Indies, she had not been altogether so successful.† Buonaparte's favourite expedition to St. Domingo, upon which immense sums had been expended, was found by no means equal to the attainment of the object in view—the complete subjugation of the island; and, ultimately, its total failure was experienced.‡

The first important measure, respecting the Parliament which assembled in the winter of the year 1802, took place on the 16th of May, 1803, when a message was presented from his Majesty to both Houses, announcing that he had recalled his ambassador from Paris, and that the French ambassador had left London. The message also intimated, that his Majesty had given directions for laying before the House of Commons, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as would afford the fullest information to his Parliament at this important conjuncture.—The message was taken into consideration in the House of Lords, on the 23d of May, when Lord Pelham rose to move the address:—He observed, that the only question was, whether a distinct and legitimate ground of war was established by the correspondence now on the table. Without wishing to go minutely into these documents, he should briefly advert to the principal points in dispute between the two governments; and, first, with respect to Malta. It would be seen from the papers on the table, that up to a given period, his Majesty's ministers had taken every step to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty relating to this island. It was about the 27th of January that the French

* The Austrian cabinet was bound, by the treaty of Luneville, to admit of the German indemnities, and the secularization of several of the ecclesiastical sovereignties; but the government was extremely averse to the prosecution of this business. The Emperor of Russia at length resolved, after a long interval had elapsed in fruitless discussions, to take an active part, conjointly with France, in the mediation of the existing differences. Nothing, however, was effectually done till the 17th of July, (1802) on which day the Emperor of Germany transmitted a rescript to the diet of Ratisbon, stating that his attention had been unceasingly occupied with the means of terminating the important business of the peace; but that he found the parties principally interested, had applied in the mean time to Russia and France, and solicited the mediation of those powers in order to obtain the indemnities they waited for; that Russia had consequently proposed to open negociations at Paris, in February, 1802; that soon after, a convention was concluded between France and Russia, without the participation of his imperial Majesty, and that he was now desired to direct the definitive arrangement so begun, according to the constitution of the empire. The Emperor submitted for a time to the humiliating necessity under which he was placed, but by his persevering endeavours in favour of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he obtained terms for his royal relative, somewhat more advantageous than those originally projected. The newly modified scheme of the indemnities, was called a supplement to the plan, according to which the Elector of Mentz obtained the cities of Ratisbon and Wetzlar. The Princes of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Hesse Cassel, were made electors. The King of Great Britain accepted the cession of the Bishopric of Osnaburg, in perpetuity, as a compensation for Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter; stipulating at the same time to abandon the rights and privileges he had formerly exercised over Hamburgh and Bremen. And to the Prince of Orange, for the surrender of the stadtholderate, and other claims and possessions in Holland and Belgium, were awarded the Bishoprics of Fulda and Corvey, and the city of Dortmund. After much discussion, and the interchange of various imperial rescripts and replies, the influence of France rose predominant in the diet, and on the 22d of November, in the thirtieth sitting of the deputation, a final conclusum was voted, and reluctantly acceded to on the part of the Emperor. By this arrangement the influence of the Emperor was diminished in the diet, in consequence of the abolition of the two ecclesiastical electorates of Treves and Cologne, and the constitution of Germany suffered a more serious infraction than that effected, after the thirty years war, by the treaty of Westphalia.

† The island of Gaudaloupe, as well as that of St. Domingo, had become the theatre of civil war. The negroes struggled with great resolution against the chains which were prepared for them; but after a sanguinary resistance, they were subdued by a large military force, under the command of Admiral Bouvet and General Richepanse. In Tobago, when intelligence arrived that the island was to be restored to France, the people of colour flew to arms; and determined to attack the British troops under Brigadier General Carmichael, who had under his command only 200 men; but the British General having gained intelligence of the plot, seized thirty of the ringleaders. In consequence of this early suppression of the mutiny, the French experienced no serious opposition, and they took possession of this island in virtue of the treaty of Amiens. In the island of Dominica a very serious alarm was created by the mutiny of an entire regiment of blacks, who, in the first transport of their fury, put to death Captain Cameron, Lieutenants Mackay and Wastneys, Commissary Laign, and Quarter-Master Mackay, besides wounding two other officers. No sooner had intelligence of this tragical event, which originated in the pay of the troops being delayed, and the accustomed allowance of food diminished, come to the knowledge of the Hon. Cochrane Johnstone, who was Colonel of the revolted regiment, and governor of the island, than he immediately collected all the militia and European troops that could be mustered, and embarked for Prince Rupert's, the scene of the insurrection. After an ineffectual resistance on the part of the mutineers, who resisted the landing of the troops, they were at length totally routed, and the whole of their force, with the exception of forty grenadiers, were either killed, or made prisoners. Whilst these contests prevailed, the French legislative body abrogated the decree of the national convention, declaring "that negro slavery in all the colonies was abolished," and slavery was re-established in all the French colonies, on the same footing as it stood previously to the year 1789; and the slave trade, and the importation of negroes, were ordered to be renewed, with all the encouragement and advantages which this detestable traffic enjoyed under the old French government.

‡ At first the French met with flattering success; and the town of Cape François was relinquished to them by Christophe, one of Toussaint's Generals, who, after an obstinate resistance, on evacuating the place, ordered it to be set on fire, and the forts to be blown up. Port-au-Prince also fell into the hands of General Le Clerc; but Toussaint treated the overtures of the French commander with contempt, and took every precaution to secure a safe retreat into the interior and mountainous parts of the island. Here the obstacles to be surmounted were innumerable. "It would be necessary," says General Le Clerc in one of his dispatches, "to see the country, to form an accurate idea of the difficulties which occurred at every step. I have seen nothing in the Alps to be compared to them." In a series of severe engagements, the French were generally conquerors; but their force was dangerously weakened even by their victories; and the hot and rainy season, so fatal to Europeans, was approaching. But a second negociation was set on foot by Le Clerc, who was prodigal of promises, and protestations of favour and good will to the negro chief. "I throw," sasy he, "a veil of oblivion over every thing that has passed at St. Domingo before my arrival. With regard to yourself, you desire repose, and you deserve it. I leave you at liberty to retire to whichever of your habitations you please. I rely so much on the attachment you bear to the colony of St. Domingo, as to believe that you will employ the moments of leisure you may have in your retreat, in communicating to me your views respecting the means to be taken to make agriculture and commerce again flourish. Deluded by these shallow professions, Toussaint, invincible in his fortresses, was persuaded by a blind and fatal confidence in the faith of the French General, to sign a capitulation (May, 1802) and submit to the authority of the Republic. Scarcely had he laid down his arms, and retired to his house at Gonaives, when, on a vague and improbable charge of conspiring against the French government, he was seized in the midst of his family, about the end of the month, and with them immediately shipped on board a frigate for France, where he was, without trial or examination, thrown into prison.(a) But this cruel and unjust procedure did not answer the intended purpose. The negro Generals, Dessalines and Christophe, who had also surrendered, justly fearing to share the fate of their unfortunate colleague, saved themselves by flight. The insurgents again every where assembled; the climate effectually aided their efforts, and General Le Clerc himself at length fell a victim to its malignity. General Rochambeau succeeded to the command early in November, when a furious and bloody conflict recommenced; in the result of which the negro Generals recovered possession of the whole island, excepting a few maritime towns and naval ports, of which the French with extreme difficulty maintained possession, being assailed at once with the sword, disease, and famine; and a country of inestimable value, which by measures of moderation and conciliation, might in all probability have been preserved to France, appeared finally and irrecoverably lost.

(a) Toussaint Louverture, an African by birth, was sold at a very early age into slavery. The disadvantageous circumstances of his youth, precluded him from the enjoyment of a liberal education; but nature had compensated this misfortune; and so early as the year 1796, his superior talents had elevated him to a command in the French army of St. Domingo, under General Rochambeau. The influence which he possessed over the blacks, and the confidence bestowed upon him by the European part of the population, induced him, after the expulsion of the French from St. Domingo by the English, to aspire to sovereign power, and he consolidated his authority by the wisest and most humane regulations. On the arrival of the formidable armament from France, under General Le Clerc, the most alluring offers of personal aggrandizement were made to him by the first consul; and in rejecting those proposals he displayed a firmness and dignity of soul that would have done honour to a Roman. Of his humanity, it is a sufficient testimonial that he possessed the respect of the white inhabitants, whom the rage of insurrection had spared; nor does he appear to have been devoid of religion, but on the contrary, to have applied the principles of Christianity to one of their noblest purposes—to soften the ferocity, and temper the violence of the savage tribes placed under his command. The history of this gallant but unfortunate chief, from the time he was forced away from St. Domingo, is soon told: on his arrival in France he was immured in a dungeon, where he died in the following year, of apoplexy, as it was asserted, but not without violent suspicion that his life was terminated by the hand of an assassin.

government began to press in a very peremptory manner, for the evacuation of that island; and it was about that period, that ministers thought themselves bound to demand some satisfactory explanations of the pretensions advanced, and the views disclosed by the French government. Circumstances then existed, which rendered it necessary to refer back to what had been the conduct of the First Consul, from the period when the treaty was concluded. In the course of this view, the plain and intelligible inference was, that the conduct of the French government had been one constant series of acts totally inconsistent with a sincere desire to preserve the peace of the two countries. The answers returned by ministers to the complaints of the French government, regarding the liberty of the British press, the residence of the Bourbons, and the countenance afforded by this country to French emigrants, would be found in the correspondence, and he entertained a confident expectation that the language of ministers, on those subjects, was of a nature to meet with universal support and approbation. "Ministers," said his Lordship, in conclusion, "have shewn the utmost reluctance to resort to any measure which might hasten a renewal of hostilities; but the conduct of the French government could no longer be tolerated, consistently with the honour, dignity, and safety, of this country. War, then, has become inevitable; and it is a war in which the national spirit ought to be exerted in every way which will demonstrate to a proud and insolent foe, that while the people of England are not anxious for an opportunity of taking offence, they are sensibly alive to the least imputation of dishonour, and determined on punishing insults with the most exemplary vengeance." The Dukes of Cumberland and Clarence, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Melville, Earl Spencer, and others, spoke in favour of the motion, which was carried by 142 against 132. The question was, on the same day, discussed in the Commons; and continued by adjournment, on the following day. Lord Hawkesbury opened the debate in a very able speech, in which he enumerated all the subjects of complaint this country had against France, and concluded with moving an address, assuring his Majesty of the just sense that House entertained of his anxious and uniform endeavours to preserve to his people the blessings of peace; of their strong feelings of indignation that his Majesty's endeavours had been frustrated by the restless spirit of ambition and domination in the government of France; and of their firm determination to co-operate in calling forth the resources of the united kingdom, for the vigorous support of his cause.—Mr. Erskine combated the statements of Lord Hawkesbury; and was followed by Mr. Grey, who moved an amendment, limiting the address to assurances of co-operation, and an expression of the satisfaction with which the House received his Majesty's declaration, that he was willing to afford, as far as might be consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, every facility to any just arrangement, by which the blessings of peace might be restored.

In supporting the address, Mr. Pitt expressed his conviction, that some system, far more vigorous and effectual than any which had yet been adopted, would be found necessary, both in our finances, and in the preparation for national defence. On the provisions to be made for these two primary and paramount objects, it would principally depend, in his estimation, whether we could effectually disconcert the favourite projects, and disappoint the main hopes, of our enemies. It was evident, that if they indulged themselves in any expectation of success in the present contest, it was built chiefly on the supposition that they could either break the spirit, or shake the determination, of the country, by harassing us with the perpetual apprehension of descent upon our coasts, or that they could impair our resources, and undermine our credit, by the effects of an expensive and protracted contest. To defeat the first of these purposes, it was not, in his judgment, sufficient to make those naval and military preparations which would prevent any invasion that might be attempted, from being ultimately successful; (an event which, he trusted, he was justified, in common with others, in considering as utterly impossible) but, to make such vigorous and extensive arrangements for national defence, as might diffuse a sense of the most complete security against even the temporary impression to be produced by such an attempt, and might enable every individual to lay down his head in rest, in the persuasion and confidence that nothing was omitted which could enable us at once to meet and repel the danger, at any moment, and in any quarter, in which it might threaten us. In order to defeat the second object, that of wearing out our resources, Mr. Pitt trusted the House would, from the beginning, form a system of finance, not only with a view to the expense which might be necessary in the first year of the contest, but that they would look, at once, to the possibility of its being protracted to as long a period as that which had been lately terminated—that they would consider fully what, on the probable scale of the war, would be the whole extent of the burthens necessary to be imposed, on that supposition. He was persuaded, that it could only be by providing, at the outset, means adequate to the whole extent of these purposes, that we could, in fact, prevent the ultimate amount of our expenses from being unnecessarily, and perhaps intolerably, augmented; or, that we could ensure the best chances, either of bringing the contest to a speedy conclusion, by convincing the enemy of our ability to maintain it, or could meet its continued exigencies, if necessary, without the annual recurrence of growing and accumulated embarassments. He trusted, therefore, that ministers would feel the necessity of bringing both these points under consideration, with all practicable promptitude and dispatch; and that, if possible, not even a fortnight might be suffered to elapse, without enabling Parliament to adopt such measures as would convince both France and the world, that we had, from that hour, provided the means of supporting the force, and of defraying the expenditure, which might be necessary for the maintenance of our internal security, and for the vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war, to any period to which it could be reasonably expected to extend. He was aware that these measures could not be effected without material and extensive personal sacrifices, and without great additional burthens, which must, in a certain degree, affect the ease, convenience, and even comfort of many classes of society. He lamented these consequences as much as any man; and, if he saw any prospect that, by present concession, we could obtain a real and desirable interval of peace, security, and repose, he should be as anxious as any man to avoid the necessity of such arduous and painful concessions; but, under the present circumstances, a weak and timid policy would, perhaps, scarcely even postpone the moment when they would become indispensible for our existence, and would infallibly expose us to the certainty of a similar struggle, at no distant period, without those means which we now possessed, and with a diminished chance of finally conducting it to a successful issue. At that moment, we had not an option between the blessings of peace, and the dangers of war. From the fatality of the times, and the general state of the world, Mr. Pitt observed, we must consider our lot as cast by the decrees of Providence, in a time of peril and trouble. He trusted the temper, and the courage, of the nation, would be conformable to the duties which such a situation imposed, that we should be prepared, collectively and individually, to meet it with that resignation and fortitude, and, at the same time, with that active zeal and exertion, which, in proportion to the magnitude of the crisis, might be expected from a brave and free people; and that we should remember even in the hour of trial, what abundant reason we had to be grateful to Providence for the distinction which we enjoyed over most of the countries of Europe, and for all the advantages and blessings which national wisdom and virtue had hitherto produced, and which it now depended on perseverance

in

in the same just and honourable sentiments, still to guard and preserve.—The address was agreed to, by 398, against 67.

Mr. Fox, three or four days afterwards, moved an address to his Majesty, praying "that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to avail himself of the disposition manifested by the Emperor of Russia, to mediate between this country and the French government, which mediation might not only lead to the speedy and honourable termination of the present contest, but might conduce to the general tranquillity and safety of Europe." Among the advantages which must result from the mediation of this powerful and esteemed sovereign, Mr. Fox particularly insisted upon the following: should this country be obliged to prosecute the war for the attainment of any object which that sovereign should approve, Great Britain would have the strong support afforded by his approbation, which would carry with it the opinion of the world in our favour. Through this mediation, we might hope to procure the adjustment, not merely of the question respecting Malta, but, in fact, of all the points in dispute. Lord Hawkesbury admitted, that an offer to mediate the differences between Britain and France had already been made by Russia. The impression on the mind of the Emperor Alexander was, that there was a certain degree of reluctance on the part of the two governments, to explain distinctly the points of mutual dispute. He had accordingly proposed, that the Russian ministers, at London and Paris, should interpose their good offices for facilitating this explanation; but at the time this offer was made, Lord Whitworth was on the eve of quitting Paris, and looking to an immediate termination of the discussions, ministers considered the offer as too loose, and too general, to be then adopted. At the same time, ministers did not conceal from the court of St. Petersburgh, and they were as little desirous of concealing from the House, that with reference not only to the particular points in dispute between the two governments, but with reference to the establishment of a guarantee for the general independence and security of Europe, they were ready to accept of the mediation of Russia. No question of etiquette would stand in the way; the whole declaration of ministers had been given in the true spirit of peace. In his Majesty's declaration also, an express assurance was given of his readiness to listen to any proposal for restoring the blessings of peace; and he had now to assure the honourable gentleman and the House, that ministers were ready to receive any offer of mediation on the part of Russia, or to offer to the mediation of this power, the points in dispute between the two governments. Mr. Fox, considering this explanation as perfectly satisfactory, withdrew his motion.

At this time, the existing administration were highly obnoxious to what was called the Grenville party; and the friends of Mr. Pitt, and even himself, began to manifest towards them unequivocal marks of coldness. On the 2d of June, Earl Fitzwilliam moved, in the upper House of Parliament, a series of resolutions, censuring the conduct of ministers, in withholding from Parliament, information on the numberless aggressions and insults offered by the French government to this country, since the treaty of Amiens; and in holding out to the country, the prospect of a permanent peace, at a period when they must have been aware, that the continuance of the relations of amity was, in the highest degree, uncertain and precarious. Lord Mulgrave, to the infinite mortification of ministers, moved, as an amendment, the adjournment of the House. However, both the original motion and Lord Mulgrave's amendment, were rejected by vast majorities. A similar motion was made on the following day in the House of Commons, by Colonel Patton, and with similar success. On the 6th of June, Earl Fitzwilliam brought the subject before the House again, and moved a number of resolutions, varying in form, but in substance the same as those before rejected. The last resolution was couched in these terms, "That by these instances of misconduct, his Majesty's ministers have proved themselves unworthy of the confidence of this House, and incapable of administering with advantage, the public affairs of the country in a crisis of such unexampled difficulty and danger." The first of these resolutions was negatived by 86 against 17, and the others without a division.

The remainder of this session of Parliament was chiefly occupied by subjects of finance, and with devising the means of providing for the defence of the country against the invasion threatened by the First Consul. The first, and most obvious measure of defence, was to render the militia, the constitutional defence of the country, as effective as possible, and a bill for that purpose was brought into the House of Commons by the secretary of war, on the 20th of May, which passed through its several stages without any material opposition. But the militia force being considered inadequate to the defence of the realm, a message from the crown was sent to Parliament, on the 18th of June, stating, that his Majesty considered it as important for the safety and defence of the nation, that a large additional military force should be forthwith raised and assembled, and it was recommended to both Houses of Parliament, to take such measures as should appear to be most effectual for accomplishing this purpose with the least possible delay. In furtherance of the object of this message, a bill was immediately brought into Parliament for embodying a new species of militia, under the denomination of the army of reserve. This force which was to consist of 50,000 men for England, and 10,000 for Ireland, was to be raised by ballot, and confined to the defence of the united kingdom: the officers to be appointed from the regular army and the half-pay list: all persons from the age of 18 to 45, were liable to serve, with the exception of those persons who were exempt from the militia ballot, and such volunteers as were enrolled previously to the date of the last message of his majesty: all poor persons having more than one child under ten years of age, were also exempt: the persons composing this force to be allowed to volunteer into the regular army. On the 6th of July, this bill obtained the royal assent. But these measures of defence, however important, were only the precursors of one of the most gigantic magnitude, being no less than the arming and training of the whole effective male population of Great Britain. This project was presented to the consideration of Parliament, on the 28th of July, and passed into a law by receiving the royal assent, on the 27th of the same month. This general enrolment, denominated the levy en masse, was divided into four different classes; the first comprehended all unmarried men between the ages of 17 and 30; the second, unmarried men between 30 and 50; the third, all married men between 17 and 30, not having more than two children under ten years of age; and the fourth, all under the age of 55, not comprised in the other descriptions. The different classes, who were to be trained and taught the use of arms, in their respective parishes, were, in case of actual invasion, liable to be called out by his Majesty, in the orders specified, to co-operate with the regular army, in any part of the kingdom, and to remain embodied until the enemy should be exterminated or driven into the sea.*

On the 13th of June, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward the budget; he proposed to raise, by an increase of the customs, duties on sugar, exports, cotton, and tonnage, about two millions annually; and by new duties on the excise of tea, wine, spirits, and

* An act was passed this session, to relieve the Roman Catholics from certain penalties and disabilities, to which they were before subject, on subscribing the declaration and oath contained in the act of the 31st of the reign of his present Majesty. An important addition was also made to the criminal law of the country. By an act, introduced into the House of Lords, by Lord Ellenborough, and on that account called the Ellenborough act, any person guilty of maliciously shooting, cutting, or stabbing, with an intent to commit murder, although death should not ensue, was declared guilty of a capital felony, and made subject to the punishment of death. The same penalty was also attached to all attempts to discharge loaded fire-arms, with an intent to kill or wound.

malt.

malt, six millions more. He then presented a plan of a tax on income, imposing a duty on land of one shilling in the pound, to be paid by the landlord, and ninepence in the pound, to be paid by the tenant, together with a tax of one shilling in the pound on all other species of income, from 150*l.* upwards. The nett produce of this revived property tax, was calculated at 4,700,000*l.* and the whole product of the war taxes, at 12,700,000*l.* annually, to expire six months after the return of peace. In addition to these grants, the other taxes were continued, and the whole of the supplies voted by Parliament for the service of the year 1803, amounted to upwards of forty-one millions.

At this time, the preparations for invading Britain, made by France, called forth a simultaneous burst of loyalty and patriotism from all classes and descriptions of persons, and in a very brief interval, upwards of 400,000 men in arms appeared ready to defend their native coasts. So numerous, indeed, were these voluntary armed associations, that it rendered the act for raising the levy en masse perfectly superfluous. Buonaparte viewed, with astonishment, this extraordinary display of national energy and patriotic feeling, and though his preparations for invasion were continued, the intention of carrying them into effect is thought to have been secretly abandoned.

In the course of the session, a grant of 60,000*l.* a year, for three years, to be computed from the 5th of January, 1803, was made to the Prince of Wales, towards providing for the better support and dignity of His Royal Highness.

During the discussions in the House of Commons, Mr. Windham had taken occasion to express himself in terms of great asperity and contempt towards the volunteer corps of the country, whom, on one occasion, the honourable gentleman termed the depositaries of panic. To obviate any supposition that the House concurred in these reproachful and calumnious sentiments towards those brave and loyal defenders of the state, Mr. Sheridan, on the 10th of August, moved the thanks of the House "to the volunteer and yeomanry corps of Great Britain, for the zeal and promptitude with which they had associated for the defence of the country." He also moved, "that returns of the different volunteer corps be laid before the House, in order that they may be handed down to posterity, by being entered on the journals." Both these motions were agreed to unanimously; and, on the 12th of August, this session was closed by a speech from the throne; on which occasion, his Majesty expressed his satisfaction at the energy and promptitude which had been displayed in providing for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war; assuring the House, at the same time, that as strict a regard would be paid to œconomy, in the public expenditure, as was consistent with the exertions necessary to frustrate the designs, and weaken the power of the enemy. At this interesting period, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales addressed a letter to the prime minister, urging upon him the propriety of investing him with an efficient military rank, and of placing him in a situation where his example might contribute to excite the loyal energies of the nation, and where his participation in the honours and dangers which awaited the brave defenders of the country, might keep those energies in vigorous activity. In reply to repeated applications on this subject, he was informed, that, should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to effect a landing, His Royal Highness would have an opportunity of shewing his zeal at the head of his regiment; but, upon public grounds, his Majesty could never permit the Prince of Wales to consider the army as a profession, or to allow of his being promoted in the service.

This year, besides the loss of St. Domingo, the most valuable of all the colonial possessions of France, the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago once more fell into the hands of Great Britain. The Dutch colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice, fell successively into the hands of the English, under the same successful and meritorious commanders (Commodore Hood, and Lieutenant-General Grinfield); the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near the coast of Newfoundland, also contributing to swell the numerous and important colonial conquests of Britain.

Buonaparte, aware of the precarious tenure by which France held her colonies in the west, determined, if possible, to secure her dominions in the east, and with this view, an armament was fitted out at Brest, consisting of a strong naval force, under the command of Admiral Linois, on board of which were placed 6000 troops. This expedition sailed soon after the breaking out of the war, with orders to touch at the Cape of Good Hope, and to place that colony in such a state of defence as to be enabled to resist any attack that might be made upon it by the English.

In Europe also, the French armies were immediately put in motion, and the Consular government, anxious to justify their conduct to the French nation, and to Europe, published a declaration, dated the 20th of May, on the causes, which led to the recal of their ambassador from London, and the renewal of the war with Great Britain.

During the long protracted negociation, a considerable French army had been assembled in Holland, and on the frontiers of Hanover; and no sooner had his Majesty's declaration of war been laid before the British Parliament, than the French General Mortier, advancing from his head-quarters at Coeverden, summoned the Hanoverian electorate to surrender to the republican army. In the attack on Hanover, Buonaparte formally professed that he should occupy that country merely as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, and endeavoured to cover this flagrant violation of the constitution and independence of the Germanic empire, by asserting, that it was merely for the purpose of compelling the King of England to maintain the peace of Amiens, that he ordered his army to occupy that portion of Germany, in which the present reigning family of England were peculiarly interested. Although it was impossible that the electorate could oppose any effectual stand against the immense power of France, the Duke of Cambridge was sent over from England, as Commander-in-Chief in that country, and proclamations were published in the name of His Royal Highness, and on the authority of the Hanoverian government, calling upon all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, to rally round the standard of their country. On the 26th of May, however, the invading army entered the town of Bentheim, where the Hanoverian garrison, consisting of an officer and 36 men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Two days after this, the French force passed the river Ems, at Mippen, and the following day, a body of 10,000 French troops entered the principality of Osnaburgh, which had been previously evacuated by the Hanoverians. General Walmoden, to whom the command of the Hanoverian troops was intrusted, having collected an army of 18,000 regulars, now determined to make a stand in his position, on the Hunte; expecting, in the mean time, to receive considerable assistance from General Hammerstein, who occupied the town of Diepholtz, with a formidable force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. After the necessary preparations, a division of French infantry, under the command of General Schiner, and another of cavalry, led by General Nansouty, advancing to the Hunte, forced the passage of that river, and directed their march to Sublingen, with a view to cutting off whatever force might be stationed between that town and Diepholtz. This manœuvre so far succeeded as to oblige General Hammerstein to retreat during the night, and to take up his station at Borstoen. On the 1st of June, a smart skirmish took place between the Hanoverian rear-guard, and the French advanced picquets, which was succeeded, on the 2d, by a severe cannonade, on the part of the electoral troops; but General Drouet, advancing with a charge of cavalry, obliged them to retire. The Weser was now the last line of defence for the Hanoverian army, and the banks of that river were strongly planted with artillery; but, at the moment

when General Mortier had advanced into the vicinity of the town of Nienborg, the head-quarters of the Hanoverians, a deputation arrived from the civil and military authorities of Hanover, intreating him to suspend his march. With this request, he consented to comply, on condition that the invaders should be put in possession of all the fortresses in the electorate, together with the arms, artillery, and ammunition, of the enemy. It was further stipulated by this convention, which was signed at Sublingen, that the Hanoverian army should retire behind the Elbe, and engage not to serve against France, or her allies, during the war, or until regularly exchanged. On the 5th of June, the French advanced without further molestation, and took possession of the city of Hanover, where they found a prodigious quantity of artillery and ammunition. Besides the absolute value of the electorate as a conquest, which enabled the enemy to remount their cavalry, and recruit their drooping finances, they were now masters of the navigation of the Elbe and the Weser, and as had been foreseen, they hastened to improve this circumstance to their own advantage, and to the annoyance of their adversary. Being now in the immediate neighbourhood of the commercial Hanse Towns of Hamburgh and Bremen, the French Generals were enabled to levy considerable sums of money on those opulent cities, under the shape of loans; and while the continental powers patiently submitted to this outrageous violation of the German empire, no prospect presented itself of limiting their future exactions.* His Britannic Majesty, however, as Elector of Hanover, refused to ratify the convention of Sublingen, on which General Mortier addressed a letter to Marshal Count Walmoden, the Hanoverian General, apprising him of this refusal, and of his consequent determination to re-commence the campaign, unless the marshal would consent to surrender his army, and allow them to be marched into France as prisoners of war. Count Walmoden replied, that his army preferred perishing with arms in their hands, rather than to submit to this humiliating proposal; that they had already made sufficient sacrifices for their country, and that they must now defend their own honour: the officer, by whom this spirited answer was conveyed, was, however, empowered to state, that if any acceptable terms were offered, they would probably not be rejected. A negociation ensued, which terminated in a convention, signed on the 5th of July, by which it was stipulated, that the Hanoverian army should be totally disbanded, and return to their homes, upon their parole not to serve against France, or her allies, until regularly exchanged; and its artillery and military stores were all to be given up to the enemy. Exclusively of the grand fleet at Brest, which, it was presumed, was destined for the invasion of Ireland, an immense number of transports were ordered to be built and collected, with the greatest expedition, in the French ports. The idea that some thousands of gun-boats might force their way across the Channel, in spite of the British navy, was universally received in France; and, in the course of the year, so astonishing were the exertions of the republicans, in this department of their naval preparations, that a sufficient flotilla was assembled at Boulogne, to carry over any army that France might see proper to employ in this desperate enterprise.

It ought to be remarked, that, in this contest, Great Britain fairly accepted the challenge thrown, when the French government vain-gloriously asserted, "with conscious pride, that England alone could not maintain a struggle against France." Buonaparte soon found it necessary to call in the aid of auxiliary states, and to force the weaker powers, by which she was surrounded, to engage in her quarrel. Holland, contrary to her wishes, and in evident violation of her interests, and the Italian republic, were compelled to become parties with France. Spain and Portugal were also compelled to furnish pecuniary assistance to France in so open and extensive a manner, that it rested entirely with the policy or magnanimity of Great Britain, whether those kingdoms should not be considered as involved in direct acts of hostility.

Independently of these measures, a step was taken at the commencement of the contest, which had never before been resorted to among civilised nations, and which must always be regarded as an act of abominable barbarity and injustice. It appeared from an article published in the Moniteur, the official organ of the French government, "that two English frigates had captured two merchant vessels in the bay of Audierne, without any previous declaration of war, and in manifest violation of the law of nations." In consequence of which a decree, signed by the First Consul, was issued, directing, "that all the English, from the age of 18 to 60, or persons holding any commissions from his Britannic Majesty, who are at present in France, shall immediately be considered prisoners of war, to answer for those citizens of the republic who may have been arrested, and made prisoners, by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic Majesty, previously to any declaration of war." In virtue of this decree, all the nobility, commercial travellers, and others, subjects of his majesty the king of England, who had incautiously put themselves within the reach of Buonaparte in France, and who were engaged in travelling through any of those countries occupied by the French armies, were either shut up in prisons, or confined to particular places, as prisoners of war upon their parole, and not allowed to exceed the limits prescribed to them. This flagitious violation of the law of nations, and of neutral hospitality, was further aggravated by a perfidious promise previously made to the English subjects, that they should enjoy the protection of the government after the departure of the British ambassador, as extensively as during his residence at Paris.

The naval campaign of the present year, in Europe, was not particularly distinguished. On the 14th of September, however, the port and town of Granville were successively attacked by Sir James Saumarez; on which occasion the pier was demolished, and a number of vessels, intended for the invasion of England, destroyed. On the same day, the town and fort of Dieppe were bombarded by Captain Owen, in the Immortalité frigate, with the Theseus and Sulphur bombs, under his command. The Dutch ports, from the Zandvoort, in the vicinity of Haarlem, to Scheveningen, were also severely bombarded on the 28th of September, and many vessels destroyed.

Early in the year, a singular overture was made by Buonaparte, to Louis XVIII. at Warsaw, for the resignation of that monarch's right to the throne of France; an overture, which was met by a most decided and highly dignified refusal.

The strongest opposition which the Addingtonian ministry experienced, was that of Lord Grenville, and his friends, in the Upper House of Parliament, and Mr. Windham, in the House of Commons. The whigs, or old opposition, though they had supported the treaty of Amiens, felt no cordiality towards a mi-

* Buonaparte, anxious to push the advantages he possessed, to the utmost possible extent, issued a decree, prohibiting the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser, by the vessels of British merchants, asserting, that as the fortune of war had given him the possession of the King of England's dominions in Hanover, it was not to be expected that the enemy's ships would be allowed to pass within reach of a French battery. The British government replied, that the conduct of France, in the invasion of the electorate, was an unauthorised and outrageous violation of the independence of the German empire; that it would be an act of hostility, in Germany, to permit British vessels to be fired at, or captured, when navigating in the ports or rivers of Germany; and therefore (retaliating, in some degree, on the empire, for not having defended Hanover) measures were taken to enforce a rigorous blockade upon the mouth of the Elbe and the Weser, and to prevent the navigation of those rivers so long as British vessels were excluded from them. The Hanse Towns were thus placed in a most deplorable situation. By the blockade of their harbours, all foreign trade was cut off, while the neighbourhood of the French armies placed them in perpetual danger of military violence and exaction. In this situation, they addressed themselves to the King of Prussia, as guarantee and protector of the north of Germany; but Frederick-William, either entering into the views of France, or influenced by the consideration of its vast and resistless power, refused his interference, and thus abandoned all the smaller states of Germany to the mercy and discretion of the republic.

nistry

nistry, who had, as they conceived, again involved the country in an unnecessary war; and the adherents of Mr. Pitt, relaxing that zealous support, which Mr. Addington expected, were no longer to be classed among the supporters of his government.

About the beginning of April, Mr. Addington made a proposal to Mr. Pitt, the object of which was the return of the ex-minister to the official situation which he formally held. This negociation had proceeded nearly towards its close, when Mr. Pitt intimated, that in the general arrangement for a new administration, which he should feel it his duty to submit to his Majesty, he should include the Lords Grenville and Spencer, with other noblemen and honourable personages, who had disapproved of every measure of Mr. Addington's government, and who were in effect adverse to the whole spirit and principle of his administration. With this proposal ministers could not comply; and, consequently, the negociation was broken off.

Parliament assembled on the 22d of November; and, in the speech from the throne, his Majesty, addressed himself to the two Houses of Parliament, as follows:—

"Since I last met you in Parliament, it has been my chief object to carry into effect those measures, which your wisdom had adopted for the defence of the united kingdom, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. In these preparations I have been seconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of my people, in a manner that has, if possible, strengthened their claims to my confidence and affection: they have shewn that the menaces of the enemy have only served to rouse their native hereditary spirit; and that all other considerations are lost in a general disposition to make those efforts and sacrifices which the honour and safety of the kingdom demand, at this important and critical juncture." After congratulating Parliament on the accession made to the colonial possessions of this country in the West Indies; and of the happy suppression of the rebellion in Ireland; and informing them that a convention had been concluded with the King of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting the differences which had arisen with that power, his Majesty proceeded thus:—"In the prosecution of the contest in which we are engaged, it shall be, as it has ever been, my first object, to execute as becomes me the great trust committed to my charge. Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cause, it is my fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our constitution, our religion, our laws, and our independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable spirit of my faithful subjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all those valuable interests which are involved in this momentous contest. Actuated by these sentiments, and humbly imploring the blessings of Divine Providence, I look forward with a firm conviction, that if, contrary to all just expectation, the enemy should elude the vigilance of my numerous fleets and cruisers, and attempt to execute their presumptuous threat of invading our coasts, the consequence will be to them discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace; and that ours will not only be the glory of surmounting the present difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the solid and permanent advantage, of fixing the safety and independence of the kingdom on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energy and resources."

The address, moved by the Marquis of Sligo, and seconded by the Earl of Limerick, was carried without opposition. In the Commons, the address was proposed by the Honourable Cropley Ashley, seconded by Mr. Burland, and carried without any amendment being proposed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, to some observations from Mr. Fox, that the offices of mediation had been offered by the court of Russia, and accepted with readiness and gratitude on the part of his Majesty's servants; but although discussions of the greatest moment were in consequence commenced, yet in their progress they did not assume such a shape as to lead to any probability of an amicable arrangement with France.

Shortly after the commencement of the session, Mr. Secretary Yorke brought in a bill to continue two acts; the one for suspending the Habeas Corpus act in Ireland, and the other for the re-enactment of martial law in that country. This measure, though it excited considerable debate, was carried through both Houses, without producing a single division. The debate which arose on the 9th of December, on the motion of the Secretary at War, to refer the army estimates to a committee of supply, embraced an extensive view of the general defence of the country. The force proposed to be voted for the public service, amounted, for guards and garrisons in the united kingdom, to 167,000 men. The embodied militia of Great Britain and Ireland, amounted to 110,000. And the volunteer corps, to upwards of 400,000 rank and file in the united kingdom. For the volunteer force of the country, it was proposed to vote the sum of 730,000*l.* for one year. Of this description of force, the honourable gentleman stated, that about 45,000 served without pay, including 42,000 infantry, and 2,509 cavalry.

The question being put upon the first resolution, Mr. Windham rose, and in a long and well combined speech, attacked the whole plan of government; concluding with the declaration, that the present ministers ought no longer to be intrusted with the administration of our public affairs. Mr. Yorke replied to Mr. Windham, and was followed by Mr. Pitt, who, in a very spirited and argumentative manner, defended the efficiency of the volunteer system. One great object of Mr. Pitt's speech was to demonstrate the capability of improvement of which the volunteer corps were susceptible; and he took occasion to suggest those means which appeared to him best calculated to advance that object. He looked upon the regular army as the great rallying point to which the volunteers must have recourse, by whose example they must be regulated, and by whose experience they must be guided. Of the amount of the volunteer force he saw no reason to complain; but in their distribution he could have wished that their numbers had been greater in the more exposed parts of the maritime coast. The object he had more immediately in view, was to render this force, the existence of which was absolutely necessary, not merely a nominal force, but an efficient and permanent army. For this purpose, he was desirous that all the volunteer companies should be brought to act in battalions, and whenever it could be accomplished, in brigades. He also proposed, to give to every battalion the assistance of a field officer, and an adjutant; such officers still retaining their rank and pay in the army. With respect to the number of days for which the corps should be exercised, he was of opinion that about fifty days would be sufficient for the next year, and forty for each succeeding year. The expense arising from the field-officers and adjutants, he estimated at about 160,000*l.* and that of the allowance to such volunteers as might, from their circumstances, be obliged to accept of pay, at between 3 and 400,000*l.* more, making an aggregate of about 500,000*l.* And if, for that sum, a force of nearly 400,000 men could be maintained in gradual and efficient improvement, he affirmed, that this would be the cheapest item in the whole of the public expenditure. As to the sea fencibles, he looked upon them as one of the most valuable parts of our force; and this description of service brought into activity a body of men, who being chiefly pilots and fishermen, could neither be employed in the navy, nor permanently taken from their families.

Lord Castlereagh also made an animated reply to the objections urged by Mr. Windham against the army of reserve and the volunteer system. He said, that out of the 35,000 already raised for the army of reserve, 7,500 had entered for general service. The military force of the united kingdom, his Lordship observed, was naturally divided into troops on permanent pay, and those liable to service in the event of invasion. Of the first description, there were in Great Britain, and in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, 130,000 men; and in

Ireland.

Ireland, 50,000 men; making in the whole, 180,000 rank and file. The effective rank and file of the militia in Great Britain and Ireland, amounted to 84,000 men; the regular force, to 96,000; of which 27,000 were for limited service; and 69,000, at this moment, disposable for general service. The next grand feature of our military strength consisted in the volunteer force, of which 340,000 men, accepted and arrayed, were at present in Great Britain; and in Ireland, it amounted to 70,000; making a total of 410,000 in rank and file, in the united kingdom; to which were to be added, 25,000 sea fencibles. The total amount of the whole military force, at this crisis, stood therefore at 615,000 rank and file. If to this number officers of every description were added, the whole amount of our military force, exclusive of various auxiliary means of defence, would not be less than 700,000 men! The number of ships of war amounted to 469; and, in aid of the regular navy, and for the purpose of defending the coast, an armed flotilla, consisting of 800 craft of all descriptions, was nearly completed. Since the commencement of hostilities, there had been issued 312,009 muskets, 16,000 pistols, and 77,000 pikes. The field-train also, in Great Britain alone, was increased from 356 to 460 pieces of ordnance, completely appointed, and brigaded under experienced officers; and the stores, in all the various branches of the public service, had been nearly doubled. Mr. Fox applauded the zeal and patriotism of the volunteers; but he could never bring himself to believe, that they were susceptible of any thing like the efficiency of a regular force. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the other hand, stated the opinion of Lord Moira, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, and of Lord Cathcart, the present commander-in-chief in Ireland. These great military authorities were so highly satisfied with the steadiness and discipline of the volunteers of Edinburgh and of Dublin, that they had given them an unconditional assurance, that they would conduct them with confidence against an invading host.

The army estimates having been agreed to, Parliament, on the 20th of December, adjourned to the 1st of February.

A. D. 1804.] During the recess, the nation experienced a serious alarm, by the renewed indisposition of the King: on the 14th of February, it was announced, by an official bulletin, from the palace of St. James's, that his Majesty was much indisposed; and a succession of similar notices left little doubt of the serious nature of the complaint. The alarm and consternation thus excited throughout the metropolis, and the whole empire, cannot be expressed. On the 27th of February, twelve days after the notification of his Majesty's illness, the first bulletin appeared, which could be said to hold out any prospect of its favourable or speedy termination. This consolatory information was followed, on the 29th, by the declaration in Parliament of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "that there was no necessary suspension of the royal functions." It was not, however, till the 9th of March, that the apprehensions of the people were dissipated, by the further assurance of the Lord Chancellor, "that he had conceived it proper and necesary to have a personal interview with the sovereign, at which due discussion had taken place with respect to the bills submitted for the royal assent; and he had no hesitation to aver, that the result of all that took place on that occasion, fully justified him in announcing his Majesty's assent to the bills specified in the royal commission."

The conflicts of parties still continued, with much heat and animosity. On the 7th of March, Sir John Wrottesley made a motion for the House of Commons to resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the conduct of the Irish government relative to the insurrection of the 23d of July, 1803, and the previous conduct of the Irish government, so far as related to that insurrection. This motion was supported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Canning, Earl Temple, Mr. Windham, General Tarleton, Dr. Lawrence, Lord de Blaquiere, and Mr. Grey; and opposed by Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Archdall, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Secretary Yorke, Mr. Dallas, the Attorney General, Mr. Tierney, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Colonel Hutchinson, on the ground that the intent of the motion was to attack Lord Hardwicke, at a time when his whole attention was occupied in the administration of the affairs of Ireland. The debate was protracted till near five o'clock on the following morning, when the motion was lost by a majority of one hundred and seventy-eight to eighty-two voices.* When the restriction of the issues of cash by the bank of Ireland was submitted to the House of Commons, on the 13th of February, it occasioned an animated debate, and called forth a maiden speech from Lord Henry Petty, eldest son of the Marquis of Lansdowne, in which his Lordship displayed considerable talents.

On the 26th of March, a message from his Majesty announced a voluntary offer of the Irish militia to extend their services to Great Britain; and, two days afterwards, an address, grounded on its recommendation, was moved by Mr. Yorke; and bills ultimately passed both Houses of Parliament, to enable his Majesty to accept the services of the Irish militia, and to raise 10,000 additional militia in Ireland.

A systematic attack on the ministry was at this time pursued by all the parties in opposition, through the medium of investigations on the military and naval affairs of the empire. This opposition was particularly displayed in the progress of a bill to explain, amend, and consolidate the provisions contained in the general acts relative to the yeomanry and volunteer corps of the united kingdom. The course of debate on this bill, however, was interrupted by a motion of which Mr. Pitt had before given notice, on a subject of much higher interest—the naval defence of the country; a question which was expected more than any other to try the strength of ministry, and even to shake their power to its foundation. This motion was introduced on the 15th of March, and Mr. Pitt began by expressing his expectation, that part of the documents which it was his intention to call for, would be granted by ministers without resistance. His first motion, he said, would be for an address, requesting that his Majesty would order to be laid before Parliament, an account of the number of ships of the line, and smaller vessels, in commission on the 31st of December, 1793, on the 30th of September, 1801, and on the 31st of December, 1803, specifying the service in which they were respectively employed. He made his motion from a conviction, that if the papers were granted, it would appear that the number of that description of our naval force, fit to repel the actual attempts of the enemy, was, at the present moment, much inferior, and less adequate to the exigency of the danger, than at any period in former times. If these documents were granted, his next motion would be for a copy of the contracts made, and the orders given by the Lords of the Admiralty, in 1793, 1797, and 1803, with respect to the number of gun vessels to be built, distinguishing the time at which each contract was made, the period in which it was to be brought to a conclusion, and the amount of the sum to be paid for its performance. This account would shew the opinion of the Lords of the Admiralty on the subject, and would also afford the means of comparing our naval strength in this respect, as it actually existed, with what it was in former instances, and tend most essentially to promote that end for which we could not be too zealous in our wishes—the security of the country. Mr. Pitt said, that since the present Lords of the Admiralty came into office, only two ships of the line had been contracted for in the merchants' yards, and his next motion should therefore be, that there be laid before the House a list of such ships as had been built in the king's yards in 1793, and in 1801. On the subject

* An act of justice took place in the course of the present session, by an act, settling the sum of 1,200*l.* per annum on the family of Lord Kilwarden, the victim of the 23d of July. By this act, 800*l.* a year was settled upon his widow for life, and after her death upon her son, bearing the title of Lord Kilwarden; and 400*l.* a year on the two daughters of the deceased chief justice; the annuity to commence from the memorable night of their unfortunate parent's murder.

of

of manning the navy, he observed, that in the former war we set out with 16,000 men, but in the course of the year they were increased to the number of 75,000, including marines. In the present war we started with 50,000 men, and had all the great advantages arising from an unprecedented prosperity of trade and commerce, and yet at the end of the year our naval force did not exceed 86,000 men. Thus in the first year of the former war, we had an increase of 60,000 seamen, and in the first year of the present war, an augmentation of only 36,000.

Mr. Tierney, treasurer of the navy, objected strongly to the production of the papers required, and was at a loss to conceive how the measure could, for a single instant, be entertained by the House, when no cause, no single fact, was brought forward to support it; when every possible energy pervaded that branch of the public service over which the noble Lord presided; when naval skill, vigilance, and activity, were displayed in every quarter, and when the best officers were employed in every direction, with the highest honour to themselves, and the most decided advantage to their country.

Mr. Sheridan delivered a warm eulogy, in general terms, on the character and conduct of Earl St. Vincent, the First Lord of the Admiralty; whilst Mr. Fox, and others, taking a different side, supported the motion for enquiry, under the declared conviction, that it would terminate to the honour of their favourite Admiral. The debate was continued for several hours; when, on a division, the numbers were, for Mr. Pitt's motion, 130; against it, 201.

The defence of the country, however, was the great rock on which the Addingtonian administration was destined to split. On the 23d of April, Mr. Fox moved for a committee to revise the several bills which had been proposed for the accomplishment of this great object; and for devising efficient measures for complete and permanent defence. Mr. Pitt supported this motion, and again took a comprehensive view of the actual state of the country, as to its means of military and of naval defence. There was but one point on which he and Mr. Fox differed on this occasion; the power vested in the King by the Constitution, of calling out all the subjects of his realm to defend the country in case of invasion. Mr. Fox was, perhaps, the first statesman who ever ventured to question the royal prerogative, in this particular. For nothing is more clearly laid down by all our law writers, ancient and modern, than that the power of calling on every description of his subjects to repair to his standard, when the enemy is about to invade his country, is vested in the King. It is a principle sanctioned too, by the practice, as well as by the theory, of our constitution; and a principle conducive to the security of the nation. Mr. Pitt asserted and maintained this principle against the attacks of Mr. Fox. On all other points those rival statesmen agreed, and the results of this concurrence of sentiment was a strong division, in which the ministers carried the question against the motion, by a majority of only fifty-two; two hundred and four having voted for the motion of Mr. Fox, and two hundred and fifty-six against it. Two days after this discussion, on the 25th of April, another debate took place on the same subject, in consequence of a motion by Mr. Secretary Yorke, for the House to resolve itself into a committee, on a bill for the suspension of the army of reserve act. This motion was resisted by Mr. Pitt; and, on a division, there appeared, in support of the ministerial plan, 240; against it 203; leaving to the minister, a majority of only thirty-seven. This additional mark of dissatisfaction with the conduct of ministers proved the death blow to their expiring power. They immediately tendered their resignations, and the King consigned to Mr. Pitt the task of forming a new administration. When the strength of that cabinet, over which Mr. Pitt had before presided for so many years was considered, nothing appeared more easy than the formation of a new ministry. It was naturally imagined, that those statesmen who had so long, and so cordially, united their efforts to preserve the state from danger in the most perilous times, would be ready again to stand forward in her support, and to resume, in obedience to the call of their Sovereign, the same situations which they had so ably and so honourably filled before. Unhappily, it appeared that, since their secession from power, these noble persons had formed some new connections, or, at least, had imbibed some new ideas, respecting the materials of which a new administration ought to be formed. They thought, that no ministry could be efficient, unless it were composed of the leading members of the three parties in Parliament;—those of Mr. Pitt, of Mr. Fox, and of Lord Grenville. Mr. Pitt had no objection, if it should be the King's wish, to admit Mr. Fox into the cabinet; but his Majesty peremptorily objected to this proposal. Mr. Pitt urged his reasons, with becoming firmness, for the expediency of comprising Mr. Fox in the New Ministry; but he did not think it compatible with his duty as a subject, nor decorous in him as a statesman, to press this point more strongly upon the King, much less to make it the ground of withholding his own services from his sovereign and his country. Lord Grenville, however, and his associates, remained firm to their purpose, and rendered a compliance with their wishes the sine qua non of their return to office. Mr. Pitt, at length, obeyed the royal commands; and by the 12th of May, a new ministry was formed, without the assistance of the friends either of Lord Grenville, or of Mr. Fox.*

The first subject of importance that engaged the attention of Parliament, after the change of ministry, was brought under discussion by Mr. Wilberforce, who, on the 30th of May, pressed upon the consideration of the House the abolition of the African slave trade. In the course of a very animated debate, several members opposed the motion, which was supported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, and carried, by 124 to 49 voices. In consequence of this vote, a bill was brought into Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade, limiting the latest period at which ships were to be allowed to clear out from an English port for this traffic to the 1st of October, 1804. On the 28th of June, the third reading of this bill was carried by 69 against 33. In the House of Lords, however, the bill was, on the 30th of July, thrown out, without a division, on the ground that the late period of the session would prevent the parties interested from attaining complete justice.

A plan for raising and supporting a permanent military force, and for the general reduction of the additional militia, was introduced into Parliament on the 5th of June, by Mr. Pitt, under the designation of the "additional force act." This measure aimed at the establishment of a military force, not merely to meet the present circumstances of the country, but to serve as an instrument for the intermediate improvement of the system already established, and to supply a sufficient resource to the regular force of the country, should an opportunity offer of employing our troops in foreign warfare. The bill was strenuously opposed by Mr. Windham, Mr. Fox, Mr. Addington, and others, but it was ultimately carried through the Lower House by

* The Cabinet was composed of Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Duke of Portland, President of the Council; Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor; Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Privy Seal; Lord Viscount Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty; Earl of Chatham, Master General of the Ordnance. Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary of State for the Home Department, Lord Harrowby, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Earl Camden, Secretary of State for the Department of War, and the Colonies; Lord Castlereagh, President of the Board of Controul for the affairs of India; and Lord Mulgrave, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. William Dundas, was made Secretary at War, Mr. Canning, Treasurer of the Navy; Mr. George Rose and Lord Charles Somerset, Joint Paymaster of the Forces; the Duke of Montrose and Lord Charles Spencer, Joint Paymaster General; Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Sturgess Bourne, Secretaries of the Treasury; Sir William Grant, Master of the Rolls; Mr. Perceval, Attorney General; Sir Thomas Manners Sutton, Solicitor General; Lord Hardwicke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Lord Redesdale, Lord Chancellor, Sir Evan Nepean, Chief Secretary, and Mr. Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

small ministerial majorities; there appearing on the last division, for the bill, 265, against it 223. In the Upper House, the measure was sanctioned by 154 against 69.

The remaining part of the session was principally employed on the subjects of commerce and finance;* and on the 2d of July, the House of Commons, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resolved itself into a committee of supply, to which several accounts relative to the augmentation of the civil list were referred; when the arrears thereof were found to amount to the sum of 590,000*l*. This excess of expenditure, it was stated, had arisen from a variety of expenses incurred by services which could not be foreseen in the year 1802, when the House voted the discharge of arrears then due, amounting to about 230,000*l*. With respect to the future state of the civil list, it was proposed that several charges upon it should be annually discharged by Parliament. These charges amounted to 135,000*l*, and related to fluctuating expences; many of them arose from the war, others from increased law expences, and the multiplication of private bills. The House readily assented to the propositions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; the discharge of the arrears, and the augmentation to the civil list, were voted almost without opposition; and, on the 31st of July, the session closed.

The first military operation of importance this year, occurred in the English settlement of the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa. In the month of January, this settlement was taken by a French force, under the command of Chevalier Malhe, and recaptured by a small expedition under the command of Captain Edward Sterling Dickson, in the month of March following. In the beginning of May, the rich and important colony of Surinam surrendered to the force under the command of Major-General Sir Charles Green; and although the capture was an enterprise of considerable difficulty, this valuable acquisition was fortunately made with little loss on the part of his Majesty's troops.†

The British naval operations of this year consisted almost entirely of exertions rigorously to enforce the system of blockade, and in attacks upon the enemy's boats, which either ventured out of the harbour of Boulogne, for the purposes of exercise or menace, or were proceeding from other ports to that depot. It was, however, impossible, to obviate the effects of occasional rumours of invasion. In the month of August a general movement on the opposite coast exhibited every appearance of an approaching attack upon some part of the British empire, and at Boulogne in particular, an extraordinary degree of activity prevailed. Of the various description of craft and armed vessels collected in that immense depot, a much greater number was brought out into the bay of Boulogne than on any former occasion. Disposed in hostile array, under the protection of their numerous batteries on shore, they were attacked in the most spirited and vigorous manner by the British squadron upon that station. The firing was tremendous, and its duration was such as to favour the belief, that the long threatened invasion was at this time to be certainly attempted, Under the influence of this impression the most vigorous and general exertions were made for the public safety. In the early part of September the general terror began to subside. About the beginning of October, however, about 150 of the enemy's vessels ventured on the outside of the pier, and revived the alarm of invasion. At this period, a project for the destruction of the French flotilla was broached; from which a result was anticipated that would at once confound the designs of the enemy, and establish the superiority of the present administration over their predecessors in office. This plan, originating with some American projector, was principally to be carried into effect through the medium of copper vessels, of an oblong form, containing a large quantity of combustibles, and so constructed as to explode in a given time, by means of clock-work. These vessels were to be fastened to the bottom of the enemy's gun boats by the aid of a small raft, rowed by one man, who, being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly in a dark night escape detection. Fire-ships of different constructions were also to be employed in the projected attack. The most active and enterprising officers were

* On the 20th of June, the complex and difficult subject of the corn laws was brought under discussion. It has been maintained by many respectable authorities conversant in the subject of national polity, that the whole system of the corn laws is prejudicial to the public weal, and that it is desirable that these laws should be altogether repealed, leaving the trade free, and the prices to find their own level; but in consequence of a report of the House of Commons, it was deemed expedient to have recourse to new legislative regulations. From the report of this committee, it appeared that the price of corn, from 1791 to the harvest of 1803, had been irregular; but had upon an average yielded a fair price to the grower. The high prices had produced the effect of stimulating industry, and bringing into cultivation large tracts of waste land; which, combined with the two last productive seasons, had occasioned such a depreciation in the value of grain, as would, it was said, tend to the discouragement of agriculture, unless immediate relief were afforded by the interference of Parliament. For this purpose, although, within the period of the last thirteen years, no less than thirty millions sterling had been paid to foreign countries for supplies of grain, it was proposed to have recourse to a bounty upon exportation—a measure that had not been resorted to for a period of nearly thirty years. With this view a bill was brought into Parliament. Exportation was to be admitted when the price of wheat was at or below forty-eight shillings per quarter of eight Winchester bushels; and importation was to be allowed when the average price in the twelve maritime counties of England should exceed sixty-three shillings, but not when corn was below that price. It was held, that this bill was necessary in order to encourage the agriculture of the country; it was also presumed that the measure would render corn permanently cheap, by combining the interest of the grower with that of the consumer. And upon the whole it was argued, that the true way to prevent the recurrence of scarcity, was to remove the danger of such a depreciation in the value of corn, as might discourage the farmer from producing full crops. It was on the other hand contended, that the effect of the act founded on the bill now before the House, would be to fix a minimum upon the first necessary of life, and that, if the interest of the grower of corn was to be protected by a minimum, the interest of the consumer of that article should be guarded by a maximum. That as to the idea of the act making the corn cheap, it was at variance with the professed object of the bill, which was to serve the grower by keeping up the prices. And that the experience of the past had shewn, what the evidence of the future would confirm, that the effect of all measures of this nature was to advance the price of corn, and with that article to enhance the price of every other article of general consumption. The bill, however, passed through the House of Commons without any formidable opposition. In the House of Lords some few petitions were presented against the bill, which Earl Stanhope designated as a bill to starve the poor. On the second reading, his Lordship proposed three resolutions:—"First, that public granaries should be established, to receive, in years of plenty, corn and grain grown in this country, in order to keep down the prices in years of scarcity, and effectually to secure to this nation, in all seasons, a sufficient supply, and likewise in order to provide for the farmers at all times a certain market for their corn and grain, and to diminish fluctuation in the price of the necessaries of life.

"Second, That all impediments, created by any law or laws, to the free warehousing of corn or grain, ought to be removed, abolished, and repealed; and

"Third, That in order to encourage the growth of corn and grain in Great Britain and Ireland, and at the same to decrease the price, for the benefit of the people at large, and for the increase of our manufactures and commerce, farmers should be for ever discharged from the payment of all direct taxes, parish and county rates, cesses, dues, and tythes, and from all Parliamentary impositions whatever; save only and except those rates of the nature of a penalty, which might be raised on any hundred as such."

His Lordship supported these resolutions, by arguments applicable to each, and concluded by moving, that the bill now before the House be rejected. The bill, however, was passed.

† Early in the spring, the country sustained a heavy loss in the wreck of the Apollo frigate, of thirty-eight guns, Captain Dixon, and a large portion of her convoy. The Apollo had sailed from the Cove of Cork, on the 26th of March, in company with his Majesty's ship Carysford, charged with the convoy of sixty-nine merchant vessels, bound for the West Indies. About half past three o'clock in the morning of Monday, the 2d of April, the Apollo, with part of her convoy, went on shore, off Cape Mondego, on the coast of Portugal. The frigate soon became a complete wreck. The captain, who, with the principal part of his crew had been driven from their hammocks by the sudden rushing in of the water, stood naked upon the deck, soothing and affording every encouragement to the men in their perilous situation. About thirty of the crew, after encountering the most imminent danger, had the good fortune to gain the shore on planks and spars from the wreck; while others, in making similar attempts, perished, and of that number was the Captain. At length, after encountering, for three days and nights, the complicated horrors of fatigue, famine, and despair, the survivors had the great happiness to see a boat launched through the surf to their relief, and to find themselves, by four o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, in safety on the shore of Mondego. About forty sail of merchantmen shared the fate of the Apollo, and the number of lives lost upon this melancholy occasion exceeded five hundred. Of the sixty-nine merchant ships, twenty-nine escaped the horrors of shipwreck, and proceeded, under convoy of the Carysford, to their original destination.

distributed in different explosion vessels, and the whole was placed under the orders and direction of Admiral Lord Keith, commanding in the Downs, with instructions to cover the smaller force by his powerful squadron. On the 2d of October, Admiral Lord Keith, with his formidable fleet of sixty-two sail, six of which were ships of the line, anchored at about a league and a half from the north to the west of the port of Boulogne. In the course of the day, a sufficient force was detached to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, and for affording protection to the wounded, or to such boats as might be crippled; or, should the wind freshen and blow in shore, to tow off the boats engaged in the attack. While these preparations were advancing, the enemy was not inactive; the batteries, both stationary and floating, were prepared, and the army was drawn up in readiness to resist the approaching assault. At a quarter past nine at night, the first detachment of fire-ships was launched, under a heavy fire from the advanced force, which was returned by a tremendous thunder of artillery from the shore. As the fire-ships approached the French line, the vessels of the flotilla opened to suffer them to pass, and so effectually were they avoided, that they sailed to the rear of the enemy's line without falling on board any one of their vessels. At half-past ten the first explosion ship blew up, and produced an immense column of fire; its wreck spread in every direction, but not the slightest mischief was done either to the ships or the batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth succeeded, but with no better effect: at length, after twelve of these ships had exploded, the engagement ceased about four o'clock the next morning, when the English smaller vessels withdrew in perfect order, and without the loss of a man. On the flotilla no mischief whatever was ascertained to have been inflicted; but, from the disappearance of two brigs, and some smaller vessels, the next day, Lord Keith conjectured that they might have been destroyed. The enemy's loss of men, according to their own account, was twenty-five killed and wounded. Thus terminated the "Catamaran Project," in the preparation of which, much time, expense, and ingenuity were wasted.

As soon as the intelligence of the renewal of the war, between Great Britain and France arrived in the East Indies, the French Admiral Linois withdrew from the roads of Pondicherry, and for some time carried on a predatory warfare against the English commerce and possessions in that part of the globe. He captured several of the East India Company's ships, and others of the private trade, and he had also made a successful descent on Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen), and plundered that settlement. He next formed the determination to capture or destroy, at a single blow, the whole of the homeward-bound China fleet. With this intention he collected his force, consisting of the Marengo, line-of-battle-ship, of 80 guns, the Semillante and Bellepoule, of 40 guns, a cutter and brigantine, of eighteen guns, and a corvette, of 28 guns, and stationed his squadron in the Indian Seas, near the entrance of the Straits of Molacca, with the determination to cruise in that latitude till the arrival of the English East India fleet from Canton. On the 5th of February, the fleet, under the command of Captain Dance, as senior commander, consisting of fifteen of the East India Company's ships from China, twelve country ships, a Portuguese East Indiaman, and a fast sailing brig, passed Macao Roads, when the Portuguese vessel, and one of the Company's ships, parted company, and never again joined the fleet. At day-break on the 14th, Pulo Auro was seen to the W. S. W. and at eight o'clock, the Royal George made a signal, indicating that four strange sail were in view, which, on being reconnoitred, proved to be the squadron under Admiral Linois. The Commodore, without a moment's delay, hoisted the signal for his fleet to form a line of battle in close order. At sun-set, the enemy was close upon the rear of the Company's ships, and an expectation prevailed that the attack would be immediately commenced, but at the close of the day the French hauled to windward, and desisted from any hostile operation during the night. At day-break on the 15th, the enemy was seen about three miles to windward, when the vessels under the command of Captain Dance hoisted their colours, and offered him battle. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the Commodore, resolving not to wait the attack, and apprehensive that his rear might be cut off, executed a bold and gallant manœuvre, which decided the fate of the day. Placing the Royal George in front of his line, seconded by the Ganges, and followed by the Earl Camden, he bore down upon the enemy, and made the signal to attack each of the hostile ships in succession. This order being correctly performed, the Company's ships stood forward under a press of sail. Admiral Linois then formed in close line, and opened his fire upon the headmost of the merchant-ships, which was not returned by any of them till a near approach. The Royal George, from her advanced situation, sustained the brunt of the action, and got as near the enemy as he would permit. This example was followed by the Ganges and Earl Camden, who both opened their fire as soon as their guns could take effect; but, before any other ship could get into action, the enemy hauled their wind, and stood away to the eastward under all the sail they could set. At two o'clock, p. m. Captain Dance made a signal for a general chase, and pursued the retreating squadron till past four o'clock; when, fearing a longer pursuit might carry him too far from the straits, and endanger the immense property confided to his care, he made the signal to tack, and at eight o'clock in the evening, anchored in a situation to proceed for the entrance of the straits on the following day. Thus did the gallantry of a fleet of British merchantmen, and the skill and intrepidity of their commander, bring to action, and put to flight, a French Admiral, commanding ships of war superior in force and in men. The property thus rescued from the gripe of the enemy was estimated at the immense amount of one million and a half sterling. On the arrival of Commodore Dance with his fleet in England, rewards were distributed with a liberal hand by the East India Company to the various Commanders and their brave crews; and the wounded, as well as the representatives of the few who fell in the engagement, were munificently rewarded; while the sovereign, to evince the sense he entertained of the gallant conduct of the Commodore, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

After a long negociation between the courts of Madrid and London, begun in the autumn of the year 1802, and continued till towards the close of the present year, the British plenipotentiary found it necessary to quit Madrid, and repair to London. While the negociations, however, were pending in the Spanish capital, Admiral Cochrane acquainted the First Lord of the Admiralty, that preparations on a large scale were at that moment making in the port of Ferrol, so that in a few days a formidable squadron would be ready for sea; and that he had no doubt but the Spanish government only waited for the arrival of a fleet of frigates, containing treasures from South America, to commence open hostilities. On the receipt of this information, orders were instantly given by the Admiralty to detain the ships bound from South America to Spain, and Captain Moore, with four frigates under his command, was ordered to cruise off Cadiz, for the purpose of carrying these instructions into effect. On the 5th of October, the Medusa made a signal for four sail, and a general chase was ordered. At eight in the morning, the vessels first seen by the Medusa, were discovered to be four large Spanish frigates, which, on finding themselves pursued, formed in line of battle, and continued to steer in for Cadiz, the van-ship carrying a broad pendant, and the ship next in the line, a Rear-Admiral's flag. Captain Gore, of the Medusa, placed that ship on the weather-beam of the Spanish Commodore; the Indefatigable took a similar position along-side of the Rear-Admiral; and the Amphion and Lively each took an opponent as they advanced. After firing a shot ahead of the Rear-Admiral's ship he shortened sail, upon which Lieutenant Ascott, of the Indefatigable, was sent

sent to inform the Spanish Commander that Captain Moore had orders to detain his squadron; that it was his earnest wish to execute that duty without bloodshed; but that the determination to surrender must be made instantly. The answer returned by Lieutenant Ascott was unsatisfactory; whereupon Captain Moore fired another shot a-head of the Admiral, and bore down close on his weather-bow. At this moment one of the Spanish frigates fired into the Amphion, and the Admiral, at the same time, fired into the Indefatigable. A signal was then made for close battle, which instantly commenced; and, in less than ten minutes, La Mercedes, the Admiral's second ship a-stern, blew up, along side of the Amphion, with a tremendous explosion.* In less than half an hour the Spanish Admiral's ship struck to Captain Sutton, as did the opponent of the Lively to that ship. Perceiving, at this moment, the Spanish Commodore making off, Captain Moore made the signal for the Lively, Captain Hammond, to join the Medusa in the chase; and long before sun-set it was discovered, from the mast-head of the Indefatigable, that the only remaining ship had surrendered to the Medusa and Lively. As soon as the boats of the British squadron had taken possession of the Rear-Admiral, sail was made for the floating fragments of the Mercedes; but except the second Captain, and forty-five men, who were picked up by the boats of the Amphion, all on board had perished. The Spanish squadron, it appeared, was commanded by Don Joseph Bustamente, Knight of the Order of St. James, and a Rear-Admiral in the Spanish navy. This fleet was from Monte Video, Rio de la Plata, and contained upwards of four millions of dollars, of which about 800,000 were on board the Mercedes; and the merchandise on board the frigate was also of great value. The loss sustained by the British on this occasion was very trifling. A declaration of war, by the court of Madrid, was the immediate consequence of this attack.

Sweden and Russia had already expressed their dissatisfaction at the conduct of Buonaparte; fresh circumstances were continually arising which tended to convert this dissatisfaction into actual hostility; and the appointment of Lord Leveson Gower, as Ambassador to the court of St. Petersburgh, increased the public expectation of a speedy continental alliance, upon the most advantageous terms.

About this time, information was received by government of the successful termination of hostilities in the peninsula of Hindostan; an event which served to dissipate the apprehensions generally felt for the stability of the British empire in the East, and to relieve the country from the necessity of weakening our army at home, by detaching troops to India.†

In

* It is melancholy to state, that, in the Mercedes was embarked a native of Spain, who was returning from South America, with his whole family, consisting of his lady, four daughters, and five sons. The daughters were beautiful and amiable women, the sons grown up to manhood. With such a family, and a large fortune, the gradual savings of five and twenty years of industry, did this unhappy Spaniard embark for the land of his nativity. A short time before the action commenced, the father, with one of his sons, went on board one of the larger ships, and, in a few moments, became the spectator of his wife, his daughters, four of his sons, and all his treasure, surrounded with flames, and sinking in the abyss of the ocean. This victim of almost unheard of calamity, arrived at Plymouth, with the only remains of so many blessings, in Captain Moore's cabin, who was unceasing in his endeavours to administer all in his power towards the alleviation of his sufferings.

† According to the statement of the Marquis Wellesley, a number of the confederated Mahratta chieftains had assembled their military force on the frontiers of our ally, the Soubahdar of the Deccan, after having declared that the intention of that junction was to decide, whether there should be peace or war with the British government and its allies. The determination of the chieftains to maintain this position, was regarded by the Governor-General as a manifest indication of a design to frustrate, by hostilities, or by the terror of arms, the operations of the alliance concluded between the British government and the Peishwah, to disturb the tranquillity of the Nizam, and ultimately of the East India Company. The union of the confederated forces, and their commanding and menacing position, afforded every advantage to the chieftains in prosecuting the hostile designs which they had already exhibited, and enabled them to hold in their hands the issues of peace or war, and to arbitrate the fate of the Deccan according to their interests and caprice. While the position and state of Scindiah's forces, under the command of French officers, in Hindostan, and the machinations of Monsieur Perron, the nominal representative of the deposed Moghul emperor, with the adjoining states, and with the subjects of the Company, and of the Vizier, manifested additional proofs of the hostile designs of the confederates, and furnished those chieftains with additional means of prosecuting their designs.

War having been determined on, the plan of the campaign was arranged for a general and combined attack to be made nearly at the same time on the united army of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, under their personal command, in the Deccan, and on their most vulnerable and valuable possessions in every quarter of India. The scale of operations extended from Delhi, and the presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay, to Poohnah, Hyderabad, Guzerat, and Orissa. The objects, to the accomplishment of which our operations were directed in the war with Dowlut Rao Scindiah, were the occupation of the sea port of Baroach, and of the territory annexed to it, and the general reduction of his military power and resources. In the prosecution of hostilities with the Rajah of Berar, the views of the Governor-General were chiefly directed to the occupation of the province of Cuttack, and the cession of all the Rajah's possessions intermixed with those of the Soubahdar of the Deccan; and the general reduction of his influence within the bounds requisite for the safety of the British possessions and those of their allies. In attacking Monsieur Perron, the entire reduction of his regular corps was contemplated, and, as a necessary consequence, the annexation to the British dominions of the whole of the territory in his possession within the Doab of the Jumna and Ganges, with a view to render the river Jumna the north-western frontier of the Company's dominion in that quarter. The army may be comprehended under two general divisions: that under Major-General Wellesley was directed to act against the combined forces of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar; and the operations on the north-western frontier of Oude, were under the immediate direction of General Lake, Commander-in-chief. This force, amounting to about 55,000 men, was opposed to upwards of 100,000 native troops, including at least 50,000 cavalry, and commanded principally by French officers. On the 8th of August, hostilities commenced in the Deccan; and on that day Major-General Wellesley commenced his march towards the fortress of Ahmednuggur, the fortified town of which was carried by escalade, with great spirit and gallantry. On the 10th batteries were opened against the fortress of Ahmednuggur, which held out only two days, and the surrender of which placed the dependent districts under British authority. On the 24th of August, the confederate chiefs entered the Nizam's territory, by the Ghaut of Adjuntee, with a large body of horse, where they formed a junction with a detachment of irregular infantry, under the command of M. Pohlman and M. Dupont, consisting of sixteen battalions, with a formidable and well equipped train of artillery. The whole of this army was assembled in the neighbourhood of Bokerdun, and between that place and Jaffierabad. The two corps under the command of General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson, formed a junction on the 21st of September, at Budnapoor, and immediately determined to attack the enemy on the morning of the 24th. Having come within sight of the enemy, whom the General found encamped in the neighbourhood of the fortified village of Assye, General Wellesley formed the infantry in two lines, with the British cavalry as a reserve in a third, in an open space between the Kaitna and the Juah rivers, which run nearly in a parallel direction; the Peishwah and the Mysore cavalry occupying a position to the southward of the Kaitna, in order to keep in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry. The number of the British troops engaged, amounted to about 4,500 men, of whom 1,200 were cavalry, European and native, 1,300 European infantry and artillery, and 2,000 Sepoys. The force of the enemy, which was composed of sixteen regular battalions of infantry, amounted to 10,500 men, commanded by European officers, and furnished with a train of artillery, exceeding 100 guns. In addition to this decided superiority of numbers, the enemy had some considerable bodies of horse in reserve, amounting, as it is stated, to 30,000 men. The British troops advanced under a severe and destructive fire from the enemy's cannon. The artillery producing little effect, and many difficulties opposing its advance, the General ordered it to be left behind, and the whole line to move on, directing Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, with the cavalry, to protect the right of the infantry as the line advanced. Notwithstanding a tremendous cannonade kept up by the enemy, they were obliged to fall back upon their second line in front of Juah. The enemy at length gave way in every direction, and the cavalry, having crossed the Juah, charged the fugitives along the bank of the river and completed the rout. The British cavalry afterwards re-crossed the Juah, to charge a body of infantry, which had retired, but was again formed, and in this charge the gallant Colonel Maxwell was killed. The victory was then decided, and the enemy retreated, leaving 1,200 men dead on the field of battle, which was covered with their wounded. Ninety-eight pieces of cannon, seven standards, the camp equipage of the enemy, a great number of bullocks and camels, and a large quantity of military stores and ammunition, were the fruits of this splendid victory, which, however, cost the conquerors one third of their army, including 1,130 wounded, and 428 slain. The complete defeat of the combined army of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, an irreparable blow to the strength and efficiency of their military resources, and the expulsion of a hostile and predatory army from the territory of the Soubahdar of the Deccan, formed the advantages resulting from the triumph of the British arms in the battle of Assye.

Colonel Stevenson was ordered to continue his route to Boorhanpoor, and about the middle of October, this city and the hill fort of Asseerghur, which is denominated the Key of the Deccan, surrendered to the British arms. In conformity to the comprehensive plan of operations

In the month of February this year, a plot was detected in France, the object of which seems to have been the overthrow of the existing government. The principal persons implicated in this conspiracy were General Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, formerly a leader of the insurgents in Britanny, and Lajollais, a confidant of General Pichegru. It also appeared that General Moreau had, to a certain extent, been made acquainted with the views of Pichegru, and that he had held secret interviews with that General since his return from England to Paris. The first intimation of this intrigue was given by a confidential agent of the conspirators,

operations formed by the Governor-General, which was calculated to attack at the same time the most distant possessions of Scindiah and of the Rajah of Berar, Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington attacked and carried the fort of Baroach by storm, by which achievement, the Company obtained possession of the district of that name, yielding an annual revenue estimated at eleven lacks of rupees. The remaining territory belonging to Scindiah, in the province of Guzerat, was the district of Champaneer, and on the 17th of September, the fort and town of that district were in the possession of the British troops. The invasion of the province of Cuttack was undertaken by Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, of his Majesty's 12th regiment of foot, who, on the 11th of September, arrived at Ganjam, and took the command of the troops at that station. On the 14th they made a movement in advance, and took possession of Manickpatam without resistance. Influenced by a letter from Colonel Harcourt, the Bramins of the Pagoda of Jagarnaut sent a deputation to the British camp at Manickpatam, to claim the promised protection of the British government. Colonel Harcourt accordingly proceeded to Jagarnaut, the Mecca of the Hindoos, and on the 18th encamped in the neighbourhood of this metropolis of idolatry, the Pagoda having been previously evacuated by the Mahratta forces. After the surrender of Jagarnaut, the towns of Cuttack, Ballasore, and Soorong, fell successively into the hands of the British troops, without resistance. Barabutty, the only remaining fort in the province of Cuttack, was stormed and carried by the troops under Colonel Harcourt, on the 13th of October.

On the 29th of August General Lake moved into the Mahratta territory, with the intention of attacking the force under M. Perron, which occupied an advantageous position at a short distance from the fortress of Ally Ghur. M. Perron immediately retired, and quitted the field without venturing to risk an engagement. The army having taken possession of Coel without resistance, General Lake encamped before Ally Ghur on the 4th of September, and determined, after an unsuccessful negociation with M. Pedron, the Commander of the garrison, to carry the fort by assault. The command of the storming party was confided to Lieutenant-Colonel Monson, who, after encountering a vigorous resistance, accomplished the object of his enterprise. About 2,000 of the enemy were killed on this occasion; numbers were drowned in attempts to escape, and those who surrendered were afterwards permitted to quit the fort. The French commandant, the only European in the place, was taken prisoner. The loss of the British, though bearing no proportion to that of the enemy, was extremely severe, and consisted of 43 killed, and 180 wounded, amongst the latter of whom were Lieutenants-Colonel Monson and Browne, Major Macleod, and several other officers. In the fort some tumbrils of money were found, which the storming party divided on the spot.

Ally Ghur was the residence of M. Perron, and the grand depot of his military stores, the greater part of which was, by the acquisition of this fortress, placed in the hands of the British Commander. The day after the successful assault of this fortress, M. Perron addressed a letter to General Lake, informing him that he had resigned the service of Scindiah, and requested permission to pass, escorted either by British troops or his own body-guard, with his family, property, and the officers of his suite, to Lucknow, through the territory of the Company, and of the Nawaub Vizier. General Lake complied with his request, and allowed him to pass with his body guard, with every mark of honour and respect. The only check which the British troops appear hitherto to have experienced was at Shekoabad. Repeatedly attacked by a superior force, under the command of a French officer, of the name of Fleury, Colonel Coningham was compelled to surrender; on the advantageous condition, however, that the garrison, which consisted of five companies of Sepoys, should be permitted to march to Cawnpore.

General Lake reached Secundra on the 9th of September, and on the 11th arrived at Jehnah Nullah, about six miles from Delhi, at eleven o'clock in the morning. The commander-in-chief having received intelligence that M. Louis Bourquien had crossed the Jumna in the night, with sixteen battalions of regular infantry, six thousand cavalry, and a considerable train of ordnance, for the purpose of attacking the British forces, immediately upon his arrival at Jehnah Fulluh, proceeded in person to reconnoitre them with the whole of his cavalry, consisting only of three regiments, and found them drawn up on a rising ground in order of battle, and in full force. Their position was strengthened by a swamp covering each flank, beyond which the cavalry was posted; their front being covered by a numerous artillery, and protected by a line of intrenchments. Unintimidated, either by the superiority of the enemy's numbers or the advantages of his position, General Lake ordered the line to fall in without delay, and to move to the front in columns of grand divisions. The troops engaged in this glorious action, were his Majesty's 76th regiment, seven battalions of Sepoys, the artillery, the 27th dragoons, and two regiments of native cavalry. The enemy's forces consisted of 13,000 infantry, and 600 cavalry; the British force, both cavalry and infantry, of only 4,500 men. The position of the enemy was such as to render it difficult to attack them with effect. General Lake determined therefore to make a feint retreat, that they might be induced to leave their intrenchments, and to advance upon the plain. This manœuvre produced the desired effect. The enemy immediately quitted their strong position, and advanced with the whole of their numerous artillery, shouting and exhibiting the strongest demonstrations of confidence in victory. The British infantry instantly formed into one line, with the cavalry about forty yards in the rear. The whole then proceeded against the enemy. The enemy kept up a tremendous fire of round, chain, and grape shot; but, notwithstanding the destruction it produced, the troops advanced with the greatest bravery and steadiness, without taking their muskets from their shoulders. When they approached within a hundred paces of the enemy, they were exposed to a heavy fire of grape from all their artillery. Orders were then given to charge the enemy with the bayonet; the whole line, with General Lake at their head, after firing a volley, rushed on with irresistible impetuosity, and the enemy giving way, fled in every direction. When the line halted, it was ordered to break into columns of companies. This manœuvre enabled the British cavalry to pass through the intervals, and to charge the enemy with their galloper guns, and pursuing them to the banks of the Jumna, they drove vast numbers into the river, and completed the victory: 68 pieces of ordnance, and 37 tumbrils, laden with ammunition, fell into the possession of the British army. Twenty-four other tumbrils exploded during the battle, and many others, with a number of ammunition carriages, were left by the enemy in the Jumna and the Jehnah Nullah. Two tumbrils containing treasure were taken on the field of battle. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 3,000 men. That of the British force was also very considerable, amounting, in killed, and wounded, and missing, to 485 men—about one ninth of the army brought into the field on this ever memorable occasion. Major Middleton, Cornet Sanguine, and several other European soldiers, fell under the scorching influence of the sun. The evacuation of the city and forts of Delhi, the dispersion of the enemy in all directions, and the increased reputation of the British arms, were amongst the important consequences of this achievment.

Immediately after, the unfortunate Emperor Shah Aulum sent to General Lake, expressing his desire to place his royal person and authority under the protection of his victorious arms. On the 16th of September, General Lake waited on his Majesty, and congratulated him on his emancipation from the oppressive and degrading controul of a French faction. The eldest son of his Majesty, Mirza Akbar Shah, conducted the Commander-in-chief to his royal presence. The crowd in the street was so great that it was with some difficulty the cavalcade could proceed to the palace, but General Lake was at length ushered into the presence of the unfortunate and venerable Emperor. Oppressed by the accumulated calamities of old age, degraded authority, poverty, and the loss of sight, this unhappy prince was seated under a tattered canopy, with every external appearance of misery and destitution. The impression which General Lake's conduct at this affecting and interesting interview, produced on the minds of the inhabitants of Delhi, is not to be described. In the metaphorical language of Asia, the extraordinary joy excited by the deliverance from bondage of the aged and infirm Shah Aulum, is represented to have restored his Majesty's sight! In addition to many distinguished marks of royal favour, the Emperor conferred on the General the second title in the empire; signifying "The sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of age, and the victorious in war." On the 24th of September General Lake moved from the city of Delhi, and on the 4th of October arrived before the fortress of Agra. The Commander-in-chief immediately summoned the garrison to surrender, but having received no answer he determined to attack the fort. In conformity with this determination, Colonel Clarke was directed, on the 10th of October, to take possession of the town with his brigade of Sepoys, while Lieutenant Macculloch, with three battalions of native troops, advanced to the attack of the ravines.

After a long and severe contest, the enemy evacuated the town. The attack on the ravines was equally successful; but the high spirit and bravery of the officers and men of the native battalions exposed them in some degree unnecessarily to considerable loss. On this occasion, twenty-six guns, with several tumbrils, were taken; and about 2,500 men surrendered to General Lake, and marched into the British camp on the 13th of October. On the same evening the garrison of the fort sent proposals to capitulate; and for the purpose of finally adjusting the terms of the capitulation, a British officer was sent into the fort; but while he was actually engaged in the negociation, the enemy treacherously re-commenced their fire, and the officer returned. In consequence of this act of perfidy, the breaching batteries were opened on the 17th, and the same evening, the garrison, consisting of about 5,000 men, capitulated. In the fortress of Agra were found a large quantity of stores, many guns, and several tumbrils, containing about twenty-four lacks of rupees.

Early in the campaign Scindiah had detached from the Deccan a considerable force under the command of M. Dudernaigne, for the purpose of reinforcing the army of M. Perron. This force, which was furnished with a numerous artillery, was destined to attempt the recovery of the important post of Delhi. To frustrate this design, Major-General Lake marched from Agra on the 27th of October in pursuit of the enemy, and on the 31st encamped a short distance from the ground which they had quitted the same day. At 12 o'clock the same night General Lake marched with the cavalry, and came up with the enemy about seven o'clock in the morning of the 1st of November. The enemy's force, which was posted with the right in front of the village of Laswaree, and the left upon the village of Mohauloor, consisted of 9,000 infantry, upwards of 4,000 cavalry, and 72 pieces of artillery. Although the British infantry had not arrived, the original plan of attack, which had for its object to prevent the re-

conspirators, who had been arrested near Calais, and on his information, Lajollais, Moreau, and several others, were placed under arrest. This treason against the consular government was announced to the public in a report to the first consul prepared by Regnier, the minister of justice, and which ascribed the whole plot to England and her emissaries. On the promulgation of this report, the genius of the French nation displayed itself in a profusion of legislative provisions, and in copious and abject addresses.

Pichegru, it appeared, had hired of one Le Blanc, a broker, a small apartment at an enormous price, relying on the fidelity and attachment of his host for his security. But his confidence was misplaced; for this unprincipled wretch, having obtained from Murat, the governor of Paris, and brother-in-law of Buonaparte, a promise of 100,000 livres, introduced six gens d'armes into the General's apartment on the night of the 27th of February, while he was asleep, and secured his pistols and dagger, which were laid upon a table near his bed. Awakened by the noise, the General sprang on to the floor naked and unarmed, and it was not till he was exhausted by fatigue and loss of blood that he surrendered, and was conveyed to prison. The following day, the legislature passed a law, that any person concealing Georges, or any of the individuals who were named as associates in his plot, should be considered as principals in guilt, and should expiate their offence with their life. For some days Georges had the good fortune to escape the vigilance of the police, but on the 10th of March, he was discovered in a chaise with his friend Leridan the younger, and after a desperate resistance, in which he shot the police officer by whom he was stopped dead upon the spot, and wounded another of the officers of justice, he was secured and conveyed to prison. Immediately on the arrest of General Pichegru, he underwent an examination before the prefect of the police, the object of which was to obtain from him a confession, that he returned to France under the direction of the French Princes, and that his intention was to replace the Bourbons on the throne of their ancestors. After a second examination he was committed to the tower of the Temple, where he remained for about a month, when on a sudden the government announced, that he had terminated his existence by suicide.*

The trial of the other parties implicated in this plot, took place in Paris in the month of July, before the criminal tribunal of the department of the Seine, when Georges, and nineteen others, were convicted, and condemned to suffer death, with confiscation of property. General Moreau was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

---

treat of the enemy, and to secure their guns, was immediately carried into execution. Major Griffiths, Colonel Vandeleur, and Colonel Macan, with their respective brigades, charged the enemy with great gallantry and spirit, forced their line, and took several of the guns. The enemy's fire was however found so galling and destructive, that the British cavalry, after maintaining their ground with distinguished heroism for some time, were at length obliged to retire, leaving Colonel Vandeleur, and several of their gallant comrades, dead upon the field. At noon, the infantry, who had that morning performed a march of 25 miles, arrived on the banks of the rivulet, where the cavalry were assembled. In about an hour the British infantry advanced to the attack, and as soon as they became exposed to the enemy's artillery, opened their batteries and commenced their fire. The enemy, whose artillery was decidedly superior to that of the British, both in number and weight of metal, discharged grape shot from large mortars, as well as from guns of a very heavy calibre. The 76th regiment, which headed the attack, suffered so much from the fire of the enemy, that General Lake judged it preferable to proceed to the attack with that regiment, and a small body of native infantry which had closed to the front, rather than wait for the remainder of the column. As soon as this small band of heroes had arrived within reach of the enemy's guns, a most tremendous fire of canister-shot was opened upon them. The loss sustained by the British troops was so severe, that the enemy were encouraged to attempt a charge; but they were repulsed with loss, and obliged in their turn to retreat. Their cavalry, however, immediately rallied, and their posture became so menacing, that General Lake deemed it necessary to order the cavalry to advance and to charge them. At this instant Major Griffiths fell, by a cannon shot; but Captain Wade, by whom his station was immediately supplied, achieved this service with the most distinguished gallantry and success. The remainder of the first column of British infantry having arrived in time to join in the attack on the enemy's reserve, Major-General Ware was proceeding to execute this service, but was killed by a cannon shot. To the last moment of the battle the enemy opposed a vigorous resistance, nor did they abandon their ground until all their artillery was lost. Their left even then attempted to retreat in good order, but this movement was entirely frustrated by Lieutenant-Colonel John Vandeleur, who broke in upon their column and completed the victory. The zeal which the British army displayed on this memorable day was too plainly proved by the returns of the killed and wounded. The numbers amounted to 822, including many meritorious and sincerely lamented officers. Of the enemy, 2,000 were taken prisoners, and the greater part of the remainder slain. In addition to this irreparable loss, the whole of the bazars, camp equipage, and baggage, fell into the hands of the British troops; with a considerable number of elephants, camels, and upwards of 700 bullocks; 72 pieces of cannon of different calibres; 44 stands of colours, and 64 tumbrils completely laden with ammunition. Three tumbrils with money were also captured, together with 57 carts laden with match-locks, muskets, and stores. During the action several tumbrils with ammunition exploded; and 5,000 stand of arms thrown down by the enemy were found on the field. In the midst of the slaughter, General Lake had two horses killed under him; but while the shot poured round him in every direction, he displayed the most resolute fortitude, and the most ardent valour.

Thus terminated the short but brilliant campaign of the east; and treaties of peace and alliance were, in conformity to instructions from the Governor-General, concluded with the following chieftains of Hindostan. The Rajahs of Berar, Bhurratpore, Macherry, Jeynagur, and the Rajah Umbajee Rao Englah. Two separate treaties were concluded with Dowlut Rao Scindiah; a partition treaty with the Peishwa, and with the Soubahdah of the Deccan; and a treaty was also concluded with the Rajah of Gohud. The inhabitants of Calcutta voted that a marble statue of the Governor-General should be erected, as a lasting memorial of his eminent public services; and it was at the same time agreed to present swords of considerable value to Generals Lake and Wellesley. At home, the thanks of Parliament were voted to his excellency, and to the commanders, officers, and soldiers of the several armies which had shared in the dangers and in the glories of the contest; while his Majesty, to express the royal approbation of the signal services conferred upon the country by the Generals of the east, was pleased to create General Lake a Peer of the realm, and to confer upon General Wellesley the honour of the noble order of the Bath.

* The account given of this event by the government was, that the General went to bed about midnight on the 6th of April, and that when the boy who waited upon him had retired, he drew from beneath his bolster, where he had secreted it, a black silk cravat, which he wound round his throat, and introducing into the two ends of the cravat a piece of stick, which he had also secreted, he twisted it about until strangulation was produced; and to prevent the stick from returning, he placed one end of it behind his left ear, and then placing the left side of his head upon his pillow, expired in that situation. At seven o'clock in the morning, the turnkey entered his room to light his fire, but seeing the prisoner a corpse, with his face discoloured, his jaw locked, and his tongue pressed between his teeth, he immediately gave the alarm. No sooner had the fact of the death of General Pichegru come to the knowledge of the criminal tribunal than they dispatched eight physicians and surgeons to inspect the body, and their report, agreeing in substance with the above representation, was publicly read in the tribunal of the section, by the officer of health. But with whatever art and care these proceedings were drawn up, the account they contained was by no means satisfactory. The formation of an artificial tourniquet, by means of a piece of faggot stick, and the persevering use of it, as described in the report, were considered as improbable and unnatural. The description of the deceased General taking his handkerchief from under his bolster, at a time when no eye could see him, was deemed an absurd invention; and the moral and religious character of the man was considered a strong presumptive proof that he had not committed the crime imputed to him. It was on the contrary said, that while General Pichegru was in prison, attempts were made to extort from him confessions by the application of the torture, but that his unconquerable firmness rendered these barbarities unavailing, and that, in order to conceal the marks of the torture, and to avoid the exposure which must have taken place on his trial, recourse was had to the last expedient of a despotic government, and the victim of private assassination was calumniated as a suicide.(a)

(a) Soon after the death of General Pichegru, died, in the same prison of the Temple, a British naval officer, whose fate was deeply deplored, and the circumstances of which gave rise to the suspicion that his death proceeded from the hands of violence rather than from the ordination of Providence. On the 15th of May, accident threw into the hands of the enemy Captain Wright, who, while cruising on board a corvette, in the Bay of Quiberon, was becalmed and made prisoner by the French gun-boats. He was a person in whose capture Buonaparte would for every reason rejoice. He had been the fellow-prisoner of Sir Sidney Smith, and after escaping with that officer from the Temple, had served with him in Egypt and Syria, and had already been named in the reports as the person who effected the landing of Georges, Pichegru, and their companions, on the coast of France. Captain Wright, on his arrival in Paris, was immured in the Temple, where he resisted every temptation that was held out to allure him to make disclosures to the injury of his country, and where he fell the victim, as is supposed, of his virtue, honour, and constancy. Since the restoration of Louis XVIII. various documents have been discovered, in the archives of the police, and given up to Captain Wright's family, all tending to corroborate this belief.

imprisonment. To Armand Polignac, M. de Rivière Lajollais, and M. de Lozier, who were in the number of the convicted, a pardon was extended. On the 25th of July, Georges and eleven others were guillotined at the Place de Greve. They died with the most heroic firmness, and were accompanied to their graves by the regrets of thousands. After some delay, General Moreau was permitted to embark for North America.*

As Buonaparte appeared nearer to the authority and dignity of a sovereign, he seemed resolved, if possible, to annihilate the relics of that unhappy race, which had, for so many centuries, given monarchs to France. The Duke D'Enghien, the worthy representative of the House of Condé, had, since the continental peace, lived in retirement, at the town of Ettenheim, in the Electorate of Baden. In this neutral territory, Buonaparte resolved to seize him; for which purpose he sent General Caulincourt, his Aid-de-Camp, with a body of cavalry, who entered the Electorate, without ceremony, on the 15th of March, and, coming unawares upon the destined victim, secured the Duke, and several of his friends, without difficulty, and even without opposition. The Duke was immediately conveyed to Strasburgh, and thence, without delay, and without any interval of repose, to Paris; where he was conducted to the same prison, the Temple, which had been the last scene of his sovereign's miseries. He was not, however, permitted to remain here, or to take the smallest rest, but was hurried away to the castle of Vincennes, where he arrived on the 20th of March; and that same evening, exhausted with fatigue, he was dragged before his judges. A mock trial ensued, and the illustrious prisoner was found guilty of having borne arms against the French republic, to which he owed no allegiance, and of having conspired to restore the French monarchy, to which he was bound by every tie that is obligatory on the human mind. In the night, Buonaparte's brother-in-law, Murat, with four other general officers, among whom were his own brother, Louis Buonaparte, and Duroc, the Consul's secretary, arrived at the castle, under an appropriate escort of Mamelucs. The murderous deed was performed by the Consul's body guards. The Duke died, as he had lived, with the spirit of a Christian soldier. He expressed his satisfaction that his assassins were not Frenchmen, (they were Italians) as his wretched country never would have one crime less to answer for.

The intelligence of the mock trial, and consequent murder of this unfortunate Prince was first made known in papers printed out of France; for it was not until several days after the event, that the Paris newspapers contained any narrative on the subject. In private, where men could venture to express an opinion, every one declared his abhorrence of the act, and every Frenchman sought to alleviate his portion of the burthen of national infamy, by congratulating himself that he was not one of the Italians who had performed this task of midnight butchery. In foreign countries, where any free opinion could be avowed, the murder was stigmatized in becoming terms, and in some, solemn funeral obsequies were performed in honour of the victim. Several notes on the illegal seizure of the Duke d'Enghien, and the violation of the neutrality of the German empire, were delivered both to the diet of Ratisbon, and addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs. Among these by far the most spirited were the notes presented by the Russian, Swedish, and Hanoverian ministers.†

Buonaparte

* In an exculpatory letter written by Moreau to the first consul he acknowledged that distant overtures had been made to him, to enter into correspondence with the French Princes; but to those proposals, which appeared to him to be ridiculous, he returned, as he affirms, no answer. The part of giving information to government was repugnant to his character; such an office, he adds, is always judged of severely; but it becomes odious, and is marked with the seal of reprobation against the individual who exercises it to the injury of those persons to whom his gratitude is due, and with whom he has long cultivated habits of friendship. Duty, he observed, may sometimes yield to public opinion.

† The murder of the Duke d'Enghien, had scarcely been accomplished, when another conspiracy was announced by the grand judge of the French courts. In his report to the first consul it is stated, that the British minister resident at the court of Munich, had engaged in a clandestine correspondence with certain individuals in the heart of France, with a view to overturn the government of that country. That these agents had been supplied with large sums of money by the British government, which were to be employed by establishing an intelligence in the different public offices of France; in gaining over those employed in the powder mills of that country, in procuring a correct knowledge of the different parties in France; and in taking every means to disorganize the armies. Such is the substance of the instructions cited by the grand judge, as given by Mr. Drake to his principal correspondent, Mehée de Latouche, who was supposed to be at the head of a committee of mal-contents assembled at Paris, and these facts were supported by a variety of documents and intercepted letters annexed to the report. This M. Mehée was, it appears, a man of notoriously infamous character—an intriguer by profession, who had insinuated himself into the confidence of some of the members of the British government, and through their introduction had gained access to Mr. Drake, to whom he had made a tender of his services. But the proposal from Mehée was a snare, to discover the views and the private means of procuring information adopted by the English cabinet; for the supposed conspirator was, from the beginning of his intrigue, actually in the confidence of the French government. The principal object of the report promulgated by Regnier, the grand judge, was to implicate Mr. Drake in a participation in the plans of Georges and his adherents, and the conduct pursued on this occasion by the Elector of Bavaria, shews that he was not altogether unsuccessful in establishing his position. Copies of the report, and the documents, were addressed to the several ministers from the foreign courts resident at Paris, and these papers were accompanied by a circular from M. Talleyrand, denouncing Mr. Drake as a participator in the infamous plot at that time before the French tribunals. The answers to this communication were for the most part conveyed in general terms of compliment to the first consul, but some of the representatives of foreign states condemned the conduct of the British envoy, in terms of the severest reprehension, and of this number the Danish minister, M. Dreyer, and the American minister, Mr. Livingston, were the most conspicuous. The original documents upon which the charge against the British minister was founded, were transmitted to Munich, and on the 31st of March, a note was addressed to Mr. Drake, by the Baron de Montgelas, prime minister to the Elector of Bavaria, expressive of the regret of his serene highness, that his capital should have been the central point of a correspondence so inconsistent with the mission with which Mr. Drake was invested; and intimating, that it was due to his own dignity, and to the welfare of his subjects, to declare, that from the present moment it became impossible for him to hold any communication with Mr. Drake, or again to receive him at his court. After the receipt of this note, it was no longer in the power of Mr. Drake to prolong his residence in the Bavarian territories; and Mr. Spencer Smith, the British envoy to the Elector of Wurtemburg, who was stated to have been implicated in these transactions, was also under the necessity of quitting Stutgard. The impression made by these transactions in every court of Europe, rendered it necessary that some notice should be taken of them by the British government. Accordingly, a circular letter was addressed by Lord Hawkesbury to each of the foreign ministers resident at the court of London, in which the secretary for foreign affairs repels the charge preferred against his Majesty's government, of participating in any project of assassination; but his Lordship at the same time maintains, that if any minister, accredited to a foreign court, had held correspondence with persons in France, with a view of obtaining information of the projects of the French government, or for any other legitimate purpose, he had done no more than ministers, under similar circumstances, had been uniformly considered as having a right to do, with respect to the countries with which their sovereign was at war. This position of Lord Hawkesbury was commented upon some time after in a circular note from M. Talleyrand; in which the French minister asserts, that diplomatic agents had at all times been considered as ministers of peace—organs of conciliation—but the British government wished to make them the instigators of plots, the agents of troubles, the directors of machinations; vile spies; cowardly seducers; the fomentors of seditions; the paymasters of assassins. And the French ministers to whom these notes were directed, were ordered to declare to the governments where they resided, that Buonaparte would not recognize the English diplomatic body in Europe, so long as the British government did not abstain from charging its ministers with any warlike agency, and did not restrain them within the limits of their function. However, shortly after the appearance of the circular note of M. Talleyrand, in which the French government attempted to place the British diplomatic corps out of the protection of the law of nations, upon the ground of their violating this general inter-national code, that government committed a most daring infraction of the very law which they had just expressed so much solicitude to uphold. On the night of the 24th of October, a body of two hundred and fifty French troops, under the command of a general officer, embarked at Harburgh, and landed between Hamburgh and Altona, at a place called the Hamburgh-hill. They proceeded to Gridelhof, where Sir George Rumbold, the British minister to the Hanseatic towns, and the circle of Lower Saxony, had his country residence. Those who first approached the house affected to be couriers with dispatches from Tonningen; but entertaining suspicion, Sir George refused them admittance. Upon this the whole body rushed forward, broke open the doors, seized Sir George and his papers, and conveyed him to a carriage, which was waiting for the purpose of conducting him to Hanover, whence he was sent off to Paris. The following morning, as soon as the senate of Hamburgh heard of this violation of their territorial

Buonaparte having failed in his attempt to induce the rightful sovereign of France, Louis XVIII. to relinquish his pretensions to the crown, is charged with having made an effort to take him off by poison.* In that also, he failed. However, encouraged by the general state of things, he proceeded to ascend the last step on the ladder of ambition. When all the previous preparations had been made, addresses were presented to him, by the legislative and municipal bodies, and by the different armies, in the months of March, April, and May, beseeching him to become Emperor of the French. No extreme of baseness, in adulation, which the human mind can conceive, could exceed that by which these addresses were marked. A man stained with every crime, and whose hands were still running with the blood of an innocent and a virtuous Prince, was, with the most astonishing contempt of decency and truth, held up as a model of virtue. The slaves whom he ruled with a rod of iron, who trembled at his nod, and who held him in execration, were represented as happy under his mild and free government, and as ardently desirous to perpetuate his reign. When the public had thus been apprized of the Consul's intentions, a decree was finally passed, by the Senate, on the 18th of May, which abolished the constitution which the Senators and Consuls themselves had so recently sworn to observe and maintain inviolate, declared Napoleon Buonaparte Emperor of the French, and the imperial dignity hereditary in the family of this foreign adventurer. The new Emperor then addressed a letter to his Bishops, in which he ascribed his elevation to Providence, and ordered a Te Deum to be sung, in all the churches, on the glorious occasion. The Bishops kept pace in their adulation, with the military and civil bodies, and framed new prayers adapted to the new order of things;—while, to crown the whole, and to render, as it were, religion herself the handmaid to usurpation, the Pope was ordered to attend the ceremony of the coronation, and, with his own hands, to place the crown on the sacrilegious head of the usurper. This ceremony, which put the seal to the degradation of France, took place on the 19th of November, in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris, the same church in which, with more zeal, the Parisians had, a few years before, worshipped a naked prostitute, as the goddess of reason, in obedience to the command of Buonaparte's friend and predecessor, Maximilian Robespierre. The aged Pontiff thus disgraced the character which he bore, and the religion which he professed, by administering "the holy unction" to an impious usurper, and by dignifying an impenitent murderer with the title of his "beloved son, in Jesus Christ."

Buonaparte's assumption of the imperial dignity gave a new interest to the political concerns of Europe; and the time had now arrived when the Germanic body was no longer to be considered as united under one head. In the month of August, the Emperor Francis issued a decree, by which his title of Emperor of Germany was changed for that of Emperor of Austria. The decree of the council of state declared the object of this measure to be, "the preservation of that degree of equality which should subsist between the great powers, and the just rank of the house and state of Austria among the nations of Europe." The Emperor further urged, that in conferring upon his family an hereditary imperial title, he was following the example of Russia in the last century, and of France in the present day. This event was hailed with undissembled joy by France and Prussia; and when it was announced to the Diet of Ratisbon, it excited no animadversion, except from the King of Sweden, who considered this change so inseparably connected with the composition of the German empire, that it was not to be laid before the diet merely as a notification, but as a subject for deliberation, in the discussion of which all the members of the diet might express their opinions as authorized by the constitution. No tribute could have been more flattering to Buonaparte than this concession, which not only made the sovereign, hitherto considered as the first in Europe, in point of dignity, more recent in the creation of title than himself, but even recorded the example of the French Emperor as one of the motives of the conduct of the Emperor Francis.

The renewal of war on the continent, had been some time confidently expected. On the 5th of May, the Emperor of Russia presented an energetic note to the diet of Ratisbon, on the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien; in which he declared, that he learned, with equal astonishment and concern, the event that had taken place at Ettenheim, the circumstances by which it was attended, and its melancholy result. And the concern of the Emperor, on this occasion, was the more lively, as he could, by no means, reconcile the violation of the territory of the German empire, to those principles of justice and propriety which are held sacred among nations, and are the bulwark of their reciprocal relations. To this remonstrance, the French minister replied, "that the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Prussia, who, undoubtedly, were the two powers most concerned in the fate of the German empire, had considered the French government sufficiently authorised to arrest, at two leagues distance from her frontiers, French rebels, who had conspired against their own country, and who, by the nature of their plots, as well as by the terrible evidence which corroborated them, had placed themselves out of the protection of the law of nations."—"The German Princes being thus satisfied, the First Consul felt himself in no way responsible to the Emperor of Russia, on a point which did not concern his interest; and if it were the intention of his Majesty to form a new coalition in Europe, and to recommence the war, what need was there of empty pretences, and why did he not act openly?" Two months elapsed before a

ritorial rights, they assembled at seven o'clock, and continued sitting till five o'clock in the afternoon. As the result of their deliberations, they presented a remonstrance to the French minister, M. Reinhard, who denied having any knowledge whatever of the transaction. The order for the arrest, it seems, was transmitted from Paris directly to Marshal Bernadotte. Being thus foiled in their attempt to procure reparation, or even any explanation of the affair, from the French minister, the senate conceived it proper to apprise the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and Petersburgh, of this violation of their territory. An explanation of this act of violence was afterwards given to the senate of Hamburgh, by the French minister, Reinhard, who pretended to justify the seizure of Sir George Rumbold, upon the ground of his being concerned in the conspiracy imputed to Mr. Drake; but the fallacy of the pretext is sufficiently obvious, from the circumstance of Sir George Rumbold being no where alluded to in the correspondence with Mehée de Latouch. On his arrival at Paris, Sir George Rumbold was conveyed to the Temple, where he was treated with civility during a confinement of two days and two nights. On the third day he was removed from the Temple, and conducted towards the coast of the Channel, having first entered into a stipulation not to return to Hamburgh; nor, after his departure from France, to go within fifty miles of any part of the French territory. Before he left the Temple, he made an application for his papers, which had been transmitted to the minister of the police; but this demand was peremptorily refused. He was then put into a carriage with his servant, and conveyed to Boulogne, and afterwards to Cherbourg. The flag of truce in which he had embarked, falling in with his Majesty's frigate the Niobe, Sir George was taken on board, and landed at Portsmouth on the 17th of November. This act of violence was the subject of an official note from Lord Hawkesbury to the cabinet of Berlin; but that court had previously made a remonstrance on the subject to the French government, and to that remonstrance the release of Sir George Rumbold is chiefly to be ascribed.

* It is said, that two men became acquainted with one Coulon, a Frenchman by birth, who kept a billiard table at Warsaw. Having discovered that Coulon was intimate with several of the domestics of the French King, and in particular with the cook, and that he was in want of money, they gradually revealed to him their design against the life of the King, and offered him for his services four hundred Louis d'ors. In executing this plan, Coulon was to visit the cook, and after betraying him into a state of intoxication, he was to throw into the pot a small parcel, consisting of carrots filled with arsenic, with which he was to be provided. Coulon, although he affected to acquiesce in these diabolical suggestions, went immediately to the Baron de Milleville, usher to the Queen, and informed him of the plot. It was afterwards communicated to the Count Avaray, who thought proper to conceal it from his Majesty until he obtained more positive information. He waited on the President de Hoym without delay, who authorised him, in case the information was well founded, to cause the authors of the plot to be arrested by the King's domestics. By order of M. de Milleville, Coulon repaired to the place, where he was under an engagement to meet the agents of the plot, and returned with the poisoned carrots in his pocket. Coulon then made a declaration of what had passed, and the packets were placed in the possession of Count Avaray.

reply

reply was made to this paper, but on the 21st of July, M. d'Oubril, the Russian charge d'affaires, complained, that it was, in all respects, evasive; and, by no means, an answer to the note he had delivered.* An important correspondence ensued, during which, the King of Sweden appeared to be animated with a courageous resolution to support the principles of the laws of nations, and to make common cause with the Emperor Alexander.†

During the Parliamentary recess, Mr. Pitt was sedulously employed in cementing a good understanding, and in strengthening the connection which subsisted, between this country and the court of St. Petersburgh. And his success, in this instance, was so complete, that the foundation was laid for a new confederacy against France, as soon as a favourable opportunity should occur for carrying it into effect.—Mr. Pitt also found it expedient to renew his connection with Mr. Addington; and that gentleman having been called up to the House of Peers, by the title of Viscount Sidmouth, was, on the 14th of January, 1805, appointed to succeed the Duke of Portland, as Lord President of the Council. The day after this appointment, the session of Parliament was opened by his Majesty in person. The speech from the throne announced that the preparations for invasion were still carried on by France, with unremitting activity—that Spain, under the controul of the French government, had issued a declaration of war against this country—and that a communication, containing a profession of a pacific disposition, had recently been received from France, to which his Majesty had replied, by expressing his earnest desire for the restoration of the blessings of peace, not deeming it proper to enter into a more particular explanation without previously consulting those continental powers with whom he was engaged in confidential intercourse. The usual address, moved in the Peers, by the Hon. Henry Augustus Dillon, passed unanimously in both Houses.

On the 23d of January, 120,000 men, including marines, were voted by the House of Commons, for the service of the navy, for the year 1805, and a sum not exceeding 2,886,000*l.* for the payment of the men. At the same time, the sum of 2,964,000*l.* was granted for victualling, and 4,680,000*l.* for wear and tear of shipping, &c. The number of men, at this time, actually employed in the navy amounted to 108,000. On the 4th of February, the secretary at war moved the army estimates of the year, which amounted to 12,395,490*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* for 312,018 men, under the different heads of service.—Shortly afterwards, a bill was brought in, and passed, to continue the act of the last session, for the suspension of the habeas corpus act in Ireland.‡

The papers relating to the dispute with Spain, became the subject of a lengthened discussion, which continued for two days, the 11th and 12th of February. Mr. Pitt entered into a long and luminous explanation, and defence of the conduct of the British government; which was, however, severely reprobated by Mr. Grey; who considered the language and conduct of the cabinet, in the first instance, (during Mr. Addington's administration) as too tame, irresolute, and indecisive; and, at last, after Mr. Pitt came into power, as too precipitate, and too violent. He moved various resolutions conformable with these sentiments. A long discussion ensued, in which much learning was displayed, in explaining and applying the law of nations, as laid down by Vattel and others, and in which much special pleading was applied to the purpose of perverting the obvious meaning of the plainest passages referred to in support of opposite conclusions. Mr. Windham, Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Fox, and Lord Temple, joined in censuring the conduct of ministers, while it was ably defended by Lord Castlereagh, Sir John Nicholls, the Master of the Rolls, and again by Mr. Pitt himself, who made a masterly reply to all the arguments which had been advanced in support of Mr. Grey's amendment; which, on a division, was rejected by 313 votes against 106.

The next subject of importance, that engaged the attention of Parliament, arose out of a motion made, in the Peers, by the Earl of Darnley, and in the Commons, by Mr. Sheridan, for the repeal of the additional force bill, a measure which it was contended, had, in the course of the last eight months, raised no more than 1295 men, of whom 343 only had been applicable to general service. This motion, which produced very elaborate and spirited debates, was lost, in the Lords, by a majority of 68 voices; and, in the Commons, by a majority of 140.

Amongst the measures for the reformation of the public expenditure, meditated or resolved upon by the Addingtonian administration, an inquiry into the abuses of the naval department was one of the most prominent. To give efficacy to these investigations, a bill was passed in 1803, appointing commissioners for that purpose, and empowering those commissioners to take examinations with a view to the discovery of abuses. This bill, in a great degree, originated with Earl St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty—a situation which, upon Mr. Pitt's re-admission to power, Lord Melville was appointed to occupy. In the meanwhile, the commis-

* In this reply, the dispositions and conduct of the Russian and French governments were exhibited in contrast. Russia, it was asserted, had, on every occasion, endeavoured to maintain peace, and to mediate between France and those nations with which she had disputes. The French government, on the contrary, thought itself competent to occupy neutral countries, and to deprive them of their commerce. His Majesty was thereby alarmed, not indeed on his own account, but he was alarmed for the security of the other states of Europe. After an enumeration of the aggressions practised by France, towards Denmark, Portugal, Switzerland, Holland, and the Italian states, the charge d'affaires concluded by saying, that he was ordered to declare, that he could not prolong his stay at Paris, unless the French government should order its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, and engage to establish, without delay, some principle of concert with his Imperial Majesty, for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of Italy should be formally adjusted. In addition to which it was required, that France, in conformity with the 6th article of the convention entered into with Russia, on the 11th of October, 1801, should indemnify the King of Sardinia for the losses he had sustained; and in virtue of the obligation of a mutual guarantee and mediation, should promise immediately to evacuate and withdraw its troops from the north of Germany, and to enter into engagements to respect in the strictest manner the neutrality of the Germanic body.—M. Talleyrand answered this note by referring to an article in the treaty, cited by M. D'Oubril, by which the two contracting governments engaged not to suffer their respective subjects to maintain any correspondence, direct, or indirect, with the enemies of the two states. The promotion of French emigrants to places of honour and trust in Russia, and the behaviour of the Russian ambassador, M. Markoff, while at Paris, were cited as breaches of this article. France also demanded the execution of the 9th article of this treaty, by which Russia engaged to guarantee the independence of the Seven Islands; and of the 2d article, the evident application of which, it was said, should have been, that instead of manifesting such a partiality for England, and of becoming, perhaps, the first auxiliary of its ambition, Russia should have united with France, in order to consolidate a general peace, to establish a just balance in the four parts of the world, and to promote the liberty of the seas. M. d'Oubril, in reply to this note, recapitulated all his complaints, animadverted on the evasive manner in which they had been answered, and on the 28th of August demanded his passports.

† As Duke of Pomerania, he charged his envoy to enter his vote in the protocol of the diet, under the date of the 27th of July, by which he declared, that he could not learn without the greatest anxiety and alarm, the events which had taken place in the electorate of Baden, in the month of March last—events by which the territorial rights of the German empire were flagrantly violated, and its future security exposed to the greatest danger. This note excited the resentment of the French government, and called down upon Gustavus a severe attack in the official paper, the Moniteur. In this paragraph the young and gallant sovereign was charged with folly and inconsistency, and assured, that his insignificance alone secured him from the resentment of the French government, which was too wise to confound a loyal and brave nation, justly called the 'France of the north,' with the conduct of a young man led astray by false notions, and unenlightened by reflection. Fired with indignation, at this attack, the King of Sweden issued a decree on the 7th of September, prohibiting the introduction of French publications into his dominions, and on the same day transmitted a note to M. Gaillard, the French charge d'affaires at Stockholm, stating his resentment at what he termed the improper, the insolent, and the ridiculous observations which *Monsieur* Napoleon Buonaparte had allowed to be inserted in his Moniteur. In consequence of this heated discussion, he declared that all diplomatic intercourse of every kind, both private and public, should immediately cease between the French legation, at Stockholm, and his government; but he, nevertheless, allowed the subsisting relations of commerce to remain uninterrupted.

‡ The grounds assigned for the renewal of this measure were, the notoriety of disaffection still prevailing in Ireland, the preparations of the enemy, for the invasion of that country, the number of Irishmen associated with the forces destined for that purpose, and the existence of a committee of united Irishmen, then sitting in Paris, and corresponding with the disaffected in the sister kingdom.

sioners had prosecuted their investigations, the result of which was the production of several successive reports; one of which appeared to implicate the new First Lord of the Admiralty, who had, while he filled the office of Treasurer of the Navy, retained in his hands large sums of the public money, contrary to the statute of the 25th of his present Majesty.—On the 8th of April, Mr. Whitbread brought the 10th report of the commissioners of Inquiry under the consideration of the House of Commons. The honourable gentleman began by complimenting the commissioners on their zeal and activity; they had done their duty to the public, and it fell to his lot, to bring to justice those whom they had exposed.* The report, he observed, involved a considerable number of individuals; not only Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, his paymaster, but Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Mark Sprott, the stock-broker, made a considerable figure in the scene. "In exhibiting a charge against Lord Melville," observed Mr. Whitbread, "I do not accuse a mere unprotected individual: that nobleman has enjoyed, during the greater part of his life, an ample share of the public rewards and public honours. For a period of 30 years, he has been in the uninterrupted possession of some lucrative office, and has exercised a most extensive influence. He has many individuals attached to him by the consciousness of obligation; and, though not personally present, he has, no doubt, powerful friends in this House, who will be found ready to undertake his defence." He then referred to the act of 1785, of which Lord Melville (then Mr. Dundas) was the supporter, for regulating the department of Treasurer of the Navy, and to the order of Council, by which his salary was advanced from 2000*l.* to 4000*l.* a-year, in lieu of all profits, fees, or emoluments, which he might before have derived from the public money lying in his hands. "With respect to the period he was in office," said Mr. Whitbread, "I shall make three distinct charges: I charge Lord Melville with having applied the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department, with which he was connected, in express contempt of an act of Parliament. I also charge him with conniving at a system of peculation in an individual, for whose conduct he was officially responsible; and for this connivance, I denounce him as guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. There is yet a third charge, on which I shall not insist very largely at present, but which, if the inquiry I ask be instituted, I shall feel myself most powerfully called upon to support: I mean, Sir, the strong suspicion which arises from what has appeared before the commissioners, that the noble Lord himself, was a participator in that system of peculation. It is certainly to the honour of public men, that charges like this have seldom been preferred; and it is a singular circumstance, that the only instance of a similar charge, for a great number of years, was brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold, by the noble Lord himself, on the ground of malversations in India.—With respect to the first charge, it appears from the report of the committee, that there have been, for a number of years, deficiencies in the Treasurer of the Navy's department, to the amount of upwards of 600,000*l.* a year. When Lord Melville was asked a plain question, as to the appropriation of this money, what, if conscious of innocence, had he to do, but to return a plain and distinct answer? But the noble Lord, as well as his agent, Mr. Trotter, professed total ignorance of the deficiencies; but by and by, the paymaster begins to recover his recollection, and he then confesses, that from the year 1786, down to the period when he was examined, he had been in the habit of drawing out public money, and placing it in the hands of his own bankers. But when the commissioners inquire a little further, he tells them, that they have no right to ask him any more questions.—Lord Melville, in a letter to the commissioners, is a little more communicative; his Lordship acknowledges the fact of advances having been made to him; but he tells the commissioners, that he cannot give the other information required, because he cannot disclose state secrets, and because he is not in the possession of the papers containing the accounts of advances made to other departments, having, himself, committed them to the flames; and not only has the noble Lord destroyed the papers, but he has actually lost all recollection of the whole affair!†—My second charge against Lord Melville is, that he connived at the appropriation of public money to private purposes. Trotter does not deny that he had large sums in the hands of Mr. Coutts, his private banker; but he says, it was more convenient for the money to be there than in the Bank of England, and more secure: and for the truth of this opinion, he appeals to Lord Melville—to Lord Melville, who framed and sanctioned the bill of 1785!—to Lord Melville, who, not satisfied with the regulations of the act of 1785, proposes still stricter limitations in 1786! For what purpose, however, I would ask, was there so constant a fluctuation in Mr. Trotter's account at the bank of Mr. Coutt's? and why such perpetual drafts for money, in the name of Mr. Trotter? At the time that he is anxious for the safety of what is passing through his hands, is it always lodged at Mr. Coutts's, allowing that to be the place of fittest security? No, Sir, it was employed in discounting bills, in forming speculations, in gambling on the Stock Exchange. I am appalled at the reflection of no less than 34,000,000*l.* of the public property having passed through Lord Melville's paymaster's hands. Why, Sir, the report states explicitly, that upwards of 8,000,000*l.* had been in the hands of his private banker, and nearly 7,000,000*l.* more are allowed to have passed through the same channel. While Mr. Trotter is thus busy, what is become of Lord Melville and his responsibility? Had Mr. Trotter's speculations failed, it was not to him, but to Lord Melville, that the public had to look for redress. I cannot, then, but think, that this negligent criminality is deserving of the severest reprehension. While the people were struggling with the heaviest burthens ever laid upon them, Mr. Trotter, and his silent discreet broker, Mr. Mark Sprott, were placing their heads together to lay out the public money to the greatest advantage: and Lord Melville never interferes; never once inquires into this paymaster's proceedings. Mr. Sprott, when interrogated by the commissioners, declines to answer their questions, and says, 'I have had the opinion of Mr. Serjeant Shepherd, and other eminent lawyers, and they advise me to preserve a religious silence.' Lord Melville and Mr. Sprott are not quite uniform on this part of the business; Mr. Sprott says nothing; but Lord Melville acknowledges that he knew of the transactions, but not of the detail. If he knew

* From the "Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, appointed by an act of the 43d year of his Majesty's reign," it appears that, during the treasurership of Lord Melville, "the money issued for naval services, was used, to a great amount, for purposes of private emolument; and, that the sums standing in the name of the Treasurer of the Navy, at the Bank of England, were for the most part, considerably less than his unappropriated balances.

† The following copy of a letter from Lord Melville to the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, is curious and interesting:—

Wimbledon, June 30, 1804.

"Gentlemen,

"I have received your requisition of the date of the 26th instant. It is impossible for me to furnish you with the account you ask. It is more than four years since I left the office of Treasurer of the Navy, and at the period of doing so, having accounted for every sum impressed in my hands, I transferred the whole existing balance to the account of my successor. From that time, I never considered any one paper, or voucher, that remained on my hands, as of the smallest use to myself, or any other person, and consequently, being often in the practice, since I retired to Scotland, of employing, occasionally, some time in assorting my papers, and destroying those that were useless, I am satisfied there does not exist any one material by which I could make up such an account as you specify. But, independently of that circumstance, I think it right to remind you, that during a great part of the time I was Treasurer of the Navy, I held other very confidential situations in government, and was intimately connected with others. So situated, I did not decline giving occasional accommodation from the funds in the treasurer's hands to other services, not connected with my official situation as Treasurer of the Navy. If I had materials to make up such an account as you require, I could not do it without disclosing delicate and confidential transactions of government, which my duty to the public must have restrained me from revealing.

(Signed) "MELVILLE."

that

that his paymaster was speculating in the funds, he was, at least, bound to see what was the extent of these speculations. He ought to have felt that his responsibility was at stake, that the public money was put to hazard, and that it was time to put a stop to so serious an evil.—On the third part of the subject, (the suspicion of criminal participation) Mr. Whitbread said, "Lord Melville had found Mr. Trotter clerk to the navy pay-office; he made him his paymaster, and in a short time, makes him his agent. In this situation of agent, Lord Melville has pecuniary concerns with him to a considerable amount; and when his Lordship is examined, he is unable to tell the commissioners whether the advances made to him by Mr. Trotter, were from his own, or the public money. The truth was, Mr. Trotter had, originally, no fortune; he was a man of good family; but when Lord Melville first began to patronise him, his Lordship himself knew that he had no property but what was derived from his salary; it was absolute equivocation, then, to pretend that Lord Melville could be ignorant of the source whence Trotter was enabled to supply him with advances. What was the language of all the predecessors and successors of Lord Melville? When the paymaster of Mr. Barre was asked whether Mr. Barre had ever received any emolument of the application of the public money? he readily answered, No. Had Lord Bayning received any advantage? No. Had Lord Harrowby? No. Had Mr. Bragge? Had Mr. Tierney? No. Lord Melville alone shelters himself beneath the confidential communications of government. He can afford no intelligence, for his papers are destroyed. He has no recollection of what took place only a few years ago. His memory, naturally so strong, has now lost its retentive faculty. Mr. Trotter's answers too, respecting Lord Melville, were of the most damning nature. 'Did you receive any emolument from the use of the public money?' inquired the commissioners. 'I won't tell you;' was the reply. 'Did Lord Melville share in any such profits?' 'I won't tell you;' was again reiterated. Mr. Whitbread expressed his conviction, that he must that night have a majority in favour of the resolutions he meant to move. He called upon the country gentlemen, upon the officers of the army and navy, upon the great commercial men, upon all who were independent members of that House, to give him their support, and to arrest, by their vote of that night, a practice of the most dangerous and pernicious tendency. He concluded, by moving 13 resolutions, founded on the matter of his speech.

Mr. Pitt, after a long, and very able speech, in reply,* moved, "that a select committee be appointed to consider the 10th report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, and the documents therewith connected, that they examine the same, and report their opinion thereon to the House." At the suggestion of Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt consented, in the first instance, to move the previous question. Mr. Tierney said, that during the time he was Treasurer of the Navy, he felt no inconvenience, from a compliance with the act of Parliament, and held that the report of the commissioners should be taken as conclusive evidence against Lord Melville.—That noble Lord had, in his opinion, already enjoyed as fair a trial as the nature of the case would admit of, and no committee of that House could throw any more light upon the subject.

After a number of observations from the Attorney-General, Mr. Canning, the Master of the Rolls, and Lord Castlereagh, in favour of a select committee, and from Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wilberforce, in support of the original motion, the House divided; when, the numbers being equal, (216 against 216) the speaker gave his casting vote against Mr. Pitt's amendment; when the original motion was put and carried.

On the 10th of April, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced to the House of Commons, that Lord Melville had tendered his resignation of the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, which resignation his Majesty had been graciously pleased to accept. Mr. Whitbread said, that had the issue of the debate on Monday been merely of a personal or party nature, he might have been satisfied with Lord Melville's removal from the responsibility, dignity, and emolument attached to the situation which he had resigned—the humiliation of the individual was complete indeed. But there was a duty still remaining to the public. Having done so much, having exerted so much independence, having deserved, and having received, the thanks deserved, in the general exultation of the country, ought not the House to take another step to complete their triumph? Ought not Lord Melville to be prevented from ever again polluting, with his presence, the councils of his Majesty? This he thought so necessary, that previously to any other proceeding, he should move, "That an address be submitted by the House to the throne, praying his Majesty to deprive the noble Lord of every civil office held during the pleasure of the

---

* After a number of preliminary observations, he remarked, that there was no allegation in the report, or even in the speech of the honourable gentleman, that any loss to the public had been sustained by the transactions now under the consideration of the House; there was no allegation that any defalcation, any mischief, any evil, whatever, had accrued to the nation. He complained, that the honourable gentleman had attempted to give a view of the case altogether erroneous, when he called upon the House to pass sentence, as upon a person already tried and convicted. He admitted, at the same time, that the subject was one of a grave and solemn nature, and that, though no loss or inconvenience could be alleged to have arisen from the transactions that had taken place, yet, if in a great money department, irregularities had been committed, it might be the duty of the House to set a mark upon such proceedings. But, whether in this case it might be fit so to do, must depend upon a consideration of all the circumstances, which at present were not before them in the report. Till these circumstances were investigated and ascertained, the House could not be in a situation to form a fair opinion of the matter, far less could it be justified in coming to any vote of censure.—"The first charge," said Mr. Pitt, "dwelt upon by the honourable gentleman, though not that on which he calls for an immediate resolution, is, that certain sums of money were applied to other than naval services. On this head I must say, the whole case is not before us. Will the House be contented to pass judgment on the naked unexplained fact? Will they refuse to inquire what were the circumstances under which this application took place? Can it be denied that such a fact may exist in a variety of shades; that it may have been wanton, or it may have been necessary; that it may have been small or great; that it may have been done upon a responsibility, by which the public was benefitted in a most important matter? Will the House then refuse to inquire into those circumstances? Will they refuse to ascertain in what light the affair deserves to be viewed.—As to the charge of Lord Melville's connivance, I do not say that conniving at the application of the public money for the purpose even of innocent profit to individuals, without actual loss to the state, is altogether to be justified. But our judgment should depend upon a complete knowledge of all the circumstances—upon inquiry into the mode of its employment, and the probable danger, and amount of the sum employed. The Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, however, do not say that the issues to the Treasurer or Paymaster of the Navy were greater than necessary, or that the money impressed in his hands, was not forthcoming whenever it was wanting. In fact, nothing could accelerate those issues so much as to increase the balance in the paymaster's hands at pleasure." Mr. Pitt then proceeded to point out several errors in the tenth report of the Commissioners, and argued therefrom that before the House came to any decision, the documents should be submitted to a more minute examination.—"With regard," said he, "to the charge of Lord Melville having participated in the profits derived from the employment of the public money, it is particularly necessary that a more detailed examination should take place, as this is a point which depends so much upon matters of account. I had expected, however, that after the solemn denial of Lord Melville, on this subject, no suspicion of that kind would have been any longer insisted upon. Lord Melville has most expressly disclaimed his having knowingly, or intentionally, derived any profit or advantage from Mr. Trotter's application of public money—and he only declined to answer positively, because from the blending of the accounts, the advances made by Mr. Trotter might have been public money. On the face of these accounts, 100,000*l.* is the whole amount of the advances to Lord Melville. It is known that of all the sums of 160,000,000*l.* which have passed through the hands of his Lordship, every farthing has been applied to the purposes for which it was issued, and has been regularly accounted for; and it will be found, that, of the 100,000*l.*, which, on the face of the account was paid to Lord Melville, many of the drafts were, in reality, payments for public services. If this can be made out, as I am informed it can, it will place this matter in a new light, and is of itself a conclusive argument for further inquiry. Upon the whole, as there are no materials before the House, on which they can form a fair judgment; as the parties accused have not had a fair trial, have not enjoyed the right of hearing the charges, and meeting them by evidence and explanation; as the conclusions passed in the House, are many of them drawn from accounts detailed and difficult to be unravelled, which a committee can alone state with clearness and precision; as the appointment of such a committee, while it interposes little or no delay, in the determination of this important subject, will enable the House to do justice at once to the country and the parties accused, I shall conclude with moving, &c."

the crown, and to dismiss him from the councils of the kingdom for ever.' "I ask," said Mr. Whitbread, "the right honourable gentleman opposite, (Mr. Pitt) whether he is prepared to give a pledge to this effect? I also ask, whether the vote of this House has been treated with due deference in another quarter; whether Mr. Trotter has been dismissed?" (Mr. Canning, in reply, answered, "Yes.") Mr. Canning did not think that the case of Lord Melville, which, at the most, amounted to no more than a bare suspicion, warranted the severity of the proceedings now proposed; and, after a very animated conversation, Mr. Whitbread agreed to withdraw his motion, in lieu of which he moved, "That the resolutions of the former night be laid before his Majesty; and that they be carried up by the whole House." This resolution being carried, the House waited upon his Majesty with a copy of the resolutions, on Thursday, the 11th of April, to which his Majesty was graciously pleased to answer, that he should, on all occasions, receive, with the greatest attention, any representations of his Commons; and he was fully sensible of the importance of the matter which was the subject of their resolutions.

On the 6th of May, Mr. Whitbread made his motion for the erasure of Lord Melville's name from the list of privy counsellors; when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, and said, "In consequence of the honourable gentleman's notice that his motion would be renewed, I have had occasion to ascertain the sentiments of respectable gentlemen on both sides of the House, and I see reason to believe, that the step desired by the honourable gentleman, is considered, generally, as expedient; I have, therefore, felt it my duty to advise his Majesty to erase the name of Lord Melville from the list of privy counsellors; to this advice his Majesty has acceded, and on the first day that a council is held for general purposes, the business will be finally executed. I am not ashamed to confess, that I have not given this advice without a bitter pang. I will not erase from my bosom, feelings of private friendship, but I cannot suffer these feelings to interfere with what I find to be the declared sense of a majority of this House." Mr. Whitbread then inquired, whether Lord Melville held any place of profit during the pleasure of the crown, and was answered, 'none but for life;' on which he withdrew his motion.

The Commissioners of Naval Inquiry had, in the progress of these discussions, been sedulously occupied in the researches arising out of the 10th report: and Mr. Whitbread, in consequence of the facts which had transpired in the progress of that inquiry, now declared himself justified in giving notice of an intention finally to move for an impeachment. This notice was met, on the part of Mr. Robert Dundas, son of Lord Melville, by a requisition that the noble Lord should be admitted and heard by the House, on the subject of the 10th report, previously to the motion for impeachment being put. Leave to appear having been obtained from both Houses, on the 11th of June, Lord Melville, escorted by the serjeant at arms, advanced within the bar of the House of Commons, where a chair was placed for his reception, on which, having reposed himself, he rose, and entered upon his defence;* which, having concluded, he withdrew.

Mr. Whitbread then said, the excuse offered by Lord Melville for not directly answering questions, in consequence of the mixed state of Mr. Trotter's accounts, was strange and incredible. He argued on the suspicious circumstance of refusing to give any account of the two sums of 10,000*l.*; and declared he should be satisfied, if his Lordship would refer the matter to a jury of honour, consisting of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Windham, and any other person of equal integrity, in case they acquitted him. Mr. Whitbread concluded by moving, "that Henry Lord Viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours." A long debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Bond objected to an impeachment, as cumbrous and expensive, and moved, as an amendment, "that his Majesty's Attorney-General be directed to prosecute Henry Lord Viscount Melville for the several offences which appear from the report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, and that of the select committee of the House of Commons, to have been committed by the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville." On a division of the House, the motion for impeachment was rejected by a majority of 77; and Mr. Bond's amendment for a criminal prosecution, adopted by a majority of 238 to 229 voices. It was, however, ultimately determined, on the 25th of June, that the mode of prosecution, by impeachment, should be resorted to, and Mr. Whitbread was appointed manager of the impeachment, with directions to acquaint the Lords, on the following day, with the determination of the Commons' House of Parliament. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt delivered his last speech in the senate, and argued strongly in favour of a trial by impeachment, in preference to proceedings by criminal prosecution.*

The British cabinet was still in a divided state; and the conflicting sentiments of its members threatened to

* His Lordship described the difficulties he had encountered in all the endeavours which he had hitherto made to clear his character: and expressed his extreme satisfaction that he could now, in some measure, gratify his feelings upon this point, although he was limited in the range of his defence by the resolution of the Lords. He solemnly asserted, that he never knew that Mr. Trotter had drawn any money for the purposes of speculation; and declared that he had felt highly indignant at the charge that such transactions had been conducted with his privity; and that, in execution of them, Mr. Trotter had enjoyed the advantage of his (Lord Melville's) knowledge of the confidential secrets of government. His Lordship as positively denied his participations in the profits of Mr. Trotter. He admitted, that when the money was drawn for naval purposes, he had suffered that gentleman to place it in the house of Messrs. Coutts, until it should be wanted, instead of putting it into the iron chest, or transferring it to the custody of the respective sub-accountants; but, that he had ever given Mr. Trotter power to draw money from the bank indiscriminately, he protested was untrue; and, in lodging the money at a banker's, after it was fairly drawn out of the Bank for official purposes, by a competent authority, until it was claimed by the parties to whom it belonged, he contended that he violated no clause in the act of Parliament. He certainly did suppose the paymaster derived a profit from the sums invested in the hands of Messrs. Coutts, but he had never considered it as a clandestine, a secret, or an unlawful, proceeding. His Lordship said, the reason he had not directly disclaimed having any share in Mr. Trotter's profits, when he was examined before the committee was, because he had that moment been informed of the confusion in which his paymaster's accounts stood; and that, although there was a doubt in his own mind, whether he might not, in consequence of that circumstance, unintentionally have received what was his own property, from unlawful profits, he could then, as well as at the present time, have denied any participation, with his knowledge or volition. His Lordship referred to two sums of about 10,000*l.* each, which had come to his hands, as the confidential adviser of government, for the affairs of Scotland. The circumstances relative to them, he felt equally bound, by private honour and public duty, never to disclose; though he affirmed, in the most unqualified terms, that those sums were neither used nor meant to be employed for any object of profit by him. He had certainly directed his agent to procure for him the loan of 20,000*l.* for which he had paid regular interest; but it was not, till within the last six weeks, that he knew Mr. Trotter was the lender of the money. After explaining the nature of his transactions with respect to the loyalty loan, to which he subscribed the sum of 10,000*l.* his Lordship said, when he destroyed all vouchers, it was because he considered them useless; and certainly not from the most remote apprehension of danger from their existence. Lord Melville said, when he reviewed the past proceedings of Parliament, he could scarcely believe that an impeachment was intended, and he was equally incredulous with respect to an indictment. He observed, that he did not even yet despair of receiving justice from his deluded country, although he could not persuade himself to mention circumstances which it was his interest to explain.

† Another subject arising out of the 10th report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, was a loan of 40,000*l.* of the public money made by government, with the privity of Mr. Pitt, to the private banking-house of Messrs. Boyd and Benfield. In introducing this transaction to the consideration of Parliament, Mr. Whitbread disclaimed all intention of imputing corrupt or improper motives to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but he considered it necessary to prevent such a practice from being drawn into a precedent by future ministers, and recommended that a bill of indemnity should be introduced in favour of the existing government, to exonerate them from a transaction which was certainly illegal. The following resolution was, in consequence, moved by Mr. Lascelles:—"Resolved, that the measure of advancing 40,000*l.* to Messrs. Boyd and Co. upon unquestionable securities, which have been regularly discharged, was adopted for the purpose of averting consequences, that might have proved highly injurious to the commercial and financial interests of the country; and, although not conformable to law, appeared at the time to be called for by the peculiar exigency of public affairs." This resolution was adopted by the House, without a division, and Mr. Lascelles afterwards obtained leave to bring in a bill of indemnity, which passed into a law.

produce

produce a partial change in the ministry, had no subject of paramount interest arisen to call them more strongly into action. It appears that, soon after the Easter recess, Lord Sidmouth suggested the propriety of removing Lord Melville from the privy council; but Mr. Pitt, wishing to avoid that measure, conceived that both Parliament and the country would be satisfied with the noble Lord's resignation of his office as First Lord of the Admiralty. Neither party was disposed to yield, and Lord Sidmouth, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and Mr. Vansittart, expressed their determination to throw up their several appointments. This extremity was, however, for the present averted by the erasure of Lord Melville's name from the list of the privy council, and the vote of impeachment, which afterwards passed against that nobleman.* However, on the 5th of July, Lord Sidmouth, in conformity with this resolution, went out of office; and five days afterwards his example was followed by the Earl of Buckinghamshire. These noblemen were succeeded by Earl Camden and Lord Harrowby, while Lord Castlereagh was appointed to the foreign department; the office of First Lord of the Admiralty having been previously conferred on Sir Charles Middleton, who was called to the Upper House of Parliament under the title of Lord Barham.

The domestic events of this summer were by no means such as to assist Mr. Pitt in bearing up against the attacks of disease with which he had long been assailed.† For more than four years, he had laboured under all the inconveniences resulting from a weak stomach, and the subsequent failure of appetite. And it will be easily conceived, that mental anxiety is peculiarly calculated to aggravate the effects of such a disorder. The unprosperous state of affairs on the Continent tended to increase his anxiety. The continued encroachments of Buonaparte, who, not content with usurping the imperial dignity in France, had assumed the crown of Italy, and annexed Genoa to his vast empire, had roused the spirits of the Austrians, and enabled Mr. Pitt to give life and vigour to a new confederacy against the colossal power of France. A treaty was concluded between Russia and England, to which Austria and Sweden soon acceded. The object of this treaty was to restore, in some degree, the balance of power in Europe, by driving the French out of Hanover and the North of Germany; by establishing the independence of Holland and Switzerland; by restoring the King of Sardinia to his throne and territory; and by compelling the French to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, and the whole of Italy. The means by which it was proposed to accomplish this great and desirable object was, an army of half a million of effective men, independently of the forces to be employed by Great Britain herself. This treaty was signed at St. Petersburgh, on the 11th of April. It developed a system of foreign policy, liberal, comprehensive, and grand; and had the Continental powers performed their part of the engagement, by supplying the stipulated force, there can be little doubt that the result would have been favourable to the independence of Europe. Providence, however, had otherwise determined. The campaign, which was opened late in September, proved short, disastrous, and decisive.‡ The cowardly surrender of an Austrian army, at Ulm, by General Mack, paved the way for further successes;

* The current of public opinion was decidedly unfavourable to the noble Viscount. The city of London took the lead, in presenting an address to his Majesty requesting him to remove his Lordship from his councils for ever; and various similar resolutions were voted in different parts of the country, couched in language of unqualified censure.

† One of the first measures adopted by Buonaparte after his elevation to the imperial dignity, was to transmit new overtures to the British government. This communication was conveyed in the form of a letter, written by Napoleon's own hand, and addressed to his Britannic Majesty. This unusual mode of communication, which he had before adopted upon his accession to his office of first consul, was chosen from a professed desire to disengage so important a transaction from the intrigues of cabinets and the perplexities and delays of diplomacy. After adverting to his recent elevation to the throne of France, and lamenting the unnecessary effusion of blood; he said he considered it no disgrace to take the first step towards conciliation; for though peace was the wish of his heart, war had never been inconsistent with his glory. As it had never been customary for the English Sovereign to communicate directly with a foreign potentate, an answer was returned by Lord Mulgrave, addressed to the French minister. The Secretary of State for foreign affairs intimated his Majesty's wish to procure the blessings of peace, on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe; but stated the impracticability of more fully meeting the overture now made, until communications had been held with the powers of the Continent, with whom his Majesty was engaged in confidential connections and relations.

‡ Towards the close of the month of August, while he was at Boulogne, Buonaparte issued orders to dismantle the flotilla in that harbour, and directed the troops to march from the coast to the banks of the Rhine. Similar orders were at the same time transmitted to General Marmont, who commanded the army in Holland; and Marshal Bernadotte was directed to proceed with his force from Hanover towards Franconia. Buonaparte then quitted Boulogne and repaired to Paris. Bavaria, of whom strong suspicions were entertained by the allied powers, was summoned to incorporate her troops with the Austrian army, and the latter in full force passed the Inn early in the month of September, and endeavoured to enforce this command. As soon as intelligence was received at Paris that the Austrian army had entered the dominions of the Elector of Bavaria, the senate was convened, and in a speech from the throne, Buonaparte informed his senators that he was about to place himself at the head of his army in order to afford immediate assistance to his allies, and to defend the dearest interests of his people. On this occasion two important decrees were proposed; the one for the immediate levy of 80,000 conscripts, and the other for re-organizing and embodying the national guard. Buonaparte then appointed his brother Joseph to superintend the government in his absence, and on the following day he left Paris for Strasburgh.

By the allies, the resources of France were estimated at 651,000 men; and of this number it was supposed she might employ 500,000 in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. In opposition to this force Austria could bring into the field 250,000 rank and file exclusive of the Russian armies which were destined to co-operate with her in the war, and was expected to swell her numbers to an equality with the force of the enemy. The first blow was to be struck in Italy, by forcing the passage of the Adige, dislodging the enemy from the Mincio, investing Mantua and Pescheira, and detaching a body of troops to the Po, to observe the south of Italy, and to open its way to the Adda, in order to cover the blockades or sieges of these places. It was foreseen that in Germany, Austria must sustain the first shock of French impetuosity, without the aid of her imperial ally; it was therefore determined that the Austrian corps should enter Bavaria, and taking a strong position on the Lech, await the arrival of the Russians, while the forces in the Tyrol were to be regulated in their motions by those of the armies of Italy and Germany. In pursuance of this plan, the Austrian army upon the Adige was increased to 120,000 men; and about the middle of September the Archduke Charles quitted Vienna for the purpose of assuming the command; at which period the French troops in Italy, under the command of General Massena, did not exceed 70,000 men. The Austrian army in Germany was intrusted to the command of Field-marshal Baron Mack, an officer that had for a considerable time enjoyed a very powerful influence over the military councils at the court of Vienna. The Austrian army, having traversed the electorate of Bavaria, arrived towards the end of September on the banks of the Lech. Abandoning that position immediately afterwards, they advanced to the Iller, and detachments were pushed towards Doneschingen and Stockach, and into the duchy of Wirtemberg. Besides the two armies stationed on the Adige and in Suabia, a considerable force was also assembled under the command of the Archduke John in the Tyrol, which was destined to act as the events of the campaign might require. On the 26th of September Buonaparte arrived at Strasburgh: on the same day the greater part of the French army, which had proceeded by rapid marches from the coast, passed the Rhine at Manheim, Spires, and Durlach, under the command of Marshals Davoust, Soult, and Ney. Marshal Lannes with his division, and the reserve of cavalry under Murat, had crossed the river on the preceding day at Kehl. The French army of Hanover, consisting of about 20,000 men, and commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, having marched by Gottingen and Frankfort, had arrived at the head-quarters of the Elector of Bavaria at Wurtzburg. In this position Bernadotte was soon after joined by General Marmont and the Gallo-Batavian army, which had crossed the Rhine at Mentz; and by this union the force collected at Wurtzburg amounted to upwards of 60,000 men. Buonaparte, to avoid the difficulties and inconveniences of penetrating through the passes of the Black Forest, had resolved to advance along the northern bank of the Danube, and passing the river below the position of the Austrians, to interpose his army between them and the Russian force. With a view to this movement, Marshal Bernadotte and General Marmont had been ordered to proceed to Wurtzburg. As the Austrian commander might by an immediate retreat have frustrated the success of this plan, it became necessary that this project should not only be disguised from the imperialists, but should be executed with the utmost possible rapidity. Murat was therefore ordered to manœuvre near the passes of the Black Forest, to deceive the Austrians, and to induce them to suppose that the French army intended to force its way in that direction. General Mack fell into the snare, and advanced with the greater part of his army to oppose the execution of this design. He had already fortified the banks of the Iller, and had issued orders to strengthen with the utmost expedition the positions of Memmingen and Ulm. At length, however, he discovered his error, and was compelled suddenly to change all his plans. In the mean time, the French army had traversed with almost incredible rapidity the electorate of Wirtemberg, and the plains of Nordlingen; and on the 16th of October, Marshal Soult arrived, at the head of his division on the

successes;† and the battle of Austerlitz, fought on the 2d of December, at which the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and Buonaparte were present, completed the triumph of the French arms. The Austrian Emperor, dismayed by a loss, which he might easily, and soon, have repaired, solicited an immediate armistice, which

the Danube, at Donawerth, and obtained possession of the bridge at Munster. On the 8th, General Marmont reached Neuberg, having penetrated through the Prussian neutral territory of Anspach, and shortly after Marshal Bernadotte, at the head of his division, arrived at Ingoldstadt. From this moment the issue of the campaign was decided. The army under General Mack did not exceed 80,000 men: a hostile force nearly double that amount was now posted in his rear; while his communication with the Austrian states, and with the Russian auxiliaries, the first division of which had not yet arrived on the Inn, was upon the point of being completely intercepted. On the 7th, a part of the French army passed the Danube at Donawerth, and the division commanded by Marshal Soult extended itself along the Lech to the city of Augsburg, and afterwards to Landsburg and Fuessen. In the mean time a strong detachment from the Austrian army was ordered to advance to Wertingen, for the purpose of observing the motions, and checking the progress of the enemy. This corps was attacked by the cavalry under Prince Murat, and the division commanded by General Lannes. The Austrians, after a short contest, in which they sustained considerable loss, were compelled to retire. On the following day a second action took place in the vicinity of Guntzburg; the division commanded by General Ney attacked the Austrians who were advantageously posted on the banks of the Danube, and, after a sharp conflict, forced the passage of the river, and remained masters of the bridges and strong position of Guntzburg. General Mack, alarmed by the accounts which he received of the strength of the enemy, was obliged to send for reinforcements to the Italian army. Prince Charles thus saw himself deprived of the means of pursuing those objects which he hoped to accomplish. The necessity however was urgent, and he ordered thirty battalions to march to the support of the Austrian army in Germany. Of this force a part only arrived on the banks of the Iller; some detachments were taken by the enemy, and the rest fell back upon the Tyrol. The Austrian army was stationed on the banks of the Iller, from Memmingen to the Danube; but its principal strength was collected on the left of this line, in the neighbourhood of Ulm; and the French were rapidly advancing with their whole force to that quarter. The situation of the Austrians became every hour more and more critical; they found themselves circumscribed and inclosed on every side; and the commander saw the necessity of endeavouring to dislodge the enemy from some of his positions. Accordingly, on the 11th of October, a vigorous attack was made upon a French division posted under the command of General Ney at Albeck. The enemy was driven to a considerable distance along the banks of the Danube; and the event of the day was highly honourable to the Austrians. But no important advantage resulted from the victory.

† After the battles of Guntzburg and Wertingen, Buonaparte repaired to the city of Augsburg, from which place he again returned on the 13th to the camp before Ulm; when he issued immediate orders to force the bridge and position of Echlingen. This post, of great importance in the present situation of the armies, was defended by a body of 16,000 Austrians. In this contest, which was long and obstinate, the French charged with their usual impetuosity; while the Austrians fought with all the fury of despair. Great numbers fell on both sides; but at length the Austrians were broken and driven from the field. The same day, after a series of sharp and stubborn conflicts, the French troops under General Lannes possessed themselves of the heights of Michel Malgen and Kuhe, in the vicinity of Ulm, while on the other side, General Marmont occupied the bridges at the confluence of the Iller and the Danube. The situation of the Austrian army was now desperate; it was nearly encircled by the enemy, and compelled to take refuge within the walls of Ulm. Two divisions, under Generals Hohenzollern and Werneck, had already been detached from the main army, and Prince Ferdinand, desirous to rescue a part of the troops from the disgrace of a capitulation, placed himself at the head of four squadrons of well-mounted cavalry, and proceeded with the utmost expedition towards Aalen. The two following days the French were employed in making preparations for a general assault. The city was surrounded by a broad ditch filled with water; and though the fortifications were weak and unfinished, yet a brave and veteran army, consisting of more than 30,000 men, might have made a fierce and dreadful resistance. Buonaparte, eager to avail himself of his present advantages to their full extent, issued an address to his soldiers on the 15th, in which he says, "Merely to conquer the enemy would be to do nothing worthy of yourselves or of your Emperor. Not a man should escape, and that government which has violated all its engagements, should first learn its catastrophe by your arrival under the walls of Vienna." This proclamation was immediately followed by a summons to General, Mack requiring him to capitulate, and threatening in case of refusal to storm the town. On the night of the 16th there arose a furious tempest; the waters of the Danube overflowed their banks; and many of the bridges upon that river, and among the rest the bridge of Echlingen, were swept away by the rapidity of the torrent. A favourable opportunity was thus afforded to the Austrian army to endeavour to force their way through the posts of the enemy; but the commander was deficient in enterprise and activity, and this unforeseen and fortuitous occurrence was suffered to pass unimproved. On the 17th the terms of the capitulation were finally settled. The garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, and after filing off to lay down their arms. The field-officers were permitted to return home upon their parole, but the subalterns and soldiers were sent prisoners to France. On the 20th the Austrians, according to the terms of a convention concluded the second day after the capitulation of Ulm, marched out of that city. Buonaparte, surrounded by his guards, occupied the heights near the town, and was a witness to this humiliating scene. Thirty thousand men, three thousand of whom were cavalry, with sixty pieces of cannon, and forty stands of colours, were paraded before the victor. Having sent for the Austrian Generals, and kept them near his person while the troops defiled, he complained of the injustice and aggression of the Emperor: "I desire nothing," said he, "on the Continent. France wants only ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine that I should have them."

No sooner did the intelligence of this disaster reach Vienna, than the houses were deserted, and the inhabitants crowded into the streets, anxiously inquiring into the particulars of the event. When the full extent of the calamity was known, the people gave vent to their feelings in the bitterest expressions of indignation and rage. They saw in their apprehensions the French already at their gates. They loudly exclaimed against General Mack as the author of their misfortunes, and openly charged him with having betrayed and sold his country to the enemy. The Emperor made every exertion to re-establish the public confidence, and to restore the tranquillity of his capital. It was ordered that all persons capable of bearing arms should be trained and embodied, and that every effort should be made to supply the deficiencies in the army. Instructions were at the same time issued to hasten the general levy in Hungary; and the Emperor published a proclamation, in which he appealed to the patriotism and loyalty of his subjects, and called upon them in the most earnest terms to unite with vigour for the protection of their country and his throne. Immediately after the capitulation of Ulm, the most active exertions were made by the enemy for the further prosecution of the campaign. The first divisions of the Russians, under the command of General Kutusoff, had already arrived upon the banks of the Inn, and uniting itself to the Austrians in that quarter, formed an army of nearly 70,000 men. It was of importance, if possible, to attack this force before the arrival of the second division, and with this view the French army having been joined by the contingents of Bavaria, Baden, and Wirtemburg, crossed the Iser at three different points, and advanced by rapid marches towards the Inn. The arrangements for the further prosecution of the campaign, on the immense theatre of war, were all completed. Marshal Ney's division, and the Bavarian army, were ordered to drive the Austrians from the Tyrol. The operations in the Voralberg were entrusted to Marshal Augereau, who from the interior of France had arrived with a considerable force at Stockach; and General Baraguay d'Hilliers was ordered to penetrate into Bohemia, and to observe the motion of the Austrians to the east. The French army which was advancing towards the Inn consisted of about 110,000 men, while the allied troops, stationed upon that river, scarcely amounted to 70,000. Judging it impolitic to hazard an action with such a disparity of strength, the allies determined to retire, to effect a junction with the second Russian division, which was advancing under General Buxhovden. From the Inn, the combined army retired behind the Ems, their rear occasionally skirmishing with the advanced guard of the enemy. In this situation of affairs, the Emperor of Austria endeavoured to avert the evils with which he was menaced by negociation. Count de Guilay accordingly repaired to the head-quarters of the enemy at Lintz, to propose an armistice, in order that negociations might be commenced for a general peace. Buonaparte, in answer, demanded, as the price of an armistice, that the Russian forces should return home, that the Hungarian levies should be disbanded, and that the Austrian troops should withdraw from the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol. It was evident that to accede to these terms would be to place the imperial crown at the mercy of Buonaparte; the Emperor therefore resolved still to struggle with his difficulties; and to trust to the support of his allies, to the fortune of his house, and to the zeal and affection of his people. In the mean time the principal force of the enemy advanced by the Ems and Amstten, while the Russians, continuing their retreat, retired to St. Polten. At Krems, not far from that place, there is a bridge over the Danube, which is the last bridge above the city of Vienna. The enemy had detached a considerable force over the river, under the command of Marshal Mortier, who was ordered to march with the utmost expedition for the purpose of seizing and destroying the bridge. By this manœuvre, the communication between the first and the second divisions of the Russian army would have been completely intercepted; but the Russians, aware of the design of the enemy, frustrated its execution, and after a rapid march from St. Polten to Krems, crossed the river at that place, and laid the bridge in ruins. It was now evening, and the situation of the allies, who were closely pressed upon the side of the Stein, became extremely critical. It was necessary to force the enemy from his position. Accordingly, at daybreak on the following morning, the Russian army having formed itself into three columns, advanced against the French lines with the utmost impetuosity; and after a smart contest put the enemy to the rout in every direction. In this engagement great numbers of the French were slain; many escaped in the vessels that had been collected on the river; and about 2,000 men, with a large proportion of officers, were taken prisoners. This victory, so important in the present situation of the army, was obtained without any considerable loss on the part of the Russians. There fell, however, in the heat of the engagement, the Austrian Field-marshal Schmidt, a veteran officer of great bravery and merit, whose death filled the army with regret. Buonaparte now removed his head-quarters to the beautiful abbey of Molk, built by the Emperor Commodus, and celebrated for having been one of the posts of the Romans. In the vaults of this magnificent building, he found prodigious stores of excellent Hungarian wine, which proved of great service to his army. From this moment, the fate of the Austrian capital was decided. The great road to Vienna lay open; and it was impossible to attempt the defence of the city

which was granted, the very night of the battle,* on terms so disgraceful to himself, that his Imperial Ally, Alexander, refused to become a party to them. This was followed by the peace of Presburgh, signed on the 26th of December, which dissolved this new confederacy, and defeated the last hopes of Mr. Pitt. By that

city without the walls. The court, the nobility, and all those who could provide the means of flight, had abandoned the city. The utmost agitation and confusion prevailed, and the public anxiety became intense from the accounts which were daily and hourly received, of the rapid advance of the enemy. But when the people were informed, that the Russian army, on which they reposed their last and only reliance, had passed the Danube and left the capital to its fate, they abandoned themselves to despair. On the 9th, a deputation of the inhabitants of Vienna, with Prince Sinzendorf at its head, repaired to the French camp, to declare the Emperor's intention to deliver up the metropolis, in order to preserve the people from impending distress; and that in so doing, he fully relied on the justice and generosity of Buonaparte, to carry his benevolent wishes into execution. The deputation were received by Murat; and after a short conference, in which they obtained the strongest assurances of protection, they returned to Vienna. Murat, in consequence of the arrangements which had been previously made, immediately entered the city, and his troops were conducted to the quarters which had been assigned for their accommodation. The Austrian force, which had retired from Vienna upon the approach of the enemy amounted to 10,000 men; and having crossed the Danube, they proceeded towards Moravia, for the purpose of forming a junction with the Russians. The French arrived at Vienna in successive divisions, and passed through that city with the utmost expedition in pursuit of the Russians. On the 14th, Buonaparte himself arrived at Vienna, and took up his residence in the castle of Schoenbrun, a small palace built by the Empress Maria Theresa. So rapid had been the progress of the French, and such was the consternation which prevailed, that no effectual measures had been adopted for the removal of the artillery and military stores from the city, in consequence of which neglect, 2,000 pieces of cannon, 200,000 muskets, and ammunition of every description, besides other articles of immense value, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The French were now in complete possession of Upper and Lower Austria, and it became necessary to establish a provincial administration for the government of these extensive conquests. For this purpose a code of regulations was soon prepared, and General Clarke was appointed Governor-General of the districts. These important arrangements having been completed, Buonaparte left Vienna and repaired to the army of Moravia. The French patroles of cavalry were already at the gates of Presburg; and a party of these troops intercepted a courier from Vienna, by whose dispatches they learned that the Archduke Charles, on hearing of the disasters at Ulm, had quitted the Italian territory, and was hastening with his army to the relief of Vienna. On the 18th of October, the Italian campaign was opened upon the Adige. The Austrian army was strongly posted at Veronetta, a suburb of the city of Verona, situated upon the left bank of the river; while the French troops, under the command of Marshal Massena, occupied the city upon the opposite bank of the Adige. The communication between Verona and its suburb was by means of two bridges, the new bridge and the bridge of the old castle; and both parties had guarded against the passage of these bridges by strong works raised at the opposite extremities. The Archduke Charles found himself so far weakened, in consequence of the reinforcements which he had dispatched for the support of General Mack, that he was no longer in a condition to undertake offensive operations against the position of the enemy; the attack was therefore begun by the French, and Massena determined to force a passage over the bridge of the old castle. After a fierce and obstinate struggle, the French General forced the passage of the bridge, and made himself master of the Austrian intrenchments upon the opposite bank of the river. The Austrian army, however, still maintained its position in Veronetta, and several days elapsed without any further attack; but the Archduke Charles having, in the mean time, obtained information of the disaster at Ulm, prepared to fall back with his force towards Vienna. It was not, however, till after an arduous contest that the Archduke made good his retreat, and took up a position under cover of the redoubts of Caldiero.

During these operations, General Hillinger, to whom was confided the command of an Austrian column, consisting of about 5000 men, was separated from the main army, and after exhausting every effort to extricate himself from his difficulties, was obliged to capitulate with his whole corps. The enemy, still continuing the pursuit of the army of the Archduke, arrived upon the Isonzo, having made himself master of the Austrian magazines at Palma and Udine, and from this position General Massena ordered a detachment to proceed to the left, towards Villach, for the purpose of opening a communication with the grand army. Whilst the Archduke Charles continued his retreat, the contending armies in the Tyrol and the Vorulberg were pursuing their operations. General Ney, with his corps, amounting to 17,000 men, after having quitted the neighbourhood of Memmingen, took a course towards Upper Bavaria. On the 4th of November, this General arrived in the environs of Partenkirch, and on the 5th, commenced an attack on the strongly fortified position of Scharnitz, situated two leagues to the south of Mittenwald. To these movements the militia and sharp-shooters, as well as the levy-en-masse of the Tyrol, favoured by the nature of the country, opposed a long and obstinate resistance; but, after a gallant struggle, this brave band of patriots was at length obliged to give way; and the fortress of Scharnitz, with 1,800 prisoners, one standard, and fifteen field-pieces, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the 16th, General Ney marched through Lecfield and Zierl, and after forcing the Archduke John to abandon his position on the stupendous mountains of Brenner, took possession of Inspruck, the capital of Upper Austria. During the short but vigorous campaign of the Tyrol, an Austrian column, under the command of the Prince de Rohan, had been totally separated from the main army by the manœuvres of the French in that country. Unwilling to surrender without an effort, the Prince determined, if possible, to effect a junction with the Archduke Charles by traversing the mountains which separate the Tyrol from Italy; but finding himself surrounded by the troops of General Partaneaux and General Regnier, and discovering that his position was turned by General St. Cyr, in the neighbourhood of Castel-Franco, he was forced to capitulate, and 6,000 infantry, 100 cavalry, six standards, and twelve pieces of cannon, with a considerable quantity of baggage and ammunition, fell into the possession of the enemy. The defence of the Voralberg had been entrusted to the Austrian General Jellachich, who was dispatched for that purpose from the main army in Suabia, previously to the fall of Ulm. In this service he was opposed by Marshal Augereau, at the head of a very superior force. A series of sharp encounters immediately took place, and the Austrians were driven in succession from position to position, till at length the concert of their movements being broken, their columns were separated, and the Commander-in-chief, with a force of from eight to 10,000 men, found himself compelled to capitulate in the neighbourhood of Feldkirk. The whole of the Voralberg, Pludentz, and the entire district of Arlemberg, together with the Austrian arsenals and magazines in those territories, were thus surrendered to the enemy, and it was agreed that the troops should not serve either against France or Italy for one year from the date of the capitulation. The violation of the neutrality of Anspach by the French troops under the command of General Marmont, had excited a deep sensation at Berlin; and the people of Prussia were still more exasperated than their government. The insult which the French ruler had given to the Prussian power effected what the allies had endeavoured in vain to accomplish, and an instant determination was taken to enter into the war. In order to encourage this resolution the British ministry sent Lord Harrowby to Berlin with the most liberal offers of pecuniary assistance; and, on the 26th of October, the Emperor Alexander, full of zeal for the cause in which he was engaged, visited the Prussian monarch, by whom he was welcomed with great cordiality, and received with princely distinction. The two sovereigns swore on the tomb of Frederick the Great to maintain an unalterable friendship. The armies of the Prussian monarchy, were, without delay, put on the war establishment; and several large bodies of troops actually marched to the south, and approached the scene of action. This force consisted of 220 squadrons of horse, 133 battalions of infantry, 12 companies of chasseurs, 40 batteries of heavy ordnance, and 12 divisions of flying artillery. But the cabinet of Berlin soon relapsed into its former system. Before any decisive step could be taken, General Mack had capitulated; and the Austrian army was completely dispersed. These events disposed Prussia to listen to terms of accommodation; and Count Haugwitz was ordered to proceed to the head quarters of the French army.

Soon after the breaking out of the war, an army amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand English and Russian troops was assembled in the Mediterranean, with the professed design of co-operating with the Austrian army in Italy, or of effecting a powerful diversion in their favour. Instead of landing in the Venetian territory, however, at an early period of the campaign, and supplying the place of those battalions which the Archduke Charles had found it necessary to dispatch to the aid of General Mack, a landing was not effected till the middle of November, in the neutral territory of Naples, and at a distance of several hundred miles from the nearest position of the enemy. Here, as might have been foreseen, this powerful auxiliary force remained entirely inactive.

Marshal Davoust, leaving the principal part of the French army at Vienna, proceeded with his division towards Presburg. On his arrival in the vicinity of that city he received overtures from Count Palfy the Governor, in the name of the Archduke Palatine, proposing that the military preparation in Hungary should be discontinued on condition that the French General would guarantee the neutrality of that kingdom. To this proposal Marshal Davoust yielded a ready acquiescence; and the principal resources of the House of Austria were thus reduced to the army which the Archduke Charles had with

* The scene of this tremendous battle was the heights of Pratzen, a range of mountains, with a small semi-circular inclination in the middle to the east, running from the lake of Menitz, nearly north and south to the distance of ten or eleven miles. At the foot of these mountains on the western side, and about a mile from the base of them, is a little stream, which on the north divides the defile between the parallel heights of Schlapanitz and Pratzen, and towards the south washes the plain of Turas. Between this stream and the fort of Pratzen, and in the vicinity of the plain of Turas on the west of the rivulet, are situated the various villages in which the French were posted, while the allied armies occupied the heights and the hamlets in the ravines to the east. At one o'clock in the morning of the 2d of December, Buonaparte mounted his horse, to inspect the posts, reconnoitre the piquets of his opponents, and to obtain an account of what the guards had been able to learn of the movements of the confederates. He was informed that they had passed the night in drunkenness, noise, and revelry; and that a corps of Russian infantry had appeared in the village of Sokolnitz, occupied by a regiment of the division under General Legrand. The day at length dawned. Surrounded by his Marshals, Buonaparte, who remained

that treaty, Austria signed her own exclusion from Italy, and consented to an important loss of dominion in Germany. She sacrificed to her fears her faithful subjects of the Tyrol and the Voralberg, who were consigned, much against their will, to the Elector, now King of Bavaria, as a reward for his desertion of the lawful head

so much skill and bravery conducted in the face of superior numbers from the Adige to the Danube, and to the small force of Prince John of Lichtenstein, which had united itself to the first division of the Russian army. Murat, with the French cavalry under his command, having crossed the Danube at Vienna, came up with the allied army of the Austrians and Russians at Hollabrun. By these movements the situation of General Kutusoff's army became extremely perilous. Perceiving the difficulties of his situation, he sent the Baron de Wintzingerode to Murat to propose terms of capitulation; and a convention, subject to the ratification of Buonaparte, was concluded, by which it was stipulated that the Russian army should retire by a prescribed route out of the Austrian dominions into their own territory; but Buonaparte, conceiving the Russians to be in his power, and desirous to signalize himself by a complete victory over their army, refused to ratify the convention. In the mean time, General Kutusoff had retired with the utmost expedition to Znaim, leaving the division, under Prince Bagration opposed to the enemy. The determination of Buonaparte not to ratify the convention was communicated to the Prince without delay, and upon the expiration of the time limited for the suspension of hostilities, his division, consisting of 6,000 men, was surrounded and attacked by a French force 30,000 strong. The Prince, who had embraced the magnanimous resolution to cut his way through the enemy, succeeded, after displaying prodigies of valour, and arrived with comparatively little loss at the head-quarters of Wischau. On the 18th of November, Buonaparte entered Znaim, where the Russians in their hurry and retreat to Brunn, had been compelled to leave their sick, besides a large supply of flour and other provisions. General Sebastiani, to whose brigade of dragoons the pursuit of the retreating Russian force was confided, favoured by the extensive plains of Moravia, cut off several corps of their rear-guard, and made 2 000 prisoners. In the mean time the cavalry force, under Murat, advanced to Brunn, which was evacuated on their approach, and by the possession of which they became masters of sixty pieces of cannon, immense stores of powder, and a very seasonable supply of corn, meal, and clothing. On the 20th, Buonaparte arrived at Brunn, and received a deputation from the Moravian States with a Bishop at their head. The French pursued their advantages in every direction. Ney was already master of Brixen, and General Bernadotte occupied Iglau, on the confines of Bohemia. Many prisoners, and much baggage fell into their hands in several petty affairs between the 20th, and the 23d, on the latter of which days they had pushed their reconnoitring parties to the gates of Olmutz. The combined forces at that place amounted to about 100,000 men; the Russians formed the greater part of this number; for the remnant of the Austrian army, which was placed under the command of Prince John of Lichtenstein, did not exceed 25,000 effective soldiers, and of this number a considerable proportion were raw levies, harassed by constant exertions, dispirited by defeat, and enfeebled by continual privations. The condition of the Russian troops was still more unfavourable. Exhausted by forced marches, and reduced by hunger and fatigue, dearth, misery, and desolation, encircled the armies of the coalesced sovereigns. The provinces to a great distance around them were wasted. The total failure of provisions and forage was alone sufficient to prevent them from maintaining the position before Olmutz, or to take another station further in the rear; and no alternative remained but to commit the fortunes of the campaign to the last desperate valour of their troops. A general battle had therefore become indispensible, but it was necessary to gain time for the purpose of concentrating their forces, and to enable the Russians to present a numerous and imposing front to the enemy. Delay, indeed, was the object of both parties; Bernadotte had not yet joined Buonaparte; and it is well known that the French have always been peculiarly studious to obtain the advantage of physical strength and the power of numbers. As soon as Buonaparte was apprised of the arrival of the Emperor of Russia in his camp, he sent his Aid-de-Camp, General Savary, to compliment that prince in terms of the most courteous civility, and to propose to him an interview. The Imperial Sovereign declined a personal conference, but he suffered the French General to remain within his lines for three successive days, where he did not fail to avail himself of the advantages presented by his singular situation. Although the Emperor Alexander did not choose to meet Buonaparte in person, he sent his aid-de-camp, Prince Dohgoruski, to explain his sentiments to the French chief. In the mean time Savary had returned to the French camp, and reported to his master the observations which he had been so indiscreetly allowed to make. Napoleon was informed that the Russian Generals, in spite of the deplorable state of their troops, relied fully on themselves; and that presumption, imprudence, and indiscretion reigned in their military councils. Availing himself of this intelligence, he issued orders for his army to retire, as if apprehensive of an engagement with so formidable an enemy. In order to strengthen this impression, the retreat was made under cover of the night, and the French army took up a strong position about ten miles in the rear of its former station. Here the troops began to throw up intrenchments, and to form batteries, as if for the purpose of defending themselves against the attacks of a hostile army. Every thing wore the appearance of alarm and confusion. When Prince Dobgoruski made his appearance, Buonaparte, as if anxious to conceal from the observation of the Prince, both the temper of his army, and the measures which he had adopted, received him, contrary to his general practice, at his out-posts. Preparations had been artfully made for this interview. Wherever the Russian directed his eye, he discovered the symptoms of anxiety and dismay. The troops were labouring with the utmost activity at the intrenchments, all the posts were doubled; every precaution seemed to be taken to guard against surprise; and so completely was the Aid-de-Camp of the Emperor Alexander impressed with the belief that the French army was on the eve of its ruin, that as a preliminary arrangement to pacification, he proposed to Buonaparte to place Belgium at the disposal of the allies, and to resign the throne of Italy to the King of Sardinia. These dispositions appear to have been attended with the desired effect. The confidence of the Russians increased; they considered the victory as secure, and were anxious only to prevent the escape of the enemy. The head-quarters of the Emperor of Russia, and the Emperor of Germany, were removed to Austerlitz, and M. de Kutusoff, the Commander-in-chief, ordered a powerful division to march to the left, for the purpose of turning the right flank of the French army. The confederates executed the orders of their Generalissimo in five columns. The first, under Lieutenant-General Dochtorow, took possession of the eminences of Klein-bostieradeck; and a regiment of chasseurs occupied Aujest, situated at the foot of the mountain near the lake of Menitz. The second, led by Lieutenant-General Langeron, posted itself on the heights of Pratzen to the right of the first column. The third, commanded by Lieutenant-General Pizibischewski, took its position on the same mountain to the right of the village of Pratzen. The fourth, under the orders of Lieutenant-General Kollowrath, partly intersected the heights from Auzterlitz to Brunn, and partly stationed itself in the rear of the third column. The fifth consisted of cavalry, and was under the direction of Prince John of Lichtenstein. It followed the course of the third column, behind which it was formed under the mountains. The Grand Duke Constantine drew up the reserve on the hills near Austerlitz, a little to the rear of the whole army; while Prince Bagration threw forward the advanced corps by Holubitz and Blasowitz; in order to give facility to the third and fourth columns in marching on their points of destination; and Lieutenant-General Kienmayer proceeded by Pratzen to the front of Aujest. The head-quarters were established at Krzenowitz. No attempt was made to interrupt these motions; and the enemy even withdrew his videttes as far as Telnitz and Sokolnitz. Buonaparte saw from the heigths of Schlapanitz with inexpressible joy, the whole of the movements of the allied army, and turning to his attendants repeatedly exclaimed, "Before to-morrow night that army will be in my power." This prediction proved too true. The Russians continued their march at a short distance along the front of the French lines. The enemy still preserved the same cautious and timid appearance; his troops remained inactive in their respective stations; and Murat, having advanced at the head of a small body of cavalry into the plain between the two armies, instantly retired with the utmost speed, as if astonished at the force and confounded by the movements of the allies. When the day had closed, Buonaparte determined to proceed on foot incognito through the several quarters of his camp, for the purpose of discovering the temper, dispositions, and opinions of his army. His person, however, was soon recognized, and in an instant lighted straw was raised upon a thousand poles. It was the eve of the anniversary of his coronation, and eighty thousand men presented themselves before him, and rent the skies with acclamations. Upon his return to his tent, he made the dispositions and issued the necessary orders for battle. Marshal Davoust was directed to march with the utmost expedition to Raygern, for the purpose of keeping the Russians in check upon the right, and General Gudin was ordered to advance at break of day, with his corps from Nicolsburgh, to oppose that part of the Russian division which should extend itself beyond the position of Davoust. The command of the right wing of the army which was stationed next to Davoust's corps, was entrusted to Marshal Soult. Marshal Bernadotte commanded the centre, and Marshal Lannes the left, the flank of the latter being protected by the position of Santon, strongly fortified and defended by eighteen pieces of cannon. The whole of the cavalry, under the command of Prince Murat, was posted between the left wing and the centre. Buonaparte himself, attended by Marshal Berthier, his Aid-de-camp, General Junot, and all his etat-major, commanded the reserve, which was composed of ten battalions of the imperial guard, and the ten battalions of the grenadiers of Oudinot, with forty pieces of cannon.

with the reserve, waited only for the horizon to clear up to issue his last orders. The sun appeared to be rising with extraordinary splendour, and held out the promise of a clear autumnal day. As soon as his first beams shot above the heights of Pratzen, the orders were issued, and each Marshal hastened to join his corps. Buonaparte, in passing along the front of several regiments, exclaimed: "Soldiers! we must finish this campaign by a thunder-bolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies." This appeal was received with extacy by the forces, who, placing their hats on the points of their bayonets, exclaimed, "Vive l'Empereur!" The sound of a furious cannonade drowned their acclamations. The engagement had begun on the right. The allies conceived that by passing the defiles in the neighbourhood of Sokolnitz, and the other villages, the right of the enemy would be effectually turned; and that by avoiding the formidable ravines, which would obstruct their manœuvres, they might have an opportunity of executing their further intentions with advantage in the plain between Schlapanitz and the wood of Turas. They then proposed to press sharply on the enemy's right flank, by attacking it vigorously with numerous and compact bodies of troops, in rapid succession. This movement was to be covered by the right of the allies, with the cavalry of Prince John of Lichtenstein, and the advanced corps under Prince Bagration. The five columns were then

head of the empire, and for his attachment to the general enemy of the civilized world.*

Such exertions, however, as depended, exclusively, on Great Britain, were eminently successful. In every quarter her fleets drove the enemy before them, and vindicated her right to rule,—the mistress of the sea. As early as the month of January, after having remained in port two years, a French squadron, consisting of six sail of the line, and two frigates, quitted the port of Rochefort, and ventured out to sea, with the view to unite itself with the more formidable force at Brest. On the 15th of the same month, the Toulon fleet,

---

then put in march for the heights, and the fortune of the day was made to depend on the success of this attempt to drive back the enemy's right wing. Lieutenant-General Kilnmayer, who was to force the hollow valley of Tellnitz, and open the route for the first column, lost both time and advantage by commencing the attack with an insufficient force. The Austrians had already been engaged about an hour, and had suffered greatly from the French sharp-shooters, who took advantage of the ground, covered as it was with vineyards, and intersected by wet ditches, before M. de Buxhovden, with the first column of the Russians, made his appearance. At length, however, he arrived, and detached a battalion to support the Austrians. At nine o'clock, the enemy was strengthened by 4,000 men, from the corps under Davoust, and took advantage of a thick fog, which suddenly obscured the valley, to regain the ground they had lost. When the mist cleared up, the French were driven back, and forced to abandon the plain between Tellnitz and Turas; but the communication between the first and second columns of the allied armies was not yet established; in consequence of which, it was found impossible to follow up this advantage. By this time, the second and third columns of Russians had quitted the heights of Pratzen, and approached to Sokolnitz. A blind rage seemed to actuate their movements; for without concerning themselves about the fourth column, and without attending to the offensive movements of the enemy, they thought of nothing but the first disposition, and continued their progress upon Sokolnitz; of which they took possession with little resistance after a long and useless cannonade. General Kutusoff, who never conceived the possibility of being attacked on the heights, although it is difficult to conjecture on what grounds his ill-fated security was constructed, was surprised in the midst of his combinations by an unexpected and vigorous assault on his centre, made by the massy columns which Buonaparte ordered to advance for that purpose. The faults committed by the Russian General, had not failed to strike his eagle-eyed adversary, who perceived the advantage to be drawn from the circuitous route that the left wing of the allies was obliged to take. This wing, which became every moment more distant from their centre, still marched forward with the most surprising want of attention to military combination. Bernadotte having crossed the rivulet by a narrow and ruinous bridge, attained the eminence of Blasowitz, supported by the cavalry of Murat, and by Lannes with his grand division.

From this time, the centre and right of the allies became engaged in all quarters. The confederates evinced no want of impetuous gallantry: several brilliant charges of cavalry were made on their part, which, owing to the precipitate courage of the Hulans, whose fiery temperament could not wait for the formation of the rest of the line, were very destructive to themselves as well as to their opponents. The centre of the allies, unsupported by the third column, had to sustain the fury of the French troops. Twelve thousand men were attacked by twice that number, and though the whole of the French army was inferior to that of the allies in strength, yet by a more happy arrangement of its force, its numbers were doubled on the point where the fate of the battle was to be decided. Field-Marshal Kutusoff conceiving himself to be the assailant, was confounded by these offensive operations; yet he felt all the importance of maintaining the heights of Pratzen. When he was informed that the adverse forces were so near, he gave orders to his troops to draw up in front; and at the same time, sent for a reinforcement of four regiments of dragoons, from the cavalry of Prince John of Lichtenstein. The French directed the march of their two compacted bodies of infantry, with great coolness and at a slow pace. A third corps commanded by Marshal Soult, now made its appearance on the right of Pratzen, and threatened to pierce through the intervals of the allies. To oppose this movement, the infantry of the fourth Russian column came up to support the advanced guard, which, being overpowered by numbers, abandoned its post. In the mean time, the enemy continued to advance, and by the immense superiority of his force, succeeded in making himself master of the heights. The Russian division, which had marched to the left, was thus completely separated from the main army; and it was evident that the battle was lost unless the communication could be restored. In this emergency, the imperial guard, commanded by the Archduke Constantine, was ordered to advance, and by its impetuous charge, for a moment arrested the progress of the enemy. Marshal Bessieres was ordered to hasten at the head of the French guards to repair this disaster. The two corps were soon engaged; the fate of the day depended upon the issue of this contest; and the struggle was fierce and desperate. The allies returned to the charge with increased fury, and were received by the French with a steady and well directed fire, which made dreadful carnage in the closely united ranks of the Russians. The ardour of this assault quickly evaporated. The superior numbers of the French, and their steadiness, soon changed it to a slow and uncertain pace, accompanied by ill-directed vollies from firelocks. The fourth Russian column now lost the heights of Pratzen, beyond the possibility of recovery, together with the greater part of its artillery, which was buried in the deep clay, which pervades that part of the country. The only expedient which remained, was retreat; and every possible exertion was made by the subordinate Generals to conduct it without confusion. The action on the heights of Pratzen continued nearly two hours. The fourth column marched upon Waschau, where it collected its battalions unmolested by the enemy. The Grand Duke Constantine, and General Ulanius, highly distinguished themselves with their cavalry; the latter in protecting and disengaging the right, and the former in covering both wings of the allies; but their corps suffered severely from the dexterity and rapid manœuvres of the sharp-shooters, and from a battery of eighteen pieces of cannon, which discharged an incessant and well-pointed shower of grape-shot, overwhelmed both men and horses in one common ruin, and occasioned a slaughter that neither courage nor numbers could withstand. The second and third columns had become entangled at Sokolnitz, during the fog, and mutually embarrassed each other. Part of the centre of the allies had already penetrated this village, where they were turned and cut off by General Franceschi, and compelled to surrender, while Lieutenant-General Przibischewski, who had the command of the third column, shared the fate of Prince Repnin, and was made prisoner in the valley together with 6000 men. Informed when it was too late, of the attack on the centre, Lieutenant-General Dochtorow intended to return to its support, but took a wrong direction; and perceiving the irretrievable posture of affairs, he retired upon Aujest, followed by the remains of the second column, which fell back on the first. No sooner had this part of the defeated army gained the village, than the enemy rushed like a mountain cataract upon the place, which he carried, and possessed himself of four thousand prisoners. Driven to desperation, many of the flying troops betook themselves to the lake, which was too slightly frozen to bear their weight; and the waters engulphed these lacerated and unhappy men, victims at the same moment of two opposite elements; for the French had by this time brought up their batteries of flying artillery, which at once swept the lake and plain with a continual fire. Before two o'clock in the afternoon, the action was decided along the rest of the line; when the division of Vandamme rapidly approached to confirm the general rout. Behind Tellnitz, is a hill of considerable altitude, the right of which extends to the lake. Thither the Russian infantry retired, still under the protection of the Austrian cavalry; which a perpetual cross fire of grape-shot cut down in all directions. Worn out with fatigue, the infantry continued to retire with tardy steps, and the cavalry had to maintain their ground for a long time. At length the enemy took possession of the hill, when the Austrian cavalry quitted it, and the former persevered in plying the fugitives with cannon shot, until they were out of the range of the guns. About 8000 men of the first and second columns were thus brought off, and marched the whole night by Boschowitz, under incessant and drenching rain, which rendered the roads nearly impassable. The artillery, except that appertaining to the brave regiment of O'Reilly, was of course all lost in the retreat. Buonaparte possessed himself of the ground on which the allies had been drawn up on the preceding night. The two Emperors having exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to repair the disasters of the battle, retired in the evening to Hodiegitz, behind Austerlitz, with the wretched remains of their army. The Austrian cavalry posted some detachments before Austerlitz, and acted as the rear guard of the allies.

The loss in this engagement fell principally upon the Russians, and is said by the enemy, to have amounted to 32,000 in killed and wounded, and 20,000 prisoners. In opposition, however, to this statement, it was asserted, in the official account afterwards published at St. Petersburgh, that the entire loss in the campaign, did not exceed on the part of the Russians 17,000 men. The two commanders Kutusoff and Buxhovden, with several other Generals, and a great number of officers of rank were wounded; numbers were among the slain, and many were taken prisoners. One hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, and forty standards, fell into the hands of the enemy. This battle, which was styled by the French soldiers, "The battle of the three Emperors," and by Napoleon "the battle of Austerlitz," terminated the campaign and the war. On the 4th, two days after the engagement, an interview took place at the French advanced posts, between Napoleon and the Emperor of Austria, and an armistice was agreed upon, in which it was stipulated that the Russian army, should within a limited time withdraw from the territories of Austria. Count Haugwitz, the Prussian ambassador, had arrived at Vienna on the 30th of November; and shortly afterwards set out for the head-quarters of the French army, at Brunn. Buonaparte, in his conferences with this minister, expressed the warmest esteem and attachment for Prussia, and his earnest desire to preserve peace with that country. The fate of the war with the allied powers was already decided; Count Haugwitz saw the necessity of relaxing from his demands; and this dispute which had promised such important consequences to Europe was speedily adjusted. One of the principal stipulations of the treaty concluded upon this occasion, secured the eventual cession of Hanover to Prussia, in exchange for some of her detached and more remote dependencies.

* The provisions of this memorable treaty were, that the Venetian territory should be united in perpetuity to the kingdom of Italy; that the royal title, which had been assumed by the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemburg, should be acknowledged by the Emperor;—that the margraviate of Burgau, the principality of Eichstadt, the part of the territory of Passau, belonging to the Elector of Saltzburg, the country of the Tyrol, comprehending the principalities of Brixen and Botzen, and the seven Lordships of the Voralberg, the county of Hohenems, the county of Konigsegg-Rothenfels, the Lordships of Tetnang and Argen, and the town and territory of Lindau, should be ceded

fleet, consisting of eleven sail of the line, and two frigates, with 9,000 troops on board, following the example of the Rochefort fleet, pushed out to sea without being perceived by the blockading squadron, under Lord Nelson. After a short cruise, the Toulon fleet was obliged again to put into port through stress of weather. But in the West Indies, an attack was made on the island of Dominica by a French force, consisting of one three decker, four seventy-fours, and some frigates. On the 22d of February, a landing was attempted between the town of Roseau and the post of Cacherow by the enemy's force, consisting of 4,000 men, under General le Grange, embarked in nineteen large barges, attended and protected by an armed schooner full of men, and seven other boats carrying carronades. Brigadier-General Prevost, the Governor, made the most judicious dispositions for the defence of the island, and with the small force under his command, resisted the landing of the enemy inch by inch. The town of Roseau, after withstanding a vigorous cannonade from the enemy's ships, accidentally took fire, and was obliged to capitulate. But the British General, by a forced march, made good his retreat to St. Rupert's. In this situation he was in vain summoned to surrender, and the French commander-in-chief, finding the conquest so much more difficult than he had anticipated, abandoned the island, but not till he had levied a heavy contribution on the inhabitants of Roseau.—Pursuing this predatory system of warfare, the French fleet visited the islands of St. Nevis and St. Kitt's, both of which were laid under contributions. The arrival of Admiral Cochrane in the West Indies soon determined the conduct of this marauding squadron, which precipitately sailed for France, where it arrived in safety.

The alarm created in the public mind, respecting the proceedings of the Rochefort squadron in the West Indies had scarcely subsided, when that feeling was again awakened in a more powerful degree by the arrival of certain information, that Admiral Villeneuve had again put to sea. On the 30th of March, this officer sailed to Carthagena with the intention of strengthening himself by the Spanish ships of the line in that port, but not finding them in a state of sufficient readiness, he continued his course unmolested to Cadiz. Having been joined there by one French and six Spanish sail of the line, he directly steered to the West Indies, with an accumulated force of eighteen sail of the line, carrying beside their full complement of seamen, and in a perfect state of equipment, 10,000 veteran troops.

On the approach of Villeneuve to Cadiz, Admiral Sir John Orde, charged with the blockade of that port, with five British ships of the line, thought it prudent to retire, and succeeded in joining the English fleet off Brest under Lord Gardener. The welcome account, however, soon arrived, that Lord Nelson had left the Mediterranean, and was in pursuit of the enemy to the West Indies. Lord Nelson, it is true, had with him only ten ships of the line to oppose the force of the hostile squadrons, but his name was a tower of strength, on which the community placed the firmest reliance. The expedition of Lord Nelson had been such that on the 15th of May, he was twenty leagues to the eastward of Madeira, and on the 4th of June, he came to anchor in Carlisle Bay, off Barbadoes. Here his Lordship learnt, that the combined fleet under Admiral Villeneuve, had arrived at Martinique on the 14th of May, but that the Diamond Rock was the only conquest hitherto achieved by this powerful armament. Notice was soon after received that the combined fleets, after remaining some time at Martinique, had sailed for Europe, and that Lord Nelson was in pursuit of them. Sanguine hopes were now entertained that the enemy would be intercepted by Sir Robert Calder, or Admiral Collingwood, before he could reach any friendly port. Accordingly, on the 22d of July, the hostile fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line, three fifty gun ships, five frigates, and two brigs, fell in with Sir Robert Calder's squadron, amounting to no more than fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger, six leagues west of Cape Finisterre. Sir Robert, notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, immediately attacked the enemy, and after an engagement of four hours, in which he displayed the greatest gallantry and skill, succeeded in taking two ships of the line, the St. Raphael, of eighty-four guns, and El Firme, of seventy-four. He then judged it expedient to put a stop to the action, in order that his squadron might cover his captures. During the whole day, the enemy had the advantage of wind and weather. The night was spent by both fleets in the necessary repairs, and the following morning the enemy seemed disposed to renew the action, but he never approached nearer the British lines than four leagues. At night the fleets were about six leagues asunder; and when the day broke on the 24th, the enemy was seen steering away to the south-east, which course he kept till he disappeared at about six o'clock in the evening. In England, the conduct of Sir Robert Calder became the subject of the most unreserved disapprobation; and the court-martial, which sat in judgment upon Sir Robert, sentenced him to be severely reprimanded "For not having done his utmost to take and to destroy every ship of the enemy, which it was his duty to engage." On this point, however, a more liberal, and a more just opinion was afterwards established, in favour of this truly gallant but unfortunate officer.

The combined fleets collected at Cadiz, under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, were now known to be in the most active state of refitment. Scarcely had Lord Nelson arrived in London, after his long and persevering cruise, when he was offered the command of an armament, to be prepared immediately, of sufficient force to cope with the united naval force of France and her allies. His Lordship, without a moment's hesitation, embraced the opportunity of again bearing his country's flag. Invested with this high and distinguished command, his Lordship quitted England on the 16th of September, in his flag ship the Victory, accompanied by the Ajax and Defiance, of seventy-four guns each, the Agamemnon, of sixty-four, and a frigate, and on the 29th of the same month arrived off Cadiz. Here his Lordship was received by the officers and crews of the fleet with the most gratifying enthusiasm; and the first object of his wishes appears to have been to induce the enemy to quit the port and to come out to sea. In consequence of this design he never kept more than seven or eight sail of the line before Cadiz, remaining himself with the rest of his forces near Cape St. Mary, while a line of frigates were formed to communicate with the several divisions of the armament.

---

ceded to the King of Bavaria:—that the five cities of the Danube, to wit, Ehingen, Munderkingen, Reidlingen, Mengen, and Sulgaw, with their dependencies, the city of Constance excepted, and a part of the Brisgaw, should be ceded to the King of Wurtemburg; and the remainder of the Brisgaw, the Otensaw, the city of Constance, and the commandery of Meinau, to the Elector of Baden; that the King of Bavaria should be allowed to occupy the city of Augsburg with its territory, and unite it to his other dominions, and that the King of Wurtemburg should be permitted to do the same with respect to the county of Bondoff. It was on the other hand stipulated in favour of the Emperor, that the county of Saltzburg, and that of Berchtolsgaden, belonging to the Archduke Ferdinand, should be incorporated with the Austrian empire; and Napoleon engaged to procure, as an equivalent for that Prince, the cession by the King of Bavaria of the principality of Wurtzburg. It was also agreed, in conformity with the declaration made by Napoleon, at the moment when he assumed the crown of Italy, that as soon as the parties named in that declaration should have fulfilled the conditions which it expressed, the crowns of France and Italy should be separated for ever, and should not in any case be united on the same head. It was further stipulated, that the prisoners of war taken on both sides, should be restored within forty days from the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty; that in ten days from the same date, the armies of France and her allies, should evacuate Moravia, Bohemia, the Viertel Unter Viennner Wald, the Viertel Unter Manhartsburg, Hungary, and the whole of Styria; in the ten following days, they should evacuate the Viertel Vienner Wald, and the Viertel Ober Manhartsburg; and that finally, in the space of two months from the exchange of the ratifications, they should withdraw from the whole of the hereditary states, with the exception of Brannau, which should remain for one month at the disposal of the French, as a place of depot for the sick and for the artillery. This treaty was signed at Presburg, on the 26th of December, and ratified by Buonaparte on the following day; after which he immediately proceeded to Munich, on his return to France.

The

The Admirals of the blockaded squadron had been ordered to put to sea, in case their opponents should be weakened by detachments, or compelled by the weather to quit the station. It was supposed to be their intention to collect in their cruise the squadron at Carthagena, and to make for Toulon; where their number of ships would have been increased to between forty and fifty sail of the line, with which it was conjectured to be the enemy's intention to prevent the British and Russian troops in Malta and Corfu from co-operating with the allied forces in Italy and Germany. On the 19th of October, Lord Nelson dispatched Admiral Louis with six sail of the line to Tetuan for stores and water. Informed of this event, and supposing the English to be much reduced in strength, Admiral Villeneuve availed himself of the favourable juncture to obey the positive commands which had been issued by his government. On the next day the fleet under his command got under weigh, and at day break on the 21st, was distinctly seen from the Victory's deck, formed in a close line of battle off Cape Trafalgar, about twelve miles to leeward of the British fleet, and standing to the south. Our fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, and four frigates; theirs of thirty-three sail of the line, and seven frigates, and their superiority was greater in size and weight of metal than in numbers. Admiral Villeneuve was a skilful seaman, and his plan of defence was as well conceived, and as original as the plan of attack. The Spaniards were commanded by Admiral Gravina; and 4,000 troops were embarked on board the fleet, under the command of General Contamin, among whom were several of the most skilful sharp-shooters that could be selected, and many Tyrolese riflemen. Lord Nelson, confident of a triumphant issue, asked Captain Blackwood, on the morning of the 21st, what he should consider a victory? and being answered that from the situation of the land he should think it would be a glorious result if fourteen of the enemy's ships were captured, he replied, "I shall not be satisfied with less than twenty." Soon afterwards he asked the Captain if he did not think there was a signal wanting. Captain Blackwood said, he thought that the whole fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about. These words were scarcely spoken before the signal was made, which will be as imperishable as the achievements of the British navy itself; it was Lord Nelson's last signal—"England expects every man to do his duty." The shout with which this inspiring sentiment was received was truly sublime. "Now," said Lord Nelson, "I can do no more. We must trust to the great disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty." He then retired to his cabin, and wrote the following prayer:—"May the great God whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory: and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet! For myself individually, I commit my life to him that made me; and may his blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully! To him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend.—Amen, Amen, Amen."

His Lordship made the signal for the British fleet to bear up in two columns, as they formed in the order of sailing; a mode of attack which he had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy formed with great closeness and correctness; and as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new; it formed a crescent convexing to leeward; so that in leading down to their centre, Lord Collingwood had both their van and rear abaft the beam. Before the fire opened, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second a-head and a-stern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the Bucentaure in the centre, and the Prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed, without any apparent regard to order of national squadron. As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag officers and Captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down. The commander-in-chief, in the Victory, led the weather column, and the Royal Sovereign, which bore Lord Collingwood's flag, the lee. Lord Collingwood, the second in command, having the entire direction of his line, was to break through the enemy about the twelfth ship from their rear: Lord Nelson was to lead through the centre, and the advanced squadron was to cut off three or four a-head from the centre. This plan was adapted to the strength of the enemy, so that they should always be one-fourth superior to those whom they cut off. The two columns of the British fleet continued to advance, with light airs, and all sails set towards the van and centre of the enemy, whose line extended about N.N.E. and S.S.W.

In order to cut off any possibility of the enemy's escaping to Cadiz, Lord Nelson steered about two points more to the north than Admiral Collingwood, owing to which the leading ships of the lee line were the first engaged. The Royal Sovereign and her line of battle steered for the centre. At half-past eleven A. M. the enemy began to fire on the Royal Sovereign, "See," exclaimed Nelson, "how that noble fellow, Collingwood, carries his ship into action!" In ten minutes afterwards the Royal Sovereign opened her fire, and cut through the enemy's line a-stern of the Spanish Santa Anna, of 112 guns, engaging her at the muzzle of her guns on the starboard side; when, being delighted at having got into action, Collingwood, turning to his Captain, said, "Rotherham, what would Nelson give to be here?" The weather column, led on by Lord Nelson, had, in the mean while, advanced towards the enemy's van; flags had been hoisted on different parts of the Victory's rigging by his orders, lest a shot should carry away her ensign. The Santissima Trinadada, and Bucentaure, are described as having been the ninth and tenth ships, but as the enemy's Admirals did not shew their flags, the former ship was only distinguished from the rest by having four decks; and to the bow of this formidable opponent Lord Nelson ordered the Victory to be steered. The enemy at first displayed considerable coolness; and as the Victory approached, such of the ships as were a-head of her began frequently to fire single guns, in order to ascertain whether she was within range, when a shot having passed through the main-gallant sail of the Victory, a tremendous fire was opened upon her. The coolness that was preserved by his crew, was noticed with much satisfaction by Lord Nelson, and he declared, that in all his battles he had seen nothing that could surpass it. The Victory had lost about twenty men killed, and thirty wounded, before she returned a shot: her mizen-top-mast, and all her studding sails, and their booms on both sides, had been shot away, when, at four minutes past twelve she opened her larboard guns on the enemy's van. Captain Hardy soon afterwards informed the Admiral that it would be impossible to break through the enemy's line without running on board one of their ships, and begged to know which he would prefer.—"Take your choice, Hardy," replied he, "it does not much signify which." The tiller ropes of the Victory being afterwards shot away, she ran on board the Redoubtable, which coming along side, fired a broadside into the Victory, and immediately let down her lower-deck ports; which was done to prevent her being boarded through them by the Victory's crew; nor were they again opened. A few minutes after this, the Temeraire fell likewise on board of the Redoubtable, on the side opposite to the Victory, having also an enemy's ship on board of her on her other side: so that the extraordinary and unprecedented circumstance occurred here, of four ships of the line being on board each other in the heat of battle, forming as compact a tier as if they had been moored together, their heads all lying the

the same way. The Victory then passing a-stern of the Bucentaure, hauled upon her starboard side, and pouring in a dreadful broadside, stood for the Admiral's old opponent, the Santissima Trinadada, playing her larboard guns on both ships, whilst the starboard guns of the middle and lower decks were depressed, and fired with a diminished charge of powder and three shot each, into the Redoubtable. This mode of firing was adopted by Lieutenants Williams, King, Yule, and Browne, to obviate the danger of the Temeraire's suffering from the Victory's shot passing through the Redoubtable, which must have been the case, if the usual quantity of powder, and the common elevation had been given to the guns. A circumstance occurred in this situation, which shewed in a most striking manner the cool intrepidity of the officers and men stationed on the lower deck of the Victory. When the guns on that deck were run out, their muzzles came in contact with the Redoubtable's side, and at every discharge there was reason to fear that the enemy's ship would take fire, and both the Victory and the Temeraire be involved in her flames. The fire-man of each gun stood ready with a bucket full of water, which, as soon as the gun was discharged, he dashed into the French ship through the holes made in her side by the shot.

Owing to the judicious mode which Lord Nelson had adopted, his fast sailing ships, like sharp-shooters in an army, had half gained the battle before the slow sailing ones came up to their support, which, as a corps of reserve, soon determined the day. What the genius of Nelson so ably planned, the British fleet fully executed. The superiority of their seamen was very manifest throughout the action; for the enemy's fleet, by keeping with the wind nearly on their beam, lay in a trough in the sea, and rolled considerably, so that one broadside passed over, and the next fell short of their opponents. In the first heat of the action, Mr. Scott, the Admiral's secretary, was killed by a cannon ball, while in conversation with Captain Hardy, and near to Lord Nelson. Captain Adair, of the marines, who soon afterwards fell, endeavoured to remove the mangled body, but not till it had attracted the notice of the Admiral, who very feelingly said, "Is that poor Scott who is gone?" In a few minutes a shot struck the fore-brace lists on the quarter-deck, and passing between Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy, drove off some splinters, which bruised the Captain's foot. They looked at each other, when Nelson, whom no danger could affect, smiled, and said, "This is too warm work, Hardy, to last."

The Redoubtable had for some time commenced a heavy fire of musquetry from her tops, which, like those of the enemy's other ships, were filled with riflemen. At fifteen minutes past one, and a quarter of an hour before the Redoubtable struck, Lord Nelson, and Captain Hardy, were observed to be walking near the middle of the quarter-deck: the Admiral had just commended the manner in which one of his ships near him was fought: Captain Hardy advanced from him to give some directions; and his Lordship was in the act of turning, near the hatch-way, with his face towards the stern, when a musquet ball struck him on the left shoulder, and entering through the epaulette, passed through the spine, and lodged in the muscles of the back, towards the right side. Nelson instantly fell with his face on the deck, in the very place that was covered with the blood of his secretary. Captain Hardy turning round, saw the serjeant of marines, Secker, with two seamen, raising him from the deck: "Hardy," said his Lordship, "I believe they have done it at last, my back bone is shot through." Some of the crew immediately bore the Admiral to the cockpit, and several wounded officers, and about forty men, were carried below at the same time. He was met at the foot of the cockpit ladder by Mr. Burke, the purser, who, with the assistance of a marine, conveyed him with some difficulty over the bodies of the wounded and dying men, and placed him on a pallet, in the midshipmen's birth, on the larboard side. Mr. Beatty was then called, and soon afterwards the Rev. Mr. Scott attended; and his Lorship's clothes were taken off, that the direction of the ball might be the better ascertained. "You can be of no use to me, Beatty," said Lord Nelson; "go and attend those whose lives can be preserved." As the blood flowed internally from the wound, the lower cavity of the body gradually filled; Lord Nelson therefore constantly desired Mr. Burke to raise him, and complaining of an excessive thirst, was supplied by the clergyman with lemonade. In this state of suffering, with nothing but havock, death, and misery around him, the spirit of Nelson remained unsubdued. His mind continued intent on the great object that was always before him—his duty to his country. Under the influence of this feeling, he anxiously enquired for Captain Hardy, to know whether the annihilation of the enemy might be depended on; but it was upwards of an hour before that officer could, at this momentous crisis, leave the deck, and Lord Nelson became apprehensive that his brave associate was dead. The crew of the Victory were now heard to cheer, and he anxiously demanded the cause, when Lieutenant Pasco, who lay wounded near him, said, that one of the enemy's ships had struck; a gleam of joy lighted up the countenance of the dying hero, and as the crew repeated their cheers, and marked the progress of the victory, his satisfaction visibly increased. When Captain Hardy came down from the deck, Lord Nelson anxiously said, "How goes the day with us, Hardy?" "Ten ships, my Lord, have struck." "But none of ours, I hope." "There is no fear, my dear Lord, of that. Five of their van have tacked, and shown an intention of bearing down upon us; but I have called some of our fresh ships round the Victory, and have no doubt of your complete success." Having said this, Captain Hardy found himself unable any longer to support the yearnings of a brave and affectionate heart, and withdrew from the cabin. Some time afterwards, Lord Nelson was again visited by the surgeon. "I find," said he, "something rising in my breast, which tells me I shall soon be gone. God be praised that I have done my duty. My pain is so severe that I devoutly wish to be released." When the firing from the Victory had in some measure ceased, and the glorious result of the day was accomplished, Captain Hardy immediately visited the dying chief, and reported that fourteen or fifteen of the enemy's vessels had struck. "God be praised, Hardy," said he, "bring the fleet to an anchor." Captain Hardy was again returning to the deck, when the Admiral called him back to deliver his last injunctions, and desired that his body might be carried home, and to be buried with the remains of his father and mother. He then took Captain Hardy by the hand, and observing, that he would most probably not see him again alive, he took a last and affectionate farewell of his bosom friend. His voice, then, gradually became inarticulate, with an evident increase of pain, when after a feeble struggle, these last words were distinctly heard—"I have done my duty, I praise God for it." Having said this, he turned his face to Mr. Burke, on whose arm he had been supported, and expired without a groan. Such was the end of this great man, whose career had been eminently useful and brilliant, and whose fate was glorious and triumphant.* When his Lordship was seen to fall, the crew of the Santissima

* Horatio Nelson was the fourth son of the Rev. Edward Nelson. He was born on the 29th of September, 1758, at Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, of which place his father was rector. He began his education at Norwich school, was afterwards removed to North Waltham, and at the age of twelve, he entered on board the Raisonable, of 64 guns, under his maternal uncle Captain Maurice Suckling. He rose to the rank of Lieutenant in April 1777, and was immediately employed as second of the Lowestoffe, of 32 guns, on the Jamaica station. In June, 1779, he obtained, under Admiral Sir Peter Parker, the appointment of Post Captain, and the command of the Hinchinbroke; and when an attack was expected on Jamaica from the French forces under D'Estaing, he was entrusted with the care of the batteries of Port Royal, and the defence of Kingston and Spanish Town. In the attack made in 1780, upon Fort Juan, in the gulf of Mexico, his perseverance

DEATH OF LORD NELSON.

NAVAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Santissima Trinadada testified their joy by a shout of triumph. Their exultation was short; for they were compelled to strike to British valour.

The Victory finished her honourable course with the capture of a third ship. In the mean time Admiral Collingwood had closely engaged the rear of the enemy; and contributed in no slight degree to the renown of the British flag.* Success was no longer doubtful; by three in the afternoon, the line of the combined forces had given way, and many of their ships were either destroyed or taken. It is but justice to add, that both the French and the Spaniards fought gallantly. Several of the English ships were assailed by two antagonists at a time. Among these, the Temeraire was boarded on one side by the Spaniards, and on the other by the French. The double swarm poured in multitudes on the quarter-deck, rushed to the flag staff, tore down the colours, and hoisted their own. The spirit of Britons was roused by this daring exploit. The crew of the Temeraire, after an animated struggle, cleared the decks of the enemy, dashed away the hostile ensigns, and again elevated the proud standard of naval sovereignty with loud huzzas. Captains Fremantle, Conn, Harwood, and the Earl of Northesk, particularly distinguished themselves in this celebrated battle; and indeed every officer and seaman of the fleet in his performance exceeded the orders of the commander-in-chief, conveyed in the ever memorable signal—England expects every man to do his duty. Before the battle began, Lord Nelson entertained a presentiment that this would be the last day of his life, and seemed to look for death with almost as sure an expectation as for victory. But although this gloomy foreboding occupied his mind, and though he had more than once observed, that the enemy would endeavour to mark him out as one of their victims; yet his Lordship, on the morning of the 21st, put on the stars of the different orders with which he had been invested. His secretary and chaplain, apprehensive that these insignia might expose his person to unnecessary danger, endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon him to take them off. To all their entreaties, he replied—"In honour I gained them, and in honour I will die with them."

The Spanish Admiral Gravina, with ten sail, joined by the frigates to leeward, made for Cadiz. The five leading ships of the enemy's van tacked, and standing to the south, to windward of the British, were engaged and the sternmost taken. The others escaped, leaving to his Majesty's fleet nineteen ships of the line, of which two were first rates, the Santissima Trinidada, and the Santa Anna, with the three flag officers. These were Admiral Villeneuve; Don Ignatio Maria d'Aliva, Vice-Admiral; and the Spanish Rear-Admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros. General Conta-

perseverance was of infinite benefit to the public service. Here the unfortunate Colonel, then Captain Despard, gallantly supported him in the attack, and after storming the battery, they fought and defeated the Spaniards with their own guns. The next ship which he commanded was the Janus, of 44 guns, and soon after he was removed to the Albermarle, and continued on the American station with Sir Samuel Hood till the peace. In 1783 he visited France, and the next year he was appointed to the Boreas of 28 guns, at the Leeward islands, and during his continuance on this station he married (March 1787,) Frances Herbert Nisbit, widow of Dr. Nisbit, of Nevis, and daughter of W. Herbert, Esq. senior judge of that island, then only in her nineteenth year. He returned to England (Nov. 1787) and retired to Burnham Thorpe, in the bosom of domestic happiness, till 1793, when he obtained the command of the Agamemnon, of 64 guns, and joined Lord Hood in the Mediterranean, where he assisted at the taking of Toulon, and at the siege of Bastia, in which he superintended the disembarkation of the troops, and ably commanded the batteries. He afterwards had a gallant encounter with five French ships of war, and then supported the siege of Calvi, where he lost the sight of his right eye, in consequence of some particles of sand being violently driven against it by one of the shots of the enemy's batteries. Under the next commander, Lord Hotham, he continued to distinguish himself, particularly in the engagements with the French fleet, on the 15th of March, in July, 1795, and in the blockade of Genoa. When Admiral Jervis succeeded in the Mediterranean command, Captain Nelson removed from the Agamemnon to the Captain, of 74 guns, soon after obtained a commodore's pendant, and was employed in the blockade of Leghorn, and the taking of Porto Ferrajo. On his passage to Gibraltar, in the Minerva frigate, he fell in with two Spanish frigates, one of which, the Sabine, of 40 guns, he took, and sailing immediately to join Admiral Jervis, he was pursued by two ships of the Spanish fleet, a circumstance which was quickly communicated to the commander-in-chief, and in a few hours produced a general action. In this memorable fight, on the 14th of February, 1797, in which fifteen English ships defeated a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven ships, and took four three deckers, the commodore behaved with his usual gallantry. In the Captain, to which he had shifted his flag, he attacked the Santissima Trinadada, of 140 guns, and passing to the St. Nicholas, of 80 guns, and then to the San Joseph, of 112 guns, he had the happiness to see both these ships strike. For his gallant conduct on this occasion, he was created Knight of the Bath, and in April 1797, he was made Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and appointed to the command of the inner squadron in the blockade of Cadiz. After making some vigourous, but unsuccessful attacks on the town, he was sent by Lord St. Vincent, to take the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, but though he obtained possession of the place for seven hours, he was unable to reduce the citadel, and was permitted to retire unmolested to his fleet. During this desperate attack he lost his right arm, which was shattered by a shot, but his life was preserved by the attention of his son-in-law, Captain Nisbit, who, during the darkness of the night, missed him from his side, and returning, found him exhausted on the ground, and carried him safe on his back to the shore, where a boat conveyed him to his ship. In consequence of his wound, Sir Horatio received a pension of 1000*l.* and in the memorial which, according to custom, he presented to his Majesty on the occasion, he declared that in the glorious services in which he had been employed, he had been engaged with the enemy upwards of one hundred and twenty times.(a) Amongst other marks of public favour, he received the freedom of the city of London in a gold box, worth one hundred guineas. He soon after joined, in the Vanguard, Lord St. Vincent, and was sent up the Mediterranean to watch the motions of the French ships, which were ready to convey Buonaparte to the invasion of Egypt. Notwithstanding his vigilance, the fleet escaped, but he sailed in its pursuit, and after returning from the Egyptian shores to Sicily, almost in despair, he again hastened to the mouth of the Nile, and to the general joy of his fleet, descried the enemy moored in the bay of Aboukir. Here he obtained one of the most splendid and important naval victories recorded in history, and as a reward for his services was created a Baron, by the title of Nelson of the Nile. On his return to Naples, he removed the royal family from the violent popular commotions which seemed to threaten their safety, and even their lives, and in July 1799, in consequence of the success of the Russian arms in Italy, he had the satisfaction to convey them back from Palermo to their capital, and to replace the monarch on his throne. On his return home he was received with enthusiastic joy by every rank of society. He had, indeed, every earthly blessing except domestic happiness; that he had forfeited for ever. Before he had been three months in England he separated from Lady Nelson. This was the consequence of his infatuated attachment to Lady Hamilton, the widow of Sir William Hamilton, who, next to his country, occupied his thoughts, and absorbed his affections even in the hour of death. Lord Nelson was soon after called away to break that confederacy which the capricious politics of the Emperor of Russia had formed with Denmark and Sweden against this country; and, for his services on that occasion, he was created a Viscount, and his honours made hereditary in his family. On the re-commencement of hostilities, in 1803, he was summoned from his retreat at Merton, to take the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean. His last glorious services have been just described. The remains of the hero of Trafalgar, were brought in his own ship, the Victory, to the mouth of the Thames, and conveyed to Greenwich, and on the 6th of the following January, they were deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral, with all the pomp and solemnity, the tributes of regret and of affection, which a grateful nation could pay to a departed conqueror. His brother, the heir of his honours, was raised to the dignity of an earldom, with a grant of 6000*l.* a year, 10,000*l.* each was voted to his two sisters, and 100,000*l.* for the purchase of an estate to perpetuate the memory of the conqueror, and the gratitude of England.

(a) The following memorial is a document too curious to be omitted:—"To the King's most excellent Majesty, the memorial of Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. and a Rear-Admiral in your Majesty's fleet, sheweth, that during the present war, your memorialist has been in four actions with the fleets of the enemy, namely, on the 13th and 14th of March, 1795, on the 13th of July, 1795, and the 14th of February, 1797, in three actions with frigates, in six engagements against batteries, in ten actions in boats employed in cutting out of harbours, in destroying vessels, and in taking three towns. Your memorialist has also served on shore with the army four months, and commanded the batteries at the siege of Bastia and Calvi. That during the war he has assisted at the capture of seven sail of the line, six frigates, four corvettes, and eleven privateers of different sizes, and taken and destroyed nearly fifty sail of merchant vessels, and your memorialist has actually been engaged against the enemy upwards of one hundred and twenty times. In which service your memorialist has lost his right eye and arm, and been severely wounded, and bruised in his body. All of which services and wounds your memorialist most humbly submits to your Majesty's most gracious consideration.

October 1797. (Signed) "NELSON."

* Captain Duff, of the Mars; and Captain Cooke, of the Bellerophon, both fell in the service of their country on this memorable occasion.

min, the commander of the troops embarked, was also taken in the Bucentaure. By some mismanagement of the crew, the Achille, a French seventy-four, after her surrender took fire and blew up; but two hundred of her men were saved by the tenders. The Spanish Vice-Admiral d'Aliva died of his wounds; but Admiral Villeneuve was sent to England, and afterwards permitted to return to France, where, as the French government assert, he destroyed himself, dreading the consequences of a court-martial. It is generally believed, however, that he was assassinated, by the orders of Buonaparte.

The total British loss, on this occasion, amounted to 423 killed, and 1,064 wounded. Twenty of the enemy's vessels struck; but a gale of wind coming on from the south-west, fifteen of the prizes went down, one effected its escape into Cadiz, and four only were saved. The wounded Spaniards were sent on shore, on an assurance that they would not serve again till regularly exchanged; and the Spaniards, with a generous feeling, which would not, perhaps, have been found in any other people, offered the use of their hospitals for the wounded British seamen, pledging the honour of Spain, that they should there receive all possible care and attention.

The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were conferred upon the officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet; gold medals were awarded to those who had particularly distinguished themselves on this memorable day; and in addition to the honours and rewards showered down upon the family of the fallen hero, the dignity of Baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with an annuity of 2,000*l.* a year, to himself and his two next heirs, was conferred upon Vice-Admiral Collingwood, by the style and title of Baron Collingwood of Caldburne and Hethpoole, in the county of Northumberland.

The four French ships under Rear-Admiral Dumanoir, which escaped to the southward towards the close of the action of Trafalgar, after a short respite shared the fate of their companions. On the night of the 2d of November, Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, cruising off Ferrol, with four ships of the line and three frigates, fell in with what he thought the Rochefort squadron, but they proved to be the fugitives from the combined fleet, to which he immediately gave chase. A little before noon on the 4th, Dumanoir, finding an engagement unavoidable, came to close action; and after a well supported contest, continued for nearly three hours and a half, all the four ships struck to the English, but not till they had become quite unmanageable. These ships proved to be the Formidable, of 80 guns, and the Mont Blanc, Scipion, and Duguay Trouin, of 74 guns each, on board of all of which the slaughter had been very great, but the loss on board the English ships amounted only to 24 killed, and 111 wounded. Thus was the naval power of France and her ally reduced to insignificance. The phantoms of "ships, colonies, and commerce," which had floated before the imagination of Buonaparte, were chased from the regions of probability, and Britain was confirmed in her paramount dominion of the seas.

A. D. 1806.] Parliament met on the 21st day of January; and as the state of his Majesty's sight did not permit him to deliver his speech from the throne, that assembly was opened by commission. The Lord Chancellor read the speech from the throne. Its principal topics were congratulations on the splendour of our late naval successes, mixed with suitable expressions of regret for the lamented death of the hero by whom they were achieved. His Majesty next informed Parliament that he had directed the treaties concluded with foreign powers to be laid before them; and while he lamented the late disastrous events on the continent, he congratulated the two Houses of Parliament, on the assurances which he continued to receive from the Emperor of Russia, of that monarch's determination to adhere to his alliance with Britain. He next signified to the House that he had directed the sum of one million sterling, accruing to the crown from the droits of Admiralty, to be applied to the public service of the year; and concluded by recommending vigilance and exertion against the enemy, as by such means alone the present contest could be brought to a happy consummation.

The address was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Essex, seconded by Lord Carleton; and in the House of Commons by Lord Francis Spencer, seconded by Mr. Ainslie. An amendment to the address was read in the Peers by Earl Cowper, and in the Commons by Lord Henry Petty, but on account of the dangerous indisposition of Mr. Pitt, who was at that moment on his death-bed, the amendment was not in either House proposed as a motion. Mr. Pitt, it appeared, had left Bath on the 10th of January, and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of London, on the day following, had taken up his residence at his own house, on Putney Heath. His health had been for some time in the most alarming state. He was emaciated in the extreme, reduced to the greatest possible debility, and as the functions of his stomach no longer performed their office, little hope was entertained of the re-establishment of his health. In this deplorable situation, symptoms of typhus supervened; his pulse rose to one hundred and thirty; and he was occasionally delirious, but in general drowsy and lethargic.

A constitution so exhausted by previous disease, sunk rapidly, and at a quarter past four o'clock on the morning of the 23d of January, he expired.* His death, at so critical a juncture, was considered as a virtual

* Of the life of this great and distinguished statesman, who forms so conspicuous a figure in our history, the following brief sketch may be acceptable:—The Right Hon. William Pitt, second son of William, Earl of Chatham, was born at Hayes, the 28th of May, 1759. From his earliest years he was instructed by his father, who foresaw the future elevation of his son, and taught him to argue with logical precision, and to speak with elegance, correctness, and force. He was afterwards under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, and at the proper age he was admitted member of Pembroke hall, Cambridge, where he had for his tutors Dr. Turner, since Dean of Norwich, and Dr. Prettyman, now Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln. Under the guidance of these able men, he rapidly matured his knowledge of classical literature, and of mathematics, and he left the university with the degree of M. A. and a high character for application, for abilities, and for correctness and propriety of deportment. He next entered as student at Lincoln's Inn, was called to the bar, and afterwards went once or twice on the western circuit, where he was occasionally employed as junior counsel. At the general election, in 1780, he was proposed as member for Cambridge University, but few seconded his pretensions, and on the 23d of January, in the following year, he obtained a seat for Appleby, on the interest of Sir J. Lowther. He enlisted on the side of opposition against Lord North and the American war; and his first speech, which was in support of Mr. Burke's bill for economical reform, displayed that commanding eloquence which many of the members had before so warmly applauded in his illustrious father. In the early part of his political career, he was an able and strenuous advocate for parliamentary reform; and the first motion which he ever submitted to the House of Commons, was for a more equal representation of the people in Parliament, by the addition of at least one hundred members, consisting of knights of the shire and representatives of the metropolis. This was a subject that deeply interested the young patriot; and at the meetings to promote a reform in the Commons house of Parliament, held at the Thatched House Tavern, Mr. Pitt sat as a delegate. On the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, he accepted, at the age of 22, the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; and under the administration of which he formed a part, the American war was concluded. Though he ably defended the conduct of his colleagues, the terms of peace were regarded by the majority of the nation as unpopular, and the ministry was dissolved. Restored to privacy, Mr. Pitt passed some months on the continent; and after visiting Italy, and several of the German courts, he returned to England, and on the dismissal of the coalition administration of Mr. Fox and Lord North, he was selected for the arduous office of first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 18th of December, 1783. Thus seated at the head of affairs, he bent the great powers of his mind to the framing of a bill for the regulation of Indian affairs, which might be more palatable to the nation, and less objectionable than that of Mr. Fox. His attempts, however, were at first unavailing, as his predecessors, though dismissed from office, still retained their influence in the Commons; and in consequence of this struggle between the House and the King's prerogative, an appeal was made to the sense of the nation in a new Parliament, which not only approved of his India bill, but adopted his financial system for the reduction of the national debt by a sinking fund, and cemented the commercial treaty, which, under his auspices, had been concluded with France, on a basis advantageous to the interests and the prosperity of England. During the unfortunate illness with which the King

virtual dissolution of the existing administration. His colleagues were men of little comparative weight or consideration in the country; and besides the want of public confidence in these ministers, they were disunited and without a head. No sooner had the death of their patron dissolved the only tie that united them, than symptoms of disunion and disagreement began to appear in their ranks; and it contributed not a little to the dispersion of the party, that while many competitors presented themselves for the place of leader, there was no person of their number so pre-eminent for his station or abilities, as to be raised by general consent to that distinguished situation. In circumstances so discouraging, it is not wonderful, that the surviving members of Mr. Pitt's administration resigned to their opponents the reins of government without a struggle, and even refused to retain charge of them, when urged to that duty by the solicitations of the court.

Every attempt to form an administration from the wreck of the late ministry proving unsuccessful, his Majesty was advised to call in the assistance of Lord Grenville; and a message was accordingly conveyed to his Lordship, on the 26th of January, desiring his attendance at Buckingham house. Lord Grenville, having obeyed the summons, was honoured with three separate audiences of the King; and on the 3d of February, the new ministerial arrangements were finally settled; embracing the leading members of the three parties designated by the appellation of the old and new opposition, and the Sidmouth party, as appears in the note below.*

Lord Grenville's holding the office of auditor of the Exchequer, which is incompatible with that of first Lord of the Treasury, rendered it necessary to bring a bill into Parliament, to enable him to accept the latter office, without forfeiting the former; and, to palliate the objections that might be made to this equivocal union, Lord Grenville was impowered to name a trustee to hold the office of auditor, so long as his Lordship should continue in the situation of first Lord of the Treasury; which trustee should be responsible to the auditor for the salary, and to the public for the due execution of his office. The appointment of Lord Ellenborough to a seat in the Cabinet, was a measure of still more doubtful policy. This was brought before Parliament, by the Earl of Bristol, in the Lords, and by Mr. Spencer Stanhope, in the Commons. On the 3d of March, the noble Earl moved a resolution, stating it to be the opinion of that House, "That it was highly inexpedient, and tended to weaken the administration of justice, to summon to any committee, or assembly of the Privy Council, any of the judges of his Majesty's courts of common law." This motion was negatived without a division. On the same day, a similar resolution was moved in the Commons, and lost, in favour of the previous question, by 222 against 64.

On the 3d of April, Mr. Windham introduced the subject of his new military arrangements to the consideration of the House of Commons. It encountered the most determined opposition, in every stage of its progress; but its essential points were carried, and passed into a law.†

In finance, ministers appeared satisfied with following

King was afflicted in 1788, Mr. Pitt successfully resisted the right of the Prince of Wales to assume the reins of government, which Mr. Fox as warmly maintained. From this period, his conduct must be fresh in the recollection of the reader. Three days before the death of Mr. Pitt, the Bishop of Lincoln, who never left him during his illness, after informing him that it was the opinion of his physicians, that his life was in the most imminent danger, and that probably he had not many hours to live, requested to administer to him the consolations of religion. "I fear," said Mr. Pitt, "I have, like too many other men, neglected prayer too much to have any ground for hope, that it can be efficacious on a death-bed—" but,"—rising as he spoke, and clasping his hands with the utmost fervency and devotion, "I throw myself entirely" (the last word being pronounced with a strong emphasis) "upon the mercy of God, through the merits of Christ?" The Bishop then read the prayers to him, and he seemed to join in them with calm and humble piety. On the anniversary of that day on which, five and-twenty years before, he had become a member of the British senate, he breathed his last without a struggle, and without pain. On a motion of the Hon. Henry Lascelles, made in the House of Commons, on the 27th of January, and carried by a majority of 258 to 89 voices, his remains were buried at the public expence, in Westminster Abbey, by the side of his father, with becoming funeral pomp, the herald pronouncing after the corpse had descended into the tomb, the emphatical words:—non sibi sed patriæ vixit.—he lived not for himself, but for his country. This truly great man possessed no particular advantages of person or physiognomy; the former being deficient in grace, the latter by no means attractive. As a speaker he was thought to be without a rival: such was the happy choice of his words, the judicious arrangement of his subject, and the fascinating effect of a perennial eloquence, that his wonderful powers were acknowledged even by those who happened to be prepossessed against his arguments. His integrity was unimpeached; and so far was he from making use of his opportunities to acquire personal wealth, that he died insolvent. With a manner somewhat reserved and distant, in what might be termed his public deportment, no man was ever better qualified to gain, or more successful in fixing the attachment of his friends. In the society of his intimate friends, he was distinguished for a kindness of heart, a gentleness of demeanour, and a playfulness of good humour, which no one ever witnessed without interest, or participated without delight. Modesty was a striking feature in his character; and in his conduct he was rigidly just, and strictly moral. His enemies charge him with the crime of ambition; but his friends regard him as the disinterested patriot—the political saviour of his country.

* CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl Fitzwilliam,	President of the Council.
Lord Erskine,	Lord High Chancellor.
Viscount Sidmouth,	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Grenville,	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Min.)
Lord Howick (late Mr. Grey)	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Moira,	Master General of the Ordnance.
Earl Spencer,	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Right Hon. Chas. Jas. Fox,	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Rt. Hon. Wm. Windham,	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Lord Ellenborough,	Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.
Lord Henry Petty,	Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Lord Minto,	President of the Board of Controul for the affairs of India.
Earl of Derby,	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Rt. Hon. Rd. Fitzpatrick,	Secretary at War.
Rt. Hon. R. B. Sheridan,	Treasurer of the Navy.
Earl Temple,	Joint Pay-Master General.
Lord John Townshend,	Joint Pay-Master General.
Earl of Buckinghamshire,	Joint Post-Master General.
Earl of Carysfort,	Joint Post-Master General.
Rt. Hon. Nicholas Vansittart,	Secretaries of the Treasury.
John King, Esq.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir Wm. Grant,	Master of the Rolls.
Sir A. Pigott,	Attorney-General.
Sir Samuel Romilly,	Solicitor-General.

The Duke of Bedford went as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland, accompanied by the Right Honourable William Elliot, as his chief secretary. Mr. George Ponsonby was appointed Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals in Ireland, and Sir John Newport, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer.

† The great change which he proposed to introduce into the army was in the terms of its engagement. Instead of an engagement to serve for life, he proposed that the soldiers in future should be enlisted to serve for a term of years only. The term of military service should be divided into three periods, of seven years each for the infantry, and for the cavalry and artillery, the first period to be ten, the second, six, and the third, five years. At the end of every period the soldier should have a right to claim his discharge. If he left the army at the end of the first period, he should be entitled to exercise his trade and calling in any part of Great Britain or Ireland; if at the end of the second period, he should be entitled, besides, to a pension for life; and at the end of the third period, after a service of twenty-one years, he should be discharged from the army, with the full allowance of Chelsea, which might be raised to a shilling a day. If he was wounded or disabled in the service, he should receive the same pension as if he had served out the whole term. During the second period he should also receive sixpence a week of additional pay, and during the third period, a shilling a week. Desertion might be punished by the loss of so many years service, and though corporal punishments could not be banished entirely from the army, they might be diminished both in number and severity. With respect to the volunteers, his opinion was, that there ought to be no corps of that description, except those formed of persons in the better ranks of life, who would serve at their own expence, with no other allowance from government but arms, and no other exemption but from service in other sorts of irregular force, which it might be advisable to constitute. The total amount of the reductions which he proposed in this establishment, would produce an annual saving of more than 800,000*l*. The peasantry, artisans, &c. he wished to see, not locked up in volunteer corps, and vainly employed in adopting the dress, and imitating the evolutions of troops of the line, but loosely trained under officers of the militia, or regular army, so that they might be qualified, under their direction, to act as an armed peasantry, and harass and impede the motions of the enemy, if he should ever accomplish a landing in this country, or be prepared at least to take their place in the regular army, and repair whatever losses it might sustain

lowing the system, and executing the plans of their predecessors.*

The attention of Parliament was directed to the correction of a series of abuses connected with the revenue department of the state. The African Slave Trade also fell under discussion; and the Attorney-General, with the concurrence of the cabinet, brought a bill into Parliament, which passed both Houses without any formidable opposition, and afterwards received the royal assent. This bill prohibited the exportation of slaves from the British colonies after the 1st of January, 1807, and prohibited all subjects of this country, residing either at home or in our foreign settlements, from being in any way concerned in, or accessary to the supply of foreign countries with slaves after that period. Another bill was soon after brought into Parliament, which passed without opposition, for the purpose of preventing the increase of the British slave trade in all its branches.† The next measure brought forward upon this subject was the following resolution moved by Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, on the 10th of June, and with which that great statesman closed his Parliamentary career:—"That this House conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all possible expedition, proceed to take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner, and at such period, as they may deem advisable." The motion was opposed by General Tarleton, Mr. Gascoyne, Lord Castlereagh, Sir William Young, Mr. George Rose, and Mr. Manning; and supported by Sir Ralph Milbanke, Mr. Francis, Sir Samuel Romilly, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Wilberforce, Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Barham, Sir John Newport, Mr. Canning, Mr. William Smith, and Mr. Windham. On a division of the House, there appeared for Mr. Fox's motion 114, against it 15, leaving a majority in favour of the abolition of 99 voices. The resolution was then sent up to the Lords, and a conference demanded; after which, the Lords adopted the same resolution on the motion of Lord Grenville, by 41 against 20. The last step taken on this subject, during the present session, was a joint address from the two Houses of Parliament to the King, "beseeching his Majesty to take such measures as might appear most effectual for obtaining, by negociation, the concurrence and concert of foreign powers in the abolition of the slave trade, and the execution of the regulations adopted for that purpose."

The trial of Lord Viscount Melville next engaged the attention of Parliament. The House of Commons, after a minute inquiry into the expenditure of the public money, had deliberately resolved to engage in the most solemn and important part of its functions—the exercise of its power of impeachment against this nobleman. Managers were accordingly appointed by the House;‡ Westminster Hall was fitted up in a style worthy of the solemnity; and, on Monday, the 29th of April, the court was opened with the usual forms and solemnities.§ In reply to the respective charges, the averment of Lord Melville stated, "That he was not guilty

---

in action. This training he meant to be compulsory, but it should last only for four and twenty days in each year. The persons so trained should have no particular dress, nor be carried to a distance from their homes. For the days they were engaged in training, the same allowance should be paid to them as to the volunteers. As it would be impossible to train the whole population of the country at once, the persons liable to that duty might be limited to 200,000 men annually; and of these the government should select for actual training the proportion which it judged to be most expedient.

* On the 28th of March, Lord Henry Petty, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, opened the budget, in a speech remarkable for the perspicuity of its statements, and the clearness of its arrangement. After submitting to the House a variety of details, his Lordship proceeded to state, that the beneficial effects of raising the supplies within the year were strongly exemplified by the fact, that during the last war, the average increase of the national debt had been at the rate of 25,000,000*l.* a year, while the average annual increase in the present war, was at the rate of only 12,000,000*l.* a difference to be attributed solely to the system of war taxes, which had not been introduced in the last war till near its close. Last year, the war taxes had been estimated at 14,500,000*l.* and they had actually produced more than 13,000,000*l.* In the current year, it was intended to raise them to 19,500,000*l.* of which 5,000,000*l.* were to be raised by making the property tax more productive, and 1,000,000*l.* additional from the excise and customs. The proposition he should submit to the House with respect to the property tax, was, to raise that impost from six and a half to ten per cent. and to do away the principal part of the present exemptions. As to the quantum of income to be made liable to the tax, it was proposed that ten per cent. should be paid on all property above fifty pounds a year, but that a scale of abatements should be introduced in favour of small tradesmen, and small annuitants, whose income was less than 100*l.* a year. With respect to the war duties on the customs, it was proposed to raise those duties, with certain modifications from one-fourth to one third, by which 1,000,000*l.* a year would be produced. And in order to cover the interest of the loan, the duty on wine was to be made permanent, and applied to that purpose; a duty of forty shillings per ton was to be imposed on pig-iron; the duty on tea was to be equalized; and a tax on appraisements imposed, by the whole of which taxes it was estimated that a sum of 1,136,000*l.* would be produced annually. The noble Lord concluded his speech by expressing his determination, and that of his colleagues, to administer the government with economy, and to reform all abuses wherever they could be detected. The property tax bill encountered great opposition, not so much from the late ministers, as from independent members of Parliament, who disliked the harshness and rigour of the proposed enactments, and disapproved of such an enormous addition to the present heavy burthens of the people. Several modifications of the tax were accordingly proposed, to some of which the ministers acceded, but the greater part of them were rejected on account of their tendency to diminish the product, and impair the efficacy of the measure. The proposed tax on iron was abandoned; and in lieu of it a tax was proposed on private brewers; but this obnoxious impost was at length withdrawn, and the interest of the loan was provided for by an additional ten per cent. to the assessed taxes. In consideration of the severe pressure of taxes on persons who had large families, a bill was passed, granting to parents an allowance of four per centum out of their assessed taxes for each of their children above two, maintained at their own expense, provided the total amount of their assessment was under forty pounds a year.

† By the provisions of this bill, all British vessels were prohibited under severe penalties from engaging in the African slave trade, which had not been actually employed in that traffic before the 1st of August, 1806, or contracted for, to be employed in it before the 10th of June in that year. This act was limited in its duration to the term of two years after the conclusion of the session of Parliament then sitting: but long before the expiration of that period, every provision for the limitation, or regulation of this traffic was rendered unnecessary by the total and formal abolition of the slave trade.

‡ Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, Lord Howick, Mr. Sheridan, Lord Henry Petty, Lord Marsham, Mr. Giles, Lord Folkstone, Mr. Raine, Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Creevy, Mr. Holland, Mr. Calcraft, Lord Porchester, Lord Arch. Hamilton, Mr. Wm. Wynne, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Morris, Lord Temple, Sergeant Best, and Lord Robert Spencer.

§ A master in the chancery read aloud the articles of impeachment against Lord Melville, of which the following is the substance:—

1st. That Lord Melville, while Treasurer of the Navy, did, previously to the 10th of January, 1786, take and receive out of the money intrusted to him from his Majesty's Exchequer, the sum of 10,000*l.* and fraudulently and illegally convert the same to his own use, or to some other corrupt and illegal purposes; and on the 11th of June, 1805, in the House of Commons, did refuse to account for the application of the said sum;

2nd. That, after the passing of the act of Parliament in the 25th year of his Majesty's reign, intituled "an act for better regulating the office of Treasurer of his Majessy's Navy," Lord Melville, contrary to the provisions of that act, did permit Alexander Trotter, his Paymaster, illegally to draw from the Bank of England, for other purposes than for immediate application to navy services, large sums of money, which had been issued to the Bank on account of Lord Melville, as Treasurer of the navy, and place the same in the hands of Thomas Coutts and Co. his private bankers, in his own name, and subject to his sole controul and disposition;

3rd. That not only did Lord Melville permit Trotter to place, as aforesaid, the public money in the hands of Thomas Coutts and Co. his private bankers, but to apply the same for purposes of private profit and emolument, whereby the same money was exposed to great risk of loss, and withdrawn from the controul and disposition of the treasurer of the navy;

4th. That part of the money so taken by Trotter from the bank, was, by permission of Lord Melville, placed in the hands of Mark Sprott and others, and applied for purposes of private profit and emolument;

5th. That Lord Melville himself did, after the 10th of January, 1786, take and receive from the public money issued to the Bank of England, the sum of 10,000*l.* and fraudulently and illegally convert the same to his own use, or to some other corrupt and illegal purposes;

6th. That Lord Melville received advances of large sums of money from Trotter, out of the public money so obtained by him and deposited in the hands of his private bankers, which advances were entered in an account current kept between Trotter and Lord Melville, and preserved till February, 1803, when, by mutual agreement dated the 18th and 23d of February of that year, it was destroyed, with all the vouchers and other memorandums relative thereto, for the purpose of fraudulently concealing these transactions;

7th. That, in particular, Lord Melville received from Trotter the sum of 22,000*l.* out of the public money, and that the accounts relative thereto have been burned and destroyed for the above mentioned purpose;

8th. That among other advances of money as aforesaid, Lord Melville received from Trotter the sum of 22,000*l.* for which he paid interest;

9th. That

guilty of all or any of the articles of impeachment exhibited against him, and that he was prepared to prove the same before a tribunal composed of his Peers. The charges and answers having been concluded, Mr. Whitbread rose and addressed the court in an elaborate speech, which occupied upwards of three hours in the delivery, and which embraced the topics so successfully enforced in the House of Commons on the 8th of April, in the preceding year, when the tenth report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry was first brought under the consideration of that assembly. After counsel had been heard in defence, and after the managers had closed their reply, and the Lords had adjourned to the chamber of Parliament, some conversation took place in the House of Peers upon the day to be fixed for discussing the charges; and as the evidence, which was very voluminous, was not printed, it was agreed to postpone the further consideration of this business for ten days, and, accordingly, the further proceedings on the trial were deferred till Wednesday, the 28th of May, on which day the Lords were ordered to be summoned. In the Commons, a motion of thanks to the managers was made on the 23d of May, by General Fitzpatrick. This motion, which was seconded by Sir John Newport, was agreed to with only one dissentient voice. At the appointed period the members of the House of Peers assembled in their chamber of Parliament. The assistance of the Judges, on certain points of law, was resorted to, and after a variety of animated and protracted debates, their Lordships proceeded, on the 12th of June, to deliver their verdict. The Lord Chancellor, interrogating each Peer by name, put the question, "Is Henry Viscount Melville guilty or not guilty?" to which the answer of "guilty," or "not guilty," "upon my honour," was given by each member, placing at the same time his right hand upon his breast. The Lord Chancellor, after casting up the votes, addressed the defendant and said:—"Henry Viscount Melville, I am to acquaint your Lordship that you are acquitted of the articles of impeachment exhibited against you by the Commons, for high crimes and misdemeanours, and of all things contained therein." The Lords then adjourned to their chamber, when a correct copy of the verdict, as delivered by each Peer, was inscribed on their journals, as follows:

Charge....	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
Not Guilty	120	81	83	135	131	88	85	121	121	124
Guilty	15	54	52	0	3	47	50	14	14	11
Majority ..	105	27	31	135	128	41	35	107	107	113

From the moment of their entrance upon office, ministers appear to have formed the resolution of directing their views to the accomplishment of a peace with France. In February, a project for assassinating Buonaparte was communicated by a foreigner to Mr. Fox, who immediately sent a statement of the circumstances to M. Talleyrand. The French minister, in a respectful reply to to this letter, took occasion to introduce, unofficially, an extract from Buonaparte's speech to the legislative body, expressive of his wish for peace with England, and his readiness to negociate, without a moment's delay, agreeably to the treaty of Amiens. Mr. Fox considered this communication as a distinct overture, and proceeded to answer it in that frank and direct style which is the characteristic of all his public dispatches. He objected to the uncertainty of the basis of Amiens; the variety of modes in which it had been interpreted; and the delay, which the explanations on the meaning of it would unavoidably occasion, even if no other objection should exist. "The true basis of such a negociation, he observed, "between two great powers, equally despising every idea of chicane, would be the reciprocal recognition of the following principle; viz. that the object of both parties should be a peace, honourable for both, and for their respective allies; and at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe." He then proceeded to state the impossibility of treating, much less of concluding any treaty, unless in concert with Russia, but suggested the practicability of some previous discussion of the principal points, and some provisional arrangements, while they were waiting for the actual intervention of that power. A correspondence of some length ensued, in which, M. Talleyrand endeavoured to represent Russia as interposing its authority between two nations fully competent to adjust their own differences.

Mr. Fox, however, insisted on her being a party in question as an ally of Great Britain, whose interests were inseparably connected with her own. To bring the discussion to a point, he stated explicitly, that his Majesty was willing to negociate conjointly with Russia, but would not consent to negociate separately. To this proposal M. Talleyrand re-urged the former objections, and thus the correspondence closed.

Early in June, however, Lord Yarmouth, son of the Marquis of Hertford, who had been among the detained in France, arrived in London, and communicated the substance of a conversation with M. Talleyrand, which had passed at the desire of that minister, for the purpose of conveying, through a secret and confidential channel, the sentiments and views of France, and the outlines of the terms on which peace might be restored between the two countries. The terms sketched out in the conversation seemed so favourable, that the English cabinet lost no time in conveying to M. Talleyrand their disposition to commence a negociation on the basis contained in them. However, after much shuffling and evasion, on the part of the French government, the negociation terminated without success.*

Mr.

9th. That Trotter acted as agent to Lord Melville without any pecuniary compensation, and in that capacity was generally in advance for him to the amount of from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* out of the public money in his hands; that Lord Melville was aware, that Trotter had no means of making him such advances, except from the public money of which he had illegally possessed himself; and that Trotter was induced to act gratuitously as Lord Melville's agent, and to make these advances, in consideration of Lord Melville's connivance at his free use and uncontrolled application of the public money to his own private profit and emolument;

10th. That Lord Melville, between August 19th, 1782, and January 1st, 1806, did take and receive from the monies issued to him out of his Majesty's exchequer, as Treasurer of the navy, divers large sums of money, amounting to 27,000*l.* or thereabouts, and fraudulently and illegally convert the same to his own use, or some other corrupt and illegal purposes.

* Three specific offers were held out as inducements to Great Britain to treat: viz. the restoration of Hanover, the possession of Sicily, as a consequence of the principle of the uti possidetis—the state of actual possession—and a facility in the arrangement of the form of treating, which, without establishing a Congress, or recognizing the claim of a joint negociation, would not impair the advantages which Great Britain and Russia might derive from their close connection and alliance. M. Talleyrand, in the first interview with Lord Yarmouth, after his return to Paris, not only departed entirely from his clear and explicit offer of Sicily, but indulged himself in vain allusions to further demands, and in peremptory representations of the necessity of negociating with some persons duly authorised and impowered to treat. This first deviation from the original overtures was received by the British ministry as the omen of the failure of negociation. And, from that period, Mr. Fox is said to have despaired of its successful issue. The English cabinet considered this intimation as a departure from the principles and basis of the negociation, which had been held out to them as inducements to treat, and as an indication of the little reliance that could be placed in the language or sincerity of the French negociators. The instructions, therefore, to Lord Yarmouth, were distinct and peremptory. He was directed to insist generally on the recurrence to the original overtures, and to make the re-admission of Sicily as the sine qua non of the production of his full powers, which, to avoid all pretence of cavil, were conveyed to him without delay. In the mean time, the Russian plenipotentiary, M. D'Oubril, who had arrived at Paris on the 10th of July, had signed a separate peace with the French government. In this posture of affairs, Lord Lauderdale was dispatched to Paris. The health of Mr. Fox began at this period to decline, and the nomination of his personal friend, and tried political adherent, was a pledge that the cabinet continued to promote his views, and to consult the spirit of his policy. The first endeavour of Lord Lauderdale, on his arrival at Paris, was to bring back the French government to the basis of the uti possidetis, and to the application of that principle to the island of Sicily. Lord Yarmouth, after having for that purpose concurred with his colleagues, in representing formally and officially the substance and tendency of M. Talleyrand's original overtures, left the subsequent part of the negociation exclusively in his hands. The French negociators, (for M. Champagny, minister of the interior, was soon appointed joint plenipotentiary with General Clarke,) never actually

Mr. Fox's accession to power, whatever political hopes it might excite, was a circumstance pregnant to himself with inconvenience and danger. The business of the House of Commons he was, in a few months, from his impaired health, obliged to abandon; but with this deduction from his harassing employments, the remainder pressed too heavily upon him; and it was not long before the most decided indications of dropsy appeared. The operation of tapping was several times performed, producing that temporary relief which it seldom fails to effect: but the disease was too formidable for effectual resistance, and, in a short time, even for mitigation. After a series of increasing languors, this great man closed his connection with all mortal scenes, at Chiswick, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, on the 13th of September, in the 59th year of his age.*

On the death of Mr. Fox, Lord Howick was appointed to the foreign office, in the situation of his departed friend; Mr. Grenville, First Lord of the Admiralty, in the place of Lord Howick; Mr. Tierney, President of the Board of Controul, in the place of Mr. Grenville, who had succeeded to that office, with a seat in the cabinet, on the appointment of Lord Minto to the government of Bengal; Lord Sidmouth to succeed to the Presidency of the Council, from which Earl Fitzwilliam, on account of bad health, was desirous to withdraw; and Lord Holland to succeed Lord Sidmouth, as Lord Privy Seal. The only new member brought into the cabinet was Lord Holland, the nephew of Mr. Fox. A dissolution of Parliament immediately followed; and the returns to the new Parliament were such as, on the whole, to add to the weight and influence of the friends of administration in the House of Commons.

Towards the close of this year, disturbances broke out in the north of Ireland, occasioned by a banditti, who, assuming the name of "Thrashers," committed every species of crime and outrage, under the cover of night. Strong applications were made to the Castle to quell these riotous proceedings by the insurrection law; but the Duke of Bedford refused to resort to so violent a remedy, and by a proper use of the ordinary and regular authority of government, he succeeded effectually in repressing and putting a stop to these alarming symptoms.

At the close of the preceding year, Admiral Villaumez, accompanied by Jerome Buonaparte, succeeded

actually admitted the basis of the uti possidetis, after the arrival of Lord Lauderdale, and constantly evaded the acknowledgement of having in the first instance made that proposal. They contrived, however, under various pretences, to detain Lord Lauderdale at Paris, till it became the policy of Britain, as well as of France, to await the decision of the court of St. Petersburgh, on the treaty which M. D'Oubril had carried thither for ratification. On the 3d of September, a courier brought the intelligence to Paris, that the Emperor of Russia had refused to ratify M. D'Oubril's treaty, and M. Talleyrand, with great apparent frankness, informed the British negociator of this piece of intelligence, the day after its arrival in Paris, and assured him that France was now prepared to make peace with England on more favourable terms than she otherwise would have been disposed to admit; but, as it was soon obvious, that the abandonment of Russia was to be the price of more favourable terms, so ostentatiously announced to Great Britain, the honourable determination of our court not to listen to any such projects, prevented any precise detail of the concessions France was willing to make for the attainment of her object. Mr. Fox was now unable to discharge the duties of his office, and the expectations of bringing the negociations to a favourable issue were daily diminished. In the mean while, Buonaparte had left Paris for the army on the Rhine, and one of the plenipotentiaries (General Clarke,) as well as M. Talleyrand, accompanied him on his journey. M. Champagny, who remained to conduct the negociation, was neither authorised to relinquish the claims of Joseph upon Sicily, nor to acquiesce in such an arrangement as would have satisfied the court of St. Petersburgh. The negociation was therefore at an end, and Lord Lauderdale peremptorily insisted on his passports. These were at length granted, but accompanied by a note, evidently composed under the direction of Buonaparte, insinuating that the principles of Mr. Fox had been abandoned by his colleagues and successors; that a departure from the basis laid down by him had thrown the first obstacles in the way of pacification, and that to the loss of that great man alone was to be ascribed the further continuance of the calamities of war. To these charges, Lord Lauderdale delivered a spirited, manly, and convincing reply.

Though the grounds upon which the discussion had broken off were unknown, the intelligence of Lord Lauderdale's departure from Paris was received at the Royal Exchange, in London, with bursts of approbation, and shouts of applause; and the prospect of the continuance of the war, served to shew the determined spirit of the nation, in supporting a war into which it had been plunged by the general enemy of Europe and of mankind.

* The regret occasioned by this event was evinced by the general feeling at the reception of the intelligence, notwithstanding it had been so long expected, and by that procession which some time after took place on the solemn interment. The funeral, though performed at private expense, was attended by the most distinguished nobility, members of the House of Commons, many dignitaries of the church, men of genius and talents from all quarters, a numerous body of the electors of Westminster, and gentlemen deputed from distant parts of the country, in testimony of their respect for the character of the deceased, and an immense assemblage of the general population of the metropolis. The private character of this great man appears to have abounded in all those qualities which can conciliate affection and esteem. The independence of his mind was totally unmixed with any portion of that surly asperity with which it is too frequently connected; and while it excited respect, it did not impair attachment. The frankness of his manners, the generosity of his feelings, which were unalloyed by the smallest particle of gall; the elevation of his principles; and that self-oblivion, which he displayed in circumstances, where personal interest, in common minds, appears to absorb every other sentiment; procured for him in return, a degree of regard, which perhaps was scarcely ever extended to any human individual, as he appears to have been excelled by no one in the tenderness of his affections, the sublimity of his views, and the comprehension and sagacity of his understanding. This distinguished character was born on the 13th of January, 1749. Charles James Fox was the second son of Lord Henry Holland, by the sister of the Duke of Richmond. After a short initiation at Westminster school, he was removed to Eton, and from Eton to Oxford, where he is said to have studied more than ten hours a day, during the whole time. The uniformity of a college life did not long agree with the ardour of his mind, and after some time spent at the University, he set out on the usual tour of Europe. Though he indulged freely in the dissipations over which his rank and fortune gave him the command, he did not fail to acquire that intimate knowledge of the world, and of human nature, which fitted him for the most exalted rank in the state. An unfortunate attachment to the gaming table, was the principal error of Mr. Fox's youth; and before he was eighteen years of age he had lavished away large sums of money, and contracted very heavy debts. His father, apprised of these excesses, recalled his favourite son. At nineteen years of age, he was elected a member of Parliament for Midhurst, and his first speech was in favour of ministers, and against Mr. Wilkes and the Middlesex election. After sharing the favours of the minister as a Lord of the Admiralty, and afterwards as a Lord of the Treasury, he was dismissed from office by a laconic epistle from Lord North, in the following words:—"His Majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of treasury to be made out, in which I do not see your name."

At the general election in 1780, Mr. Fox became a candidate for the city of Westminster, in which, after a violent contest, he succeeded. During the American war he was a regular and active antagonist of the ministry, and the powerful and frequent application of his talents to popular purposes, obtained him the title of "The man of the people." On the removal of Lord North he was raised to a seat in the cabinet as Secretary of State. The death of the Marquis of Rockingham soon after dissolved the new ministry, and Mr. Fox, after some time opposing the measures of Lord Shelburne, returned to power by his well known coalition with Lord North. The memorable India bill proved fatal to the coalition ministry. On the regency question, in 1788, Mr. Fox insisted upon the right of the Prince to the regency. To the war of the French revolution, Mr. Fox, in every stage of its progress, gave his decided negative. Finding his efforts without effect, he determined to secede from Parliament. In 1803, he returned to his Parliamentary duty, and the death of his political rival, in the beginning of 1806, brought him, after an interval of two and twenty years, into his former office of Secretary of State for foreign affairs. Aware that he had but a short space before him, he declared that he should die contented, if he could but previously obtain a peace—an honourable peace, for Britain; remove all legal disabilities arising out of religion, in order to unite more closely the interests of Ireland with those of England; and lastly, obtain a complete abolition of the slave trade. To an extraordinary natural capacity, improved and embellished by a liberal education; and to a quickness of apprehension, which instantly seized every object that was presented to it, this great man added a memory richly stored with science and literature, and well fraught with historical and political knowledge. He was profoundly versed in the history and constitution of his country. He was well acquainted with the history, the strength, the policy, the separate and relative interests and views of those states which once constituted what has not been improperly called the great republic of Europe. As a public speaker, his manner was not graceful, but it was peculiarly animated and impressive. His merit as a Parliamentary debater, did not consist in the length, variety, or roundness of his periods; but in the truth and vigour of his conceptions; in the depth and extent of his information, in the retentive powers of his memory; in the faculty of spreading out his matter so clearly to the grasp of his own mind, as to render it impossible that he should ever fail in the utmost clearness and distinctness to others; and in the exuberant fertility of his invention, which spontaneously brought forth his ideas at the moment, in every possible shape by which the understanding might sit in the most accurate judgment upon them. Resignation to Providence was a marked feature in the character of Mr. Fox. His departure out of this life was unruffled by remorse; he had sacrificed every thing that was personal to his country's good; and his dying moments were blessed with the reflection that his last effort had been conformable to the Divine religion he professed—to give peace to the world. "I die happy," was one of the last sentences that fell from his expiring lips.

in escaping from port, with 11 sail of the line, and a number of frigates. After continuing in company for 10 days, the fleet separated into two different squadrons, one of which, consisting of five ships of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, under the command of Admiral Le Seigle, steered for St. Domingo, and having arrived at that port, disembarked a body of troops, and a supply of ammunition for the use of the colony. On the 6th of February, Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, with a British fleet under his command, consisting of seven ships of the line, and four frigates, discovered the French squadron to windward of Ocoa bay. The enemy endeavoured to effect his escape, but by the judicious manœuvres of the British Admiral, this intention was frustrated. The French, however, fought with great gallantry; but, after an engagement of two hours, Admiral Le Seigle ran his ship, the Imperiale, ashore, and was followed by the Captain of the Diomede. The other three ships of the line struck, and were immediately taken possession of by the conquequerors, but the smaller vessels got off. The Imperiale and the Diomede were, after the engagement, both destroyed by the British fleet. The other squadron of Villaumez, amounting to six sail of the line, with three frigates, was originally destined for the Cape of Good Hope, but having been informed of the capture of that settlement by the English, they steered first to the coast of Brazil, and afterwards to the West Indies. In June, Admiral Cochrane, the English Admiral upon the windward station, who had, at that time, only four sail of the line and three frigates, discovered the enemy near Barbadoes, but contented himself with watching his motions, not considering it safe to hazard an engagement with such a disparity of force. The ruin of this hostile fleet was soon after accomplished by the fury of the elements. A gale of wind, one of the most tremendous ever experienced, separated the ships of the enemy, on the 18th of August, and the French Admiral reached the Havannah, with extreme difficulty. The Impetueux made for the coast of North America, and was followed into the Chesapeak by his Majesty's ships the Belleisle and Bellona, where she was run ashore, and burnt by the crew of the Melampus. Of the remaining vessels, two were eventually destroyed by the English, on the same coast; but the Castor, which was supposed to have foundered at sea, reached the port of Brest, in the middle of October.

Admiral Linois had long carried on a predatory warfare in the Indian seas. The Isle of France had been the grand depot of the plunder he had collected, whence, in different bottoms, it had been transferred to France. Thither the Admiral's ship, the Marengo, of 80 guns, and 744 men, and the Belle Poule, of 40 eighteen-pounders, and 320 men, were this year bending their course, having completed their levies on British property, and looking forward to the splendid enjoyment of the produce of their toil. These hopes, however, were frustrated by Sir J. B. Warren, with one of the squadrons which had been dispatched in pursuit of Jerome Buonaparte. On the morning of the 13th of March, at day-light, the French ships were seen to windward, when, after a running fight of about three hours, the Marengo was obliged to strike to the British flag, and her example was speedily followed by the Belle Poule. This event diffused general satisfaction throughout Britain, and afforded some atonement for the depredations committed by Linois, upon our commerce.

On the 24th of September, five large frigates, and two corvettes, with troops, on board, for the West Indies, having escaped from Rochefort, were on the following day met at sea, by a British squadron under Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, and, after a running fight of several hours, four of the five frigates were compelled to strike. The loss of the English amounted to only nine killed, and 32 wounded, but Sir Samuel Hood received a severe wound in the right arm, which rendered amputation necessary. Several distinguished actions, of a minor nature, occurred in the course of the year.

In August, 1805, an expedition to the Cape of Good Hope had sailed from England, consisting of about 5000 land troops, under Sir David Baird, with a provisional naval force, commanded by Sir Home Popham. Having touched at San Salvador for refreshment, the expedition sailed thence, on the 20th of November, and reached Table Bay, on the 4th of January. It was found impossible to land the troops nearer to Cape Town than Saldanha, and Lospard's Bay. The debarkation was conducted with perfect order, under the protection of the fleet; and, on the 8th, the army, consisting of the 25th, 59th, 71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d, regiments, was formed into two brigades, with two howitzers, and six light field-pieces, and moved forwards on the road towards Cape Town.—Having ascended the summit of the Blauberg, or Blue Mountains, and dislodged the enemy's light troops, their main body, under the command of Lieutenant-General Janssens, was discovered drawn up in two lines, and in motion, to anticipate the approach of the British troops. The enemy's force was estimated at about 5000 men, principally cavalry, with 23 pieces of cannon. Nothing could surpass or resist the determined bravery of the British troops, headed by their gallant leader, General Ferguson; and the number of the enemy, who covered the plain, served only to augment their ardour, and confirm their discipline. For some time they received the British force with firmness, and maintained their position without dismay, but in the moment of charging, the valour of the British troops bore down all opposition, and forced the Batavians to a precipitate retreat. In this engagement, the loss of the vanquished exceeded 700 killed and wounded, while the loss of the victors amounted only to 15 killed, and 197 wounded and missing. On the 9th, a flag of truce having arrived from the commandant of the garrison of Cape Town, with offers to capitulate, the articles were agreed upon, and the following day the town was surrendered to the British army.—After the battle of the 8th, the Governor-General, Janssens, retired with a body of forces to Hottentot's Holland Kloof, a pass leading to the district of Zwellendam, and seemed disposed to maintain himself in the interior. But General Beresford having been sent against him, he was prevailed upon to surrender, on terms by which the conquest of the colony was completed, and its internal tranquillity secured.*

Sir Home Popham had contributed materially to the expedition being undertaken, by the intelligence which he had communicated to his Majesty's government, of the defenceless state of that important settlement, and of the probability that it would soon be reinforced from Europe. He had also, with other naval officers, been consulted by Mr. Pitt, and Lord Melville, about their designs on South America; and, at their desire, he conferred with General Miranda, on that officer's views and projects in that quarter. The result of these communications had been his appointment to the command of the Diadem, of 64 guns, in Dec. 1804, for the purpose of co-operating with General Miranda, to the extent of taking advantage of any of his proceedings, which might tend to secure to the British a position on the continent of South America. But he had been afterwards given to understand, that, from deference to Russia, all projects, of that nature, had been, for the present, abandoned. Subsequently, however, to the capture of the Cape, circumstances arose, which induced him to take upon himself, a high and extraordinary degree of responsibility. For the spirit with which this proceeding was adopted, the judgment, and gallantry, with which it was executed, and the success,

* By the articles of capitulation signed with General Beresford on the 18th of January, it was agreed, that the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, with all its dependencies, and the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian government, should be surrendered to his Britannic Majesty; and that in consideration of the gallant conduct of the army under General Janssens, they should be embarked, and sent straight to Holland, at the expense of the British government, and not considered prisoners of war.

by

by which it was attended, it is probable, that, had Mr. Pitt's administration continued to subsist, Sir Home Popham, instead of being censured, recalled, and tried by a Court-Martial, would have been honoured and rewarded. Not aware of the new system, adopted by the new ministers—ignorant that they would affect to treat the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, as wholly insignificant, and even refuse the thanks of Parliament to the gallant captors—he never lost sight of what he erroneously conceived to be their wishes and intentions. Early in the month of February, Sir Home received accounts of the termination of the war in India. In the course of the same month, he also received the news of Lord Nelson's glorious victory off Trafalgar, and the account of a general coalition against France, from an alliance with which power it was evident the Emperor Alexander had not been able to detach Spain. Towards the end of February, a Danish vessel, which arrived at the Cape, brought English newspapers, giving an account of the fate of the Austrian army. By the capture of the Volontaire French frigate, on the 4th of March, he learned the defeat of the Russian army, at Austerlitz; that Buonaparte was in possession of Vienna; and that, when Villaumez sailed from Brest, he left in that port, no more than six ships of war, of which three only were fit for service. From a German officer, who was taken prisoner in the Volontaire, he also collected presumptive evidence respecting the ulterior destination of Villaumez's squadron, as induced to adopt the idea, that, after cruizing a certain time on the bank of Laguilles, he would put into the Brazils, for water and refreshments, and thence proceed to the West Indies, more especially after he should have been informed, that the Cape was actually taken by the British forces. Indeed, so strongly did this presumption operate on his mind, that he dispatched a small copper-bottomed transport brig to Admiral Cochrane, at Barbadoes, to apprise him of what he conceived, was the most likely course to be pursued by Villaumez. He also dispatched the Protector gun-brig to Sir Edward Pellew, in India, and the Rolla brig, to endeavour to fall in with whatever British squadron might be employed in the blockade of the Mauritius. Thus, having performed his duty, in transmitting such intelligence as he was possessed of, to the East and West Indies, and other parts; and finding that the winter season was about to commence, during which no ships could lie in Table Bay, in safety, he forwarded a dispatch (April 9) to the Admiralty, informing them of his intention to leave the Cape, with his squadron, immediately. His design was, to cruize, for a short time, off the coast of Brazil, with a view of falling in with Villaumez, who might be expected in those parts, to refresh. Accordingly, on the day following, he got under weigh; but, in consequence of a calm succeeding, he was obliged to anchor in the outer part of the bay. In the evening, he received some intelligence of the weak state of Buenos Ayres, and Monte Video.—He imparted this information to Sir David Baird, next morning, and suggested the expediency of his sparing a few troops, to enable him to bring a question of such importance to an immediate issue. As Sir Home's recent intelligence fully corroborated what he had before heard, from various quarters; and, as Sir David Baird was fully convinced, from a combination of circumstances, of the perfect safety of the Cape, that officer did not hesitate in acceding to his request. Of all this, Sir Home, in a letter of the 13th of April, duly apprised government; as also, of his intention of applying to the Governor of St. Helena for a reinforcement of troops. Sir Home Popham accordingly sailed from the Cape, with a detachment of troops under the command of Major-General Beresford; obtained a reinforcement at St. Helena;* and, by the conjoint exertions of Sir Home Popham, and Major-General Beresford, with the officers, and men, under their command, Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, were compelled to surrender to his Majesty's arms, on the 2d of July. The total amount of the treasure taken at this place, was 1,291,323 dollars; of which 1,086,208 were sent home, in the Narcissus; but, in consequence of the subsequent recapture of the settlement, a considerable part of the remainder was lost. The captors, also, generously gave up to the respective proprietors, a number of coasting vessels, with their cargoes, to the estimated amount of 1,500,000 dollars. At the time of sending home his official dispatches, announcing this capture, Sir Home Popham also transmitted letters containing much important commercial information, to some of our corporate manufacturing towns; a circumstance which, though laudable in itself, proved the highly injurious, in a mercantile view, and drew down much censure and calumny upon its author. No sooner had Sir Home Popham found himself in possession of Buenos Ayres, than he wrote back to the Cape, in the most urgent terms, for a naval reinforcement; which, had it been sent in time, would, there is scarcely a doubt, not only have prevented the recapture of the settlement, but would have put Monte Video also completely in our power. Owing to the non-arrival of reinforcements, Buenos Ayres was unfortunately wrested from us, on the 12th of August following.†

On the 19th of December, Lord Howick, in terms of severe reprehension, announced the recal of Sir

* His little army, after all, did not exceed 7,600 men, including marines. With this force, he steered for Rio Plata, and arrived at the mouth of that river in the beginning of June. It was now debated, whether an attack should be made on Buenos Ayres or Monte Video, and the former being preferred, the troops were removed from the line of battle ships into the transports and frigate that accompanied the expedition, in which, after surmounting with great skill and perseverance the difficulties of the most intricate navigation, they arrived before Buenos Ayres, on the 24th of June, and next day disembarked without resistance on Punta de Quilmes, about twelve miles from that city. A body of Spaniards, placed on a height, at two miles distant, witnessed the landing of the British army without opposing it, and General Beresford having marched against them on the following morning, they fled with precipitation at the first fire, leaving behind them their artillery. No other difficulty occurred after this success, except the passage of a river, which it was necessary to cross in the way to Buenos Ayres; but this being effected with the aid of rafts and boats, General Beresford entered the city on the 27th, the Viceroy having previously abandoned it, and fled to Cordova, with the small body of troops under his command. While the army was thus employed in the conquest of Buenos Ayres, the line of battle ships of the squadron made demonstrations before Monte Video and Maldonado, in order to alarm and occupy the garrisons of these places, in which, as it afterwards appeared, were stationed the regular troops of the colony, while the defence of Buenos Ayres, from its situation, supposed to be less liable to attack, had been committed to the militia.

† No sooner had the Spaniards recovered from their panic, and discovered the smallness of the numbers of their opponents, than, ashamed of their defeat, they began to concert measures to expel their invaders. Emissaries from Buenos Ayres excited the country people to arms, and an insurrection was organized in the heart of the city. Liniers, a French Colonel in the Spanish service, crossed the river in a fog, on the 4th of August, unobserved by the English cruisers, and landed at Conchas, above Buenos Ayres, bringing with him about 1,000 men from Monte Video and Sacramento. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the armed levies from the country, which had been defeated by General Beresford in a sally, advanced again to the city, and summoned the castle to surrender. All the inhabitants of the town were now in arms, and the danger appeared so imminent, that the English had determined to evacuate the place, and retire to their ships: but they were prevented by the state of the weather, and after a desperate action on the 12th, in the streets, and great square of the town, in which they were attacked with incredible fury, and severely annoyed by a destructive fire from the windows and balconies of the houses, they were compelled to lay down their arms. The terms on which they surrenderd became afterwards the subject of dispute and recrimination between Generals Beresford and Liniers, who acted as Commander-in-chief of the Spaniards. Thus much only is certain, that, contrary to the articles of capitulation signed by Liniers, the English were detained prisoners of war, and marched up the country. The loss of the British army in the action of the 12th, amounted to 165 killed, wounded, and missing, besides 1,300 made prisoners. At the time when the city was taken, Sir Home Popham was riding off the coast; but he continued to blockade the river with his squadron till the arrival of the troops from the Cape of Good Hope, in the month of October, enabled him to re-commence offensive operations. In renewing his efforts against South America, his first attempt was to make himself master of Monte Video, but finding it impossible for the ships to approach near enough to batter the walls, he was obliged to desist from the enterprise. On the 29th of October, a body of British troops was landed at Maldonado, under Colonel Vassal, and the Spaniards having been driven from that place, and from the isle of Gorriti, a sufficient space was gained for the encampment of the troops, and a tolerably safe anchorage procured for the ships. In this situation our army in South America remained at the end of the present year, receiving successive reinforcements from England and the Cape, and preparing for further enterprises.

Home

Home Popham. That officer arrived in London, on the 17th of February following; and, on the 18th, he was put under a formal arrest, preparatory to his being brought to trial by a Court-Martial, for acting without orders, and for leaving the Cape of Good Hope in an unprotected state. Sir Home Popham made an able and luminous defence to the respective charges urged against him; but the Court adjudged him to be severely reprimanded.

This year the negroes of St. Domingo rose against Dessalines, their chief, who, in imitation of Buonaparte, had assumed the title of Emperor of Hayti, and having come upon him by surprise, put him to death—a catastrophe which he had merited by the cruelty and injustice of his government. His successor, Christophe, contented himself with the humbler title of Chief of the government of Hayti; and, in that capacity, issued a proclamation, bearing date the 24th of October, 1806, liberally opening, to neutral nations, the commerce of his dominions.

Differences had existed, for a considerable time, between the United States of America, and Spain, arising out of the ill-defined boundaries of Louisiana; and the Spaniards had made inroads on the district of New Orleans, and the Mississippi, even in those parts that had been expressly and unequivocally ceded to the United States. At the same time, some disputes between America and the English government had assumed an important character. The complaint of the United States against Great Britain involved three points:—First, The practice of impressing British seamen found on board of American merchant vessels, on the high seas. Second, The violation of their rights, as neutrals, by seizing and condemning their merchantmen, though engaged in what they considered a lawful commerce: and Third, The infringement of their maritime jurisdiction upon their own coasts.—The conferences, which were held in London, for the adjustment of these differences, by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinckney, on the part of the United States, and by Lord Holland and Lord Auckland, on the part of Great Britain, terminated in a treaty, from which the President of the United States thought proper to withhold his ratification.*

The successes of the French arms against Austria, proved particularly unfortunate for the kingdom of Naples. A treaty of neutrality between France and that country, had been concluded at Paris, on the 21st of September, 1805, and ratified at Portici, by the King of Naples, on the 8th of the following month. By this treaty, the Neapolitan court engaged to remain neutral in the war between France and the allied powers, and to repel by force, every encroachment on her neutrality. Scarcely, however, had six weeks elapsed after the ratification of this treaty, when a squadron of English and Russian vessels appeared in the bay of Naples, and were permitted to land a body of forces in that city and its vicinity. This was considered, by Buonaparte, as an act of perfidy deserving of the severest punishment, and on the morning after the signature of the treaty of Presburgh, Buonaparte issued a proclamation from his head-quarters at Vienna, declaring, "that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign." That no time might be lost in carrying this threat into execution, the French army, under Joseph Buonaparte, marched, in three divisions, against the kingdom of Naples; the right, commanded by General Regnier, proceeding against Gaeta; and the centre, under Marshal Massena, through Capua; while the left advanced through Istria, under General Lacy.—On the 12th of February, Capua was invested by the French troops, and on the 13th, a deputation from the city waited on Prince Joseph, and signed a capitulation, by which Capua, Gaeta, Peschieri, Naples, and the other fortresses of that kingdom, were surrendered into the hands of the enemy. The spirit of their inhabitants, however, was not conquered. Insurrections were numerous. Mutual exasperation gradually led to the establishment, by the French, of military commissions at Naples, and throughout the country. The triumphant entrance of Joseph Buonaparte into Naples, to take upon himself the sovereignty of his kingdom, to which he had been appointed by his brother, to the exclusion of the recent dynasty, was attended by those acclamations and addresses which can always be procured by power. The invader and the patriot, however, were still in determined and active hostility; and the feelings of the contending parties, were, to the highest degree, enfuriated. The brave Calabrians, in particular, inflicted severe vengeance for the murders of the French. Subsequently to the evacuation of Naples, by the Russian and British troops, Sir James Craig retired to Sicily, with the English army, accompanied by the royal family of Naples, and established his head-quarters at Messina. There he remained till April, when bad health compelled him to resign his command to Sir John Stuart, who was soon after intrusted, by his Sicilian Majesty, with the defence of the eastern coast from Melazzo to Cape Passaro. The army continued at Messina, till the end of June, without attempting any offensive operations against the enemy; at which period, the English General, at the urgent solicitations of the court of Palermo, consented to land, with a part of his army, in Calabria, and to make trial of the loyalty and affection of the people to their former sovereign. The troops destined to this expedition, amounted to about 4800 effective men; with this small force, Sir John Stuart landed, without any material opposition, on the morning of the 1st of July, in the gulf of St. Eufemia, near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria. The French General, Regnier, having been apprised of the debarkation of the English army, made a rapid march from Reggio, uniting his detached corps as he advanced, and anticipating, with his characteristic confidence, the defeat of the British troops. On the morning of the 3d, he advanced into the neighbourhood of Maida, about ten miles distant from the English army, and took up his position on a ridge of heights. His force, at that moment, consisted of about 4000 infantry, and 300 cavalry, together with four pieces of artillery, and he was in daily expectation of being joined by 3000 more troops, who were marching after him in a second division, and who joined the French army, on the night of the 3d. Perceiving that no time was to be lost, Sir John Stuart determined to advance towards the position of the enemy, and having left four companies of Watteville's regiment, under Major Fisher, to protect

* The American plenipotentiaries consented, contrary, as it appears, to their instructions, to proceed on an official paper from Lord Holland and Lord Auckland, dated the 8th of November, pledging the government of Great Britain, "to issue instructions for the observance of the greatest caution in the impressing of British seamen, and of the greatest care to preserve citizens of the United States from any molestation or injury, and to afford immediate redress upon any representation of injury sustained by them;" and engaging besides, at any future period, "to entertain the discussion of any plan that should be devised to secure the interests of both states, without any injury to the rights to which they are respectively attached." On the other questions between the two countries, the negociators were more fortunate in bringing their labours to a successful issue. On the subject of the circuitous trade permitted to the United States, between the colonies of the enemy and other parts of the world, an article was framed, which satisfied the American commissioners, by substituting a clear and precise rule for the regulation of that commerce, in place of the uncertain and changeable system by which it had hitherto been conducted. The principle of this article was taken from Lord Hawkesbury's communication to Mr. Rufus King, defining the difference between a continuous and an interrupted voyage; but besides requiring, as in that communication, that the goods should be landed, and the duties paid in the neutral country, that article expressly stipulated, that on re-exportation there should remain after the drawback a duty to be paid of one per cent. ad valorem, on articles of the growth, produce, and manufacture of Europe; and on all articles of colonial produce a duty of not less than two per cent. ad valorem. The maritime jurisdiction of the United States was guaranteed by another article, against the alledged encroachments and violations of his Majesty's cruisers; and on account of the peculiar circumstances of the American coast, an extension of maritime jurisdiction, to the distance of five miles from shore, was mutually conceded by both parties in the American seas, on certain conditions, and with certain limitations expressed in the treaty. On the other articles of the treaty, the commercial stipulations contained in them appear to have been framed on the fairest and most liberal principles of reciprocal advantage and utility.

the stores, and occupy the works that had been thrown up at the place of landing, at three o'clock the next morning, the body of the British army commenced its march along the borders of the sea, across the plain of Eufemia. Sir Sidney Smith, at this time, took up a position with a small squadron placed under his command, to act as circumstances might occur; but, from the situation of the two armies, no co-operation from the navy could take place. A vast plain, extending from four to six miles in breadth, and flanked by chains of mountains, which ran nearly parallel from sea to sea, and which form the interior boundaries of the two Calabrias, seemed to favour the manœuvres of both armies, and afforded a fair opportunity for trying the skill and gallantry of the contending nations. Had General Regnier thought proper to remain upon his elevated ground, flanked, as he was, by a thick impervious underwood, no impression could have been made upon him; but, quitting this advantage, and crossing the river Amato, with his entire force, he descended from the eminence, and met the British army upon the open plain. After some close firing of the flankers, to cover the deployments of the two armies, by nine o'clock, in the morning, the opposing fronts were warmly engaged, when the prowess of the rival nations seemed fairly at issue before the world. The corps which formed the right of the advanced line of the British, was the battalion of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Kempt, consisting of the light companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 61st, 81st, and Watteville's, together with 150 chosen battalion-men of the 35th regiment, under Major Robinson; directly opposite to whom was the favourite French regiment, the 1st Legere. The two companies, at the distance of about 100 yards, fired reciprocally a few rounds, when, as if by mutual agreement, the firing was suspended, and in compact order, and awful silence, they advanced towards each other, till their bayonets began to cross. At this momentous crisis, the enemy became appalled. Their ranks were broken, and they endeavoured to fly; but it was too late, they were overtaken, and the most dreadful slaughter ensued. Brigadier-General Auckland, whose brigade was immediately on the left of the light infantry, availed himself of this favourable moment to press instantly forward upon the corps in front; the brave 78th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, and the 81st regiment, under Major Plenderleath, both distinguished themselves on this occasion. Advancing with shouts of victory, the enemy fled with dismay and disorder before them. General Regnier, finding his army thus discomfited on the left, began to make a new effort with the right, in hopes of retrieving the disasters of the day. This operation was resisted, most gallantly, by the brigade under Brigadier-General Cole. Nothing could shake the undaunted firmness of the grenadiers under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Callaghan, and of the 27th regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith. The French cavalry successively repelled from before the front of these regiments, made an effort to turn their left; but, at that moment, Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, who had, the same morning, landed from Messina, with the 20th regiment, and had come up to the army during the action, threw his regiment opportunely into a small cover upon the enemy's flank, and by a heavy and well-concerted fire, rendered this attempt abortive. This was the last feeble struggle of the enemy, who, astonished and dismayed by the intrepidity with which they were assailed, began precipitately to retire, leaving the field covered with their dead. About 700 Frenchmen were buried upon the ground; the wounded and prisoners amounted to above 1000; and about the same number were left in Monteleone, and the different posts between Maida and Reggio, who signified their readiness to surrender, whenever a British force could be sent to receive their submission, and to protect them from the fury of the inhabitants. The total loss of the French, amounted to at least 4000 men, while the loss of the English did not exceed 326; of which number, 282 were wounded, and 44 slain. This splendid victory was attended with no permanent advantage with respect to the immediate object of the expedition; but the impression it was calculated to make in favour of the discipline and bravery of the British soldiers, was of incalculable importance.

The entire conquest of the Neapolitan territory, however, by the arms of France, soon followed this illustrious victory. The support of the British arms being withdrawn, the enthusiasm of the Calabrians abated, and they finally yielded to a fate which they had nobly resisted, without the least hope of success attending their gallant and persevering endeavours.

Prussia, towards the close of the year 1805, had disappointed the hopes of England, and of Europe at large. On the 27th of January, a proclamation was published by the King of Prussia, addressed to the inhabitants of Hanover, in which it was observed, that after the events which terminated in the peace of Presburgh, the only means of preserving the country from the flames of war, consisted in forming a convention with Buonaparte, in virtue of which the states of his Britannic Majesty, in Germany, were to be wholly occupied and governed by Prussia, till the return of peace; and all the authorities of that country were called upon to conform to the dispositions made for that purpose, under the civil and military administration of General Kecknert, and the commissioners chosen by him. This proceeding called forth an official note from Mr. Fox, under date of the 17th of March, addressed to Baron Jacobi, the Prussian minister in London, wherein he expressed "the great anxiety, felt by his Majesty, at the manner in which possession had been taken of the electorate of Hanover," and desired him explicitly to inform his court, "that no convenience or political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, would ever induce his Majesty so far to forget what was due to his legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate." Soon after the delivery of this note, his Prussian Majesty thought proper to drop the slight veil with which he had attempted the concealment of his real designs, by publishing, on the 1st of April, a proclamation, in which he stated the conclusion of a convention between himself and Buonaparte, for the exchange of Hanover in return for three provinces of his monarchy: and as the Hanoverian states were possessed by France, in right of conquest, he declared that the rightful possession of the electoral states of the house of Brunswick, situated in Germany, had passed over to him, in return for the above cession on his part; that they were now subjected only to his power; and that, thenceforth, their government would be administered in his name alone, and under his supreme authority. A proclamation was also issued by the court of Berlin, on the 28th of March, in which it was declared, that, in virtue of a treaty concluded between his Prussian Majesty, and the Emperor of France, and King of Italy, the ports of the German Ocean, (the North Sea) and the rivers which empty themselves into it, shall be shut against British shipping and trade in the same manner as was practised while Hanover was occupied by French troops. As soon as intelligence reached London of the actual exclusion of British shipping from the Elbe, and of the determination of Prussia to shut all the ports of the German Ocean against the British flag, measures of retaliation were adopted.—Notice was given, on the 8th of April, to the ministers of neutral powers, that the necessary means had been taken for the blockade of the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave. A general embargo was laid on all Prussian vessels, in the harbours of Great Britain and Ireland; and this order was extended, on the 16th of the same month, to all vessels belonging to the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, vessels under the Danish flag, only excepted. The English mission, at Berlin, was recalled; and a message from his Majesty was presented to both Houses of Parliament, on the 21st, stating the necessity in which his Majesty found himself, of withdrawing his minister from the court of Berlin, and of

adopting.

adopting, provisionally, measures of just retaliation against the commerce and navigation of Prussia, on account of acts of direct hostility, deliberately pursued against him, which left him no alternative. On the 20th of the same month, a declaration was issued by his Britannic Majesty, in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, recapitulating instances of perfidy, insincerity, and rapacity of the court of Berlin, and solemnly protesting, for himself and his heirs, against every incroachment on his rights in the electorate of Brunswick Lunenburg, and its dependencies. In addition to her war with England, the subserviency of Prussia to France, involved her in hostilities with Sweden.—The Swedish troops, who occupied Luneburg, on behalf of the King of England, having opposed the entrance of the Prussians into that duchy, were compelled, after a slight resistance, to retreat into Mecklenburg; upon which hostile proceeding, the King of Sweden laid an embargo upon all Prussian vessels in his harbours, and issued an order, bearing date the 27th of April, for the blockade of all the Prussian ports in the Baltic. To counteract these hostile operations, Prussia commenced preparations for the expulsion of the Swedish troops from the states of Pomerania; but, before this design could be carried into effect, a new revolution in her politics took place, which gave a totally different direction to her arms.—The feelings of the Prussian nation were decidedly hostile to France; and the Queen, young, beautiful, and persuasive, indignant at the usurpations and insults of France, and jealous of her husband's honour and reputation, joined in the same cause. The first public act of the cabinet of St. Cloud, which gave serious offence and alarm to the cabinet of Berlin, was the investiture of Murat, with the duchies of Berg and Cleves. But a deeper and more sensible injury awaited the Prussian government: while Laforest, the French resident at Berlin, was urging the ministers of that court, to persist in the measures they had adopted for the retention of Hanover, Lucchesini, the Prussian minister at Paris, discovered that the French government had offered to the King of Great Britain, the complete restitution of the electoral dominions. Fortunately, however, as Prussia then thought, the negociation for peace between France and Russia, after preliminaries had been signed at Paris, was broken off by the refusal of the court of St. Petersburgh to ratify the treaty concluded by M. D'Oubril. But this event, while it opened to Prussia the prospect of assistance, in case she should be driven to a war with France, disclosed to her further proof of the secret enmity of the cabinet of St. Cloud, and of its readiness to abandon her interests. She was now, for the first time, apprised, that during the negociations at Paris, between France and Russia, distinct hints had been given to M. D'Oubril, that if his court was desirous of annexing any part of Polish Prussia to its dominions, no opposition would be interposed against such a project by France.* The discussions between France and Prussia had, at length, advanced to a point which left no prospect of friendly arrangement. The court of Berlin, no longer influenced by a temporising policy, assumed a tone of firmness and decision: the troops were animated to a high degree of enthusiasm, by the expectation of hostilities, which they conceived the honour of the nation had long required; and the zeal of the people coincided with the sentiments of the army. The disposition manifested by the court, was equally approved by foreign powers, as by the subjects of Prussia. The King of Sweden was eager to cherish the prospect which seemed thus to be afforded of checking the power and aggrandisement of France; the Prussian vessels detained in the ports of Great Britain, were speedily liberated, and Lord Morpeth was dispatched to the court of Berlin, with proposals to afford her every assistance and co-operation in the fourth coalition that was at this time forming against France.

On the 24th of September, Buonaparte quitted Paris, to join the armies. Discussions, however, were continued, and even so late as the 5th of October, a dispatch was delivered from the Prussian outposts to the French army, which still afforded an opening for amicable adjustment. Within a few days after, a declaration, stating the grounds of the war, was published by the Prussian cabinet.

The French force had advanced in three divisions;

* The peace of Presburgh had left the forms of the Germanic constitution entire. The residence of the French troops in Germany, however, in consequence of the procrastinated occupation of Cattaro, by the Russians, matured a design suitable to the ambitious mind of Buonaparte, and seemed to suggest the establishment of a new confederation of princes, at the head of which he should himself be placed. This project was arranged with extraordinary promptitude; and on the 12th of July, the act of confederation was executed at Paris, by princes and ministers, who were scarcely allowed time to read the deed to which they affixed their signatures. This document, which subverted the complicated establishment of ages, commences, with observing, that their Majesties, the Emperor of the French, the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemburg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, the Elector of Baden, the Duke of Berg, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the Princes of Nassau Weilburgh, and Nassau Usingen, of Hohenzollern Hechingen, and Hohenzollern Siegmaringen, Salm Salm, and Salm Kyrburg, Isenburg, Birchstein, and Lichtenstein, the Duke of Aremburg, and the Count of Leyen, being desirous to secure the peace of Southern Germany, which experience had long since proved, could derive no guarantee from the existing constitution, had appointed certain plenipotentiaries to effect arrangements from which this guarantee would naturally and decidedly result. In consequence of the dispositions which had been agreed upon, and which were now ratified, the states of the contracting parties were to be for ever separated from the Germanic body, and united by an act, called "the Confederated States of the Empire." The affairs of this confederation were to be discussed in a congress, which should sit at Frankfort, divided into two colleges of kings and princes, where all disputes should be settled that might arise amongst the members, who could, in no case, enter into the service of any other power than the confederation, nor alienate to any other power, their sovereignty or territory. The elector arch-chancellor was to preside in the congress, under the title of prince primate, and on the demise of any prince primate, the right of naming a successor should attach to the Emperor of France, who was to be proclaimed protector of the confederation. In the event of a continental war, which should involve either the Emperor of France, or any other individual of the union, all parties should make a common cause; and, in case of preparation for war against any one of the parties, his minister should be authorised to demand of the congress, a general arming of the confederation. The congress were to regulate the proportion of assistance to the exigency of the case, and the summons of the Emperor to the parties, was to be the signal for taking the field. The house of Austria, thus stripped of its honours, was compelled to lay down the title of Emperor of Germany; and, by a formal deed of renunciation, Francis the Second resigned his office and title of Emperor of Germany, retaining only the more humble title of Emperor of Austria. When these arrangements were communicated to Prussia, her acquiescence was purchased by the delusive hope, that she would be permitted to form a confederation of states in the north of Germany, under the protection of Prussia, as the confederation of the Rhine was under the protection of France. But, no sooner had Austria submitted to the loss of her ancient imperial dignity, than Prussia, whose meanness was despised, and whose assistance was no longer wanted, was told, that Buonaparte could not permit her to include the Hanseatic towns in her plan of a northern confederation, and that he was determined to take them under his own protection.

Buonaparte had no sooner abolished the name of republic in France, than he sought to extinguish that appellation in the other states of Europe. Amongst other transformations, Louis, a younger brother of Napoleon, was selected to be King of Holland, and unwillingly dragged from the gaieties and delights of Paris, to rule over a laborious and impoverished people. The new constitution which accompanied the King, had no guarantee but the will of its author, nor was it attempted to be disguised, that Holland, though governed by a separate King, was to be considered as virtually a province of France.

Whilst Buonaparte was carrying into effect his projects of aggrandisement in Germany, the pressure of the French armies upon that country was extreme, and a spirit of resistance on the part of the inhabitants was summoned to its noblest exertions in a variety of publications, which soon attracted the notice of the French government. Orders were in consequence given for the apprehension of various booksellers in Franconia, Bavaria, and Suabia. Amongst these persecuted men, the fate of John Palm, a resident of Nuremberg, an imperial town of Germany, possessing laws and tribunals of its own, attracted particular notice. This person was the publisher of a pamphlet, intituled "Germany in the lowest state of degradation," a work written with considerable ability, and which had been read with great avidity. M. Palm was in consequence arrested by order of the French government, and dragged to Braunau, charged with the publication of a work libellous against the French Emperor, and tending to mislead the people of the south of Germany. On his arrival at the fortress, a court-martial was immediately summoned, consisting of General Berthier, seven Colonels of French regiments, and an Adjutant, with a reporter. After sitting for three days, M. Palm, who had not been present during the delivery of the depositions, was brought into court, on the 25th of August, when the evidence was read to him, and his defence heard; he was then ordered to withdraw, and the court, after some consultation, ordered him to be shot within four-and-twenty hours; which sentence was carried into execution on the following day.

the right, consisting of the corps of Marshals Ney and Soult, with a division of Bavarian troops, proceeded by the route of Amberg and Nuremberg, to unite at Bayreuth, in their advance upon Hof, on the southern confines of Saxony: the centre, composed of the reserve, under the Grand Duke of Berg, with the corps of the Prince de Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte) and Marshal Davoust, and the Imperial Guards, marched by Bamberg, towards Culmbach, in Franconia, and by way of Saalberg to Gerra, in Saxony: the left, consisting of the troops of Marshals Lannes and Augereau, took their route for Schweinfurth, towards Coburg, and advanced to Saalfield, in Saxony. The veteran Prussian army, having its right under General Blucher, its centre under the Duke of Brunswick, and its left commanded by Prince Hohenlohe, had taken a very strong position along the north of Frankfort, on the Mayne. The campaign opened, on the 9th of October, with the battle of Schleitz, seven miles to the north-west of Fulda. Here three Prussian regiments sustained, with great firmness, one of the most spirited charges of the enemy's cavalry; but, the efforts of the French were finally successful, and the Prussians were obliged to retreat, with a loss of 700 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners; and 500 waggons, containing military stores, fell into the hands of the victors. On the 10th, the left wing of the French army, under Marshal Lannes, was equally successful at Saalfield, where Prince Louis, of Prussia, brother of Frederick-William, was killed by Marshal De Logis, of the 10th regiment of the French hussars, with whom he was engaged in personal combat. The main body of the Prussian army occupied Eysenach, Gotha, Erfurt, and Weimar, and it was the intention of the Duke of Brunswick, to whom the chief command was confided, to commence hostilities by bearing down with his right wing upon Frankfort, with his centre on Wurtzburg, and his left wing on Bamberg. The French army, however, had, by this time, unexpectedly turned the extremity of the Prussian right wing, and obtained possession of the eastern bank of the Saal occupying, within a very short period, Saalberg, Schleitz, and Gerra. Alarmed by these movements, the arrangements of the Prussian army were immediately changed. The detachments, which had been precipitately urged forward, were recalled; and the head-quarters were removed through Weimar to Auerstadt, in the vicinity of Jena, while General Ruchel occupied the position of Weimar. Such were the arrangements made by the Prussians, previously to the 13th, in anticipation of the ensuing decisive struggle. On the same day, the Grand Duke of Berg, and Marshal Davoust, were, with their corps, at Naumberg, to which place the Prince of Ponte Corvo was in full march: Marshal Lannes proceeded to Jena, whither Buonaparte was also advancing, while his head-quarters were at Gerra. Ney was at Gotha, and Soult was proceeding on the straight road from Naumberg to Jena. In the afternoon of the 13th, Buonaparte arrived at Jena; and, from an elevated flat, near the place, reconnoitred the position of the enemy. The importance of this elevation for the play of the artillery, was so great, that notwithstanding the extreme difficulty, and, indeed, seeming impossibility of its accomplishment, the Herculean labour was, at length, surmounted, and before morning, the artillery was actually planted upon the eminence. The night of the 13th, was deeply interesting. The sentinels were almost close to each other; and the lights of the two armies were within half a cannon-shot. On both sides, all was watchfulness and motion. The divisions of Ney and Soult were occupied the whole night in marching; and, at break of day, the whole of the French troops were under arms. Suchet's division formed the right; the Imperial Guards occupied the summit of a height; and each of these corps had their artillery in the small spaces between them. The morning was obscured by a fog, which continued to prevail for two hours, during which Buonaparte rode along the line, giving the necessary directions. The light troops began the action, by dislodging the Prussians from an apparently inaccessible position on the highway between Jena and Weimar; and the success of this operation enabled the French troops to stretch out without restraint on the plain, where they now formed in order of battle. An army of 50,000 men had been detached, by the Prussians, from their left wing, to cover the defiles of Naumburg, and to possess themselves of the passes of Coesen, in which they were anticipated by Marshal Davoust. The two other armies, one of which amounted to 80,000 men, placed themselves in front of the French army, which now opened out from the level height of Jena. At this crisis, the mist which had hung over the combatants began to dissipate, and both armies beheld each other within the range of cannon-shot. After the first action of the morning, by which the Prussians had been forced to quit their position, the village of Hollstedt became the point of attack, and the Prussians were in full motion to dislodge the French from this station, when Marshal Lannes was ordered to its support. Marshal Soult attacked a wood on the right. The right wing of the Prussians made a movement against the left of the French, which Marshal Augereau was ordered to oppose, and in less than an hour, the action became general. Every manœuvre, on both sides, was performed with as much precision as if it had been executed upon the parade, while 250,000 men, and 700 pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction. After a struggle of nearly two hours, Soult secured possession of the wood, from which he immediately moved forward, while, at the same instant, the division of the French cavalry in reserve, and two other divisions, just arrived on the field of battle from the corps of Marshal Ney, were, by order of Buonaparte, brought into action, and so much strengthened the French line, as to throw the Prussians into great disorder. By a striking effort of skill and bravery, this disorder was speedily retrieved, and the battle was resumed, and continued for almost an hour. The fate of the day now hung in awful suspense; but the reserve, under the Duke of Berg, precipitated themselves into the midst of the fight, and threw the Prussian troops into extreme confusion. In vain did the cavalry and infantry form themselves into a square, the shock was irresistible, and this most dreadful charge completed their overthrow. On the right, Davoust not only maintained his ground against the great body of Prussians sent to possess the defiles of Coesen, but advancing into the plain, pursued them for three hours, in their retreat to Weimar. In this retreat, the confusion in the Prussian army was extreme, and the King, finding it necessary to quit the road, was obliged to retire across the fields at the head of his regiment of cavalry. The loss of the Prussians, in this battle, is estimated by the French, at 20,000 killed, and from 30 to 40,000 prisoners, besides 300 pieces of cannon, and immense magazines of military stores and provisions: among the prisoners, were more than 20 Generals; Marshal Mollendorf was wounded, and the Duke of Brunswick, and General Ruchel, were killed.* The French acknowledged a loss

* This heroic Prince, Charles William Frederick, Duke of Brunswick, was born on the 9th of October, 1735, O. S. Like all the German Princes of his time, he was bred to the profession of arms. By the time he had attained the age of nineteen, he had experienced many opportunities to distinguish his courage and conduct. His first exploit as a commander, was the capture of Kaya, towards the end of the year 1758. He next advanced against Minden, and having invested the village on the 5th of March, the garrison surrendered at discretion, at the end of nine days. England and her allies were not a little indebted to him, for the victory of Minden. On that memorable day, he encountered and overcame the Duke de Brissac, and thus prevented the Marshal de Contades from making his retreat by the defiles of Wittenkendstein. At the close of the campaign, in 1759, he was detached with 15,000 men, to serve under Frederick the Great, was afterwards present at the battle of Corbach, and though obliged to retreat, he maintained his former reputation. Prince Ferdinand and Marshal Broglio, were, at this period, opposed to each other; and the former having conceived the project of cutting off the communication with France by the Lower Rhine, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick was detached for that purpose. On this occasion, he was anticipated by the Marquis de Castries, and obliged to re-cross the Rhine; but he effected a brilliant retreat with his prisoners, among whom

loss on their part of from 4 to 5,000 men; the victory, however, was complete, and the battle of Jena decided the fate of the campaign.*

After this catastrophe, the King of Prussia retreated to Custin; but the approach of the enemy speedily produced the necessity of his further removal, and Koningsberg became the place of his residence, and the rallying point for the wreck of his forces. Here, the last regiments of the Prussian monarchy, amounting to about 50,000 men, collected around Frederick William, and awaited the accession of reinforcements, and the arrival of whatever assistance might be afforded by Russia.

Napoleon, aware that the Elector of Saxony had been forced into the service of Prussia, dismissed 6,000 of his troops on their parole immediately after the battle of Jena. The Elector of Hesse was, on the contrary, deprived of his dominions; as was the Duke of Brunswick. Mecklenburg was also taken possession of by the French; and Hanover was occupied by a detachment under the command of General Mortier. Fulda and Cassel were occupied by other corps of the French troops, and a perfect communication was opened and maintained with the grand army. The next object to be accomplished, and which was no sooner ordered than it was effected, was to take possession of Hamburgh; and the transactions at this place, where all British merchandize and other property were placed under sequestration, flowed from a system of policy explained by a decree of the French Emperor, published at Berlin towards the close of the month of November.†

Immediately after the battle of Jena, the King of Prussia applied to Buonaparte for an armistice; and though this request was refused, he was encouraged to send a plenipotentiary to the head-quarters of the French army, with instructions to negociate a peace. Lucchesini, the Prussian negociator, arrived at Berlin on the 22d of October, and found that Duroc had been named to discuss with him the terms of the proposed treaty. The situation of his Prussian Majesty became every day more desperate, and a very short time was sufficient to shew, that no terms of peace short of unconditional surrender were to be obtained. An armistice was next proposed, and concluded on the 16th of November, but on terms so disadvantageous to Prussia, that the King refused to ratify the act of his minister, preferring rather to try still further the fortune of war, with the aid, and under the banners of his Russian ally.

The Russian General Benningsen, with 4,000 men, at length crossed the Vistula, and arrived at Warsaw, on the 13th of November, whence he pushed on by forced

whom was Dumouriez, then an obscure subaltern in the French service. During the campaign of 1762, the hereditary Prince resumed his usual activity. On the 31st of August, having seized on the heights of Joannsberg, he endeavoured to prevent the junction of the armies under the Marshal d'Etrees and the Prince of Conde, but in this attempt he failed of success, and his cannon, and a large body of prisoners, fell into the hands of the enemy. No sooner was a treaty concluded than his Serene Highness returned home to cultivate the arts of peace, and on the 12th of June, 1764, he married the Princess Augusta, sister of King George III. of England. In 1780, his father died, and he succeeded to his titles and dominions. So unremitting were his endeavours to promote the happiness and prosperity of his subjects, that he acquired the glorious title of the "Father of his people." On the death of the old King of Prussia, the title of Field-Marshal was conferred upon the Duke by Frederick-William II. and being appointed to the command of the Prussian army, he succeeded in over-running Holland, and reinstating the Stadtholder. Having assumed the command of the combined forces, in July, 1792, he advanced from Coblentz to the heights of Valmy, where he was foiled by Dumouriez, and obliged to withdraw his army by forced marches, to their own frontier, destitute of provisions, encumbered with baggage, exposed to the ravages of a dreadful dysentery, and completely bereft of all its glory. In 1793, the Duke retired from the command of the Prussian army in disgust. On the breaking out of the war in 1806, the command was again confided to him. On the 13th of October, while reconnoitring the enemy at an advanced post, with a telescope in his hand, he was wounded in the face by a grape shot; and he was obliged soon after to have recourse to a litter, in which he was conducted to the capital of his dominions. On the approach of the enemy he left his little metropolis for the last time, and retired by easy journies to Altona. There, in an obscure lodging, attended by his consort, he heard that the royal family was fled; that nearly all his troops had been intercepted in their retreat; and that he himself was stripped of his dominions. In this melancholy situation, bereft of sight, overwhelmed with pain, and surrounded by misery, died a sovereign prince, to whose talents, at one critical period, all the sovereigns of Europe looked up for safety and protection. The Duke breathed his last on the 10th of November, in the 71st year of his age.

* The Duke of Berg, on the 15th of October invested Erfurth, and on the following day, that fine citadel, to which General Mollendorf had retreated, was surrendered, with 14,000 men, into the hands of the enemy. The blockade of Magdeberg, which, being supposed perfectly out of danger, had been made a depot for the most valuable effects from Munster, Cassel, and East Friesland, amounting to a very great accumulation, was entered on the 20th under the orders of the same commander, while he proceeded towards Spandau only three miles from Berlin. The garrison of this place surrendered on the 24th, and on the 8th of November, Magdeberg itself, with 22,000 prisoners, was yielded up to the enemy. Stettin, with a garrison of 6,000 men, and 100 pieces of cannon, was also taken by one of the wings of the Duke of Berg's corps, while the other attacked a column of 6,000 Prussians, who immediately laid down their arms. Stettin was the fortress to which, after the fatal day of Jena, the Prince of Hohenlohe directed his course with the principal wreck of the army, having under him about 16,000 infantry, principally guards and grenadiers, six regiments of cavalry, and 64 pieces of harnessed artillery. In his attempt, however, he was intercepted, and taken.

General Blucher, after the defeat at Jena, attempted to gain the Oder, to effect a junction with the army of Prince Hohenlohe. After various attempts, he received the mortifying intelligence that the prince had capitulated. General Blucher had now no alternative but to take the direction to Hamburg or Lubeck, or to fight the next day, as the Duke of Berg was on his left flank, Soult on his right, and Bernadotte on his front, each of whose divisions was more than double the number of his own. His march to Lubeck was accordingly resolved upon. Here treachery combined against him, and afforded aid to the French troops, who soon filled the town. The squares, streets, and even churches, were scenes of the most bloody conflict and carnage, war triumphed in this unfortunate place, in its full ravage; and the Prussian troops at length, obliged to yield to the superior forces of the enemy, withdrew from the town. Effectual resistance was now impossible. After three weeks, constant retreat, in which, from the incessant fatigue of marching five or six German miles a day, with only the most miserable means of subsistence, fifty or sixty men being frequently obliged to be left behind, he felt it his duty, at the moment the French were about to attack him, to yield to a capitulation.

Davoust had, on the 18th of October, taken possession of Leipzig, where immediate notice was given to the merchants and bankers, that all English property would be seized in this grand entrepot of British merchandise; and all persons were enjoined within twenty-four hours to send in a declaration regarding all such property in their possession, of whatever description; the non-compliance with this mandate to be punished by the summary process of military tribunals. Having ordered a bridge to be thrown over the Elbe at this place, Davoust proceeded to Wittemburg, and gained by surprise the bridges of that town, after which he moved forward to Berlin, which he entered at the head of his troops on the 25th, followed on the succeeding day by the corps of Marshal Augereau. On the 24th, Buonaparte arrived at Potsdam; where he visited the palace, and the tomb of the great Frederick. The sword of that distinguished warrior, the ribbon of the black eagle, the colours taken by him in the seven years' war, and the scarf which he used during that critical period of vicissitudes and glory, excited particular regard and emotion, and seizing these trophies, he exclaimed with transport, "Twenty millions shall not purchase them. I will present them to my old soldiers, and the Hotel of Invalids at Paris shall be their future depository." Within three days after his arrival at Potsdam, he made his public entry into Berlin, attended by his principal Generals, and his foot guards. Various ambassadors from the powers with which he was at peace were here presented to him at the palace. He afterwards received the deputies from the Lutheran and Reformed churches, mostly the descendants of the refugee French protestants, driven from their country by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, to whom he promised the continued enjoyment of their privileges and worship. Twelve hundred of the principal inhabitants were intrusted with the guardianship of the city; and to the management of eight of the highest reputation and consequence, was committed the superintendance of the police. The supreme provisional government of the conquered country of Prussia was divided into four departments—Berlin, Custin, Stettin, and Magdeburg, and committed to the direction of General Clarke.

† This edict, which afterwards became so memorable under the designation of the "Berlin Decree," was introduced by a declaration, stating, that England had violated the laws of nations in considering every individual belonging to a hostile state as an actual enemy, whether found on board vessels of merchandise, or engaged otherwise in the tranquil occupations of commercial agents, or as members of commercial factories. She had moreover extended her right of blockade beyond all reasonable limits—to places before which she had not a single ship of war, and even to whole coasts and kingdoms, where, with all her naval superiority, it was impossible for her actually to maintain it. The monstrous abuse of the right of blockade, as it was styled, had no other object but to impede the communication between nations, and to aggrandize the commerce and industry of England by the ruin of the commerce and industry of the Continent. All those who dealt in English commodities upon the Continent, might, therefore, be justly regarded as seconding those views, and rendering themselves her accomplices. And that, as it was a right, conferred by the laws of nature and of nations, to oppose to an enemy the weapons he employs against his adversary; it was there decreed, that till the English government should abandon this system, the British isles should be placed in a state of blockade, and all commerce and correspondence with her interdicted.

marches to the river Drzura. His reconnoitring parties, however, soon ascertained the great superiority and the rapid march of the enemy, on which General Bonningsen speedily retired across the Vistula, and entirely destroyed the bridge over that river. About the end of November, the first division of the French army arrived at Warsaw, and one of their first objects was to substitute a bridge for that which the Russians had destroyed. Buonaparte quitted Posen for Warsaw. After various operations, the battles of Maziesk and Lopackzin were fought on the 24th of December, in which the Russians lost 1600 men, and 25 pieces of cannon. A Prussian corps, consisting of 6,000 infantry, and 1,000 cavalry, also sustained a signal defeat at Scoldaw, by a corps of French troops under Marshal Ney; while Bessieres routed another detachment of Prussian troops, breaking their line, and driving them into the morasses, near the village of Carmeden. These successes were only preliminary to a battle of more importance, fought on the 26th of December, in the vicinity of Pultusk, and which closed the military operations of the year.*

The Prussian monarch, while these disastrous events were taking place, experienced a state of the utmost suspense and embarrassment. His queen and family, with a train of attendants and nobility, sought an asylum, first at Dantzic, and afterwards at Memel, where the death of one of the young princes was combined with other circumstances of public and domestic affliction.

A general armament was ordered by the Emperor of Russia to be raised, in a certain proportion to the existing population, according to which the force to be levied would amount to upwards of 600,000 men, who were, on any requisite emergency, to be ready to support the troops of the empire. By Buonaparte, on the other hand, levies were perpetually sent from the interior of France to the seat of war, and an anticipated conscription for the ensuing year was put in requisition, to be trained and disciplined.

Jerome Buonaparte was successfully conducting the operations of the army in Silesia. On the 8th of January, 1807, the city of Breslau, which had been for some time regularly besieged, surrendered to the enemy, who had begun to batter in breach; the magazines of this fortress were considerable, and its garrison, consisting of 5,500 men, defiled before Prince Jerome as his prisoners of war. The other fortresses in Silesia were in succession rapidly invested, and taken. In the mean time, the French armies were employed in prosecuting the sieges of Stralsund, Colberg, and Dantzic, the possession of the latter of which cities was deemed of extreme consequence.

Towards the end of January, Buonaparte quitted Warsaw, and joined his army. Various contests occurred early in the month of February, and the evening of the 6th came on while both armies were in presence of each other: during the night, the Russians retreated, and took up their position behind Eylau. At a short distance from this place there is a flat, at the summit of an eminence, which, as commanding the entrance into the town, it was deemed necessary by Buonaparte to gain. The Russian troops, who held this position, were thrown into considerable confusion, by an attack made upon them under the direction of Soult; but, by a well-timed and admirably-conducted charge from a body of the Russian cavalry, some of the French battalions thus employed were completely thrown into disorder. During this vicissitude of fortune, the result of which was the continued possession of the eminence by the Russians, the troops came to action in Eylau. Several regiments had been posted in a church and church-yard, which were maintained by the Russians, with extraordinary pertinacity, and occasioned on both sides the most dreadful carnage till about ten o'clock at night, when they were abandoned to the French. The division of Le Grand passed the night in front of the village; that of St. Hilaire was on the right; Augereau was posted on the left; the corps of Davoust began its march early on the ensuing morning of the 8th, with a view to fall on the left of the Russians; while that of Ney was on its march to outflank them on the right. At day-break the attack commenced, on the part of the Russians, by a cannonade, directed against the division of St. Hilaire. Buonaparte commanded in person at Eylau, and stationed himself at the church, which had been so obstinately defended the preceding day, whence he gave orders for the corps of Augereau to advance with forty pieces of cannon, and to cannonade the eminence which had before been unsuccessfully attempted. The Russian army was formed into columns, and being only at the distance of half a cannon shot from the assailants, every ball took effect. To terminate the carnage occasioned by this dreadful cannonade, the Russians attempted to surround the left wing of the enemy. The corps under Davoust were at this moment perceived by the Russian commander to be in a situation highly favourable to an attack, and stood exposed to the danger of being assailed by the whole force of the Russian army; to prevent the disaster that must inevitably have ensued, Augereau advanced in columns across the plain to attack the centre of the Russians, and thus to divide their attention. The division of St. Hilaire approached on the right, and was endeavouring to form a junction with Augereau: during the manœuvres necessary for effecting this object, a heavy fall of snow intercepted the view of the French divisions; their point of direction was lost; and the columns deviating to the left, were exposed for a considerable time to extreme uncertainty and danger. On the conclusion of the storm, which lasted for more than half an hour, the Grand Duke of Berg, immediately perceiving the destruction to which the French columns were exposed, and from which nothing but the boldest manœuvres could rescue them, instantly advanced at the head of his cavalry, with Marshal Bessieres and the imperial guard, to the support of St. Hilaire's division, and attacked the main body of the Russians: by this vigorous and unexpected movement the Russians were thrown into disorder, and sustained the most dreadful slaughter; two of their lines were penetrated, and the third was preserved entire only by the support derived from an adjoining wood. This splendid and successful operation was, however, by no means decisive of the fate of the day; the Russian army still resisted, with a firmness and perseverance which rendered the contest long doubtful: for twelve hours, 300 cannon were scattering death in every direction. The success of Davoust at length gave a preponderance to the scale on the side of the French army; his march had been retarded by several falls of snow, and the junction of his columns proved an affair of extreme difficulty; but at length he was enabled to out-flank the Russians, and to gain possession of the

* In the morning of that day Marshal Lannes arrived opposite to Pultusk, where the whole corps of General Benningsen had assembled during the night. About ten o'clock the next morning the attack was commenced by the French, and received by the Russians with great firmness. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and with various vicissitudes, but at length French tactics triumphed over Russian courage, and General Benningsen, on whom the chief command of the Russian army had now devolved, was compelled to retreat. In the mean time, General Buxhoevden had assembled the different corps of his army at Golymin, to which place they were closely pursued by Davoust, who took up his position in an adjoining wood. About noon Augereau arrived, and took the Russians in the flank, while another French corps deprived them of a point of support, derived from a neighbouring village, and at three o'clock the division of General Hendelet formed in line, and advanced against the Russians. The fire was conducted with great animation, and notwithstanding several impetuous and successful charges made by the cavalry of the Duke of Berg, the contest continued till eleven o'clock at night; when the Russian commander, finding himself unable any longer to resist the shock, ordered a retreat to Ostrolenka. General Buxhoevden was now placed in a situation of extreme danger, and had not the unfavourable state of the roads impeded the progress of the French troops under Marshal Soult, scarcely any portion of the Russian army could have escaped destruction. The loss in these actions, on the part of the French, was admitted by themselves to be little short of 3,000 men; but that of the Russians was, on the same authority, stated to be 12,000 killed, wounded, and taken; 80 pieces of cannon; and about 1,200 baggage waggons. The retreat of the Russians was the signal for the French troops to enter into winter quarters, and the corps under Marshals Ney, Bernadotte, and Bessieres, were almost immediately cantoned on the left bank of the river Orege, while Marshal Soult, with the brigades of light horse, were stationed on the right bank of that river for their protection.

level

level on the summit of the eminence. This position was disputed with all the vigour and ardour of military combat; and after the Russians had been obliged in the first instance to abandon it, they attempted to recover their lost ground, with a vehemence bordering upon rage, and a perseverance approaching to desperation; their reiterated attempts were, however, found to be ineffectual, and they were obliged finally to quit the field, and to secure as orderly a retreat as possible.* The havoc resulting from this sanguinary contest, occasioned great exertions to be made for reinforcements. The Emperor Alexander and the Archduke Constantine not long after joined the Russian army with upwards of 60,000 troops; and the efforts of Napoleon to repair his loss, and accumulate a force equal to the great struggle which still remained, were unremitting. The greater part of the 8th corps of the grand army, which had been employed under General Mortier, in the north of Germany, was ordered to march to the more critical theatre of hostility; and from the different recruiting stations throughout France, and the conquered countries, reinforcements were continually dispatched to join the imperial standard on the Vistula.

The French army now bent its efforts with increased vigour against the fortress of Dantzic. This place had been for some time invested, but the siege was now urged with extreme pressure and perseverance. On the 24th of April the bombardment began; but it was not till the 27th of May, that the garrison, reduced from 16,000 to 9,000 men, with their general at their head, marched out of the fortifications with all the honours of war, and were permitted to go wherever their inclination and convenience dictated, engaging only not to serve against France for the ensuing twelve months.†

After a system of violence and rapine had been sufficiently organized to proceed with little military impulse, in Hamburgh, Lubeck, and the various other places, which, in their turn, became the victims of imperial plunder, the corps of Mortier was ordered to proceed against Swedish Pomerania, and to co-operate with Lefebvre in the siege of Dantzic. The attempts of Buonaparte to detach the King of Sweden from the confederacy had been such as would have seduced or terrified to his purpose a man of less firmness and perseverance than were possessed by this young monarch. The failure of the overtures of the French government was, in January, followed by the seizure of Anclam. Grissewald was soon taken by the French troops, and Stralsund itself was invested. The Swedish army at Stralsund consisted of 13,000 Swedes, and 4,000 Prussians: these the King was almost in daily expectation of seeing joined by a considerable British force, which might qualify him to take the field for active operations against the enemy, instead of confining himself within the walls of a fortress. A force was not long after landed in Rugen and Stralsund, consisting of several thousand foreign troops, under a British commander, and constituting the first division of the expected armament; but the arrival of these reinforcements produced no immediate interest, and circumstances speedily occurred which materially changed the aspect of affairs.

Towards the close of the year 1806, war had been declared by Turkey against Russia; and to promote the success of the latter, and oblige the Turks to accede to terms of accommodation, by which a force would be released from this southern warfare, and enabled to swell the Russian army in Poland, a British fleet, under the command of Sir John Duckworth, advanced through the Dardanelles, and on the 20th of March appeared off Constantinople. Instead of producing accommodation between Russia and the Porte, a new power only was added to the list of England's enemies; commercial relations with Turkey were, of course, immediately closed; the British agents and settlers in the Turkish territories were exposed to considerable annoyance, and the seizure and sequestration of English property at Smyrna, Salonica, and other places, were ordered by the Porte, with a promptitude which precluded all opportunity for precaution. The power of France over the divan became materially strengthened; Sebastiani, the French ambassador at Constantinople, was consulted on almost every emergency, and his influence in the Turkish capital became predominant and irresistible. In this war between Russia and the Porte, the former, however, was generally successful, and to add to the disasters of the Turks, an insurrection arose during its progress, owing to some new regulations in the dress and discipline of the troops, which terminated in the deposition and violent death of the Grand Seignior, Selim III. and the proclamation of Mustapha IV. By sea, the Russians were equally successful as by land, and in an engagement between the Russian and Turkish fleets, fought on the 1st of July, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, the Turkish squadron, consisting of eleven sail of the line, was nearly annihilated. Circumstances, however, occurred, which speedily led to a termination of the contest.

Subsequently to the battle of Eylau, and during the siege of Dantzic, no exertions were omitted by Buonaparte which could add security to his positions. The surrender of Dantzic added considerably to the disposable force of the French, but did not appear to offer any immediate and effectual inducement to Buonaparte to quit his almost impregnable positions. Two mighty armies, however, when the season was favourable to their operations, could not be long, nearly in view of each other, without coming to the alternative of pacification, or sanguine and destructive hostility; and as the confidence still entertained by each party prevented any successful attempts at negociation, circumstances soon occurred which drew on an obstinate and decisive conflict. On the 5th of June the grand French army was attacked by the allies at different points of their line. On the right of the allies, and the left of the French, twelve Russian and Prussian regiments, forming two divisions, attacked the tete du pont of Spanden, on the Passarge, which was defended by a regiment of light infantry, strongly covered by intrenchments and redoubts. Seven different times they were repulsed, and as often renewed the attack. But immediately after the last assault, they were charged by a regiment of French dragoons, that had come up to the assistance of the regiment of infantry, and forced to abandon the field of battle, with a severe loss of killed and wounded. Two divisions, belonging to the centre of the allied army, attacked, at the same time, the tete du pont of Lomitten, which was defended by a brigade of a corps of Marshal Soult; and after a gallant struggle, the Russian General, with 1,100 of his troops, fell in the action, which terminated in favour of the French. At the same time, General Benningsen, with the Grand Duke Constantine, the imperial guard, and three divisions of the other troops, attacked the French line at Aldkirken, Gutstadt, and Wolfsdorf, and after a severe contest, obliged the French General to fall back to Akendorf. On the following day, the allies attacked the 6th corps of the French army, under the command of Marshal Soult and General Marchand, at Deppen, on the Passarge. The Russians, in the action of this day, lost 2,000 killed, and more than 8,000 wounded, while the loss of the French, according to their own statement, was comparatively trivial.

After various manœuvres and skirmishes, the French army, on the 10th, moved towards Heilsberg, and on its advance to this place, came up with the rear-guard of the allied army, consisting of from 15 to 18,000 ca-

* The battle of Eylau appears to have been one of the most vigorous and obstinately contested battles in the history of the war; it was celebrated at Warsaw and at Paris, with the usual accompaniments of triumph: the loss of the Russians was stated in the French bulletin at 14,000 killed and wounded, and 12,000 prisoners; 45 pieces of cannon, and 18 colours; and that Buonaparte, neither in this, nor in any other battle where he commanded, ever lost any cannon. The loss of the French was admitted to be very severe, and General Benningsen estimates that loss at 30,000 killed, 12,000 wounded, and 2,000 prisoners!

† Dantzic, at the time of its surrender, possessed 800 pieces of artillery, and magazines and stores of every description. Its principal advantage, however, to the conqueror, lay in its constituting a place of the first order, for strength, on the left wing of the grand army, while the centre was supported by Thorne, and the right by Praga.

valry,

valry, and several lines of infantry. An attack was immediately commenced by a division of the French dragoons, and a brigade of light cavalry. The French were repeatedly repulsed, but as often renewed the attack. Reinforcements of both infantry and cavalry were sent to the rear-guard from the main body of the Russian army, which was posted at Heilsberg, and repeated efforts were made by the Russians, supported by more than 60 pieces of cannon, to maintain their position before that town; but all their exertions proved unavailing, and at nine o'clock in the evening, the French troops found themselves under the Russian intrenchments. The fusileers of the French guard, commanded by Savary, were put in motion to sustain the division of Verdier; and some of the corps of infantry of the reserve, under Marshal Lannes, attacked the Russians at the close of the day, and succeeded in cutting off their communication with Lansberg. Buonaparte passed the 11th on the field, in front of Heilsberg. He there drew up the different corps and divisions of the army in order of battle, that the war might be terminated at once by a decisive engagement. The grand army of the Russians was assembled at this place, where the magazines were established, and where they occupied a position strong by nature, and further strengthened by the labours of four months. At four in the afternoon, Buonaparte ordered Marshal Davoust to charge in front, and push forward the left wing of his corps—a movement which brought him upon the Lower Alla, and blocked up the road from Eylau. To every corps of the army was assigned its proper station, and thus the Russians found themselves blockaded in their intrenched camp, and offered battle on the ground which they themselves had chosen. At the moment when the French were making their dispositions, the Russians shewed themselves ranged in columns in the midst of their intrenchments; but at ten o'clock at night they began to pass the Alla, abandoned the whole of the country to their left, and left their magazines and wounded to the disposal of the enemy. In the different actions, from the 5th to the 12th, according to the French accounts, the Russian army was deprived of about 30,000 fighting men; the number of wounded, left prisoners in the hands of the enemy, amounted to between 3 and 4,000, while the loss of the French, as stated by themselves, amounted to no more than 700 killed, 2,200 wounded, and 300 prisoners.

On the 12th, at four in the morning, the French army entered Heilsberg, where they found in the magazines several thousand quintals of grain, and an immense quantity of different kinds of provisions. A division of dragoons, and a brigade of light cavalry, pursued the Russians to the right bank of the Alla. In the mean time, the light corps of the French army advanced in various directions, in order to pass the Russians, and, by cutting off their retreat to Koningsberg, to place themselves between the Russian army and their magazines. At five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, the French army had advanced to Eylau, and taken up their head-quarters at that place. Here the fields were no longer covered with ice and snow, but on the contrary presented one of the most beautiful scenes in nature. On the 13th, while the Grand Duke of Berg, and the Marshals Soult and Davoust, had orders to manœuvre before Koningsberg, Buonaparte, with the corps of Ney, Lannes, Mortier, the imperial guard, and the first corps, commanded by General Victor, advanced to Friedland. On the same day, the 9th regiment of hussars entered that town, but was driven out of it again by 3,000 Russian cavalry. On the 14th, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, the grand struggle took place. The field of battle lay between the left of the village of Heinrichdorff and the Alla, to the south of Friedland. Buonaparte, having reconnoitred the position of the enemy, determined to attempt the town of Friedland; and having changed his front, ordered the extremity of the right wing, under Marshal Ney, to advance to the attack. At half past five in the morning the battle commenced; the firing of twenty cannon from a battery forming the signal of attack. At that moment, the division under General Marchand, co-operating with Marshal Ney, advanced sword in hand. When the Russians observed Ney to have quitted the wood by which he had been supported, they endeavoured to turn his left by several regiments of cavalry, preceded by a multitude of Cossacks, but owing to the firmness of the dragoons of Latour Maubourg, they were repulsed. At this period of the battle, the Russian cavalry made an impetuous and successful attack upon the enemy's cuirassiers, and pursued them as far as Heinrichdorff. In the mean time, a battery was erected by General Victor, in his centre, and pushed on 400 paces by General Lennermont, to the extreme annoyance of the Russians, and which, by attracting their attention to its destructive fire, deranged those manœuvres, which might otherwise have defeated the operations of Ney. The Russian troops which attacked the right wing of this General were received upon the point of the bayonet, and driven into the river Alla, where thousands perished in the stream, while numbers escaped by swimming. When the left wing of Ney, however, had nearly reached the works which surrounded the town, it was exposed to the most imminent peril. The imperial Russian guard, which had been here concealed in ambuscade, suddenly advanced upon the French, with an impetuosity which threw them into disorder, and had nearly rendered the efforts of the marshal abortive. The division of Dupont, however, which formed the right of the reserve, marched against the Russian guard, who performed prodigies of firmness and valour, but were unable to resist this effort of the enemy; several other bodies were sent from the centre of the Russian army for the defence of the position of Friedland; but the town was at length taken, and its streets filled with the bodies of the dead. The centre, under Marshal Lannes, was now engaged, and the Russians made several attempts against this corps, similar to those which had failed on the right wing; but the repeated efforts of the Russian bravery were unavailing, and served only to continue for a longer period the work of carnage. The battle lasted from half past five in the morning till seven at night. Both sides fought with extreme intrepidity and obstinacy, and the superior number of the French, with an impetuous direction of nearly all their force, towards the close of the day, upon the centre of the Russians, decided the fate of the contest. The Russians estimated their own loss at no less than 10,000 men. In eleven days the Russians lost 27 Generals, upwards of 1,800 officers killed and wounded, and 40,000 men. On the part of the French, according to their own self-evidently false account, the loss did not exceed 500 killed, and 300 wounded. Eighty pieces of cannon, a great number of caissons, and several colours, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Night did not prevent the pursuit of the Russians, who were followed till eleven o'clock, after which, those of the columns which were cut off endeavoured to avail themselves of the fords over the Alla to pass that river, which exhibited to the victors, on the ensuing day, marks of the total discomfiture of the allied army. On the 15th the Russians continued their retreat to Wehlau, at the confluence of the Alla and the Pregel, where the columns of the French speedily arrived, and obliged them to withdraw to the banks of the Niemen. Near this river several newly formed divisions of the Russian troops had arrived; and General Benningsen still cherished the expectation that he should soon be again able to advance and to recover from the enemy the advantages which he had obtained. This expectation was however grievously disappointed, for on the 18th of June, the retreating army approached the town of Tilsit, and after transporting its heavy baggage across the Niemen, stationed itself on the great plain on the right of the town. All the bridges were destroyed immediately after the passage of the Russian troops, and all the magazines on the Alla were burnt or cast into the river.

On the 16th Buonaparte threw a bridge over the Pregel, and took up a position on the eastern side of that river with his army. The defeat of Friedland served

as

as a signal for the evacuation of Koningsberg, and the garrison under General Lestoq succeeded, with extreme difficulty, in joining the main body of the Russian army, while the fortress opened its gates on the 16th to the French corps under Marshal Soult. At this place were found several hundred thousand quintals of corn, more than 20,000 wounded Russians and Prussians, and all the arms and ammunition that had been sent to the Russians by England, including 160,000 muskets that had not been landed. On the 19th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Buonaparte, with his guard, entered Tilsit. The Russians, pursued after the battle of Friedland by the Grand Duke of Berg, at the head of the greater part of the light cavalry, continued their retreat eastward. The Emperor of Russia, who had remained for three weeks with his Prussian Majesty at Tilsit, left that place along with the King in great haste; and on the same day a suspension of hostilities was proposed to the chiefs of the French army by the Russian Commander-in-chief. In consequence of this proposition an armistice was concluded at Tilsit, on the 22d, by which it was settled, that hostilities should not be resumed on either side without a month's previous notice; that a similar armistice should be concluded between the French and the Prussian armies, in the course of five days; that plenipotentiaries should be instantly appointed by the different parties, for the work of pacification, and that there should be an immediate exchange of prisoners.

Three days afterwards, an interview took place on the Niemen, between the Emperor Alexander and Buonaparte: at one o'clock, the latter, accompanied by a number of his Generals, embarked on the banks of the Niemen in a boat prepared for the purpose. They proceeded to the middle of the river, where General Lariboissiere, commanding the artillery of the guard, had caused a raft to be placed and a pavilion erected upon it, close to which was another raft and pavilion for his Majesty's suite. At the same moment the Emperor Alexander set out from the right bank, accompanied by the Grand Duke Constantine, General Benningsen, and a number of the principal officers of his staff. The two boats arrived at the same instant, and Buonaparte and the Emperor embraced each other as soon as they set foot on the raft. They entered the saloon together, and remained there two hours. The conference having terminated, the parties embarked, each in his boat, and returned to the opposite shores.

While arrangements were making for the preliminaries of peace, the town of Tilsit became the abode of the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and Buonaparte. The arrangements of pacification were at length completed; on the 9th of July a treaty of peace between Russia and France was ratified; and, on the same day peace was signed between France and Prussia.* The King of Sweden refused to accede to the treaty of Tilsit, and attempted the defence of Pomerania; but being abandoned to his fate by his continental allies, his efforts were unavailing. He, however, succeeded in withdrawing his forces from Stralsund before the enemy was apprised of his intention, after which he crossed the Baltic and returned into Sweden.

It is now time to revert to the proceedings of the British Parliament, which had been opened, by commission, on the 15th of December, 1806. The object of the royal speech was to prepare the nation for the awful crisis impending, and to animate them to adequate exertions against the formidable and increasing power of the enemy.† The address, moved in the Lords by the Earl of Jersey, and seconded by Lord Somers; and in the Commons by the Honourable Mr. Lambe, and seconded by Mr. John Smyth, called forth various observations from Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Canning, but was passed in both Houses without a division.‡ On the 2d of January, the subject of the late negociation with France for the restoration of a general peace was brought under the consideration of the House of Lords. The discussion was introduced by Lord Grenville, in a speech of considerable length, the leading points of which were embraced in the following motion: "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to assure him that this House has taken into its serious consideration the papers relative to the late negociation, which he has been graciously pleased to lay before them, and that they see with gratitude, that he has employed every means to restore the blessings of peace, in a manner consistent with the interest and glory of his people, and at the same time with an observance of that good faith with our allies, which this country is bound to maintain inviolate. That while we lament that, by the unbounded ambition of the enemy, those laudable endeavours have been frustrated, no exertions shall be wanting on our part to support and assist his Majesty in the adoption of such measures as may be found necessary, either for the restoration of peace, or to meet the various exigencies of the war in this most important crisis." Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Eldon expressed their complete concurrence in the leading points of the address, but contended that there was no proof, that the French government had agreed to proceed on the basis of the uti possidetis, or state of actual possession. They most heartily acquiesced in the result of the negociation, and with this exception, joined in the address, which was carried nemine contradicente. On the 5th of January the same subject was brought under discussion in the

* By this treaty Prussia was deprived of all her territories on the left bank of the Elbe, and of all her Polish provinces, except those situated between Pomerania and the Newmarke, and ancient Prussia, to the north of the little river Netz. The elector, now become the King of Saxony, in virtue of a treaty entered into with Napoleon Buonaparte, took also the title of Duke of Warsaw, and was to have free communication, by a military road, between Saxony and his new dominions, which were to consist of Thorn, Warsaw, and the rest of Prussian Poland, except that part which is to the north of the Bug, and which, under the idea of establishing natural boundaries between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw, was incorporated with the dominions of the Emperor Alexander. Dantzic was in future to be an independent town: East Friesland was added to the kingdom of Holland: a new kingdom, under the designation of the kingdom of Westphalia, was formed of the provinces ceded by the Prussian Monarch, and others in the possession of Buonaparte. The recognition of Jerome Buonaparte, as the sovereign of this new state, also of the Kings of Holland and Naples, and of all the present and future members of the confederation of the Rhine, was yielded to on the part of Prussia, with the consent to close her ports and become a party in the maritime war against England. By the publication of the treaty with Russia, it appeared that the Emperor and Buonaparte mutually guaranteed to each other the integrity of their possessions, and of those of the other powers included in the treaty. The Kings of Holland, Naples, and Westphalia, were to be recognized by Russia; the offer of a mediation to effect a peace between France and England was accepted, on the condition that, within one month from the ratification, England should admit this mediation. It was also stipulated that hostilities should immediately cease between Russia and the Ottoman Porte; and the Emperor of Russia agreed to accept the mediation of Buonaparte for the conclusion of peace between the two powers. The independence of Dantzic; the military high-way between Saxony and the Duchy of Warsaw; the annexation of part of Prussian Poland to the empire of Russia, formed also articles in the Prussian treaty. The restoration of the Dukes of Saxe Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg Schwerin, to the quiet possession of their dominions, was acceded to by France. The confederation of the Rhine was explicitly acknowledged by the Emperor of Russia; who engaged equally to acknowledge the princes or states that might hereafter be added to this union, on the communication of such change by the French government.

† His Majesty acquainted his Parliament, that his efforts for the restoration of general tranquillity, on terms consistent with the interest and honour of his people, and good faith to his allies, had been disappointed by the ambition and injustice of the enemy, who in the same moment had kindled up a fresh war in Europe, and of which the progress had been attended with the most calamitous events. Prussia, threatened by the near approach of that danger, which she had vainly hoped to avert by so many sacrifices, was at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting the unremitting system of aggrandizement and conquest pursued by France; but neither this determination nor the succeeding measures of hostility were previously concerted with his Majesty; nor had any disposition been shown to offer any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions which had placed this country in a state of hostility with Prussia. Yet, in this situation, his Majesty did not hesitate to adopt, without delay, such measures as were calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy. The speech extolled the good faith of his Majesty's remaining allies; and concluded with a solemn appeal to the bravery and public spirit of his people.

‡ On the 22d of December, the unanimous thanks of both Houses were voted to Major-General Sir John Stuart, and also to the Hon. Brigadier-Generals Cole and Ackland, for the distinguished ability and valour manifested by them in the signal victory obtained over the French troops at Maida, on the 4th of July, 1806, and to the officers under their command; as well as to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers serving under the same, for their bravery and good conduct in the glorious battle of Maida.

Commons, on the motion of Lord Howick, when Mr. Whitbread moved the following amendment:—"To assure his Majesty of our firm determination to co-operate with his Majesty in calling forth the resources of the united kingdom, for the vigorous prosecution of the war in which we are involved, and to pray his Majesty, that he will, in his paternal goodness, afford, as far as is consistent with his own honour, and the interest of his people, every facility to any just arrangement by which the blessing of peace may be restored to his loyal subjects." This amendment was afterwards withdrawn, and the address was carried without a division. On the 29th of the month, Lord Henry Petty, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought forward a statement of the supplies of the ways and means for the year, combined with a permanent plan of finance, which professed to have for its object to provide the means of maintaining the honour and independence of the British empire, during the necessary continuance of the war, without perceptibly increasing the burthens of the country, and with manifest benefit to the interest of the public creditor. The total amount of the supplies for the year 1807, he stated at 40,527,065*l.* 11s. 8d. and the ways and means at 41,100,000*l.** The favourable impression made by the new method of supply (which was agreed to) was immediately obvious upon the funds, which advanced considerably, and gave the minister an opportunity of negociating a loan on terms highly advantageous to the public, and yet not unproductive to the contractors.

On the 9th of February, Mr. Whitbread moved for permission to bring a bill into the House of Commons for amending the condition of the poor in England; but this measure, with some others, was interrupted in its progress by the change of administration, and the concomitant dissolution of Parliament. In the new Parliament it was again taken into consideration, and the bill was passed through the House of Commons; it was, however, ultimately doomed to a fate which so enlightened a measure did not merit; and on the 11th of August the bill was, on the motion of Lord Hawkesbury, thrown out of the House of Peers. The labours of this Parliament, and of this ministry, closed gloriously, with the final abolition of the Slave trade.† The dismissal of ministers was occasioned by their pertinacious support of the Catholic claims. On the 5th of March, a bill had been brought into the House of Commons by Lord Howick, which, without having for its object what was called the emancipation of the Catholics, was adapted to afford them great satisfaction, and was doubtless intended as the precursor of a system of enlarged toleration, which contemplated the removal of all the disabilities under which the Catholic and Protestant Dissenters of the united kingdom laboured. It soon, however, became a matter of notoriety, that objections to this bill existed in a quarter to which the public naturally looked up with respect and deference. His Majesty, who had already gone far beyond all his predecessors in regard to religious toleration, and particularly in concessions to his Roman Catholic subjects, having maturely considered the nature and extent of the bill, regarded it as contrary to the obligations of his coronation oath, and the principles of the British constitution. Under such circumstances, ministers found it necessary to abandon the measure, and it was required from them to give a written obligation, pledging themselves never more to propose any thing connected with the Catholic question. This demand they resisted, as incompatible with their honour and duty. Some portion of irritation now operated in both parties; the breach had extended too far to admit of being closed; confidence was mutully impaired; and the necessary consequence, the resignation of ministers, almost immediately ensued. After a period of suspense and agitation, the names of the new ministers were announced on the 25th of March.‡ A trial of strength between the newly appointed and the late ministers speedily took place in the House of Commons, on a motion deprecating

* The new plan of finance was adapted to meet a scale of expenditure nearly equal to that of the year 1806; and assumed, that during the war, the annual produce of the permanent and temporary revenue would continue equal to the produce of that year. Keeping these premises in view, it was proposed that the war loans for the years 1807, 1808, and 1809, should be 12,000,000*l.* annually; for this year, 1810, 14,000,000*l.* and for each of the ten following years 16,000,000*l.* Those several loans, amounting in the fourteen years to 210,000 000*l.* were to be made a charge on the war taxes, which were estimated to produce 21,000,000*l.* annually. The charge thus thrown on the war taxes was meant to be at the rate of ten per cent. upon each loan. Every such loan would therefore pledge so much of the war taxes as would be sufficient to meet this charge: that is, a loan of 12,000,000*l.* would be pledged for 1,200,000*l.* of the war taxes. And in each year, if the war should be continued, a further proportion of the war taxes would in the same manner be pledged. And consequently, at the end of fourteen years, if the war should be of that duration, 21,000,000*l.* the whole produce of the war taxes, would be pledged for the total of the loans, which would at that time have amounted to 210,000,000*l.* The ten per cent charge thus accompanying each loan, would be applied to pay the interest of the loan, and to form a sinking fund, which sinking fund would evidently be more than five per cent. on such of the several loans as should be obtained on a less rate of interest than five per cent. As a five per cent. sinking fund, accumulating at compound interest, would redeem any sum of capital debt in fourteen years, the several proportions of the war taxes, proposed to be pledged for the several loans abovementioned, would have redeemed their respective loans, and be successively liberated, in periods of fourteen years from the date of each such loan. The portions of war taxes thus liberated might, if the war should still be prolonged, become applicable in a revolving series, and might be again pledged for new loans; it was, however, material, that the property tax should not be pledged beyond the period for which it was granted, but should, in every case, cease on the 6th of April next after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace. In the result therefore of the whole measure, there would not be imposed any new taxes for the first three years from this time. New taxes of less than 300,000*l.* on an average of seven years, from 1810 to 1816, both inclusive, were all that would be necessary, in order to procure for the country the full benefit and advantage of the plan here described, which would continue for twenty years: during the last ten of which again no new taxes whatever would be required.

† Lord Grenville, on the 2d of January, brought in a bill for the total Abolition of the African Slave Trade, which was read a first time, and printed. On the 4th of February, counsel were heard at the bar of the House in favour of the continuance of the trade, and on the following day, Lord Grenville concluded an elaborate speech on the subject, by moving that "the bill be now read a second time." The motion was supported by the Duke of Gloucester, the Bishop of Durham, the Earls Moira, Selkirk, and Roslyn, and the Lords Holland, King, and Hood. The opponents of the bill were the Duke of Clarence, the Earls Westmoreland and St. Vincent, and the Lords Sidmouth, Eldon, and Hawkesbury. At four o'clock in the morning the House divided, when there appeared for the motion 100; and against it, 36 voices. On the 10th the bill was read a third time, and having passed, it was ordered to the Commons for the concurrence of that assembly. On the 23d, Lord Howick moved for the commitment of the bill, and was supported by Mr. Lushington, Mr. Fawkes, Lord Mahon, Lord Milton, Sir John Doyle, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Wilberforce, and Earl Percy, the last of whom wished that a clause might be introduced into the bill by which all the children of slaves born after January 1810, should be made free. General Gascoyne and Mr. Hibbert opposed the bill; Mr. Hiley Addington preferred a plan for gradual abolition. There appeared on a division, for the question 283, and against it only 16 voices. The bill, which was debated with great animation in all its stages, enacted, that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port within the British dominions after the 1st of May, 1807, and that no slave should be landed in the colonies after the 1st of March, 1808. On the 16th of March, on the motion of Lord Henry Petty, the bill was read a third time, and passed without a division. On the 18th, Lord Howick, accompanied by Mr. Wilberforce and others, carried the bill to the Lords for their concurrence in certain amendments that had been introduced. Lord Grenville instantly moved that it should be printed, and taken into consideration on the 23d. The reason of this haste was, that his Majesty, displeased with the introduction of the Roman Catholic officers' bill into the House of Commons, had resolved to displace the existing administration. On the 23d, the Lords met, and the amendments were adopted without a division.

Though the bill had passed both Houses, there was an awful fear, lest it should not receive the royal assent before the ministry was dissolved. On Wednesday, the 25th of March, at half-past eleven o'clock in the morning, his Majesty's message was delivered to the different members of administration, commanding them to wait upon him, to deliver up the seals of their respective offices. It then appeared, that a commission for the royal assent to this bill, among others, had been obtained. This commission was instantly opened by the Lord Chancellor (Erskine), who was accompanied by the Lords Holland and Auckland; and as the clock struck twelve, this important bill became, after a struggle of 20 years, a part of the law of the land!

‡ CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl Camden	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Duke of Portland	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Min.)
Lord Mulgrave	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Chatham	Master General of the Ordnance.
Earl Bathurst	President of the Board of Trade.

ing

ing ministerial pledges. The majority on the part of ministers, only amounted, in a House of 484 members, to 32; and Mr. Canning intimated, that in the event of administration finding any impediment, from the numbers of their opponents, a dissolution of Parliament would be resorted to. This threat was soon after carried into effect; and on the 27th of April the session and the Parliament were brought to an end by a speech from the throne, in which the commissioners were charged to state, "that his Majesty was anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which had recently taken place were yet fresh in their recollection."

The ensuing elections were, in many places, very violently contested;* and, of the late ministry, Mr. Thomas Grenville was the only Commoner in the cabinet, who, at the assembly of the new Parliament, resumed his situation for the place he had represented.

Russia being at this time engaged in a war with the Porte by the instigation of France, it was incumbent upon England to attempt an accommodation of the existing differences, and to prevent, if possible, the direction of the strength of her ally towards the south of Europe. For this purpose, negociations were entered into with the cabinet of Constantinople, and Admiral Sir John Duckworth was instructed to proceed, with seven sail of the line, a frigate, and two sloops, to force the Dardanelles, and bombard the Turkish capital, if certain terms should not be acceded to by that government. On the 19th of February, the British Admiral proceeded to force the passage. The fire of the enemy from the outer castles inflicted but little injury on his ships; but in the narrow passage of Sestos and Abydos, a very heavy cannonade was directed from both castles, within point-blank shot of each other, which opened their fire on the English ships as they continued to pass in succession. The spirited return made to this fire considerably diminished its force, and prevented the sternmost ships from receiving any material injury. A small Turkish squadron, consisting of a sixty-four gun ship, four frigates, and several corvettes, at anchor to the north-east of the castles, was attacked by Sir Sidney Smith, and driven on shore, where it was destroyed; while the guns of a formidable battery at Point Pesquies, were spiked by a detachment of marines. On the evening of the 20th the squadron anchored near Prince's Islands, about eight miles from the city. The negociations between Mr. Arbuthnot, the British ambassador to the Porte, who was then on board Admiral Duckworth's fleet, and the Turkish government, continued till the 27th, and in the interval, such was the unfortunate state of the weather, it was not at any time in the power of the British Admiral to occupy such a situation as would have enabled him to commence offensive operations. At length it became necessary to terminate an exhibition thus humiliating. The time which had been occupied by the English commander in empty menaces, had been employed by the Turks in the most active repairs and preparations. The whole line of the coast now presented a chain of batteries. Twelve line of battle ships were ready, with their sails bent, and filled with troops; an innumerable multitude of small craft, with fire vessels, had been collected; and near 200,000 troops, meant to march against the Russians, were said to be in Constantinople. Had the weather favoured an attack, these accumulated means of resistance by the enemy must have been attended with a doubtful issue to the British squadron; and even had Sir John Duckworth overcome all this opposition, the re-passage of the Dardanelles was still requisite to complete his triumph. The idea of waiting for a wind to bombard the city was therefore now abandoned; and wounded, as the British commander acknowledged himself to have been, in pride and in ambition, he weighed anchor on the 1st of March, and by the next day, before noon, every ship under his command had cleared the passage of the Dardanelles. This escape, however, was only from destruction, by no means from serious loss and injury. The fire of the inner castles, which had been severe in the first passage, was more than doubly formidable on the return. The Windsor Castle was struck by a granite shot of 800 pounds weight; and the number of killed and wounded, which in the first instance had not been considerable, was swelled to nearly 300 men. The damage done to most of the ships, in their hulls, masts, and rigging, was very severe, and the expedition was productive of nothing but disaster and humiliation. Whilst Admiral Duckworth was advancing to Constantinople, an English expedition was proceeding towards another point of the Turkish dominions. On the 6th of March, a detachment, consisting of about 5000 men, under the command of General Fraser, was embarked at Messina, in forty-nine transports, for the purpose of taking possession of Alexandria; and on the 16th, they came to anchor before that city. On the morning of the 19th, the British commander occupied the spot rendered memorable by the victory under Abercrombie; and on the 21st, General Fraser took possession of the place, in virtue of a capitulation executed by Seid Mohamed Naim Effendi, on behalf of his excellency Emen Bey, the governor. Major General Wauchope, with a detachment of 1500 men, consisting of the 31st regiment, and chasseurs Britanniques, was then dispatched to take possession of Rosetta and Rhamanie, under the persuasion that the possession of these places was necessary, to prevent the inhabitants of Alexandria from being exposed to the horrors of famine. The troops dispatched on this service encountered no opposition on their march towards Rosetta, and the heights of Abourmandour, which command that city, were occupied without any loss. Instead of retaining possession of this post, General Wauchope was induced, without any previous examination, to enter the town with his whole force. Here he found, to his surprise, that preparation

---

Lord Hawkesbury	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Right Hon. George Canning	——— for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Castlereagh	——— for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval..	Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Rt. Hon. Robert Saunders Dundas	President of the Board of Controul for the affairs of India.
Rt. Hon. George Rose....	Vice President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Sir James Pulteney, Bart....	Secretary at War.
Lord Charles Somerset	Joint Pay-Masters General.
Right Hon. Charles Long ..	
Earl of Chichester	Joint Post-Masters General.
Earl of Sandwich.....	
William Huskisson, Esq.....	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Hon. Henry Wellesley	
Sir Wm. Grant, ...	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	Attorney-General.
Sir Thomas Plomer	Solicitor-General.

MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond.....	Lord-Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Sir Arthur Wellesley	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. John Foster	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

* For Westminster the Candidates were, Mr. Paull, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Elliot, and Lord Cochrane. Lord Cochrane was returned with Sir Francis Burdett, who during the whole election stood at the head of the poll, though he had declined to offer himself as a candidate, and was, in fact, at that time confined to his house, by a wound received in a duel with Mr. Paull. The latter gentleman, it appeared, without the authority, and even without the knowledge of Sir Francis, had caused an advertisement to be inserted in the public papers, announcing that Sir Francis would preside at a public dinner, connected with arrangements respecting the choice or nomination of proper persons for the representation of Westminster. The surprise and indignation of Sir Francis at the appearance of such an advertisement were considerable. He immediately communicated these feelings to Mr. Paull, by express, and peremptorily declined the honour intended him. Irritated by this refusal, Mr. Paull repaired to the residence of Sir Francis Burdett, at Wimbledon, at midnight, and conducted himself so as to produce a duel, in which, at the second fire, both parties were wounded, Mr. Paull in the leg, and Sir Francis in the thigh. The public unanimously agreed in censuring Mr. Paull for indecorum and brutality; and the consequence was, not merely the loss of his election, but his entire extinction as a public character. Some time afterwards, his finances being in a ruined state, he terminated his physical life by an act of suicide.

paration

paration had been made for his reception. The Turks and Albanians, in great numbers, had posted themselves in various buildings and advantageous situations; and from every window and roof in the streets through which the British troops marched, they were assailed by such a severe fire of musquetry, that they were obliged at length to evacuate the place, with a loss of 300 men killed and wounded. The commander himself was among the slain; and Brigadier-General Meade, on whom the command now devolved, was severely wounded in the retreat. In this trying situation, to which the troops were thus rashly exposed, they conducted themselves with the most admirable courage and discipline, and succeeded in effecting their retreat to Aboukir, whence they soon after returned to Alexandria. Provisions were now become extremely scarce in this place, and the representations of Major Missett, the British president, on the necessity of taking Rosetta, were corroborated by the Sorbagi or chief magistrate of Alexandria, who stated that famine must be the inevitable consequence if this measure were not promptly executed. Another corps, amounting to about 2,500 men, under Brigadier-General Stewart, was accordingly dispatched on this service. On the 9th of April this force took post opposite the Alexandrian gate of Rosetta, and began to form their batteries. From the great extent of the town, it was found impossible that the small British army sent on that service could invest more than one half of it; and a line was in consequence taken up from the Nile to the front of the Alexandrian gate, thence retiring towards the plain where the dragoons were posted. A mortar and some guns were brought into play early in the afternoon; these were answered by the shouts of the Albanians from their walls; and by the incessant discharges of musquetry through the loop-holes and crevices, which were innumerable. From the 12th to the 20th, the operations against the city were prosecuted with much vigour. Great damage was done to the town, and not fewer than 300 shells, from mortars alone, were thrown into it. During all this time General Stewart was in daily and almost hourly expectation of assistance from the Mamelukes; but after waiting for this promised assistance till the 21st, a resolution was taken on the evening of that day, to retire from before Rosetta on the following morning. Early in the morning of the 22d, Colonel Macleod, who had been dispatched to defend the post of Hamet, informed the General that sixty or seventy large vessels, full of hostile troops, were descending the Nile. The danger was now alarming, and not a moment was to be lost. Orders were immediately dispatched to the Colonel to abandon his position, and return to the main body; but these orders were most unfortunately intercepted. General Stewart himself immediately withdrew, with his army formed in a hollow square, taking with him all the cannon and ammunition which the circumstances of the case would permit. The British troops, impressed with the exigencies of their situation, kept the most compact order, and presented in each direction so formidable a front, that the pursuers, with all their superiority of numbers, and impetuosity of attack, found them impervious to all their assaults. The detachment at Hamet, however, was completely cut off, and the whole loss in killed, wounded, and missing, from the commencement of the expedition under General Stewart, consisted of upwards of a thousand men. This succession of disasters made a strong impression on the public mind. Happily, however, the anticipations entertained of a famine at Alexandria were not verified. For several months the British troops remained in possession of that city, and although Rosetta was not added to their conquests, provisions became daily more plentiful. Preparations, however, were making at Cairo, upon a large scale, to effect their expulsion; and on the 8th of August, the governor of Egypt, at the head of a formidable force of infantry and cavalry, advanced towards Alexandria. Various circumstances induced General Fraser to abandon the idea of defence. On the approach of the enemy to the town, he sent a flag of truce, announcing, that on condition of the British prisoners being delivered up, the army under his command should immediately evacuate Egypt. This condition was accepted with as little hesitation as it was made. The English force almost immediately embarked, and on the 22d of September the crescent again waved on the towers of Alexandria.

Intelligence of the enterprise against Buenos Ayres, was received in June, 1806; but it was not till October, that a reinforcement was sent from England to cooperate with the troops under General Beresford in Maldonado. The command of the troops was given to Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and Sir Charles Stirling was appointed to convoy the transports in the Ardent ship of war, and on their arrival at La Plata to supersede Sir Home Popham. On the 5th of January this force arrived at Maldonado. An attack on Monte Video was determined upon, and on the morning of the 18th a landing was effected in a small bay on the coast. The enemy, who were in possession of the surrounding heights in great force, suffered the troops to disembark, and to take possession of a strong post about nine miles from the town, without opposition. On the 19th the army moved towards Monte Video. Two heights, in the front and to the left, were occupied by about four thousand of the enemy's horse, and a heavy fire of round and grape shot was now opened; but by a spirited charge from the light battalion under Colonel Brownrigg, the corps opposed to him was dispersed, and one of its guns taken. The enemy on the flank also commenced a retreat, and the British commander was permitted to occupy a position two miles from the citadel, without any further opposition. On the following morning, the whole force of the Spaniards, consisting of about 0000 men, came out of the town to meet the English, and commenced an attack in two columns, one of which was defeated and driven back with the loss of about 1,200 men; and the other retreated without coming to action. The siege of Monte Video almost immediately commenced; batteries were in a few days opened upon the town, and all the frigates and smaller vessels approached as closely as possible to assist in the cannonade. A battery was erected as near as possible to the wall, by the south gate of the citadel, which communicated with the sea, from which a vigorous fire was kept up, and on the 2d of February a breach was reported practicable. Orders were now given for the assault to commence an hour before day-break on the following morning. The troops destined for this service were commanded by Colonel Browne; and the remainder of the British force, including a corps of 700 marines and seamen, were encamped under Brigadier-General Lumley, to act as a corps of reserve, and to protect the rear. The morning was extremely dark, and the troops had approached near to the breach before they were discovered. But no sooner had the garrison become aware of their danger, than a destructive fire, from every gun that could be made to bear upon the breach, was opened, and showers of musquetry were poured down upon the assailants. The head of the British column, owing to the continued darkness, had the misfortune to miss the breach, which, in the course of the night, had been closed up and strongly barricaded with hides, notwithstanding all the fire of the besiegers. In this situation the troops remained, under a heavy fire, for a quarter of an hour, when the breach was discovered by Captain Renny, who pointed it out, and gloriously fell as he mounted it. The soldiers, difficult as was the access, forced their way to the ramparts, and from thence into the town, overturning the cannon which had been placed at the head of the principal avenues, and clearing the batteries and the streets with their bayonets. By eight o'clock in the morning, every thing was completely in their possession; perfect tranquillity reigned throughout the place, and the women were seen walking about the town without the slightest alarm.

From the first landing to the complete occupation of the citadel, the British loss amounted to about 600 men; Major Dalrymple was killed, and Lieutenant-Colonels

Vassal and Brownrigg died of their wounds. The loss sustained by the enemy was about 800 killed, and 500 wounded; about 2000 Spaniards were made prisoners, including the governor, Don Pasquil Ruis Huidobro; and 1,500 were supposed to have escaped in their boats, or to have secreted themselves in the town. In the month of June, a British expedition, under General Crawford, consisting of about 5000 troops, arrived in the river Plata, and was joined by the troops which had at different times arrived in South America since the first attack upon the Spanish settlements, by General Beresford. The command of this united force was given to General Whitelocke, and an attack upon Buenos Ayres was immediately resolved upon. After several delays, a landing was effected on the 28th of June without opposition at Ensenada, about thirty miles eastward of the town. Colonel Mahon, to whom the bringing up of the heavy artillery was intrusted, was directed to wait at Reduction till further orders; and the army, divided into two columns, after surmounting various difficulties, arrived before Buenos Ayres on the following day, when the fortress was summoned to surrender. This demand, as might have been anticipated, was peremptorily declined, and preparations were made for the attack. The British line was formed by placing General Auchmuty's brigade on the left, extending within two miles of Recoleta; the 36th and 88th regiments were on the right; and the brigade of General Crawford occupied the principal avenues to the town, about three miles distant from the great square and fort, his right being well supported by an appointment of dragoons, and the 45th regiment extending to the Residencia. The town was thus nearly invested. Understanding that the inhabitants meant to occupy the flat roofs of their houses for defence and annoyance, and that the town was divided into squares of about 140 yards each, General Whitelocke resolved to adopt the following plan of attack:—Every division, being provided with cannon, was to proceed along the street directly in its front, till it arrived at the last square adjoining the river, there to occupy the flat roofs of the houses, and to await further instruction; a corporal's guard was to march at the head of each column with instruments to break open the doors of the houses; and the musquets were to be kept unloaded till the columns were formed at their appointed final stations. These arrangements having been given out, the strong post of the Retiro and Plaza de Toros, was approached early in the morning of the 5th of July by General Auchmuty; and notwithstanding the severe discharges of grape shot and musquetry from the Spaniards, the General gained possession of the place, taking 32 pieces of cannon, 600 prisoners, and a vast quantity of ammunition. The 5th regiment advanced to the river, after experiencing very little opposition, and took possession of the church and convent of St. Catalina. The 36th and 88th regiments, under Brigadier-General Lumley, moving in the appointed order, were opposed in their march by an incessant fire of musquetry from the tops of the houses, the doors of which were so firmly barricaded, that scarcely any effort could force them open, while the streets were intersected by deep ditches, in the inside of which were planted cannon, which poured grape shot on the advancing columns. The 36th regiment, however, was enabled to overcome all this opposition, and to reach its final destination. The 88th regiment, which was more exposed to the fire of the forts, and to the principal defences of the Spaniards, was completely over-powered and taken. This misfortune rendered unavailing the success of the other regiment, and both the 36th and the 5th regiments were at length obliged to retreat upon the post of General Auchmuty. In the mean time, the British six-pounders, which had been appointed to move down the principal streets, covered by four troops of carabineers, led on by Lieutenant-Colonel Kingston, advanced to take the battery; but this gallant officer being unfortunately wounded, as well as Captain Burrell, next in command, and the fire, both from the battery and the houses, proving very destructive, they were obliged to fall back on a position in front of the enemy's principal defences. Lieutenant-Colonel Pack, with the left division of General Crawford's brigade, had advanced nearly to the river, where he was to occupy the Jesuits' College, which commanded the principal Spanish line of defence; but on turning to the left, the fire of the enemy became so overwhelming as to render all further advance absolutely impracticable. Part of this division took possession of a house, which was almost immediately found untenable, and no alternative remained but surrender or absolute destruction. The remainder of the division, after sustaining with intrepidity the incessant discharges of the enemy, by which their commander was wounded, retired upon the right division, commanded by General Crawford in person. The General, learning the fate of his left division, and being now opposed by immense superiority of numbers, thought it advisable to take possession of the convent of St. Domingo. The Residencia had been gained by Colonel Guard, with very slight opposition, and leaving this position in possession of his light companies, the Colonel advanced with his principal force towards General Crawford, and joined him at the convent. The building was almost instantly surrounded by the enemy. In this emergency, General Crawford was obliged to confine himself to the defence of the convent; but the quantity of round shot, grape, and musquetry, to which the troops were exposed, at length obliged them to quit the top of the building; and the Spaniards, to the number, of 6000 bringing up cannon to force the wooden gates, the General, with all the troops under his command, surrendered at four o'clock in the afternoon. "The result of this day's action," says General Whitelocke, "left me in possession of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post on the enemy's right, and the Residencia, another strong post on his left, while I occupied the advanced position towards his centre; but these advantages had cost 2,500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The nature of the fire to which the troops were exposed was violent in the extreme. Grape shot at the corners of the streets; musquetry, hand-grenades, bricks, and stones, from the tops of all the houses; every householder, with his negroes, defending his dwelling, each of which was in itself a fortress; and it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that the whole male population of Buenos Ayres was employed in its defence." The night of the 5th exhibited an impressive pause in the work of destruction. On the following morning General Liniers addressed a letter to the British commander, offering to deliver up the prisoners taken on this occasion, and also those taken from General Beresford, on condition that the attack on the town should be discontinued, and that, within two months from that date, Monte Video, and the other stations on the river Plata, occupied by the English troops, should be evacuated. It was stated, in this dispatch, that the exasperation of the populace against the English prisoners was unbounded, and that, if hostilities were persisted in by General Whitelocke, it would be impossible to insure their safety. These terms were no sooner proposed than they were yielded to by the British General, who was determined to this assent principally from a reference to the situation of the prisoners, which, from unquestionable intelligence, he understood to be highly critical; and from the consideration that the possession of a country, whose inhabitants were so decidedly hostile to the conquerors, could be attended with no permanent advantage. The conduct of General Whitelocke, in conducting this expedition, called forth the most severe reprehension; and the entire failure of the enterprise produced universal dissatisfaction and disappointment. The General, on his return to England, after the entire evacuation of South America, was put upon his trial before a court-martial, assembled at Chelsea, on the 28th of January, 1808, and cotinued by adjournment for two-and-thirty days. By this tribunal he was pronounced guilty of all the charges preferred against him, except that part of the second which related to the order, that the musquets of the columns should be unloaded, and that no firing should be per-

mitted

mitted on any account; and being declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatever, was cashiered.*

The victories of Buonaparte, and the consequent peace of Tilsit, had laid nearly the whole of Europe at the feet of the Conqueror. Denmark, however had hitherto remained unmolested; but, from the general policy of Buonaparte, every thing was to be apprehended; and the Crown Prince of Denmark, draining the rest of his dominions of their forces, had for three years kept the flower of the Danish youth assembled on the borders of Holstein, to protect the only quarter in which aggression seemed to be possible, from the entrance of that army which had long hovered on its frontier. The British government therefore determined to dispatch to the Baltic a powerful armament, consisting of 20,000 troops, under the command of Lieutenant-General Lord Cathcart; and a fleet of twenty sail of the line, with vessels of all other descriptions, under Admiral Gambier. When the intelligence of this expedition first reached Copenhagen, it was universally supposed, in that city, that the English army was intended to co-operate with the Swedes in the defence of Stralsund, and in the re-conquering the rest of Pomerania; and the only apprehension was that it would arrive too late. The illusion was, however, speedily dissipated, by the arrival of Mr. Jackson in the Danish capital, on the 1st of August, as plenipotentiary on behalf of his Britannic Majesty. The English negociator, having failed in the object of his mission, on the 16th of August, Lord Cathcart disembarked his forces at Wybeck, and nearly at the same time the British troops from Stralsund effected a landing in Keoge Bay, swelling the land force to 28,000 men. On the day after the landing of the troops, they advanced in three columns, with very trifling opposition, to invest Copenhagen, which was effected on the north and south by the military force, and by the naval power on the east. The regular works were now commenced and carried on with great spirit; and while they were rapidly advancing, the frigates and gun boats took advantage of a favourable breeze to station themselves near the entrance of the harbour, from which they might throw shells into the town. Brigadier-General Deckon, who had been sent against Fredericksworth, succeeded in surprising that important post, by which a depot of cannon and powder, and upwards of 800 Danish soldiers, fell into the hands of the besiegers. The country now roused into an extreme state of irritation against the invaders, General Castenschield was enabled to accumulate a formidable voluntary force, and in addition to these irregular troops, three or four battalions of disciplined soldiers contributed to swell the General's ranks. On the 26th this army was attacked by Sir Arthur Wellesley, and defeated with a loss of 60 officers, 1,100 men, and 10 pieces of cannon. Having dispersed these troops, the British General moved towards the centre of the island, with a view to disarm and keep down the rising spirit of the country, in which endeavour he so effectually succeeded as to prevent the besieging army from experiencing any further molestation from this quarter. In the interim, the contest was carried on with great vigour between the Danish gun-boats and praams, supported by the crown battery, a block-house, and some other works, and the advanced squadron of the British gun-boats, when the latter were at length obliged to retire before the destructive fire of the red-hot shot of the enemy. Between the British batteries on shore, and the enemy's gun-boats, the conflict on the part of the former was more successful, and the Danes were, in their turn, obliged to retreat with considerable loss. The besieging army had now advanced its positions to the inundation in front of the city; and the moment rapidly approached in which the more serious operations of the siege were to commence. As no overtures for accommodation had been made or yielded to by the Danes, and as every thing evinced their determination to endure the horrors of a bombardment, the heavy ordnance were landed on the 26th, and by the 31st the platform was laid, and the mortar batteries were ready for action. A summons was now dispatched by the British Commanders to General Pieman, the Governor of Copenhagen, containing the same offers which had been originally made by Mr. Jackson, that, "if he would consent to deliver up the Danish fleet, and to our carrying it away, it should be held as a deposit for his Danish Majesty, and should be restored with all its equipments, in as good a state as received, as soon as the provisions of a general peace should remove the necessity which had occasioned this demand. The property of all sorts, which had been captured since the commencement of hostilities, would be restored to its owners, and the union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and Denmark, might be renewed. But if this offer were rejected now, it could not be repeated. The captured property, public and private, must then belong to the captors, and the city when taken must share the fate of conquered places." The offer was again peremptorily refused; in consequence of which, the mortar batteries, observes Lord Gambier, in his official dispatches, "which had been erected by the army in several positions they had taken round Copenhagen, together with the bomb vessels, which were placed in convenient situations, began the bombardment on the morning of the 2d of September, with such power and effect, that in a short time the town was set on fire, and, by the repeated discharges of our artillery, was kept in flames in different places till the evening of the 5th, when, a considerable part of it being consumed, and the conflagration, arrived at a great height, threatened the speedy destruction of the whole city, the General commanding the garrison sent out a flag of truce, desiring an armistice to afford time to treat for a capitulation." It was explained to General Pieman, in reply, that the basis of the capitulation must be the delivering up of the fleet; which in a subsequent letter from the General was admitted; and on the morning of the 7th, the articles of capitulation, which had been settled during the night of the 6th, were ratified. By these articles, the British forces were to be put in immediate possession of the citadel and dock yards; all the ships of war and naval stores of his Danish Majesty were to be delivered up; the prisoners were to be mutually restored; private property was to be respected; the functions of the civil and military officers were to receive no interruption; and within six weeks the citadel was to be restored to his Danish Majesty, in the state in which it was occupied, and the British troops were to have evacuated the island of Zealand. The navy, delivered up in consequence of this agreement, consisted of sixteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun boats, besides vessels on the stocks; in the arsenals were found stores sufficient to fit for sea all this formidable fleet; and all the ships of the line and frigates were laden with the masts, spars, and timber that remained. A considerable part of the stores of this description were put on board the Leyden and Inflexible; and some of the more valuable articles on board others of his Majesty's ships; notwithstanding which there still remained sufficient to load ninety-two transports, and other vessels, chartered for this purpose, and whose cargoes, at least, amounted

* An enterprise of considerable consequence, and terminating more happily than the expedition against Buenos Ayres, was accomplished the first day in the year 1807, by a squadron of four frigates, (the Arethusa, Latona, Anson, and Fisgard) commanded by Captain Brisbane, under the orders of Vice-Admiral Dacres. The expedition was directed against the Dutch settlement of Curacoa. The harbour was defended by regular fortifications of two tiers of guns; Fort Amsterdam alone contained sixty-six pieces of cannon. The entrance was only fifty yards wide, and across it were moored two frigates and two large schooners of war. A chain of forts was on the commanding height of Misselburg; and Fort Republique, deemed nearly impregnable, was within the distance of grape-shot, and enfiladed the whole harbour. Soon after day-break, the British frigates made all possible sail in close order of battle. The vessels appointed to intercept their entrance were taken by boarding; and the lower forts, the citadel, and the town of Amsterdam, by storm. The port was entered at about six o'clock in the morning; before ten a capitulation was signed; the British flag was hoisted on Fort Republique, and the whole island was in complete possession of the assailants. The loss of the British amounted only to three men killed, and eleven wounded; and the inhabitants of the town, to the amount of thirty thousand, swore allegiance to the British government.

to

to 20,000 tons. The loss sustained by the British, before Copenhagen, did not exceed 200 men; that of the Danes was much more considerable: it amounted to about 2,000 persons; 400 houses were destroyed, and the venerable edifice of Frederic Kirk was laid in ruins.*

The conduct of the Emperor of Russia, in acceding to the treaty of Tilsit, had tended considerably to relax the bond of union between the courts of London and St. Peterburgh; and the ascendency which Buonaparte appeared to have acquired over Alexander, rendered it far from improbable that Russia might soon join in hostility against England, with which she had so long, but so unsuccessfully co-operated. Apprehension was at length converted into certainty. The season of the year having arrived in which annoyance from Britain could not be apprehended, the British ambassador was ordered to leave St. Petersburgh, and on the 31st of October, a declaration of war was issued against England.†

Buonaparte's efforts to exclude English commerce, and to establish his "continental system," were this year continued with rigorous perseverance and undiminished pressure. To embarrass the trade and finances of Great Britain, Europe was obliged, in a great degree, to abandon those luxuries which long habit had almost rendered necessary supplies. The restrictions enforced against England were followed on her part by a system of retaliation, which deprived multitudes in France of the means of honest industry, and even of relief under disease and pain. The regular channels of communication, through which British manufactures and colonial produce had poured in immense supplies, extending in opposite directions to the remotest points of the Continent, were now dried up. The distress of the West India planters, in consequence of the exclusion of their produce from the usual markets, excited particular attention; and to remedy this evil, a committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the most effectual means of affording them relief, recommended a decrease of duty upon colonial produce, an advance of bounty upon its importation, and the interruption of its intercourse carried on by American ships between the colonies of Cuba, Porto Rico, Martinique, and Guadaloupe, through the medium of the United States, to Europe.‡ On the 7th of January, 1807, an order of council was issued, which prevented neutral vessels from trading from any port in the possession, or under the control of the enemy. On the 11th of November, additional orders in council were issued, by which every port of every country from which Great Britain was excluded, was declared to be in a state of blockade. All trade in the produce and manufactures of these countries was pronounced illegal, and the vessels employed in such trade were liable to seizure. Thus was the trade along the coasts of France and of her allies, in neutral vessels, completely prohibited; and though the Americans might still freely trade with the enemy's colonies, for articles of their own consumption, the double restriction was imposed upon the intercourse by them between France and her colonies, of calling at a British port and paying a British duty. To avoid the losses and hostilities which were to be apprehended from the measures respectively adopted by England and France, the American Congress on the 22d of December, resolved to lay a strict embargo on all the vessels of the United States. By this act, their own vessels were prohibited from departing from any of their ports; and ships from all other nations were commanded to quit the American harbours, with or without cargoes, as soon as the act was notified to them. The first impression made by the intelligence of the embargo in this country, was a general feeling of alarm among commercial men; and the merchants of Liverpool, considering that this act of congress proceeded from our orders in council, petitioned for their speedy removal; but Parliament did not think proper to comply with their requests. Buonaparte, aware that all restrictions upon commerce would, from the situation and pursuits of England, fall upon this country with a much heavier pressure than upon

* In justification of this measure, it was said, that "his Majesty had received the most positive information of the determination of the present ruler of France to occupy with a military force the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from her accustomed channels of communication with the continent; or inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against British commerce and navigation; and of availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland; and further, "Holstein once occupied; Zealand would be at the mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal." The measure adopted was therefore regarded as an act of self-preservation.

† In this paper, the Emperor regrets the existing alienation of his Britannic Majesty in proportion to the great value which he had placed upon his friendship. Twice had the Emperor taken up arms in a cause in which England was peculiarly concerned, but in the accomplishment of her own projects he had in vain solicited her co-operation. When peace was re-established with France by Russia, the latter had offered her mediation to England. This had been rejected, unquestionably on a determination to break off all the existing ties between the two nations. At the moment when it was thus in the power of England to complete that general peace which was so much desired, her fleets and troops were summoned to execute an act of outrage unequalled in history, and to attack a power which, by its moderate conduct and wise neutrality, maintained a sort of moral dignity amidst surrounding and conflicting monarchies. The Prince royal of Denmark had communicated all the insiduous propositions of England to the Emperor, and reposed in him a just confidence. The Emperor, touched with the confidence reposed in him, and having considered his own peculiar complaints against England, and his engagements with the powers of the north, had resolved to recall his embassy from England; to terminate all communication with her; to act on the principles of the armed neutrality, and never to recede from them; to procure the restoration of all unjustly detained vessels and merchandise; not to re-establish any communication before complete satisfaction was given to Denmark; and to require of his Britannic Majesty, instead of "suffering his ministers to scatter the seeds of fresh war, to conclude such a treaty with the Emperor of France, as should prolong interminably the invaluable blessings of peace." To this declaration, a vindicatory answer was returned by the British government on the 18th of December.

‡ In the practice of searching American vessels for British seamen, incidents were perpetually occurring to keep alive the spirit of exasperation between the two countries. In the former year, John Pierce, an American seamen, was killed by a shot fired from on board the Leander; and in the course of the present year another fatal occurrence took place, which threatened consequences of the most serious nature. A British squadron, under Admiral Berkeley, had been for some time stationed at the entrance to the river Chesapeake; and while the American frigate, the Chesapeake, of 44 guns, was equipping for the Mediterranean, under Commodore Barron, several seamen had deserted from the English ships, and engaged themselves to serve on board the American frigate. Representations of these circumstances having been made to the agents of the American government without effect, an order was in consequence issued by Admiral Berkeley to the Captain of the Leopard frigate, to cruise off the Cape, for the purpose of intercepting the Chesapeake, after she had passed the limits of the American waters, and examining her for deserters. In compliance with these directions, Captain Humphries sent a boat on board the American frigate on the 23d of June, as she was advancing on her voyage, apprising the Commodore that he had deserters on board, and that he had received orders to search for them. The demand of Captain Humphries not being acceded to, he fired several shots, without injuring the American vessel; no attention being paid to these demonstrations, a broadside was poured into the Chesapeake, which she returned with six or seven detached shots, and, on receiving a second broadside, struck her colours. On examination, several deserters were found; and the object of the conflict being accomplished, the Chesapeake, which had suffered a loss of six men killed, and twenty-one wounded, was dismissed in a shattered condition to her port. No sooner had intelligence of this event reached the American government, than a proclamation was issued by the president, in which, after stating the constant recurrence of British officers on the coast, to a state of insubordination to the laws, violence towards the persons, and trespasses on the property of the citizens of the United States, while they were enjoying all the means of refitment; the affair of the Chesapeake was noticed as a deed transcending all which the Americans had seen or suffered, and which brought their sensibilities to a crisis, and their forbearance to a pause. Hospitality, in such circumstances, ceased to be a duty; and all armed vessels of Great Britain were ordered immediately to quit the American harbours, and were interdicted entrance into any of the ports of the United States. On the arrival of the intelligence of the unfortunate affair of the Chesapeake in England, considerable surprise and regret were universally expressed; and ministers hesitated not to declare in Parliament, their readiness to make every reparation, for whatever might appear, on full and accurate information, an unauthorised act of hostility. In pursuance of this disposition, Admiral Berkeley was recalled from the American station; and in a proclamation issued for recalling British seamen, it was stated, that force might, if necessary, be exercised for recovering of deserters on board the merchant vessels of neutrals, but that, with respect to ships of war, a requision only should be made to deliver up deserters; and on their refusal, information was to be given to the British ministers at the neutral courts, or to the British government at home. By this proclamation, the conduct of Admiral Berkeley was tacitly disavowed, and Mr. Rose, the son of the Treasurer of the Navy, was soon after dispatched on a special mission to America, with overtures of conciliation; which, however, proved abortive.

France,

France, felt no disposition to relax in this new species of warfare; and accordingly, on the 23d of November, a decree was issued from Milan, enacting "that all vessels which, after having touched at England, from any nation whatever, shall enter the ports of France, shall be seized and confiscated, as well as their cargoes, without exception or distinction of commodities or merchandise." This interdict was, on the 19th of the following month, followed by a rejoinder to the orders in council of the 11th of November, by which it was declared, that every neutral which submitted to be searched by an English ship, or paid any duty whatsoever to the English government, should be considered as thereby denationalized, and having forfeited the protection of its own government, should in consequence be liable to seizure as a lawful prize by French ships of war. Neutral powers were thus placed between confiscation and confiscation. If they proceeded to a French port, without first paying a duty upon their cargoes in England, they were liable to be captured by British cruisers; and if they came to England and paid the duty, they then became subject to confiscation in the ports of the enemy. The case was one of extreme hardship; and in this country, where war had not obliterated all sense of moral obligation, and where a spirit of hostility had entirely silenced the voice of discretion, the justice and the policy of the orders in council underwent a severe scrutiny, and called forth the most animated discussions.

Buonaparte, having overcome all opposition in the north of Europe found himself at leisure to pursue his schemes of aggrandisement in the south. His armies entered Spain; and, having marked Portugal for his prey, he publicly declared that the house of Braganza should cease to reign." A French force, under General Junot, entered Portugal, and, on the evening of the 26th of November, had reached Abrantes within three days march of Lisbon. At this alarming crisis, the Prince Regent of Portugal having hastily concerted his measures with Lord Strangford, the English minister at Lisbon, adopted the prudent and vigorous resolution of transferring the royal family and the seat of the Portuguese government to Brazil. No time having been left for delay, the embarkation was expeditiously performed; and, on the morning of the 29th, the Portuguese fleet (consisting of 8 ships of the line, 4 frigates, 3 brigs and a schooner) sailed out of the Tagus, having on board the Prince of Brazil, with the whole of the royal family, and a number of persons attached to its fortunes. The French troops having arrived in the vicinity of Lisbon, had, from the heights, a view of the fleet as it dropped down the river. They then entered the city without opposition.

The migration of the Braganza family, which has no example in modern, and scarcely any in ancient history, was performed under the protection of the British navy. Sir Sydney Smith, with a British squadron, accompanied the royal emigrants to Rio de Janeiro, where, after a prosperous voyage, they arrived on the 9th of January following. A direct intercourse having been thus established between England and Brazil, a new epoch was formed in the history of commerce.

A. D. 1808.] A scene equally interesting and equally extraordinary, now burst forth in Spain. After Buonaparte had, in the pretended character of a friend and ally, introduced his armies into Spain, the reigning monarch, Charles IV. perplexed and harassed by court intrigues, and popular turbulence, was induced or compelled, to resign his crown to his son, the Prince of Asturias. The new sovereign, Ferdinand VII. with his father, the abdicated monarch, the whole of the royal family, and some of the principal grandees, were, in a mysterious manner, allured to take a journey to Bayonne, for the purpose of an interview with Napoleon. Having thus secured the two Kings, Buonaparte obliged them to sign a formal abdication, and the infants Don Carlos and Don Antonio, renounced all claim of succession to the Spanish crown. By the French, these abdications and renunciations were represented as voluntary acts; but, by Spain, and the rest of Europe, they were contemplated in a very different light. An Imperial decree, however, was issued, declaring the throne of Spain to be vacant, by the abdication of the reigning family; a Junta, composed of the partisans of France, was convened at Bayonne; and Buonaparte conferred the crown of Spain on his brother Joseph, who abdicated his kingdom of Naples in favour of the Grand Duke of Berg, Murat.

The circumstances of the time induced a belief, that the new government would meet with little opposition. The French occupied all the strongest and most commanding positions, the main body of their army was stationed in Madrid, and all the principal cities and fortresses were garrisoned by their detachments. At that time, the French could not have fewer than 100,000 troops in Spain, and 20,000 in Portugal. Notwithstanding the presence of so formidable a force, the news of the compulsatory renunciations of the Bourbon dynasty formed the signal for a general insurrection. Indeed, at Madrid, the inhabitants had been in a state of agitation and alarm ever since the entrance of the French troops and the departure of the royal family. The French were daily insulted; numerous assemblies were held by the people; and every thing indicated the approach of an explosion. On the morning of the 2d of May, immense crowds collected in the principal streets of the capital. Rendered confident by their numbers, they attacked the French troops with great vigour and resolution, and after forcing them to retreat, obtained possession of their cannon. With these they succeeded in forcing their enemies out of the city, with great slaughter. Besides this regular and concentrated attack on the great body of the military, wherever a French soldier was discovered, he was instantly cut down or shot. The great street of Alcala, the Sun-Gate, and the Great Square, were the principal scenes of the early success and of the subsequent massacre of the inhabitants. The alarm was no sooner given, than the French repaired to their posts, and the large reinforcements which poured into the city overwhelmed the insurgents. The principal object with the French army was the street Alcala, in which were collected upwards of ten thousand people. Against this and the neighbouring streets and squares, thirty discharges of artillery were directed with murderous effect; these were followed up by the cavalry; the people, routed and dismayed, took refuge in the houses; and the French soldiers, irritated to the highest degree by their previous defeat, followed them into their retreats, and took signal vengeance on the insurgents. The place where the Spaniards made the most vigorous defence was the Store-house of artillery, which, besides ammunition, contained upward of ten thousand stand of arms. Thither Murat sent a detachment to take possession of the Arsenal, but he found it occupied by a number of the inhabitants and Spanish artillery-men, under the command of two brave officers of the names of Doaiz and Velayde, A twenty-four pounder, charged with grape-shot, placed at the gate of the Store-house, in front of a long and narrow street, made dreadful havoc among the French column as it advanced, and obliged the commander to send to Murat for reinforcements. Two other French columns then advanced, and after attacking the small garrison on both flanks, repeatedly summoned it to surrender, but the brave and resolute commanders refused to listen to the proposition, and their constancy remained unshaken to the last moment of their existence. After the engagement had raged for some time, Velayde was killed by a musket shot, and Doaiz had his thigh broken by a cannon ball: this hero still continued to give his orders with the greatest composure, till he had received three other wounds, the last of which put an end to his glorious career. The command of the Arsenal now devolved on a corporal of artillery, who, sensible that all further resistance would be unavailing, agreed to capitulate. About two o'clock the firing ceased in all parts of the city, in consequence of the personal interference of the council of Castile, who paraded the streets with many of the Spanish nobility, escorted by a body of Spanish soldiers and French imperial guards intermixed. The inhabitants of

of Madrid now flattered themselves that the carnage was at an end, but in the afternoon, Murat issued general orders to his army for the immediate formation of a military tribunal, of which General Grouchy was appointed president. Before this tribunal all persons were brought who had been made prisoners in the early part of the day, and, after a summary trial, three groups of forty each were successively shot, in the Prado, by the hands of the military executioners. In this manner was the evening of the 2d of May spent by the French at Madrid. The inhabitants were commanded to illuminate their houses for the safety of their oppressors; and through the whole night, the dead and dying were to be seen lying in heaps upon the blood-stained pavement. When the morning arrived, the military tribunals resumed their functions, and for several successive days the feelings of the inhabitants of the capital were outraged by judicial murders. The numbers slain on the 2d of May on the side of the people must have been immense; and it is stated, on the authority of an eye-witness, that the insurrection was not quelled till after most of the French soldiers actually in the city at the time of its commencement, were put to death.

This effort of the citizens of Madrid, which ought to have aroused the Junta to a sense of their duty, produced directly the opposite effect, and bent them completely to the will of Murat. Through his influence, the Holy Inquisition addressed a circular to all the courts of the kingdom, in which they accused the Spanish people of having occasioned, by their factious disposition, and outrageous violence, the disturbances and bloodshed of the 2d of May.

The patriotic flame burnt brightly in the province of Asturias, whose brave inhabitants, at the time of the Arabian invasion, had preserved the remains of the Spanish monarchy, and whose intrepid spirit, through a succession of eleven centuries, had been transmitted to their descendants. From Asturias, the insurrection spread into Gallicia, and several districts of Leon. A Provincial Junta assembled at Oviedo, published a formal declaration of war against France; and, having appointed the Marquis of Santa Cruz, General of the patriotic army, sent a deputation to solicit the assistance of England. This request was readily granted, and the British government declared itself at peace with the Spanish nation.* The defence of Arragon was committed to General Palafox, whose bold and animating addresses had contributed to rouse his countrymen to arms. Sarragossa, the principal city of Arragon, was considered, by the French, as a place of so much importance, that they made repeated attacks upon that fortress, with all the forces they could spare. But the army of Palafox, animated to the highest degree, by the wrongs of their country, and the zeal of their leader, was fully adequate to defend the city, and to repel all the attacks with which it was assailed. The city was frequently bombarded in the midst of the night, at the same time that the gates were attempted to be forced under cover of the shells. The French, more than once, obtained possession of some parts of the town; but they were received with so much coolness and bravery, that they were never able to preserve what they had, with so much difficulty and loss, acquired. The women vied with their husbands, sons, and brothers, in the display of patriotism and contempt of danger; regardless of the fire of the enemy, they rushed into the midst of the battle, administering support and refreshment to the exhausted and wounded, and animated, by their exhortations and example, all ranks to such a display of firmness and bravery, as ultimately to secure this important city. Another object of great importance to both the contending parties, was to obtain possession of the principal road between Bayonne and Madrid. Cuesta was the Spanish General appointed by the Junta to command the army destined to secure that important object. This army consisted partly of peasants, and partly of regular troops, which had been collected from different parts in the north of Spain. Lasoles was the French General dispatched by Marshal Bessieres for the same purpose. The hostile armies met on the 14th of July, at Rio Seco, near Valladolid. The new levies, led on by their ardour and impetuosity, were not to be restrained by the command of their General; they rushed forward as soon as they came near the French, and at the first onset drove them back, and took and spiked four pieces of cannon. Unfortunately, however, the nature of the country, which was level and open, and the consequent advantage which the French gained in their superiority in cavalry, prevented the Spanish army from securing and maintaining their advantage, and obliged them to retreat to Benevento under the cover and protection of a regiment of carabineers, leaving, behind them, thirteen pieces of cannon. On this occasion, the French suffered so severely that they were not able to pursue the Spanish army, nor even to take possession of Rio Seco till several hours after the battle. The French afterwards took possession of St. Andero.

Their triumph, however, was of short duration: in consequence of the advance of General de Ponti, with a division of 10,000 men from the Asturian army, the French detachment afraid of having their retreat cut off, evacuated the town precipitately, having previously committed every kind of depredation and outrage.—Murat, aware of all that had taken place in the different parts of the kingdom, thought it prudent to withdraw his forces from the capital, and to station them on the Retiro, an eminence at a little distance,

* The great commercial city of Cadiz was one of the first to shew its zeal for the patriotic cause. A French squadron of five ships of the line, and two frigates, lying in the harbour, was obliged, on the 14th of June, to surrender to the Spanish arms, under General Moria, after having sustained a cannonade and bombardment from the batteries for three days, while the British fleet, under Admiral Purvis, stationed off that port, prevented its escape. The importance of preserving the French fleet at Cadiz, and the probability that it would fall into the hands of the Spaniards, had induced Murat to dispatch General Dupont from Madrid, with a considerable force, to the south of Spain. Scarcely, however, had this General passed the Sierra Morena, before he heard of the surrender of the French fleet, and the disposition of the people soon convinced him that it would be unsafe to advance farther towards Cadiz. After pushing on to Cordova, of which he obtained a temporary possession, he measured back his steps to Andujar. The Spanish General, Castanos, who, at the commencement of the insurrection, was stationed in the camp of St. Roche, marched at the head of the Andalusian army, against General Dupont. After several partial actions, in which the Spaniards uniformly succeeded, either in repelling the attacks of the French, or in forcing them to fall back, and by which Castanos had brought his raw troops into habits of activity, firmness and discipline, it was determined in a council of war, held on the 17th of July, that an attack should be made on the town of Baylen, where the van of the French army was posted. At three o'clock in the morning of the 19th, while the troops of the Spanish General, Reding, were forming for the march, General Dupont, with his army, attached the Spanish camp in the vicinity of Baylen, opening a sudden and tremendous fire with his artillery; and so determined was the resolution of the French General to make a decisive impression on the Spanish line, that his attacks were renewed till twelve o'clock; with no other interruption or intermission but such as necessarily arose from the occasional recession and formation of new columns. At this period, he seemed disposed to give up the attack; but, before this resolution was taken, one other effort, led by General Dupont himself, and supported by his other Generals, was made upon the Spanish lines, but with no better success. During these repeated, impetuous, and almost uninterrupted attacks, the Spanish line had been frequently penetrated in different parts; and the French had more than once succeeded in arriving at their batteries. But the Spanish army, with more coolness, intrepidity, and discipline, than might have been expected from raw and inexperienced levies, formed again with astonishing regularity, dismounted the enemy's artillery, and cut to pieces the attacking columns, at the same time that they varied their own positions and movements, in such a manner as to be constantly in a state of preparation, and to repel the rapid advances of the enemy. This success of General Reding over the main body of the French army, led on by General Dupont, in person, decided the fate of the day, and rendered unavailing the reinforcement of 6000 men dispatched from Madrid, under the command of the French General Wedel. Under these circumstances, Dupont proposed to capitulate, and on the 20th, the whole of the French army, comprising the division of Wedel, delivered up their arms, on condition that they should be embarked at Cadiz, and sent to Rochefort. It appeared from the official returns, that the French forces, before the battle of Baylen, and exclusive of the division under General Wedel, consisted of 14,000 men; of which number nearly 3000 were killed and wounded. The Spanish army consisted of 25,000 men, one half of whom were peasantry, and their loss was stated at 1200 in killed and wounded. By this capitulation, the army of General Castanos had not only freed the province of Andalusia, and the whole of the south-west of Spain, from the presence and devastation of the French, but they had opened themselves a ready path to the capital of the kingdom, and to a junction with their companions in arms.

sufficiently elevated to protect him from a sudden attack, and to give him, in some measure, the command of the city. Whilst the Spanish troops were every where successful, and preparing themselves for new victories, Buonparte remained at Bayonne, directing or receiving the deliberations of the Junta which he had convened, and drawing up a constitution for Spain. As soon as the new constitution had been submitted to the Junta, Joseph Buonaparte, accompanied by his principal ministers, set out for the capital of his unconquered kingdom; Murat, under plea of bad health, having previously quitted that city, and arrived at Bayonne. Under the protection of 10,000 men, Joseph arrived in safety, on the evening of the 20th of July, at Madrid, where he was crowned, amidst the gloom and hatred of the inhabitants. On the very day that he entered the capital, Dupont, as already stated, surrendered himself and his army, prisoners to Castanos. As soon as this news reached Madrid, Joseph and his court found themselves compelled to seek their safety in flight; consoling themselves, however, by carrying off the regalia and plate belonging to the crown. Immediately afterwards, the council of Castile resumed the government, at Madrid, with professions of ardent attachment to the cause of their deposed monarch; but these professions were received with distrust by the patriots; and the government of the country still continued to be administered by the Junta of Seville. It was also judged expedient to form a military Junta at Madrid, composed of five Generals, including Castanos and Morla.

In England, an expedition which had been fitted out under Sir Arthur Wellesley, for the purpose, it was supposed, of proceeding against Spanish America, was countermanded on the arrival of the news of the insurrection in Spain. This army, consisting originally of about 9000 men, set sail from Cork, on the 12th of July, and arrived at Corunna on the 20th of the same month. The battle of Medina del Rio Seco, had taken place a few days before, and the Spaniards were retreating in every direction. Sir Arthur Wellesley offered the assistance of the force under his command, to the Junta of Galicia; but that body, unintimidated by their late reverses, replied, that they wished for nothing from the British government except money, arms, and ammunition. They expressed their firm conviction, however, that the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley might be of infinite service both to the Portuguese and the Spanish nation, if it were employed in driving the French from Lisbon. The English government next turned its thoughts to the Spanish troops which Buonaparte had drawn, under the pretence of securing Hanover, to the northern parts of Germany. This force, to the amount of 8000 men, was stationed in the Danish island of Funen. A negociation being entered into between their commander, the Marquis de la Romana, and the British Admiral, Sir Richard Keates, to effect their liberation, the Spaniards seized the vessels and small craft on the coast, by which they were conveyed to Langeland, where they joined 2000 of their countrymen. Thus 10,000 Spanish troops were rescued from the power of Buonaparte, and after being supplied with every thing of which they stood in need, were landed on the northern coast of Spain, to support the patriotic cause.

Buonaparte having returned to Paris, on the 5th of September, a senatus consultum was adopted, unanimously, by the French senate, by which 160,000 men were to be raised for the augmentation of the army. This circumstance, combined with the report of the French minister for foreign affairs, in which it was stated, that an army of 200,000 men was to be placed at the service of the war in Spain, sufficiently indicated that the insurrections in that country, had not shaken his purposes. Having arranged his military operations, Bounaparte set out from Paris, to meet his confederates, the dependant German Princes, and the Emperor Alexander, at Erfurth. The proceedings of this meeting were never suffered to transpire, but it cannot be doubted that one of its objects was to over-awe Austria, and to arrange the co-operation of Russia, and the confederate states of the Rhine against her, if she attempted to avail herself of the war in Spain. On his return to Paris, he addressed the Legislative Body; making known to them, the perfect union of sentiment between himself and the Emperor of Russia, with respect both to peace and to war; and he assured them that they had determined to make sacrifices in order to procure for the 100,000,000 of men, whom they represented, an early enjoyment of the commerce of the seas. He announced his resolution to depart in a few days, to put himself at the head of his armies; and, by their means, to crown the King of Spain at Madrid, and to plant his eagles on the forts of Lisbon.

Subsequently to this period, the progress of the campaign was unfavourable to the Spaniards. Having fully succeeded against the patriotic armies in the north-west of Spain, Buonaparte suddenly and unexpectedly directed his efforts against the forces under Castanos, on the Ebro. The first advances of the enemy against Castanos took place on the 21st of November, with 12,000 infantry, and 4000 cavalry, on the lines of Coma. The Spanish General immediately fell back, and occupied a position from Tarragona to Tudela, the troops of the army of Arragon resting upon the latter place. On the 23d, three columns of the enemy were perceived marching in the direction of Tudela, and by eight o'clock in the morning, he had occupied all the points of attack. Part of the field of battle was commanded by heights, which Castanos had neglected to occupy. Of this oversight the French took advantage; and, at the same time, penetrating the centre of the Spaniards, completely decided the fortune of the day. One division of the Spanish army was successful, and compelled the enemy to retreat; but, following the pursuit too far, they were taken in the rear, by a part of the French army, which had penetrated through Tudela, to the right. The Spaniards, thus broken into separate divisions, could not support each other, and a retreat became unavoidable. Thus, in the short space of three weeks, were the grand armies of Blake, Castanos, and Count Belveder, on which the principal hopes of the Spanish nation rested for the defence of the capital, and the north of Spain, defeated; and, in a great measure, dispersed.

During these disasters of the Spanish army, the troops which had been sent by Britain to the aid of the patriots, were not far enough advanced either to support their allies, or to oppose any efficient check to the progress of the enemy. Sir John Moore, with about 15,000 men, arrived at Salamanca, on the 14th of November. Sir David Baird was at Astorga at the same time, with about 14,000 men: and a brigade of 10,000 men, under General Hope, were on their route towards Madrid. In consequence of the rapid advances and successes of the French, General Hope, after reaching the Escurial, found it expedient to retreat, and form a junction with Sir Jonn Moore: and, upon the latter receiving intelligence of the defeat of Castanos, all the British forces began their retreat, but the two divisions soon after resumed their respective positions at Astorga and Salamanca. On the 22d of November, eleven days after the battle of Tudela, Buonaparte removed his head-quarters from Burgos, and marched against Madrid, by the direct road of the Castiles.—The van-guard of his army arrived, at day-break on the 30th, at the foot of the Somo Sierra. The Puerto, a passage of this mountain, was defended by a division of from 12 to 15,000 Spaniards, and by a battery of 16 pieces of cannon. After an animated resistance, the Spaniards finding themselves too weak to withstand the powerful army to which they were opposed, sought safety in flight, leaving their cannon in the hands of the enemy. On the 2d of December, Buonaparte, preceding the main body of his army, arrived with his cavalry only, on the heights which overlook the capital of Spain. The inhabitants of Madrid had only thought of their defence eight days before the arrival of the French armies, and all their preparations were marked by precipitation and inexperience. One of Marshal Bessieres' aids-de-camp was sent in the morning to summon

summon Madrid, but when it was known that he was the bearer of a proposal for the city to submit to the French, he narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the enraged inhabitants, and owed his life to the protection of the Spanish troops of the line. At nine o'clock, in the morning of the 3d, the cannonade commonced. Thirty pieces of cannon, under the command of General Cenarmont, battered the walls of the Retiro, while 20 other pieces, and some light troops, made a false attack in another quarter, for the purpose of distracting the attention of the patriots, and of obliging them to divide their forces. In less than an hour, the 4000 Spanish regulars, who defended the gardens of the Retiro, were overthrown; and, at eleven o'clock, the French soldiers occupied the important posts of the Observatory, the China Manufactory, the Great Barracks, and the Palace of Medina Cœli. The cannonade then ceased, and another envoy was sent into the city, to demand its surrender. At five o'clock, in the afternoon, General Morla, chief of the Military Junta, and Don B. Yriarte, deputed from the city, departed for the head-quarters of the Emperor, with the French envoy, and were conducted to the tent of the Prince of Neufchatel. In the mean time, the inhabitants refused to lay down their arms, and continued to fire upon the French, from the windows of the houses, surrounding the public walk of the Prado.—Fifty thousand armed inhabitants, without any discipline, ran about the streets, vociferating for orders, and accusing their leaders of treason. The Captain-General, Marquis of Castellar, and other military men of rank, quitted Madrid during the night of the 3d, with the regular troops, and 16 pieces of cannon. On the 4th of December, at six o'clock in the morning, another deputation was dispatched from the city to the tent of the Prince of Neufchatel; and, at ten o'clock, the French troops took possession of the city.*

The news of the Spanish insurrection, soon reached Portugal: the inhabitants of Lisbon, kept in awe and subjection by the army of Junot, were prevented at first from manifesting their joy at the intelligence. At Oporto, however, circumstances were more favourable to the wishes and the efforts of the Portuguese. A considerable body of Spanish troops occupied that city; as soon as they were made acquainted with the occurrences in their own country, and had learnt that their services were required to avenge the captivity of their monarch, and to regain the independence and tranquillity of Spain, they determined to quit Oporto for the purpose of swelling the patriotic ranks of their countrymen. Before their departure, however, they took the French General and all his staff prisoners, and delivered up the government of the city to Louise d'Oliveda, who had filled that office before the arrival of the French. As soon as the Governor had resumed his functions, he ordered the Portuguese flag to be hoisted, and opened a friendly communication with the Captain of an English frigate, which was cruising off that port. The conduct of Oporto served as an example for the other parts of Portugal; nearly the whole of the north of that kingdom rose in arms against the French; the authority of the Prince Régent was re-established; and provincial Juntas, similar in their character and functions to those in Spain, were formed. Of these assemblies, the Junta of Oporto, in particular, turned their attention towards England for assistance and support; and the army of Sir Arthur Wellesley, which had, in the first instance, been offered to the Spaniards, ultimately disembarked in Portugal. His force, originally consisting of nearly 9000 men, was subsequently augmented, by reinforcements from the south of Spain, under Generals Anstruther and Ackland; and, from the Baltic, under Sir John Moore. On the arrival of the expedition at Oporto, on the 24th of July, the Commander-in-Chief was informed by the Bishop, that the Portuguese force in that quarter, was sufficient to repel the attacks of the enemy; and, after a consultation with Sir Charles Cotton, the British Admiral stationed off the Tagus, Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to effect a landing in the bay of Mondego, having previously given orders to General Spencer, to join him at that place. Receiving information that the army of General Junot, consisting of about 20,000 men, had been considerably weakened, owing to that General having found it necessary to dispatch General Loison, with about 6000 troops, into the province of Montejo, to quell an insurrection in the south of Portugal, Sir Arthur Wellesley commenced the disembarkation of the troops without delay. Soon after they had landed, the force under General Spencer arrived, and, on the 9th of August, advanced with the main body from Mondego bay, on the road to Lisbon. Unfortunately, a coolness arose between the Portuguese and the English Generals, owing to a demand, made by the former, for a supply of provisions from the British stores, with which it was found impossible to comply, without exposing the British troops to insufficient and precarious sustenance. In consequence of this difference, the Portuguese troops separated from the English; but, on the urgent representation of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and a promise on his part, to supply them with provisions, 1000 regular infantry, 400 light troops, and 250 cavalry, joined the British army at Alcobaca, on the evening of the 14th, with Colonel Trant, and continued with him, during the remainder of the operations. On the 15th, the advanced guard of the British army came up, for the first time, with a party of the French, at Oviedas, when a slight action took place, occasioned principally by the eagerness of the British to attack and pursue the enemy. On the 16th, the army halted, and the next day, Sir Arthur Wellesley formed the determination to attack General Laborde, at Roleia. This place is situated on an eminence, with a plain at the end of a valley on its front. On the hills on both sides this valley, the enemy had stationed his force, his right resting on the hills, the left on an eminence, and the whole covering and protecting the passes of the mountains which lay in his rear. The French force, thus strongly and advantageously posted, consisted of about 6000 men, with five pieces of cannon, and the British General having reason to believe that the right of the enemy would be strengthened by the arrival of a fresh force in the course of the night, under Loison, formed his plan of attack accordingly. The French were, in consequence, soon driven from their position, and compelled to retire, by the passes, into the mountains, where they occupied a very formidable position. A desperate battle ensued, attended with very considerable loss on the side of the British; but, at the close of the day, the enemy was driven from all the passes of the mountains, and part of the British troops reached the plains on their summit. The enemy, to cover the retreat of his defeated army, made three distinct, desperate, and gallant attacks upon the two regiments which first reached the mountains; in all of which he was completely repulsed; and his retreat might have been cut off, had the British army been supplied with the usual proportion of cavalry. The loss of the enemy, in this action, was very considerable, and three pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the British. Our loss in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly 500. On the 18th, the British army moved to Lourinha, in order to cover the debarkation of the troops under Generals Anstruther and Ackland, which took place on the 20th; and, on the 21st, they resumed

* Whilst Buonaparte was carrying on his schemes against Spain, he was not inattentive to her valuable possessions in America. As soon as he had procured from Charles and Ferdinand the abdication of the throne in his favour, he sent dispatches by different fast sailing vessels, to their principal settlements. Fortunately, most of these vessels were taken by the British cruisers, so that before the dispatches of Buonaparte appeared, the inhabitants of Spanish America were accurately informed of the events which had occurred in the mother country. On the arrival of such of the vessels as had escaped the British cruisers, the crews were seized and imprisoned. Hostilities were declared against France, in the Spanish West Indies, and in many parts of the main. Ferdinand the Seventh was proclaimed; the English were received and treated as friends; and voluntary contributions, in aid of the patriots, were raised, and transmitted to Europe.

their

their march towards Lisbon. Junot having been informed of the reinforcements which the British army expected, under the command of Sir John Moore, resolved, notwithstanding the defeat of his troops at Roleia, on the 17th, to attack the British force before their reinforcements arrived; for this purpose, he left Lisbon, with nearly the whole of his disposable force, amounting to about 14,000 men, and on the morning of the 21st, came up with the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, at Vimiera. This village stands in a valley, through which runs the river Maceira; on the west and north of the village, is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, and the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road to Lourinha. The greater part of the British infantry, with eight pieces of artillery, were posted on this mountain, under Generals Hill and Ferguson. The riflemen, under General Fane, and the brigade of General Anstruther, were posted on a hill to the south-west of the village, which is entirely commanded by the mountain on which the troops under Generals Hill and Ferguson were stationed. The cavalry, and reserve of artillery, were placed in the valley between the hills. Soon after the enemy appeared, it became obvious that his intention was to attack the advanced guard on the left wing; and the positions of the British army were immediately changed in order to repel the threatened attack. The French army, formed into several columns, began their attack upon the whole of the troops on the heights in the south-east quarter, and they advanced on the left, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment; but they were checked and driven back by the bayonets of that corps. The 43d regiment, forming the second battalion, was likewise closely engaged with them in the road which leads to Vimiera, a part of that corps having been placed in the church-yard, in order to prevent them penetrating into the town: here, also, the engagement commenced early in the day, and here, again, the enemy was repulsed by the bayonets of the 97th regiment, supported by the 52d regiment, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy in flank. On these points the British army had acted merely on the defensive; but General Anstruther, advancing for the purpose of occupying his position on the left, attacked their flank, which suffered severely from his fire, combined with the fire of the artillery, which was placed on the same heights as this brigade. The engagement on this eminence, was long and obstinately contested; but, at length, the French were repulsed, and thrown into complete confusion, leaving behind them, in their flight, seven pieces of cannon, and a great number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. A detachment of the 20th light dragoons pursued the retreating enemy; but, owing to their superiority in cavalry, this detachment suffered much, and Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor was unfortunately killed. Nearly at the same time, the enemy commenced an attack upon the heights on the road to Lourinha: a large body of cavalry supported this operation, which was begun with their usual impetuosity; Major-General Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments, received this attack with steadiness. As soon as the enemy approached, they charged him, in their turn, and again he gave way before the rampart of British bayonets, with which he was resisted. As the enemy retreated, the British troops advanced; and, in their victorious career, took six pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners.—The last effort of the French was directed to the recovery of part of their artillery; for this purpose, they attacked the 71st and 82d regiments, which had halted in the valley, where the captured artillery lay. The attack was so impetuous, as to oblige the British regiments to retire from the low ground to the heights, which they had no sooner attained, than they faced about and fired upon the enemy, and ultimately compelled him to retire from the valley with great loss, and without having accomplished the object of his enterprise. In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal, was employed, under the command of the Duke of Abrantes, in person; in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery, and in which not more than half of the British army was actually engaged, the French sustained a signal defeat, and lost 13 pieces of cannon, 23 ammunition-waggons, and 20,000 rounds of musket-ammunition, with about 3000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners; while the total loss of the British did not exceed 800. Sir Harry Burrard had joined the British army on the morning of the battle of Vimiera; but, with a feeling of delicacy towards Sir Arthur Wellesley, he declined assuming the command, till that General should have completed his operations. On the 22d, the day after the battle, Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had been ordered from his situation as Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar, for the purpose of taking the command of all the different corps sent by the British government into Portugal, reached Cintra, to which the British army had moved. A few hours after his arrival, a flag of truce came in from Junot, with a proposal for a cessation of hostilities, that a convention, by which the French should evacuate Portugal, might be agreed upon. An armistice was accordingly signed by General Kellerman, on the part of the French, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, on behalf of the English; the principal articles of which formed the basis of the convention of Cintra; by which it was strangely agreed, that the English government should be at the expense of transporting the whole of the French army to any of the ports in France, between Rochfort and L'Orient. When the army arrived in France, they were to be at liberty to serve again immediately. All the property of the French army, as well as the property of the individuals, was to be sacred and untouched, and might either be sold in Portugal, or carried off into France. The embarkation was to take place in three divisions; the first to sail within seven days from the date of the ratification of the convention. No native of Portugal was to be molested, or considered accountable for his political conduct, during the time the French had occupied that country; and such of them as were desirous of withdrawing into France, were to have full liberty to dispose of their property. When the insurrection in Spain first broke out, Junot had ordered a number of Spanish troops, serving in his army, into confinement in the ships in the harbour; and, in return for the delivering up of these Spaniards, the Commander-in-Chief of the British army engaged to obtain, from the Spanish Juntas, the release or restoration of such French subjects, either military or civil, as might have been detained in Spain, in consequence of the events that occurred about the end of May, and the beginning of June.

Respecting the Russian fleet, which, by the articles of the armistice, was to be allowed to depart from the Tagus without molestation, a convention was agreed to by Sir Charles Cotton, and Admiral Siniavin, the Russian Admiral, by which the ships and stores were to be delivered up immediately, and sent to England; there to be held as a deposit, and not to be restored till six months after the conclusion of a peace between Russia and Great Britain. The Russian Admiral, officers, seamen, and marines, were to be allowed to return to Russia, at the expense of the British government, without any stipulation with regard to their future services. In Portugal, as well as in England, the terms of the convention produced universal discontent. General Benardin Freire, commander of the Portuguese troops, entered a formal protest against the convention; and the coolness and alienation which had already so unfortunately taken place, were, by this means, aggravated to a degree nearly approaching to open hostility. On the 15th of September, the French troops completed their embarkation; and, on that day, Portugal was completely freed from the presence of an enemy, who, for ten months, had inflicted upon the country the most severe calamities.

The British troops, however, did not begin their march towards Spain, till two months after the ratification

fication of the convention of Cintra; and, even then, upwards of 10,000 men were left behind. The fatal convention of Cintra drew after it a long train of disaster and disgrace. One of its first effects was to suspend all the operations of the army, and Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, were all summoned to England, in consequence of the enquiry which it was seen proper to institute into that proceeding. The command of the British army was now vested in Sir John Moore—an officer who had distinguished himself in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt, and who had recently returned from Sweden, where he had been employed as Commander-in-Chief. The British army destined to act in favour of the Spaniards, and to assist in expelling the French invaders from that country, consisted of the troops which marched from Lisbon, on the 27th of October, under the command of Sir John Moore, and those which had been sent from England, under the command of Sir David Baird. The latter arrived at Corunna, on the 13th of October, and Sir David Baird was astonished and disappointed to find that the Junta of Galicia at first refused him permission to land his troops; and when their tardy acquiescence was obtained, his reception was so extremely cold and dispiriting, that he doubted whether the reluctance of the Spanish government, to the French oppression, had yet been overcome. The same impression was made on Sir John Moore, when he arrived at Salamanca, on the 13th of November; and this officer wrote from that place to the British minister at Madrid, desiring him frankly to inform the Spanish government, that if they expected his army to advance, they must prepare themselves to pay more attention to its wants. The farther Sir John Moore advanced into Spain, the more strongly was he impressed with the conviction, that the information, upon the faith of which he had crossed the frontiers of Portugal, was destitute of foundation. He had been officially informed, that his entry into Spain would be covered by between 60 and 70,000 men; but, he had now advanced within three marches of the French army, and not even a Spanish picquet had appeared to protect his front. All the principal Spanish armies were beaten and dispersed; Burgos was in possession of the French; and even Valladolid had been entered, and occupied by their cavalry. Under these circumstances, Sir John Moore determined to retreat; but, before he could put his determination into effect, he received a communication from Mr. Frere, the British ambassador at Madrid, which induced him to advance to that capital. Accordingly, the main body of the army having been joined by General Hope's division, they advanced towards Valladolid, with the corps under Sir David Baird, in their rear.

Before they had proceeded a day's march on their route, Sir John Moore learnt, by an intercepted dispatch, that Buonaparte, who had entered Madrid, on the 4th of December, was advancing towards Lisbon, and that a body of 18,000 men, under Soult, was posted at Saldana, on the banks of the Carrion. Sir John, anxious to meet the wishes of his troops, by leading them against the enemy, and willing to embrace any opportunity of benefitting the Spanish cause, quitted his route towards Valladolid, and by a movement on the left, having effected his junction with Sir David Baird, advanced by rapid marches to the Carrion. Here the advanced posts of the two armies first met, and the superiority of the British cavalry, under Lord Paget, was eminently displayed in a most brilliant and successful skirmish. But, just as Sir John Moore had issued his orders for the main body of the army to commence a general attack, and had requested the Marquis of Romana to co-operate with his forces, he received, from different quarters, information that Buonaparte, in person, was advancing with his army, to get into the rear of the British; that the army which had been stationed at Talavera, had moved forward to Salamanca, and that Soult himself had received strong reinforcements. There was now no alternative: a retreat had become indispensable, and the only difficulty lay in the route that ought to be pursued. The numbers of the French army that were now dispatched against Sir John Moore, amounted to upwards of 70,000. The corps of Soult, before it was reinforced, consisted of 18,000 men; the right flank of the British was threatened by Junot, who, liberated by the convention of Cintra, from his perilous situation in Portugal, had now again advanced into Spain, with 15,000 men; while Buonaparte, who had quitted Madrid on the 18th, with 40,000 troops, was, at this moment, advancing, with his usual rapidity, upon the British force. So rapid was the march of the main body of the French army, under Buonaparte, and so closely did they pursue Sir John Moore, that the advanced guard of the enemy reached Tordesillas on the same day that the British began to retreat from Sahagun. At Benevente, the cavalry, and part of the artillery of Buonaparte's army, came up with the rear of the British, and another skirmish took place, which terminated greatly to the glory and honour of the British cavalry, and in which the French General, Lefevre, at the head of his chasseurs, was taken prisoner. This check served to convince Buonaparte, that his main force could not come up with Sir John Moore, before he had quitted Benevente; and his presence being required in France, he committed the further prosecution of the pursuit to Marshal Soult, the Duke of Dalmatia, who, with three divisions under his command, was ordered to follow the British without intermission, and to effect their destruction. The situation of the British army was, at this time, dispiriting in the extreme. In the midst of winter, in a dreary and desolate country, the soldiers chilled and drenched by deluges of rain, and wearied by long and rapid marches, were almost destitute of fuel to cook their victuals, and it was with extreme difficulty, that they procured shelter. Their provisions were scanty, irregular, and difficult of attainment; the waggons, in which were their magazines, baggage, and stores, were often deserted in the night by the Spanish drivers, terrified by the approach of the French. Thus, baggage, ammunition, stores, and even money, were frequently obliged to be destroyed, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy; and the weak, the sick, and the wounded, were necessarily left behind. In the midst of these distresses, the Spanish peasantry are said to have offered no assistance, and shewed no sympathy; on the contrary, though armed, they fled at the approach of the English, carrying with them every thing that could alleviate their distress, or contribute to their preservation or comfort. The difficulties and anxiety of the British commander were increased by the relaxation which took place in the discipline of his army. The disappointment which they experienced, in not being allowed to measure their strength with the enemy; the privations and distresses under which they laboured, in a retreat which they considered as a disgraceful and unnecessary flight; and, above all, the indifference to their sufferings, which the Spaniards uniformly manifested; contributed to weaken their habits of order and subordination. Sir John Moore, aware of the consequences to which this want of discipline might lead, found himself reluctantly compelled to issue such orders as might unequivocally point out his sense of so great an evil; and that might, at the same time, express his unalterable determination to punish, in the most severe and exemplary manner, every future offender.*—The enemy was now pressing hard upon the British,

* The opponents of ministers had much to say, on the subject of General Moore's appointment to the chief command, in the Peninsula; and, it must be confessed, that the melancholy result of the campaign more than justified all their reasoning, and all their invective. Sir John, it is well known, had no confidence in the exertions of the Spaniards, or in the success of their cause. On the contrary, his prejudices were strong against them; and, from the commencement, he considered himself to be playing a losing game. An officer so impressed, ought never to be entrusted with a command; for, instead of the fire of enterprise—that noble confidence, which frequently ensures success, even against every calculation of probability—the chill of circumspection, and the frost of despair, are to be apprehended. By military

British, and Sir John Moore, having dispatched General Crawford's division, consisting of 3000 men, to Vigo, came to the determination to halt at Lugo, at which place he arrived on the 5th of January, 1809, and to offer them battle; but Soult did not think it safe to attack the British in the strong and judicious position they had taken up near this place. Sir John Moore, not judging it prudent either to act offensively, or to delay his retreat, quitted his ground in the night of the 9th, leaving his fires burning to deceive the enemy. On the 11th, the whole of the British army reached Corunna, with the exception of General Crawford's division, which had embarked at Vigo; but, unfortunately the transports had not yet arrived, and the next morning, the French army, under the Duke of Dalmatia, were seen approaching Corunna. On examining the different positions in the neighbourhood, Sir John Moore determined to occupy a range of hills near the town, and on the 13th, he made the following arrangement of his army:—One division, under General Hope, occupied a hill on the left, commanding the road to Betanzos; the division, under Sir David Baird, extended from this village, and bending to the right, the whole formed a sort of crescent; the rifle corps on the side of Sir David Baird formed a chain across a valley, and communicated with General Fraser's division, which was drawn up near the road to Vigo, about half a mile from Corunna; and the reserve, under Major-General Paget, occupied a village on the Betanzos road, about half a mile in the rear of General Hope.

On the 14th, in the evening, the transports appointed to convoy the British army to their native shores, hove in sight. On the 15th the enemy advanced to the height opposite the British position. About noon, on the 16th, he began to place some guns in the front of the right and left of his line, and followed up this preparatory movement by a rapid attack upon the division of General Baird. When the enemy's line first began to assume a hostile attitude, Sir John Moore was employed in visiting the outposts, and in explaining to the general officers his plans for conducting the embarkation. Surprised, but by no means disconcerted by this intelligence, he flew to the field of battle, expressing his regret that the advanced hour of the day would not allow the British army to reap all the advantages of that victory which he felt assured now awaited them. The first attack of the enemy was directed against the right wing of the British, and Sir John Moore, aware that this was his vulnerable point, placed himself in front of the position, to animate and to direct the operations of his troops. Early in the engagement, Sir David Baird, the second in command, while leading his division, had his arm dreadfully shattered by a grape-shot, and was in consequence oliged to quit the field. An attempt was now made by the French to turn the right flank of the British line; but this manœuvre was completely defeated by the 4th regiment falling back, and opening a flanking fire upon the assailants. Sir John Moore, after exclaiming—"that is exactly what I wished," rode up to the 50th regiment, and directed them to charge the enemy; this order they obeyed, notwithstanding the intervention of an inclosure in front, and the enemy was driven out of the village of Elvina with great slaughter. The General next proceeded to the 42d, who, being addressed by him in the flattering and proud words, "Highlanders, remember Egypt!" charged the French with irresistible impetuosity, and forced their ranks to retreat. His career was now drawing to a close: and at the moment when Captain Hardinge was reporting to him that the guards were advancing to the assistance of the 42d, a cannon ball from the enemy's battery struck Sir John Moore, and carrying away his left shoulder and part of the collar bone, left his arm hanging to his body by the flesh. The violence of the stroke threw him to the ground; but so composed and unaltered was his countenance, and so earnestly was his mind fixed upon the advancing Highlanders, that for a few moments it was hoped that he had been rather stunned than materially hurt by the shot. It was soon, however, discovered that the wound was mortal, and the expiring hero was prevailed upon to suffer himself to be removed to the rear. On his way from the field, he ordered Captain Hardinge to report his wound to General Hope, who now assumed the command.* The soldiers, although aware of the situation of their chief, continued to support the contest with undiminished constancy. The attack of the French upon the right of the British line was completely repulsed; and they were, in their turn, obliged to draw back their left flank, to prevent it from being turned. Their next attempt was against the centre; but there they were successfully resisted by Generals Manningham and Leigh. The last effort of the enemy was directed against the left of the British army, but they were almost instantly driven back with loss; and although the discharge of cannon, and the report of musketry, continued till night put an end to the operations, at four o'clock in the afternoon the English had taken up a position in advance, and victory was no longer doubtful. General Hope, aware of the approaching succours of the French army, and of the circumstances under which the British troops were placed, judged it advisable to proceed in the embarkation, for which indeed the preparatory measures had been taken by Sir John Moore. Accordingly, about ten o'clock on the night of the 16th, the troops quitted their position, and marched into Corunna, where the embarkation for England immediately commenced; and so well concerted were the arrangements, that during the night, and in the course of the following day, the whole army, including the sick and wounded, were placed on board the transports without molestation from the enemy.†

At

military men, Sir John Moore is considered to have been guilty of a double error: first, in not retreating sufficiently early; secondly, in not fighting the enemy, whilst yet the spirits of his army were high, and their physical powers unimpaired. Eager for the battle, and confident of the victory, they might then have humbled the vaunting superiority of the French. Far different was the prospect, when, enraged by disappointment, and exhausted by the labours and privations of a retreat, perhaps the most dreadful upon record, they were compelled to face the overwhelming numbers of a pursuing foe.—Nor do the Spaniards appear to be deserving of all the opprobrium which has been cast upon their conduct. Instead of conciliating the prejudices of the ignorant, superstitious, and bigotted population, the British army—lamentable to say, officers as well as men—seemed to emulate each other, in violating the common decencies of life. Individuals are even known to have been guilty of atrocities, which, it had been hoped, the French were the only nation upon earth that could be capable of perpetrating.—Sir John Moore's bravery, no man ever questioned; but the moral discipline of his army was such as to leave a stain, almost indelible, on the British character.

* Colonel Anderson thus relates the particulars of the last moments of Sir John Moore. "I met the General in the evening of the 16th of January conveyed off the field in a blanket and sashes. He knew me immediately, though it was almost dark, squeezed me by the hand, and said, 'Anderson, don't leave me.' He spoke to the surgeons on their examining his wounds, but was in such pain that he could say little. After some time he seemed very anxious to speak to me, and, at intervals, got out as follows: 'Anderson, you know that I have always wished to die this way.' He then asked, 'Are the French beaten?' which he repeated to every one he knew, as they came in. 'I hope the people of England will be satisfied!—I hope my country will do me justice!—Anderson, you will see my friends as soon as you can—Tell them—every thing—Say to my mother'—Here his voice quite failed, and he was excessively agitated.—'Hope—Hope—I have much to say to him,—but cannot get it out—are Colonel Graham—and all my aides-de-camp, well?—I have made my will, and have remembered my servants.—Colborne has my will,—and all my papers.'—Major Colborne then came into the room. He spoke most kindly to him, and then said to me, 'Anderson, remember you go to ——, and tell him it is my request, and that I expect he will give Major Colborne a Lieutenant-Colonelcy.—He has been long with me,—and I know him most worthy of it.' He then asked Major Colborne, 'if the French were beaten?' and, on being told they were on every point, he said, 'It's a great satisfaction to me to know we have beaten the French.—Is Paget in the room?' On my telling him, no; he said, 'remember me to him.'—It's General Paget I mean—he is a fine fellow.—I feel myself so strong—I fear I shall be long dying.—It is great uneasiness—It is great pain.' He thanked the surgeons for their trouble. Captains Percy and Stanhope, two of his aides-de-camp, then came into the room. He spoke kindly to both, and asked Percy, 'if his aides-de-camp were well?' After some interval, he said, 'Stanhope,—remember me to your sister.' He pressed my hand close to his body, and in a few minutes died without a struggle."

† It is said to have always been the wish of Sir John Moore to die upon the field of battle, and it was his earnest request that he should be buried where he fell. This request was strictly complied with. At midnight

At the commencement of the present year, Austria, hitherto the principal ally of Britain, went over to the enemy. The ostensible cause of this conduct was a refusal, by the English cabinet, to accept the mediation of Austria for a peace between great Britain and France. To the English ministers, the overtures appeared too vague and indeterminate to authorize the opening of a negociation; Stahremberg, the Austrian ambassador, presenting no authenticated document from the French ruler, nor giving any intimation of the basis on which it was proposed to treat. His Britannic Majesty, however, expressed his readiness to enter into a negociation, on such grounds of equality, as might embrace the interests of the allies of both powers. This offer was not accepted, and a rupture ensued between Britain and Austria.

The predominating influence of France was also apparent in the north of Europe. In the month of February, a Russian army entered the Swedish province of Finland, and war was respectively declared by the courts of St. Petersburgh and Stockholm. Christian VII. King of Denmark, died about the same time, and the Crown Prince, who, from the imbecility of his father, had long conducted the affairs of government, assumed the sceptre by the name of Frederic VI. His accession was followed by a declaration of war against Sweden. The spirited sovereign of that state, already involved in a war with France and Russia, immediately prepared to meet the combination of dangers by which he was threatened. As, however, the resources of h's territory were inadequate to the contest, the English government granted him a subsidy of 100,000*l.* per month, with 10,000 land forces on board, to afford such aid as the circumstances of the war might demand. Unfortunately, however, a disagreement arose between the Swedish monarch and Sir John Moore, the English General, respecting their military plans, which prevented their co-operation, and ultimately caused the return of the armament. The war between Russia and Sweden was chiefly confined to Finland, and to unimportant naval actions in the Baltic. Between Sweden and Denmark, the contest was still more trivial.*

Buonaparte, this year, effected considerable changes in the affairs of Italy. He adopted his son-in-law, Eugene Beauharnois, as his own son, and settled that kingdom upon him in tail male; expressly stating, however, that the right which Eugene received by adoption should never in any case authorise him or his descendants to bring forward any claim or pretension to the crown of France, the succession of which was "irrevocably" fixed. The kingdom of Naples was bestowed upon Joachim Murat, brother-in-law of Buonaparte. Whilst these changes were taking place in Italy, an order of hereditary nobility was created in France; and it was expressly declared that hereditary distinctions are, in some measure, essential to monarchial government.†

The speech from the throne, at the opening of the British

---

midnight the corpse was carried to the citadel of Corunna by Colonel Graham, Major Colborne, and the aides-de-camp, and deposited in Colonel Graham's quarters. A grave was dug on the ramparts by a party of the 9th regiment, the aides-de-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured, and the body was never undressed, but wrapped up by the officers of his staff in a military cloak and blankets. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th the interment took place; the officers of his family bore the body to the grave; the funeral service was read by the chaplain; and the earth received the remains of the departed hero. A monument has since been erected over his remains.

* The British squadron, which was sent to the Baltic, under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, having joined the Swedish Admiral, Nauckhoff, with the Centaur and Implacable, sailed on the 25th of August, in quest of the Russian fleet. On the day following the Russians were discovered off Hango Hudd. The British ships out-sailed their allies; and about five o'clock on the following morning, the Implacable brought the Sewoled, of 74 guns, to close action. In the course of twenty minutes the enemy's ship was completely silenced, and her colours struck. The British commander used every manœuvre to bring on a general action, but the Russian Admiral aware of his intention, took refuge in the port of Rogerswick. The Russian ship which had engaged with the Implacable, grounded at the entrance of the harbour, and an attempt was made by Sir Samuel Hood in the Centaur to bring her off, but owing to the shallowness of the water, it was found impossible to get her afloat. Sir Samuel Hood finding all his endeavours fruitless, took the prisoners out of the Russian ship and set fire to her. As soon as the Russian squadron had entered the port of Rogerswick, the men were employed in fortifying the harbour against the attacks of the combined fleet, and so successful were their exertions, that every attempt to injure the Russian ships proved ineffectual.

† The following statement, of what has been designated the "Mock Court of St. Cloud," with the dignities conferred by Buonaparte upon his family and adherents, forms an interesting illustration of modern French History:—

Napoleon Buonaparte—a Corsican, son of the Town Clerk of Ajaccio; Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Mediator of Switzerland.

Josephine Buonaparte—wife of the former, widow of General Beauharnois, Mistress of Barras, and repudiated by Napoleon; Empress Queen.

Napoleon François, Charles Joseph—son to Napoleon, by Maria Louisa, Archduches of Austria; Imperial Prince, King of Rome.

Joseph Buonaparte—brother to Napoleon, a ci-devant country Attorney; King of Spain and the Indies, and Grand Elector of France.

Marie Julie—his wife, daughter of M. Clary, a woollen draper of Marseilles; Queen of Spain.

Louis Buonaparte—brother to Napoleon, King of Holland (dethroned) and Constable of France.

Hortense—his wife, daughter of Josephine; Queen, of Holland.

Jerome Buonaparte—brother to Napoleon, married to a Miss Patterson of Baltimore, divorced, and afterwards married to Frederic Catherine Princess of Wirtemberg; King of Westphalia.

Joachim Murat—served originally in the Constitutional Guard of Louis XVI. and afterwards became an officer in the 12th regiment of Horse Chasseurs; King of Naples, and Grand Admiral of France.

Caroline—wife of the former, and sister to Napoleon, Queen of Naples.

Eliza—eldest sister to Napoleon; Grand Duchess of Florence, and Princess of Lucca and Piombino.

Felix Bacchiochi—husband of the former, a Corsican by birth, marker at a billiard table, afterwards a common soldier; Prince of Lucca and Piombino, and Governor General of Tuscany.

Pauline—sister of Napoleon, widow of Le Clerc, appointed Governor General of St. Domingo, where he died. She then married the Roman Prince Borghese, Grand Duchess of Guastalla.

Prince Borghese—husband of the former; Duke of Guastalla, Governor General of the Departments Transalpine.

Eugene Beauharnois—son of the repudiated Empress Josephine; Viceroy of Italy, and Arch-Chancellor of State of the French Empire.

Cambaceres—a ci-devant lawyer, and a furious Jacobin; Duke of Parma, and Arch-Chancellor of the French Empire.

Le Brun—a political writer; Duke of Plaisance, Arch-Treasurer of the French Empire, and Governor General of Holland.

C. M. Talleyrand de Perigord—an Ex-Bishop, who read High Mass on the Grand Confederation day, on the 14th of July, in the Champ de Mars, at Paris; Prince of Benevento, and Vice Grand Elector.

General Alexander Berthier—of a good family; Prince of Neufchatel, and of Wagram, Grand Master of the Hunt, and Vice-Constable.

Caulaincourt—the Kidnapper of the Duke d'Enghien; Duke of Vicenza, Grand Master of the Horse.

Clarke—an Irishman by birth, and Private Secretary to the late Duke of Orleans, Duke of Feltre, and Minister of War.

Maret—a ci-devant journeyman apothecary; Duke of Bassano, and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Regnier—a ci-devant Provincial Barrister, Duke of Massa, and Minister of Justice.

Gaudin—Clerk in the Treasury before the Revolution; Duke of Gaeta, and Minister of Finances.

Champagny—Lieutenant in the Navy before the Revolution, Duke of Cadore, and formerly French Minister for Foreign Affairs, succeeded by Maret.

General Savary—Duke of Rovigo, and Minister of Police.

Fouche—an Ex-Priest; Duke of Otranto, Senator and Ex-Minister of Police.

Colin—a ci-devant manufacturer; Count Sussy, Minister of Commerce and manufactures.

Lacuée—the oldest General of Brigade in France since the Revolution; Count Sissæ, Ministre Administrateur de la Guerre (Minister of War for Army Equipments, &c.)

Monge—a Senator, a ci-devant Jacobin; Count de Pelouse.

Fesch—uncle to Buonaparte, a Priest; Cardinal, Archbishop of Lyons.

Stephani de la Pagerie—niece of the late Empress Josephine; Princess of Baden.

Marshal Augereau—a private in the Neapolitan service, in 1787; afterwards a fencing master, at Naples; in 1792, a volunteer in the army of Italy; in 1794, a General of Brigade, in the army of the Pyrennees; Duke of Castiglione.

———*Davoust*—of a noble family; Prince of Eckmuhl and Duke of Auerstadt.

Marshal

British Parliament this year, embraced the great public question which afterwards engaged the attention of the legislature; and the expedition to Copenhagen, the relation of England with foreign states, and the orders which his Majesty had issued in council, retaliating upon France her decrees against the commerce of Great Britain, formed prominent features in that document. In the Lords, the address to the throne was moved by the Earl of Galloway, and seconded by Lord Kenyon; and in the Commons moved by Lord Hamilton, and seconded by Mr. C. Ellis. In both Houses it was carried without a division. During the session of Parliament, the opposition to ministers was unusually keen, vigilant, and persevering; notwithstanding, which, their majorities were generally great. On the 29th of February, Mr. Whitbread rose to propose certain resolutions of censure against ministers for their rejection of the proferred mediation of Russia and Austria, accompanied by a declaration, that there was nothing in the present circumstances of the war which ought to preclude his Majesty from entering into a negociation with the enemy for the termination of hostilities. His first resolution, however, was negatived by 210 against 70 voices; and the two which followed by still larger majorities.*

On the 9th of February, Sir Francis Burdett observed, that it was stated in some of the newspapers that certain large sums arising from the droits of admiralty, had been granted by his Majesty to several princes of the blood, and particularly that 20,000*l*, arising in this way, had lately been granted to the Duke of York. If this were really the case, he wished to ask, on what colour or pretext it was that the King came to seize on that property, and to dispose of it in such a manner? Mr. Perceval admitted that the sum of 20,000*l*. had been granted to the Duke of York, being only equal to the sums formerly granted to the other younger male branches of the royal family from the same fund. The condemnation of the property alluded to was, he said, a judicial act of the court before which it came to be tried, and the right of his Majesty to these droits resolved itself into two distinct parts: the right of the crown, and his right as Lord High Admiral. As to the appropriation of the fund, a considerable proportion of it had been granted to captors under various circumstances; many grants had been made for the public service; relief had in some cases been afforded to the sufferers by the sudden breaking out of the war; and the fund being completely under his Majesty's controul, grants had been occasionally made to the younger branches of the royal family. Sir Francis Burdett, after observing that the proceeds alluded to amounted to such a considerable sum, that he was convinced Parliament could never endure that it should be left as the private property of the King, moved, with a view to an ulterior inquiry, "That there be laid before the House an account of the net proceeds paid out of the court of admiralty to the receiver-general of droits, of all property condemned to his Majesty in right of the crown, or in right of the office of Lord High Admiral, since the 1st of January, 1793, with the balances now remaining." This motion was carried.

On the 8th of March, when the mutiny bill came under consideration, in the Commons, Lord Castlereagh, referring to Mr. Windham's system, said, he had no objection to limited service under certain modifications; but he thought that it ought not to be enforced to the exclusion of unlimited service, where men were perfectly satisfied, and desirous to enter without limitation. With these views, the honourable gentleman moved, that a clause should be introduced into the mutiny bill, allowing such men as were inclined to enter the service, a fair option of enlisting for life; and after an animated debate, the proposition of the noble secretary was carried by 169 against 100. Another measure, relating to the army and internal defence of the country, was submitted to the House by Lord Castlereagh on the 12th of April. His object was to create a force subsidiary to the regular militia, amounting to 00,000 men. This body he proposed should form a local militia, and should be ballotted for in the different counties, in proportion to the deficiency of volunteers of each, from among persons between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Volunteer corps might, if they chose, transfer themselves, with the approbation of his Majesty, into this local militia. The period of service during the year to be eight-and-twenty days, for which pay was to be allowed. This measure encountered strenuous opposition, but the bill was ultimately passed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not this year find himself under the necessity of increasing the public burden, except in a very trifling degree. By an arrangement with the Bank of England, half a million of the unclaimed dividends were obtained for immediateuse; a reduction in the charges of the bank for superintending the pecuniary concerns of the public was effected to the amount of 64,000*l*.; and a loan of 3,000,000*l*. was granted by the directors to government, without interest.

Marshal Junot—servant of a farmer; in 1792, a volunteer in a grenadier corps; in 1796, one of Buonaparte's aides-de-camp; Duke of Abrantes.
——*Moncey*—servant of a nobleman whose name he assumed; Duke of Cornegliano.
——*Mortier*—a cidevant merchant's clerk at Dunkirk, Captain of a volunteer corps in 1793; Duke of Treviso.
——*Macdonald*—an officer in the Irish Legion before the Revolution; Duke of Tarento.
——*Marmont*—of a noble family; Duke of Ragusa.
——*Oudinot*—son of a shopkeeper of the town of Bar; Duke of Reggio.
——*Ney*—son of a cutler of Saar Louis, a hussar, an Adjutant-General in 1726; Prince of Moskwa, and Duke of Elchingen.
——*Lefebvre*—son of a miller of Alsace, a Serjeant in the Guards before the Revolution; Duke of Dantzig.
——*Massena*—formerly a Serjeant in the army of the King of Sardinia; Prince of Essling, and Duke of Rivoli.
——*Soult*—a subaltern before the Revolution; Duke of Dalmatia.
——*Suchet*—a barber at Lyons; Duke of Albufera.
——*Kellerman*—a German by birth, and an officer in the French service before the Revolution; Duke of Valmy.
——*Victor*—originally a drummer; Duke of Belluno.
——*Bessieres*—a common soldier in 1796, a Captain of infantry in the army of Italy; Duke of Istria.
General Hulin—the leader of most of the massacres in Paris; Count of the Empire, and Governor of Paris.
—— *Baraguay d'Hilliers*;—Count of the Empire.
—— *Loison*—son of an attorney; Count of the Empire, and Governor of the Imperial Palace.
—— *Rapp*—originally a livery servant, a man of good character, Count of the Empire, and First Aid-de-Camp to Buonaparte.
—— *Andreossi*—descended from an ancient family, a man of considerable talent; Count of the Empire.
General Vandamme—a cruel sanguinary villain; Count of the Empire, and Commandant of Boulogne.
—— *Sebastiani*—a Corsican by birth, and a relation of the Imperial family; Count of the Empire.

* On the 21st of January, Mr. Bankes had reminded the House of Commons, that a bill for preventing the grant of places in reversion had passed through that House during the last session, and was only prevented from going to the Lords by the prorogation of Parliament. The House then thought the bill which he now should move for, to be of so important a nature, that they judged it necessary to present a petition to the crown, to which his Majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious answer; and he now moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to prevent the grant of offices and reversions during life, or with benefit of survivorship. This notice gave rise to some discussion, but the bill passed through all its stages in the Commons this year, as it had done in the preceding session, almost without opposition. When the bill reached the House of Lords, it was supported by several of his Majesty's ministers, and the friends to the measure in the country augured a favourable issue; but on the second reading, on the 1st of March, a strenuous opposition to its further progress was commenced by Lord Arden, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Redesdale, and the Duke of Montrose; and in a more advanced stage of the proceedings the bill was thrown out by a majority of eighty voices. Conceiving, however, that it was incumbent upon the House of Commons, not to abandon a measure so clearly connected with their public duty, Mr. Bankes, on the 7th of April, introduced another reversionary bill, similar in its object, but limited as to duration. By this modified measure it was proposed, that the crown should be restricted from granting offices in reversion for one year after the passing of the act, and from the close of that period to the end of six weeks from the commencement of the subsequent session of Parliament. This limitation was proposed for the sake of harmony between the two branches of the legislature, and with an understanding, that the friends to economical reform gave up no part of the principle of the bill, but looked forward to the further object of rendering the measure permanent. The bill thus modified was ultimately passed in the Upper House.

rest, till six months after the termination of the war.

Sir Samuel Romilly, who, in common with many other enlightened men, had long lamented, that in the criminal law of the country, capital punishments were appointed to be inflicted for so many crimes, on the 18th of May, obtained permission to introduce a bill into Parliament, which subsequently passed into a law, to repeal so much of the act of the 8th Elizabeth, cap. 4, as made privately stealing a capital crime, without benefit of clergy.

The cause of the Spanish patriots had awakened the zeal, and animated the enthusiasm of the people of this country, to a degree almost unexampled; and Mr. Sheridan seemed only to be the organ of the public voice, when he rose in the House of Commons, on the 15th of June, to direct the attention of the legislature to the affairs of Spain, and to demand their utmost exertions in favour of the Spaniards.

Mr. Canning, in reply, declared that his Majesty's ministers saw with a deep and lively interest, the noble struggle which a part of the Spanish nation was now making to resist the unexampled atrocity of France, and to preserve the independence of their country; and assured the House, that there existed the strongest disposition, on the part of the British government, to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous.—On the 4th of July, Parliament was prorogued, and the commissioners, speaking in his Majesty's name, declared, that he would continue to make every exertion in his power, for the support of the Spanish cause, guided in the choice and direction of his exertions by the wishes of those in whose behalf they were employed.

A. D. 1809.] It was naturally to be expected, that Austria, whose strength had been broken by the disasters of Ulm and Austerlitz, and whose dominion and resources had been curtailed by the peace of Presburg, should endeavour to avail herself of the first opportunity to regain her ancient independence and power. Accordingly, from the period of the conferences at Erfurth, till Buonaparte crossed the Pyrenees for the purpose of putting himself at the head of his armies in Spain, she went on completing her military preparations. These advances towards a state of hostility, were not viewed by France with indifference; and, from Valladolid, Buonaparte sent his mandate to the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, to furnish their contingents, and to hold themselves in readiness for war: soon afterwards he left Spain, and returned to Paris. In the month of March, the preparations for war were prosecuted by both parties with uncommon vigour and activity. The Austrian army was divided into nine corps, each consisting of from 30 to 40,000 men. The Archduke Charles, freed from the interference of the Aulic Council, was appointed Generalissimo; and six out of the nine corps were placed under his immediate command; the seventh corps was sent under the Archduke Ferdinand, into Poland; and the eighth and ninth to Italy, under the Archduke John. There were also two corps of reserve, one of them, consisting of 20,000 men, commanded by Prince John of Lichtenstein, and the other of 10,000 men, under General Kinmayer; exclusively of the partizan corps, and the landwehr, or militia, by which the force at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief, was raised to 400,000. The force on which Buonaparte principally relied at the commencement of the war, consisted of the troops of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, and the other contingents from the Confederation of the Rhine. The Bavarians were formed into three divisions, under the Duke of Dantzic, to whom the temporary command of the allied troops was confided till the arrival of Buonaparte. In the mean time, the whole of the north and west of Germany, and the interior of France, were stripped of troops, which proceeded, by rapid marches, towards the banks of the Danube. On the side of Italy, Prince Eugene, the Viceroy of that country, had concentrated a formidable army; and the Saxon troops, under the Prince of Ponte Corvo, were stationed in the neighbourhood of Dresden, to protect that capital from the Austrian army in Bohemia.

On the 9th of April, the Archduke Charles, having established his head-quarters at Dintz, sent formal notice to the French General commanding in Bavaria, that he had received orders from the Emperor Francis, to advance with the troops under his command, and to treat as enemies all who should oppose him. This notice served as intimation to the King of Bavaria, who, quitting his capital, repaired to Augsburg. On the following day, the Austrians threw a bridge of boats over the Inn, between Brannau and Scharding, and after crossing that river, advanced slowly into Bavaria.

Three days afterwards, Buonaparte having learned by the telegraph, that the Austrians had crossed the Inn, quitted Paris, and arrived at Donawarth, on the 17th; from which place he removed his head-quarters to Ingolstadt. On the 19th, the Duke of Auerstadt advanced to the village of Pressing, where he met a division of the Austrian army; and an engagement immediately took place, which ended in the defeat of the latter. On the same day, another French corps attacked an Austrian division in front, while the Bavarian troops, under the command of the Duke of Dantzic, fell upon their rear, and completed their rout.

Buonaparte, during the few days which he had passed with the army, had made himself completely acquainted with its positions; and had so far ascertained the situation of the country, as to be able to take advantage of the errors of his enemy. The Archduke Louis and General Keller had imprudently drawn their divisions to so great a distance from the other corps of the Austrian army, as at once to present a weak point of attack to the French, and to expose the troops under the Archduke Charles, to disorder or destruction.—Buonaparte, perceiving this mistake, resolved to profit by it, and immediately attacked the Archduke in front at Ebensberg. A brigade of light infantry, two battalions of horse artillery, and nearly the whole of the cavalry, commenced the attack: the Austrians having taken up their position on broken and intersected ground, were quickly dislodged; the infantry, chiefly composed of the troops of Wurtemberg and Bavaria, formed in column; and the Austrians, compelled to fall back, retreated in all directions, and in extreme disorder, before the victorious confederates, who, in this battle, took 8 standards, 12 pieces of cannon, and 8000 prisoners. The flank of the Austrian army having been completely laid open by the battle of Ebensberg, Buonaparte lost not a moment in advancing to Landshut. The Austrian cavalry, which had formed before the city, was attacked, and driven back, by the Duke of Istria; the same fate awaited the infantry: and the town, with 30 pieces of cannon, 9000 prisoners, and all the magazines established at that place, fell into the hands of the enemy. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d, Buonaparte arrived opposite Eckmuhl, where four corps of the Austrians, amounting to 110,000 men, under the immediate command of the Archduke Charles, were already posted. Never before had these chiefs been opposed to each other, and as neither of them had ever yet experienced a defeat, the utmost confidence reigned in their respective armies. Buonaparte's military eye immediately perceived that the left wing of the Austrian army was disadvantageously posted. This wing he ordered the Duke of Montebello to attack, while the front of the Anstrians was opposed by the main body of the French. The contest was long and obstinate, but at the close of the day, the left wing of the Archduke's army was turned, and having been driven from all his positions, he was compelled to retreat. A large body of the Austrians, endeavouring to make a stand, under the covert of the woods, in the neighbourhood of Ratisbon, were driven into the plain, and suffered dreadfully from the French cavalry. An attempt to cover the retreat of the main body of the army, by the cavalry, was equally unsuccessful; the covering corps were attacked on both wings, but after maintaining their ground a considerable time, they were obliged to give way, and to seek their safety in flight. The Archduke Charles narrowly escaped being taken. Under cover of night, the bro-

ken and discomfited divisions of the Austrian army collected at Ratisbon, where they endeavoured to make a stand; but, after three successive charges, they gave way, leaving the field covered with 8000 of their slain. The French troops, following up their successes, entered the city through a breach in the fortifications; here a sanguinary engagement took place, in which six Austrian regiments were either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; and the remainder, not having had time to break down the bridge, were closely pursued to the left bank of the Rhine.

In these battles, Buonaparte pursued his usual plan, of breaking the enemy's forces into detached parts, and then attacking them separately; and the Austrians, uninstructed by experience, had so disposed their troops as to favour his operations. At Ebensberg, the two divisions of the Archduke Louis, and General Keller, were beaten separately; at Landshut, Buonaparte broke through the centre of their communications, and took their magazines and artillery; and, in the battle of Eckmuhl, he defeated the remaining divisions of the Austrian army of the Danube, except that of General Bellegarde, which did not join the Archduke till the day after his disaster. In the battles of Eckmuhl and Ratisbon, the French army took upwards of 20,000 prisoners, and the greater part of the Austrian artillery; and, in the short space of five days, the Austrians had lost 40,000 men, and 100 pieces of cannon. On the 10th of May, Buonaparte, without encountering any formidable resistance in his way from Ratisbon, appeared before the gates of Vienna. The Archduke Maximilian, to whom the command of the city was intrusted, animated and encouraged the citizens to resistance, as long as the imperfect nature of the fortifications, and their unskilfulness in the art of war, would permit. For four-and-twenty hours the French howitzers played upon the town; but their fire, though destructive, did not shake the constancy of the inhabitants. When, however, the enemy had succeeded in crossing the smaller branches of the Danube, by means of the numerous craft which are constantly on that river, and when the communication with the left bank was on the point of being cut off, surrender bebecame indispensable, and the regular troops, amounting to about 4000, effected their retreat by means of the great bridge of Taba, to which they soon afterwards set fire. The Emperor, in anticipation of the advance of the French to Vienna, had quitted that city soon after the defeat of the Archduke, and had taken up his abode at Znaim, in Moravia.

After the battle of Eckmuhl, the Archduke Charles crossed to the north side of the Danube, and retreating in the direction of Bohemia, attempted to gain the capital, by forced marches, before the arrival of the French. But the capture of Vienna was an object of too much importance not to be attempted by Buonaparte, with all his powers, and when the Archduke had advanced to Meissau, and before he could form a junction with General Keller, he learned, to his extreme mortification, that the Archduke Maximilian had been obliged to capitulate with the French, for the surrender of the city. Deprived, by this capture, of a point of support for the operations of his army, the Archduke fixed his head-quarters, on the 16th of May, at Enzersdorf, the chain of his outposts extending on the right as far as Krems, while Presburg, lower down the river, was occupied by his left. The advanced guards were, at the same time, pushed forward on the banks of the Danube, and the cavalry was posted on the margin of a small rivulet, on ground covered and partly concealed by bushes. Buonaparte lost not a moment in forming the determination to attack the Archduke Charles in his new position, and for this purpose, the French army was marched down the south bank of the river to Ebersdorf, where two islands of unequal dimensions divide the river into three branches, of the breadth of about 200 yards each. On the 19th of May, the French engineers threw two bridges from the right bank of the Danube to the smaller island; and, on the 20th, two other bridges were erected from that island to the Isle of In-der-Lobau, which forms a convenient rendezvous for troops, and where Buonaparte fixed his head-quarters. In three hours, a bridge, consisting of fifteen pontoons, was thrown over that arm of the river which separates Lobau from the Marsh Field, and the Archduke having formed the resolution not to interrupt the passage of the enemy, they were permitted to extend themselves along the left bank of the river without molestation. Buonaparte was accordingly left at liberty to fix on the field of battle, and he immediately determined to post the right wing of his army on the village of Essling, and the left on the neighbouring village of Aspern.—On the 21st, at day-break, the Archduke Charles formed his army in two lines on the rising ground behind Gerasdorf, near the Bisam Hill. Between the Austrian army and the Danube was an extensive plain, which, from the even and unobstructed nature of its surface, appeared destined to become the theatre of a general engagement. The Archduke Charles, having duly considered the advantageous position of the French army, and the difficulties he had to surmount, ordered the attack to be made in five columns, constituting a force of 75,000 effective men. Of artillery there were 18 batteries of brigade, 13 of position, and 11 of horse artillery; in the aggregate 280 pieces of ordnance of different calibres. The possession of Aspern was essentially necessary, to enable the Austrian artillery to play with effect upon the centre of the enemy's lines, and the army being put into motion exactly at twelve o'clock, the first and second columns were ordered to attack that village. The contest here was most obstinate and destructive: in every street, every house, and every out-building, the battle raged with unexampled fury; every wall was an impediment to the assailants, and a rampart for the attacked; the steeple, attics, and cellars, were to be conquered before either party could style himself master of the place; and, for seven hours, the conflict continued, each army rivalling the other in courage and perseverance. Scarcely had the Austrians succeeded in gaining possession of the village, when the French poured in strong reinforcements, and dislodged them at another; at length, the second column, combining its movements and attacks with those of the first, made itself master of the upper part of the village, and maintained its position during the whole of the first day's combat.—In the interim, the enemy, having formed his left wing towards Aspern, and his right towards Essling, advanced, in columns, upon the main body of the Austrian army, supported by a heavy cannonade. The cavalry, unable to withstand the impetuosity of this shock, fell back in disorder; but the infantry having reserved their fire till the French had advanced within ten paces, opened upon them with so much effect as to put them completely to the rout.—The Austrian line, thus disengaged from the enemy, obtained possession of the remainder of the village of Aspern, and maintained their ground in the face of all opposition. The third column endeavoured to take advantage of the rout of the enemy, by advancing against them in close battalion, supported by their artillery; but the French cavalry, commanded by Lassalle, suddenly rushed forward, in such numbers, and with so much rapidity, that the Austrian artillery narrowly escaped falling into their hands, and the battalions were left to defend themselves by their own unsupported exertions. The enemy's cavalry had succeeded in turning both the wings of this column, and in the confidence of victory had summoned them to lay down their arms. This degrading proposal was answered by a steady and well-directed fire, and the enemy was ultimately compelled to abandon his object, leaving the field covered with his slain. The fourth and fifth columns of the Austrian army were directed to drive the French out of the village of Essling, a position of as much importance to the right of the enemy, as Aspern was to his left. Here the French fought with still greater obstinacy and courage than they had displayed in the defence of Aspern; and, although the Austrians succeeded in driving back the corps which

were

were posted in front of the enemy's position, all their efforts to dislodge them proved ineffectual, and at the close of this day's engagement, the village of Essling remained in possession of the French. The battle of the 21st was terminated only by the night: the French had been driven from Aspern, but they still retained possession of Essling. New efforts were to be expected the following day; Buonaparte's glory, as well as the existence of his army, was at stake; and the fate of the Austrian monarchy was suspended upon the success of the army under the Archduke. All the disposable troops in Vienna, under General Oudinot, were, during the night, transported across the Danube, in order to reinforce the French army; while the grenadier corps, which had not had any share in the first day's engagement, was ordered to advance from its position near Gerasdorf, to reinforce the Austrians.—During the battle of the 21st, the Archduke had ordered fire-ships to be sent down the river, and these vessels had been so well managed and directed, that the two bridges which connected the island of Lobau with the small island, and that island with the southern bank of the Danube, were destroyed. By the destruction of the bridges, Buonaparte was rendered less able to repair the disasters and losses he had sustained; and, in case the battle of the succeeding day should prove decisively adverse, his retreat, it was apprehended, would be completely cut off. At four o'clock in the morning of the 22d, the battle re-commenced, and the Duke of Rivoli again possessed himself of the village of Aspern. The regiments of Klebeck were now directed to make another effort to regain the village; but, after a desperate contest, carried on for upwards of an hour in the midst of conflagrations, the Austrians were at length obliged to give way. The regiment of Benyowsky now rushed in, and at the first onset gained possession of the church-yard, the walls of which were immediately destroyed, by order of General Hiller, and the church, and the parsonage-house, soon after shared the same fate. This regiment, supported by some battalions under General Bianchi, succeeded in establishing itself at the entrance of the village, and maintained this position against the repeated attacks of the flower of the French army. The Archduke Charles was now enabled to act on the offensive; the corps of the Austrian General Bellegarde, having its right wing resting on Aspern, and its centre and left towards Essling, by degrees, gained the right flank of the enemy; while the artillery, stationed near the former village in such a manner as to command the intervening space was brought to bear on his left flank: thus attacked and exposed, the French army was compelled to give way, and retire towards the Danube. While the division of Count Bellegarde was engaged at Aspern, the French cavalry, by a desperate effort, endeavoured to break in between the Austrian cavalry, commanded by Prince Lichtenstein, and the left wing of the Prince of Hohenzollern. Here the Archduke Charles particularly distinguished himself: the battalion of Zach seeming disposed to give way, he seized its colours, placed himself at its head, and inspired the whole army with the same enthusiasm with which he himself was animated.

In the midst of this attack by the French cavalry, the Prince of Hohenzollern perceived, on his left wing, near Essling, an opening in the French line, formed during the heat of the engagement: of this circumstance, he immediately took advantage, by ordering thither a regiment in three divisions, which succeeded in gaining and maintaining their position till the arrival of the grenadiers of reserve, by whose co-operation they were enabled to turn and attack the centre of the enemy. The only post which the French were now able to maintain was the village of Essling, which was attacked by Prince Rosenberg, and defended by the Duke of Montebello. The attack was made with redoubled bravery, and the Austrians pushed into the village with irresistible impetuosity; still, however, they found it impossible to maintain this post. Five times did these gallant troops rush up to the houses burning within, and placed in a state of defence; but all their efforts were fruitless, for their antagonists fought the fight of despair. In the night between the 22d and the morning of the 23d, French accomplished their retreat to Lobau: at three in the morning, their rear-guard evacuated Essling, and all the positions they had held on the left bank of the Danube. Thus terminated a conflict of two days, which will ever be memorable in the military annals of the world.*

In the short demi-official accounts published by the Austrians immediately after the battle of Aspern, it was triumphantly declared, that the ruin of Buonaparte was complete; but the event proved the fallacy of these expectations; and the state of inaction into which the army of the Archduke was suffered to fall after the 22d, too plainly indicated, that he had failed in his principal object, which was to drive back the enemy entirely over the first arms of the Danube, destroy the bridges he had thrown over them, and occupy the bank of the Lobau with a numerous artillery.

The King of Saxony having taken up arms against Austria, soon found himself stripped of a great part of his dominions, and forced to abandon his capital. The Austrians, possessing a powerful army in that quarter, threatened even the newly formed kingdom of Westphalia.†

Subsequently

* In this dreadful battle, the loss of the enemy was prodigious; it can only be accounted for by the effect of the concentric fire on an exceedingly confined field of battle, where 200 pieces of cannon crossed one another; and calculated by the following authentic data: the Duke of Montebello, Generals d'Espagne, St. Hilaire, and Albuquerque, were killed; Massena, Bessieres, Molitor, Boudet, Legrand, Lassalle, and the two brothers Legrange, were wounded; and Generals Durosnel and Fouler made prisoners. Upwards of 7000 men, and an immense number of horses, were buried on the field of battle; upwards of 5000 were conveyed to the Austrian hospitals; and in Vienna, and the suburbs, there were 29,773 wounded, exclusive of 2300 who were taken prisoners. The burying of the sufferers was continued for several days. The loss of the Austrians was also very great: their official accounts acknowledged the death of 87 superior officers, and of upwards of 4000 subalterns and private soldiers; and 12 of their Generals, 663 officers, and 15,600 subalterns and privates were wounded.

† A most formidable insurrection sprang up in Saxony, Westphalia, and Hanover, which if it had been cherished and directed by the support and skill either of the British or the Austrians, would have rendered the situation of Buonaparte dangerous and critical in the extreme. Unfortunately, however, no such aid was afforded; so that, after having harassed the French, and prevented the march of troops to the Danube, they were at last crushed by superior numbers and discipline. At the head of these partisans appeared two men, well calculated by their characters, talents, and influence, to collect and animate their followers. Schill, a Major in the Prussian service, animated by a strong detestation of Buonaparte, found no difficulty in raising the inhabitants of a conquered country; and, although it does not appear that the corps which this officer commanded, was, at any time, very numerous, it was formidable to the enemy by the rapidity of its movements, by its sudden and unexpected appearance, and by the countenance it afforded to the discontented inhabitants. After traversing the whole of the north of Germany, in different directions, and perplexing and defeating the troops that were opposed to him, Schill was at length compelled from the want of co-operation, and the pressure of superior numbers, to take shelter in Stralsund. Before he had recourse to this measure, he had made himself master of the whole of Mecklenburgh, where he had levied heavy contributions, and raised a great number of recruits. A strong body of Dutch troops, with a column of 1500 Danes, pursued him to Stralsund; in this place, although deprived of its fortifications, Schill had, with incredible industry, perseverance, and skill, made very formidable preparations to defend himself, and resist the attacks of his enemies; but, after an obstinate resistance, the town was forced; the insurgents were driven from their guns, and the enemy gained possession of streets, filled with the bodies of dead men, who merited a better fate. Schill, and 20 of his officers were killed; and such of his officers as were taken prisoners, were tried and executed as deserters from the King of Prussia. The Duke of Brunswick Oels, though in his own person less unfortunate than Schill, did not effect, by his army, any thing more decisively or permanently beneficial to the cause of Germany. The Duke did, indeed, for some time, distract the attention of the French, and occupy some of the troops destined to reinforce the army under Buonaparte: but he was at length compelled to seek for safety in flight, and succeeded in embarking with his little corps, for England.

In Italy, the operations and movements of the hostile armies were more important than those of the armies in Poland, or in the north of Germany. At the beginning of the campaign in Italy, the Austrians were eminently successful; they soon made themselves masters of Padua and Vicenza, crossed the Adige, and threatened Venice itself. But the victories of Buonaparte, in Bavaria, rendered it advisable for he Archduke John, who commanded the Austrian army in Italy, to measure

Subsequently to the battle of Aspern, till the end of the first week in July, Buonaparte continued stationary on the south bank of the Danube. That he was alarmed, both for his own situation, and from the effects which his repulse might have on the continent, was abundantly evident. Scarcely a day passed without producing a bulletin, the ostensible object of which was to register the rise and fall of the Danube, and to congratulate his army on the approach of the Russians, and the junction of the troops under the Viceroy of Italy. Buonaparte, however, was making the most formidable preparations, not merely to protect himself against an attack from the Archduke Charles, but to enable him to resume offensive operations with success. The construction of the bridges over the Danube was intrusted to General Count Bertrand. In a fortnight, this engineer raised a bridge of 60 arches to In-der-Lobau, so broad that three carriages could pass abreast, over 400 fathoms of a rapid river. A second bridge, eight feet broad, was constructed for infantry. These bridges were secured against the effects of fire-ships, by stoccadoes, raised on piles, between the islands in different directions, and an armed flotilla cruised upon the river to defend these various and copious sources of communication. Each of the bridges was covered and protected by a tete-du-pont, 160 fathoms long, surrounded by palisades, frizes, and ditches filled with water; and magazines of provisions, 100 pieces of cannon, and 20 mortars, were stationed on the island. Opposite Essling, on the left arm of the Danube, another bridge was formed by the Duke of Rivoli, guarded, in like manner, by a tete-du-pont. At this time, the Austrian army was strongly intrenched on the north bank of the Danube; the left wing stretching towards Enzersdorf, and the right resting on the village of Aspern, which was surrounded with field fortifications, for the purpose of opposing the passage of the river.—Whilst Buonaparte was thus engaged in fortifying his positions, and in preparing such stupendous means for crossing the Danube, the Archduke Charles had not only raised works, and planted cannon to secure himself against an attack, but he had also drawn from Germany, Poland, and Hungary, immense reinforcements. It is not easy to calculate exactly the number of troops in either army; but, at a fair estimation, they may be taken at 150,000 men each. As the principal means of passing the Danube had been formed directly opposite to the Austrian redoubts, between Aspern and Essling, the attention of the Archduke Charles was in a great measure, confined to this point. The object of Buonaparte, however, was to divert the attention of the Archduke, and not to cross the river in the face of the enemy's most formidable position.

On the 4th of July, at ten o'clock at night, General Oudinot, with 1500 voltigeurs, embarked in ten gun-boats, on the great arm of the Danube, and crossed the river opposite Muhllieten. During the night, four new bridges were completed; one of them, in a single piece, 80 toises long, was fixed in less than five minutes, and the three others consisted of boats and rafts thrown over the river. The night was unusually dark, the rain fell in torrents, and the violence of the storm favoured the operations of the enemy. At two o'clock in the morning of the 5th, the whole French army had crossed the Danube, the corps of the Duke of Rivoli forming the left; that of Count Oudinot the centre; and that of the Duke of Auerstadt the right. At day-break, they were arranged in order of battle, at the extremity of the left flank of the Austrians. The Archduke Charles was thus completely out-generaled; his works were rendered useless, and he was compelled to abandon his positions, and to fight the enemy on the spot chosen by themselves. At five o'clock, three bodies of the French cavalry, and as many of infantry, with an immense quantity of ordnance, were seen defiling near Wittau. At six o'clock, the enemy had surrounded and taken all the Austrian fortifications between Essling and Enzersdorf, the garrisons of which were almost all either killed or wounded. The whole of the 5th was spent in manœuvring, and during the night Buonaparte attempted to gain possession of the village of Wagram; but, owing to the gallant resistance of the Austrians, and to a column of Saxons, and a column of French mistaking each other in the dark, the operation failed. A general engagement had now become inevitable, and at the dawn of the morning of the 6th, the two armies, each provided with upwards of 500 pieces of cannon, were drawn out for battle.—The arrangements of the two hostile commanders were directly at variance with each other. Buonaparte had passed the night in accumulating a force to strengthen his centre, where he placed himself in person within cannon-shot of Wagram. The Archduke Charles had, on the contrary, extended his flanks, and weakened his centre. The corps of Prince Rosenberg, and that of the Duke of Auerstadt, moving in opposite directions, encountered each other in the morning, and gave the signal of battle. At this time, the Austrians were preparing to make a storming attack upon Ober Sieben-brunn, when the Archduke Charles, perceiving that the right wing had not arrived, ordered the Prince to halt, and he was ultimately obliged to retire under a galling fire, to his former position. This inauspicious commencement of the battle was succeeded by a vigorous attempt on the centre of the French lines at Raschdorf, where Buonaparte, surrounded by 60,000 men in close order, stood directing the operations of his army. The attempt to penetrate the French lines proving unsuccessful, two columns of infantry, protected by a body of cavalry, advanced towards Aderklaa: here the quantity of grape-shot poured in upon the Austrians, became overwhelming, and a momentary panic seized the battalions under Marshal Beflegarde; but, at length, the heroism and energy of the field officers, succeeded in restoring order, and the enemy was driven, at the point of the bayonet, towards Aderklaa.—The cannonade now became general along the whole line, and the effect of the injudicious dispositions of the Austrian General, in weakening his centre, every moment manifested itself. Buonaparte, surprised at this manœuvre, at first suspected some stratagem, but he was soon convinced that the Archduke Charles had committed a fatal error, of which he hastened to take advantage. With this view, the Duke of Rivoli was ordered to attack the Austrians at the extremity of the centre, while the Duke of Auerstadt was directed first to turn the position of Mark Grafen Neusiedel, and then to push upon Wagram. The attack upon Mark Grafen, was vigorous in the extreme; and Prince Rosenberg was, after a desperate resistance, obliged to evacuate that village. The success of the enemy in out-flanking the Austrians, continued to increase; and five battalions and one regiment of cavalry, sent by Prince Hohenzollern, were found incapable of arresting his operations. The tower of Neusiedel, built in ancient times, to check the incursions of the Hungarians, formed the key of this position, and was defended by Prince Rosenberg, with great gallantry and perseverance; but a concentric discharge of grape-shot mowed down his ranks with so much rapidity, that he

---

measure back his steps. To this determination he was also probably in some degree led, by the reinforcement of 10,000 men, which the Viceroy of Italy, Prince Eugene, received from Tuscany. Thus reinforced, the French army of Italy retook Padua and Vicenza, and attacked and overthrew the Austrians beyond the Piave, with the loss of 16 pieces of cannon, and 4000 prisoners. A few days after this engagement, the French crossed the Tagliamento, and after a few partial skirmishes, inflicted another defeat upon the Austrian army at Tarvis. Advancing towards Vienna, in their victorious career, the French were enabled on the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, to bring the Archduke John to another engagement at Raab. Victory was, for a long time, doubtful, but that part of the Archduke's army, which consisted of the raw and undisciplined troops of the Hungarian insurrection, at length gave way, and 6 pieces of cannon, 4 standards, and 3000 prisoners, fell into the hands of the French. After this engagement, the Archduke John retreated with considerable rapidity, and in some disorder, towards Pest, for the purpose of forming a junction with the main Austrian army. After the battle of Raab, the Viceroy of Italy advanced without impediment to the Austrian capital; and, by the addition of the force under his command, served to swell the number of combatants in the approaching great and decisive battle of Wagram.

was at length obliged to give way, and to leave the French General in possession of the eminence. At the same moment that the attack upon Mark Grafen was taking place, a furious effort was directed against the Austrian centre. Buonaparte, acting upon the principle of all his former campaigns, ordered the centre of his army to form in two columns, supported by two batteries, consisting of 160 pieces of artillery.—As soon as these columns were formed, General Macdonald advanced at their head at the pas de charge: General Reille, with the brigade of fusileers and sharpshooters, supported by Macdonald; and to render the attack irresistible, the guards, at the same time, made an advance in front. The Austrian centre, incapable of withstanding this tremendous onset, fell back a league. The right, perceiving the dangerous position in which it was now placed, retreated along with the centre; and the left being out-flanked by the Duke of Auerstadt, fell back upon Wagram.

At ten o'clock in the morning, it was clear, to a military eye, that the fate of the day was decided, and from that moment the Austrians fought only to secure their retreat. At noon, the important position of Wagram was carried; and the Archduke Charles, finding himself cut off from Hungary and Moravia, fell back upon Bohemia. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Archduke John, at the head of his corps, arrived on the field of battle from Presburg, but the battle was then decided, and in the evening he retreated in the same direction in which he had advanced. This battle, fought in the vicinity of the Austrian capital, by 300,000 men, in the view of an equal number of spectators, decided the fate of Germany. The number of the slain was immense; and 10 stand of colours, 40 pieces of cannon, and 20,000 prisoners, according to the French bulletins, formed the trophies of the victory. The French, in estimating the loss of the Austrians, stated that the battle of Wagram had deprived them of 60,000 soldiers; and the Austrians, in their official returns, admit a loss, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of upwards of 30,000 men. The loss of the French, was considerable: in their own bulletins, it was stated at 1500 killed, and 4000 wounded; but the Austrian accounts swell the number to 20,000. One of the disastrous consequences of this sanguinary day, was the destruction of twelve of the most considerable villages in the beautiful plain of Vienna. The French, who lost no time in pursuing the Austrians, came up with the retreating army, on the 10th of July, at Znaim, where another battle was fought, which was terminated by a proposal from the Emperor Francis to conclude an armistice.

On the 12th, an armistice was signed, and the terms of this document too plainly indicated the extent of the Austrian losses, and the exhausted state of their resources.* While Buonaparte was at Vienna, and within a few days of the great battle of Aspern, he caused proclamations to be made in the public squares and market-place of that city, that from the 1st of June the Papal territory should be united with the French empire; and that Rome should, at the same time, be declared a free and imperial city.† The Pope solemnly protested against the violence and injustice by which he had been stripped of his temporal sovereignty; and, at the same time, issued an act of excommunication against the French Emperor, and all his co-operators, in this act of unprovoked spoliation. The thunders of the Vatican, however, had lost their terrors; and an act, which three centuries ago would have roused to arms, all the states of Europe, was now witnessed without one single effort, on the part of the surrounding sovereigns, to pluck the prey from the hands of the universal tyrant.

It had frequently been indirectly intimated, that Buonaparte meant to divorce Josephine, for the purpose of uniting himself with a younger and more noble bride. On the 16th of December, this design was formally announced to the Conservative Senate; and, on the same day, the project of a decree was submitted to that assembly, and before the sitting terminated, the law, authorising the divorce, was enacted. To witness these proceedings, most of the relations of the Emperor and Empress, were summoned to Paris. The Arch-Chancellor was ordered to attend in the grand cabinet of Napoleon, where Josephine, the upstart Kings of Holland, Westphalia, and Naples; the Viceroy of Italy; the Queens of Holland, Westphalia, and Spain; Madame, the mother of Buonaparte; and his sister Pauline, were assembled. Buonaparte explained to the assembly his views, and the motives by which he was actuated; and Josephine declared, that she willingly consented to the divorce, to further the policy of her husband, and the interests of the state. A proces verbal was then drawn up, to which was annexed a decree, pronouncing the marriage contract between Buonaparte and Josephine to be dissolved.

At the commencement of the contest with Russia, the Swedes had displayed traits of heroism that would have reflected honour on the army of Charles XII.; but, notwithstanding the liberal subsidy granted by Britain, neither the population, nor the finances of Sweden, were equal to the exigency of her present situation. The progress of the Russians in Finland, and the increasing calamities of the war, aggravated by the ravages of a contagious distemper, and the knowledge of the army, that it was the fixed purpose of the King again to measure his strength against the empires of Russia and France, excited universal discontent; and a confederacy was formed against the noble-minded Gustavus, whose conduct had lately appeared tinctured with insanity, which terminated in his expulsion from the throne of his ancestors. This bloodless

* From causes which, at the time, were not understood, but which in subsequent matrimonial alliance tended in some degree to explain, the negociations for a definitive treaty of peace between France and Austria, proceeded very slowly, and were not finally closed till the month of October. When the terms of peace were made known, they were generally regarded as by no means unfavourable to Austria. The cessions made by the Emperor Francis were, however, very considerable, and may be comprised under three heads: 1st, those to the sovereigns forming the Rhenish league, generally; 2d, those to the French Emperor; and 3d, those to the King of Saxony. To the King of Bavaria, were ceded Salzburg, and a portion of territory extending along the banks of the Danube, from Passau to the vicinity of Lintz. To France, Austria gave up Fiume and Trieste, with the whole of the country to the south of the Saave, till that river enters Bosnia. The King of Saxony obtained several villages in Bohemia; and, in Poland, the whole of Western Galicia, from the frontiers of Silesia to the Bog, together with the city of Cracow, and a district round it in Eastern Galicia. Russia obtained so much of this latter province, as should contain 400,000 souls. With respect to external politics, the Emperor Francis agreed to acknowledge Joseph Buonaparte King of Spain; to accede to the continental system; and to break off all intercourse with Great Britain. The most mortifying and humiliating condition of this treaty, however, was that by which the Austrian monarch gave up the inhabitants of the Tyrol to Bavaria, with a provision, indeed, that Buonaparte should procure for them a complete and full pardon. In every part of Germany peace was now established, except in the Tyrol: the inhabitants of this country, though deserted and given up by that government in whose favour they had risen in arms, and to whom they had manifested an attachment, unbroken by the most dreadful sacrifices and sufferings, still refused submission to the conquerors. Their resistance was most formidable; some of the most experienced Generals of Buonaparte, at the head of his best troops, were repeatedly defeated, and driven back, with great loss, even after they had penetrated into the centre of the Tyrol. At the head of the mountaineers, appeared a man worthy of being a leader among a nation of heroes. The brave Hoffer animated and directed the actions of his countrymen; and, before him, untutored as he was, in the art of war, the experienced troops of Europe fled in dismay. In vain did Buonaparte pour in fresh forces, block up the passes of the mountains, and forbid all communication between the inhabitants and the neighbouring countries. All his schemes were foiled; and if, for a short time, the Tyrolese fled before his armies, or appeared not to oppose their progress, it was only to attack them to more advantage in the passes of the mountains, or to fall upon them when they were unprepared. On the conquest of the country, however, Buonaparte was determined, and at length he effected his purpose, by pouring in continued reinforcements, and by the capture and infamous execution of the gallant Hoffer.

† This decree, which fixed the annual revenue of the Pope at 2,000,000 of francs, was grounded on three propositions; first, that the territories of Rome, were fiefs bestowed by the Emperor Charlemagne, the predecessor of Buonaparte, on the Bishops of Rome, to maintain the peace of his subjects; secondly, that ever since that time, the union of temporal and spiritual power has been, and still is, the source of dissension; and, thirdly, that the temporal pretensions of the Pope are irreconcileable with the security of the French army, the repose and prosperity of the nations subject to the sway of Napoleon, and the dignity and inviolability of his empire.

revolution, which took place on the 13th of March, 1809, was effected without commotion; and, the diet being assembled at Stockholm, the Duke of Sudermania, uncle to the King, was declared Regent, and was afterwards chosen King, to the exclusion of his nephew. Charles XIII. on ascending the throne of Sweden, professed his determination not to consent to any peace with Russia, that should be disgraceful to his country, or that should oblige her to take up arms against her faithful ally, Great Britain. The war between Russia and Sweden was accordingly renewed: but misfortune still attended the Swedish armies, and peace was at length purchased by the sacrifice of Finland. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty of peace with Russia, negociations were opened between Sweden and France, and on the 6th of January, 1810, a treaty was concluded, by which Swedish Pomerania, with the principality of Rugen, was restored to Sweden; the former commercial relations between the two countries were revived; and Buonaparte prevailed upon his new ally to adopt the continental system, and to exclude British commerce from the ports of the Baltic.

On the 19th of January, Parliament assembled, when his Majesty's speech was delivered by commission. This document, which related principally to the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, strongly recommended an augmentation of the regular army, in order that his Majesty might be the better enabled, without impairing the means of defence at home, to avail himself of the military power of his dominions to conduct the great contest in which he was engaged to a conclusion compatible with the honour of his Majesty's crown, and with the interests of his allies, of Europe, and of the world. The usual address was carried in both houses without a division; but not without several strong and pointed animadversions on the manner in which the war had been conducted, and on the general policy of his Majesty's government.—On the 25th of January, the Earl of Liverpool, in the House of Peers, and Lord Castlereagh, in the House of Commons, moved the thanks of Parliament, to the officers and men under Sir John Moore, by whose gallantry and good conduct, the victory of Corunna was achieved. The motion was carried, unanimously, in both Houses; and a monument was voted to the memory of the deceased General. This was succeeded by a motion for thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the officers and men under his command, for the brilliant victory obtained at the battle of Vimiera; which was carried, with the sole dissentient voice of Lord Folkstone, who thought such a tribute greater than the service could claim.

On the 2d of February, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons, by Lord Castlereagh, for augmenting the disposable force of the country;* and, though it called forth a very animated opposition, the measure ultimately passed into a law.

The convention of Cintra, and the circumstances which led to the conclusion of that treaty, were, on the 21st of February, brought under the consideration of Parliament, by Lord Henry Petty, who moved, "that the convention concluded at Cintra, on the 30th of August, 1808, and the maritime convention concluded off the Tagus, on the 3d of September, in the same year, appear to this House to have disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country; and, that the causes and circumstances which immediately led to the conclusion of those conventions, appear to this House, in a great measure, to have arisen from the misconduct and neglect of his Majesty's ministers."—This motion was strenuously opposed by ministers, who contended, that it was a brilliant addition to the military glory of the country, to have expelled, in the course of a short campaign of three weeks, an army of 25,000 French from Portugal; and, on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, the previous question was put, and carried by 203 against 152. This motion was succeeded by another, three days afterwards, by Mr. Ponsonby, for the institution of an inquiry into the causes, consequences, and events, of the late disasters in Spain. This inquiry, ministers judged it proper to resist; and a considerable majority of the House was in their favour.

Previously, however, to the latter motions, Colonel Wardle rose, (January 27,) in the House of Commons, to submit a motion respecting certain abuses which had prevailed in the British army. In bringing forward this subject, he was impelled, he said, by no other motive than a sense of public duty, and he should make no assertions that were not supported by positive facts. The power of disposing of commissions in the military service of the empire, had been placed in the hands of a person of high birth, and extensive influence; and he was sorry to say, that this power had been exercised to the worst of purposes. The disposal of commissions in the army had been placed in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief for the purpose of defraying the charges of the half-pay list, for the support of veteran officers, and for increasing the compassionate fund for the aid of officers' widows and orphans; but he could bring positive proof that such commissions had been sold, and the money applied to very different purposes; and this duty, so essential to the rights of the army, and the interests of his country, he should discharge without dismay. For this purpose, it was absolutely necessary to call the attention of the House to an establishment of the Commander-in-Chief, in Gloucester Place; this establishment, which consisted of a splendid house, a variety of carriages, and a long retinue of servants, commenced in the year 1803, and at the head of it was placed a Lady of the name of Clarke. Of that Lady's name he should have occasion to make frequent mention, in connection with a number of names and facts, to shew the House that he had not taken up this subject on light grounds.†

Having

* His Lordship observed, that it had been ascertained, that in every extraordinary crisis, a considerable supply of troops could be had for the regular army by availing ourselves of the zeal and spirit which were always manifested on such occasions, by the militia, who were ever willing to volunteer their services when there was a great and presssing necessity for increasing the disposable force; and out of 28,000 men permitted, on a late occasion, to volunteer from the militia into the line, 27,000 did actually enter within the space of twelve months. The extent to which he proposed to limit the volunteering into the line, would be, that no regiment of militia should be reduced to less than three-fifths of its present force; and, instead of 36,000 men, to be raised in England, to supply the deficiency, he should now propose only 24,000. To relieve the counties from the great pressure of the ballot, he should propose, that the expense of raising the men to fill up the vacancies in the militia, should be defrayed, not by the counties, but the public. The bounty to recruits he should fix at ten guineas; and if the voluntary inlistment for the militia, did not succeed, and a ballot was found necessary, it was his intention, to propose, that the bounty of ten guineas should be given to the ballotted man to assist him in procuring a substitute. It was stated, by the Earl of Liverpool, that the regular army then consisted of upwards of 210,000 infantry, and 27,000 cavalry. The infantry was disposed into 126 first battalions, averaging 900 men each, and 56 second battalions, of which the average number was about 400 men, and the object of this bill was to render the second battalions complete.

† The first case, he observed, was that of Captain Tonyn: this officer, who held his Captaincy in the 48th regiment of foot, received his commission as a Captain, on the 2d of August, 1802, and was promoted to a Majority in the 31st regiment, in August, 1804. He was indebted for his promotion to the influence of Mrs. Clarke. Captain Tonyn was introduced to that Lady, by Captain Huxley Sandon, of the royal waggon train; the terms of agreement were, that Mrs. Clarke should be paid 500 pounds, upon his Majority being gazetted, and this sum was, in the mean time, lodged in the hands of Mr. Jeremiah Donovan, a surgeon, of Charles Street, St. James's Square. This Mr. Donovan was appointed a Lieutenant in the 4th royal garrison battalion, in 1802, and was afterwards promoted to the 11th battalion, but since the day of his appointment he had never joined his regiment, and seemed to have leave of perpetual absence. Major Tonyn was gazetted, and the money which had been lodged in Mr. Donovan's hands, was then paid to Mrs. Clarke, by Captain Huxley Sandon. The regulated difference between a Company and a Majority, was 1100*l.*; but, in this instance, Mrs. Clarke gained 500*l.* and the 1100*l.* was lost to the half-pay fund. This sum of 500*l.* was paid by Mrs. Clarke to Mr. Birkett, a silversmith, in part payment for a service of plate for the establishment in Gloucester Place, the balance for which plate was afterwards paid by the Duke of York. "From this case," said Colonel Wardle, "it is clearly deducible, that Mrs. Clarke possessed the power of military promotion; that she received pecuniary consideration for such promotion; and that the Commander-in-Chief was a partaker in the benefit arising from such pecuniary consideration. The second case was an exchange concluded on

Having gone through the whole of his stament, Colonel Wardle concluded by moving for a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the Duke of York, in respect to the disposal of military commissions. This motion was seconded by Sir Francis Burdett.* After a debate of considerable length, the motion was agreed to; the Chancellor of the Exchequer observing, that publicity had been mentioned as desirable; he was of the same opinion; and it was therefore determined that the investigation should be conducted before a committee of the whole House.† In the course of the cross examinations, much important evidence was adduced; and one of the most conclusive proofs of the truth of the charges, arose from the fact, that they derived additional strength from the means taken by the advocates of the Commander-in-Chief to refute them: indeed his Royal Highness was more indebted for the strong parts of the case made out against him to his friends than to his enemies; and the numerous letters brought to light by their means, of which the prosecutor at first was totally ignorant, placed Mr. Wardle, for a time, on high ground. At the close of the evidence on the 22d of February, the opinion of the general officers, who were members of the House of Commons, was asked with respect to the improvement of the army in discipline and condition, and whether the system of promotion had not been

the 25th of July, 1805, through the influence of Mrs. Clarke, between Lieutenant-Colonel Brook, of the 56th regiment of infantry, and Lieutenant-Colonel Knight, of the 5th dragoon guards. It was agreed that Mr. Clarke should receive 200*l.* on this exchange being gazetted, and as the lady wanted some money to defray the expences of an excursion into the country, she urged the Commander-in-Chief to expedite this exchange; her request was made on Thursday; the exchange was gazetted upon the Saturday following, and Mrs. Clarke received in consequence the 200*l.* from Dr. Thynne, a physician, who negociated the transaction. Here then was a case which proved that exchanges, as well as promotions, were at the disposal of Mrs. Clarke, and that the purse of the Commander-in-chief was saved by the supply which his mistress derived from such sources. The next was the case of Major Shaw, appointed deputy barrack-master-general at the Cape of Good Hope. It appeared that the Commander-in-Chief had no favourable opinion of Major Shaw; but Mr. Clarke interposes; he consents to pay her 1,000*l.* Of this money he immediately paid 200*l.* shortly after he paid her 300*l.* more; when she, finding he was backward in the payment, sent to demand the remainder; but seeing no chance of receiving it, she complains to the Commander-in-Chief, who immediately put Major Shaw upon the half-pay list. The honourable gentleman said, he had a letter from Major Shaw himself stating the fact, and he never knew but one other instance of an officer being thus put upon the half-pay list. Here then was a further proof, to show that Mrs. Clarke's influence extended to the army in general, and that it operated to put any officer on the half-pay list, and that the Commander-in-chief was a direct party in her authority. The next case to which he should advert, of the lady's influence, was that of Colonel French, of the horse guards. This gentleman was appointed to a commission for raising new levies in 1804, and the business was set on foot by Mrs. Clarke. He was introduced to her by Captain Huxley Sandon, and she was to have a certain sum out of the bounty for every recruit raised, and a certain portion of patronage in the nomination of the officers. She was waited on by Colonel French, of the first troop of horse guards, and as the levy went on, she received various sums of money by Colonel French, Captain Huxley Sandon, Mr. Cerri, and Mr. Cokayne, an eminent solicitor in London. To so great a height had the practice of selling commissions in this disreputable manner arisen, that a written scale of Mrs. Clarke's prices, as contrasted with the regulated price of commissions, was sent by Mr. Donovan to Captain Tuck, to whom he very strongly recommended this path to promotion, as follows:—

	Mrs. Clarke's Prices.	*Regulated Prices.*
A Majority,	*L.*900	*L.*2,600
A Company,	700	1,200
A Lieutenancy,	400	550
An Ensigncy,	200	400

From this scale it appeared that all this was lost to the half-pay compassionate fund, to put money into Mrs. Clarke's pocket. The next instance was one in which the Commander-in-Chief himself was a direct partaker in the advantages of this traffic, by a loan to be furnished through Colonel French, the writings for which were drawn by a Mr. Grant, an eminent solicitor of Barnard's Inn, for the purpose of raising 3,000*l*; but he did not receive it, because a sum of 3,000*l.* was due from government to Colonel French. It was obvious that Mrs Clarke exercised an influence in raising the military force of the country, in disposing of commands in that force, and in converting the purchase of commissions to her own private advantage. The honourable gentleman next alluded to the case of Captain May, of the African corps, who had obtained promotion in the army over the heads of all the subalterns, though he had never joined his regiment; and was in fact still a clerk in the office of Mr. Greenwood, the army agent. There was another circumstance in this case which he could not pass unnoticed; it was the existence of a public office in the city of London, where commissions in the army were offered to purchasers at reduced prices, and where the clerks openly and unequivocally stated, in his own presence, and in his hearing, that they were employed by the present favourite mistress of the Commander-in-Chief, Mrs. Carey; and that, in addition to commissions in the army, they were employed to dispose of places in every department of church and state; and those agents did not hesitate to state, in words and writing, that they were employed under the auspices of two of his Majesty's principal ministers.

* Perhaps few subjects were ever before listened to with such deep attention in the House of Commons, as the speech delivered by Colonel Wardle on this occasion; and few subjects have ever taken such firm hold on the public mind. Confidently, however, as the charges were made, they were met with equal confidence by the friends of the royal Duke. On the ministerial side of the House, it was said, that so far from shrinking from inquiry, the Commander-in-Chief was anxious for a full investigation of the business now submitted to the consideration of Parliament. The matter had now assumed a tangible shape, and it behoved the honourable gentleman to establish the very serious and important charges which he had thought it his duty to exhibit. Every loyal subject had, for some time past, viewed with the deepest concern, the continued and rapid current of anonymous scurrility which had been poured forth against the various branches of the royal family; and it was perfectly clear, observed Mr. Yorke, that a vile jacobinical conspiracy existed against the illustrious house of Brunswick. If in bringing forward these charges, the honourable gentleman was actuated solely by patriotic motives, and a regard to the public welfare, his conduct was entitled to the highest admiration; but it was not to be disguised, that when such imputations were once exhibited, they must be brought to a conclusion, and ignominy and infamy must attach somewhere. The members in the opposition concurred fully in this inquiry. It was expedient that the rumours in circulation to the disadvantage of the Duke of York, should be fairly brought to the test of investigation, before so grave, so honourable, and so competent a tribunal as the House of Commons, and there receive the judgment and decision, which, no doubt, would be highly honourable to the character of the illustrious personage, who had been so vehemently assailed by them. As to the anonymous libels complained of, they had nothing to do with this inquiry; the charges now made were not anonymous, and the Duke of York ought to be obliged to the honourable gentleman who had brought them forward, and given him an opportunity of rendering his character impervious to future attacks. Not only the eyes of the country, but the attention of all Europe, would be fixed upon the pending investigation, and it behoved the House to act in the most grave and decisive manner.

† The charges against the Duke of York, divested of their technicality, resolve themselves into this one point—that, availing himself of his high office, he had knowingly permitted the woman whom he kept as his mistress, to traffic in commissions in the army, and did himself participate in the emoluments which were derived from this scandalous, corrupt, and illegal traffic. The evidence on which Colonel Wardle supported this momentous charge, arose from the testimony of Mrs. Clarke, the principal agent in these transactions, filled up where it was defective, and corroborated where it was weak, by the testimony of those to whom she had disposed of commissions, or by documents brought forward in the progress of the inquiry. That Mrs. Clarke had received large sums of money from a great number of persons for the exertion of her influence, real or supposed, with the Duke of York, while she was living under his "protection" in Gloucester-Place, was aproved by the evidence of Dr. Thynne, Mr. Robert Knight, Captain Huxley Sandon, Mr. Dowler, and others, who had themselves purchased her services, and who, for the most part, appeared as unwilling witnesses: but that the Duke was cognisant to these corrupt practices, and that the money so raised was, with his knowledge, applied to defray the expenses of the establishment of his mistress, was not made equally clear. There was, however, strong ground of suspicion, and the prevailing opinion was, that this charge also was satisfactorily established by the evidence of Mrs. Clarke, Miss Taylor, her relation, Mr. Dowler, of the commissariat department, and the documents elicited in the progress of the investigation. The history of the origin of this nefarious traffic was thus given by Mrs. Clarke. The establishment in Gloucester Place, consisted of two carriages, six or eight horses, and eight or ten men servants, of all of which she had to pay the expense. Her allowance from the Duke of York was 1,000*l.* a year; but for three months before his Royal Highness left her, he never gave her a guinea, and so far were the sums which she received from him from defraying the expenses of the establishment, that they would scarcely pay the servants their wages, and buy them liveries. This she often represented to his Royal Highness, and after they had been acquainted a few months, he told her, that if she was clever, she would never ask him for money; he added, that she had more interest than the Queen, and that she might use it. Of these hints she did not fail to profit; and the Duke was well aware that she used her influence with him in order to procure money from military officers and others, and that the money so obtained was applied to defray the expenses incident to her situation. The statement that the Duke had allowed only 1,000*l.* a year for the support of the prodigal and profligate establishment in Gloucester-Place, made so strong an impression on the public, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was driven to the necessity of contradicting this assertion, by declaring, that the sum expended by the Duke of York upon this seat of voluptuousness, from January, 1804, to May, 1806, amounted to 16,760*l.*; but this assertion, though it exposed the extravagance of the Duke, did not invalidate the evidence of his discarded mistress; for when the purchase of the lease of the premises, the expense of furniture, and the presents of plate and jewels, were taken into the account, not more than a balance of 1,000*l.* a year remained to meet the current domestic expenditure.

improved

improved under the administration of the Duke of York. Generals Norton and Fitzpatric, the Secretary of war, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and General Grosvenor, all answered these questions affirmatively, and pronounced high eulogiums on the character and conduct of his Royal Highness. During this inquiry, which was continued for three weeks without the intervention of any other business, Mrs. Clarke was repeatedly examined at the bar; and by the readiness and smartness of her answers to the infinite number of questions proposed, gave a degree of relief to the protracted examinations.* On the 23d of February a letter was addressed by the Duke of York, to the House of Commons, through the medium of the Speaker, in which his Royal Highness, in the most solemn manner, upon his honour as a prince, distinctly asserted his innocence, and claimed from the justice of the House, that he should not be condemned without a trial.

On the 8th of March the subject was resumed, when Mr. Wardle moved an address to his Majesty, stating, that, after a diligent and laborious inquiry, it had been proved, to the satisfaction of the House, that corrupt practices had existed to a very great extent in the different departments of the military administration: and praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to remove the Duke of York from the command of the army. To that address an amendment was proposed, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, substituting two resolutions, the first, stating that an inquiry had been instituted into the conduct of the Commander-in-Chief; and the second, that it was the opinion of the House that there was no just ground to charge his Royal Highness with personal corruption or criminal connivance. To this amendment another amendment was afterwards moved by Mr. Bankes, acquitting the Duke of York of personal corruption or criminal connivance, but expressive of an opinion that abuses could scarcely have existed to the extent to which they had been proved, without exciting some suspicion in the mind of the Commander-in-Chief, and suggesting that, after the exposures made by the recent inquiry, the causes of religion, and a regard to the public happiness and tranquillity, required the removal of the Duke of York from the command of the army. The motion of Mr. Wardle, and the subsequent amendments, gave rise to many long and animated discussions, which continued for several nights; and in the course of these debates, it was urged, in favour of the original motion, that whatever might be due to the superior rank of his Royal Highness, the members of that House should, as representatives of the people, always bear in mind that it was their duty to protect the public interests, and to watch over the security and welfare of the state. By the supporters of the Duke of York, it was contended, that Mrs. Clarke was wholly unworthy of credit, and that there was no evidence to establish the corrupt participation or criminal connivance of the Duke. Was it to be supposed that an illustrious Prince, of such high rank, would associate himself with such miscreants as the witnesses in this investigation? If he had entered into so foul a plot, he would have found different agents; he would not have surrounded himself with men of honour and the avowed enemies of army-brokers, but he would have found some supple, bending, complying agent, for his military secretary. If it could once be supposed that the Duke was a party in such a conspiracy, how was it possible that there should have been any distress for money, when there was a mint for making it constantly at work? There were then in the army upwards of 10,000 officers; and such was the eagerness for promotion, that there were always persons ready to give ample premiums above the regulated price. Had not his Royal Highness felt secure in conscious innocence, was it to be supposed that he would have ventured to discard Mrs. Clarke, to withdraw her annuity, to irritate her to the utmost, and to set all her threats at defiance? If the Duke of York had not entertained a high sense of the value of honour and character, he would not have parted from Mrs. Clarke, when he found her character would not stand the test of investigation. It ought to be recollected, that the person against whom the charge now under the consideration of the House was directed, was not only high in office and in rank, but one whose birth placed him so near the crown, that events might one day call him to the throne itself; and yet, by the proceeding now proposed, the House was called upon, on the most questionable evidence, to disgrace itself, by pronouncing the Duke guilty of the lowest and most infamous species of corruption. In favour of Mr. Bankes's amendment, it was urged, that the case of Dr. O'Meara, which rested upon the Duke of York's own letter as much as upon the evidence of Mrs. Clarke, shewed that the Duke held communication with his mistress on public concerns. It was astonishing that the constant applications of this woman did not create some doubts and suspicions in the mind of the Duke. The House was not only the guardian of the public purse but of the public morals. It was impossible, after the evidence that had been given, to entertain any doubt that a public scandal had been brought upon the country by the conduct of his Royal Highness; and it was necessary, as a reparation to public morals and decency, to remove him from the command of the army. Suppose the case to be according to the mildest interpretation of his friends, that the Duke had no knowledge or suspicion of the transactions, but that he was completely deceived and blinded by the woman whom he passionately loved, that would be a sufficient reason for calling for his removal from the command of the army; the more innocent and unsuspecting he was described to be, the more danger there was that the enemy might find out his foible, and use it to the disadvantage, and even to the ruin of the country. The first division on the question, whether the House should proceed by address or resolution, decided the fate of Mr. Bankes's amendment, and there appeared for proceeding by address 199; for proceeding by resolution, 291; leaving a majority against Mr. Bankes's address of 95. A second division then took place on Mr. Wardle's motion, which was supported by 153, and opposed by 364.

* On one occasion, being asked by Mr. Croker, if she had not written an anonymous letter to the Prince of Wales? she answered, Yes. Did you sign any name to this anonymous letter, said Mr. Croker? Mrs. Clarke made no reply, but, looking archly at the chairman, burst into a fit of laughter, in which, indeed, she was joined by the whole House. Being asked by Sir Vicary Gibbs, if she had given the same account to Mr. Wardle of the negociation for the exchange between Colonels Brook and Knight, that she now gave to the House of Commons? she replied, No. Which then is the true account? Both. In what then, inquired Sir Vicary, did they differ? They did not differ at all, replied Mrs. Clarke—she had not entered into the same detail with Colonel Wardle. The Attorney-General, in order to weaken her evidence, by bringing her motives and general character into discredit, enquired if she had not said, that if the Duke of York did not come into her terms, she would expose him? No; if the Duke did not pay her the annuity of 400*l.* which he had promised, she would publish his letters, and pay her creditors with the profits of the publication. Had she not sworn that she was not a married woman, when she was examined before a court-martial? No; she thought it would be improper to say that she was a married woman, when it was known she had been living with the Duke of York, and she said she was not, but did not swear it. Had she not sworn that she was a widow? The Duke had insisted that she should plead her marriage, to avoid her debts contracted at Gloucester-Place, or else she might go to prison; and when she applied to him for a few hundred pounds, he returned for answer, that if she dared to speak against him, or to write against him, he would put her in the pillory, or in the Bastile. Who brought this message respecting the pillory? said the Attorney-General. A very particular friend of the Duke of York's, replied Mrs. Clarke, one Taylor, a shoe-maker in Bond-Street. By whom was the request sent for a few hundreds? By my own pen, said Mrs. Clarke. How was the letter sent? By this ambassador of Morocco. Who do you call by that name? The lady's shoe-maker. Here the chairman admonished the witness of the impropriety of giving her evidence in this flippant and unbecoming manner, and apprised her, that if she persevered in such conduct, she would expose herself to a heavy censure. Mr. Sheridan, in the examination on the 17th of February, sprang a new mine of discoveries, by asking Mrs. Clarke if she had ever any negociations respecting promotions unconnected with the military department—in the church for instance? Yes, said the witness, several; among others, Dr. O'Meara, an Irish divine, applied to me to be made a Bishop; and the Duke of York, at my request, procured him an opportunity of preaching before royalty at Weymouth; but the Duke told me that the King did not like the great O in the doctor's name, and the negociation failed. This story was at first thought incredible, but a letter from the Duke of York, produced on the investigation, proved that his Royal Highness had actually corresponded with his mistress on this subject.

On

On the 17th of March the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his resolution, modified by more mature consideration, and expressed in these terms: "That this House having appointed a committee to investigate the conduct of the Duke of York, as Commander-in-Chief, and having carefully considered the evidence which came before the said committee, and finding that personal corruption, and connivance at corruption, have been imputed to his said Royal Highness, find it expedient to pronounce a distinct opinion upon the said imputation, and are accordingly of opinion that it is wholly without foundation." This motion having been put, was carried, by 278, against 196. Previously to the divisions it was generally understood that the Duke of York had come to the determination to resign his office of Commander-in-Chief; and on the 20th of March the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose in his place to announce, that his Royal Highness, having obtained a complete acquittal of those criminal charges which had been moved against him, was desirous of giving way to that public sentiment which those charges, however ill-founded, had unfortunately drawn down upon him; that, under these circumstances, he had tendered to his Majesty his resignation of the office of Commander-in-Chief, and that the King had been graciously pleased to accept the same. On the resignation of the Duke of York, the office of Commander-in-Chief was conferred on General Sir David Dundas; and one of the first consequences of the investigation was the enactment of a law, declaring the brokerage of offices, either in the army, the church, or the state, to be a crime highly penal.*

The navy and army estimates of this year were nearly the same as in 1808; as was, indeed, the whole system of finance.†

The recent exposure of public abuses led to the introduction of a bill into the House of Commons by Mr. Curwen, for better securing the purity and independence of Parliament, by preventing the procuring or obtaining seats by corrupt practices, and also for the more effectual prevention of bribery. This bill ultimately passed into a law.

Sir Francis Burdett next submitted to the consideration of the House of Commons a plan of Parliamentary reform, resembling, in the leading features, the plan proposed by the Duke of Richmond thirty years before. His motion was, "that this House will, early in the next session of Parliament, take into consideration the necessity of a reform in the representation." Other members contended, that the plan now proposed would never produce the effects anticipated from it, unless the mover of the measure could alter, not only our political constitution, but the frame of the human mind; unless he could at once get rid of human prejudices and human passions. On a division of the House, it was negatived, by 74 against 15.‡

In the spring of this year, the French fleet, consisting of eight sail of the line and two frigates, escaped from the harbour of Brest, and run into the mouth of the Charente, where, joined by four sail of the line and two frigates, they anchored under the batteries. In this situation it was determined to attack them; and Lord Cochrane, in the Imperieuse, was dispatched from England on this arduous and hazardous service. On the 10th of April a number of vessels, and transports filled with Congreve's rockets, joined Lord Gambier's fleet; and the preparations for the attack were immediately begun. The fitting up and management of the explosion ship were entirely intrusted to Lord Cochrane, who determined that nothing should be wanting to render

* In the course of the investigation into the conduct of the Duke of York, it was ascertained, that there was a regular, systematic, and almost avowed traffic in the East India appointments, as well as in subordinate places under government. These discoveries led to the appointment of a committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the abuse of the East India patronage; and from the report of that body it appeared, that a vast number of cadetships and writerships had been disposed of in an illegal manner. To remedy so great an evil, Mr. Thelluson, one of the directors, deeply implicated in these transactions, was, at the usual annual election, rejected by a great majority; and the court, after long and animated debates, determined, that all those young men named by the committee of the House of Commons as having obtained their appointments by corrupt practices, should be deprived of their employments and recalled from India. The examination of the witnesses by the committee appointed to inquire into the abuse of India patronage, developed transactions intimately connected with the character of the House of Commons, and the proceedings of some of its most distinguished members; and on the 25th of April, Lord Archibald Hamilton rose to submit a motion to the House, grounded on the conduct of Lord Castlereagh, who, in his evidence before that committee, had stated, that he, in 1805, delivered into the hands of his friend Lord Clancarty a writership, of which he had the gift, for the purpose of exchanging it for a seat in Parliament. This negociation, it appeared, was carried on between Lord Castlereagh and a Mr. Reding, an advertising place-broker, who was a perfect stranger to his Lordship. The treaty was opened by letter; and it appeared from the evidence on the table of the House, that Lord Castlereagh told Mr. Reding that he did not want a seat for himself, but for one of his friends. Different meetings took place between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Reding, but the nomination to the writership did not finally take place, and the negociation was broken off. Lord Castlereagh expressed his sorrow, that any act of his, or rather any intention, could be deemed such as to call for Parliamentary inquiry; the case before them had no reference to pecuniary transactions; and he could only regret that any motives of private friendship or of public zeal should have induced him to do any thing requiring the cognizance of that House. If he had erred it was unintentionally, and he would submit with patience to any censure which he might be thought to have incurred: having made this declaration, his Lordship bowed to the chair and retired. Lord A. Hamilton then moved, "That it appears to this House, from the evidence upon the table, that Lord Viscount Castlereagh, in the year 1805, he having just quitted the office of president of the board of controul, and being then a privy-counsellor, and one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State; did deliver up into the hands of Lord Clancarty, a writership, of which he had the gift, for the purpose of exchanging it for a seat in Parliament. That merely from the disagreements of some subordinate agents employed, this design was not carried into effect. That such conduct was a dereliction of his duty, as president of the board of controul, a gross violation of his engagements as a servant of the crown, and an attack on the purity and constitution of the House. A long debate ensued, in which it was contended, by the friends of Lord Castlereagh, that the intention ought not to be punished with the same severity as the actual commission of an offence. There was no malus animus; no corrupt design appeared in the whole transaction; and it was evident that the noble Lord had not acted in his official capacity, but merely as an individual wishing to oblige his friend. It was on the other hand contended, that the intention manifested and acknowledged by Lord Castlereagh was sufficient to establish his criminality; and that if the negociation failed, it was not for want of inclination on the part of the noble Lord. At the close of the debate, the House divided, when the motion of Lord A. Hamilton was rejected by 213 against 167. A motion was afterwards proposed, and carried, to the effect, that it was the duty of the House of Commons to maintain and guard the purity and independence of Parliament; but that the intended charge not having been carried into effect, no criminatory proceeding appeared to the House to be necessary.

† The fourth report of the committee of public expenditure was received with considerable surprise; and the disclosures it exhibited regarding the conduct of the commissioners appointed to manage, sell, and dispose of the Dutch ships detained or brought into the ports of Great Britain, forcibly awakened the public indignation. This document stated that the commissioners were five in number, namely, James Crawford, John Breckwood, Allen Chatfield, Alexander Baxter, and John Bowles; that the appointment of the commissioners took place in the year 1795, and that their transactions were nearly brought to a close in 1799. As no fixed remuneration had been assigned to them, they resolved to remunerate themselves, and charged a commission of five per cent on the gross proceeds of their sales, which commission amounted in all to 132,000*l.* being at the rate of 26,000*l.* for each commissioner. Not satisfied with this enormous allowance, the money intrusted to their hands was employed in discounting private bills for their own emolument, and when an application was made to them by Mr. Pitt, in 1796, to pay a sum of money into the exchequer, in aid of the public exigencies, they refused to afford any relief to the state, although it was now obvious that they had at that time in their hands a balance amounting to 190,000*l.* After an animated discussion, the House resolved that the commissioners, taking advantage of the omission of the government to inquire into their proceedings, had, without authority, appropriated to their own use large sums of the public money, and had thereby been guilty of a flagrant violation of public duty.

‡ Mr. Wardle observed, that an efficient reform in the Commons House of Parliament would ensure to the people in their representatives active supporters of their rights and faithful guardians of their purse; and he did not hesitate to say, that in such an event, the amount of the income tax might be saved to the public. This declaration he was loudly called upon to explain; and on the 19th of June, he recapitulated the savings he had calculated upon, and stated them to be in the army 6,182,000*l.*; in the navy 5,822,000*l.*; in the management of the revenue 1,110,000*l.*; commissions of accounts and inquiry 75,000*l.*; pensions 300,000*l*; colonies 500,000*l.*; bounties 150,000*l.*; allowance in management of debt 210,000*l.*; military expenditure of Ireland 2,00,000*l.*; making an aggregate saving of 16,349,000*l.* per annum. In order to show how these savings might be effected, Mr. Wardle moved for a large mass of accounts in the respective departments of the state to which he had referred, the whole of which documents were ordered to be laid on the table; but two days afterwards Parliament was prorogued.

the preparations complete; for that purpose he caused puncheons, placed with the ends upwards, to be filled with gunpowder, and 1,500 barrels of this death-dispensing combustible were employed to charge the puncheons; on the top of which nearly 400 shells with fusees were placed, and in the intermediate space about 3,000 hand grenades. That the explosion might be as violent and destructive as possible, the puncheons were fastened together by cables, and kept steady and immoveable by wedges, and sand rammed down between them. To this floating volcano, Lord Cochrane, with one Lieutenant and four seamen, committed himself. On the 11th, the fire-ships, led on by Captain Wooldridge, and the explosion ship, bearing its small adventurous crew, proceeded to the attack, favoured by a strong northerly wind and the flood tide. On the approach of the enemy's vessels, they perceived a boom stretched across the entrance of the roads in front of their line. This impediment, however, was soon broken through, and the English advanced, undismayed by the heavy fire from the forts on the Isle of Aix. Lord Cochrane, having approached with his ship as near to the enemy as possible, set fire to the fusee, and betook himself with his companions to the boat. Nine minutes after they had quitted the ship, and six minutes before the time calculated, she blew up, with a tremendous explosion, and scattered death and destruction in every direction. His Lordship no sooner reached his own ship, than he proceeded to attack the French vessels, and sustained their fire for some time before any other man of war entered the harbour. Early in the morning of the 12th, Lord Gambier, in consequence of a signal from Lord Cochrane, announcing that seven of the enemy's ships were on shore, and might be destroyed, made the signal to unmoor and weigh, but the wind and tide being against him, the Admiral was obliged to anchor again before he reached the roads. The enemy, availing themselves of this circumstance, succeeded in getting six of their ships up the river Charente. Four of the remaining ships were attacked by Lord Cochrane, in the Imperieuse, followed by the Revenge, the Indefatigable, and the Valiant, of 74 guns each: while the other ships advanced, his Lordship laid his vessel alongside of the Calcutta, and compelled her to surrender, although she had one-third more guns than the Imperieuse. His Lordship, supported by the other English men of war, next attacked the Ville de Varsovie, and the Aquilon, and succeeded in taking them, in the face of the tremendous fire from the batteries of Aix. These ships it was found impossible to get off, and they were destroyed, with the Tonnerre, another of the French squadron. By this brilliant and gallant achievment, one ship of 120 guns, 5 of 74 guns, and 2 frigates were driven on shore, and either totally destroyed or rendered useless; one of 80 guns, 2 of 74, and one of 50 guns, with 3 frigates, were burnt, and the French had the mortification to perceive that their ships could not be secured from British intrepidity and skill, even by the batteries of their own forts, and the intricate and dangerous navigation of their own bays. In the course of this enterprise, Lord Cochrane displayed his humanity in as signal and noble a manner as his courage. A captain of one of the French seventy-fours, when delivering his sword to his Lordship, lamented that the conflagration of his ship, which was just about to take place, would destroy all the property he possessed. On hearing this, Lord Cochrane instantly went into the boat along with him, in order, if possible, to rescue the captain's property from the devouring element; but, unfortunately, his Lorship's humane intentions were frustrated in a most shocking manner: as they passed a French ship, which was on fire, her loaded guns went off, and one of the balls striking the French captain, killed him by the side of his generous conqueror.*

The difference between England and America this year assumed a more confirmed character, and while both countries professed an anxious desire for the revival of those amicable relations which had been so long interrupted, such was the tendency of the measures pursued, that a state of actual hostility was fast approaching.†

After the breaking out of the war between France and Austria, the English government made preparations for a large and formidable expedition, and 40,000 troops, to be assisted by 35 sail of the line, and about 200 sail of smaller vessels, were assembled on the coast of Kent and Hampshire. It was the intention of government to keep the destination of the expedition a secret; but, long before its departure the point of attack was generally known in England, and publicly announced in the French Journals. It is probable, however, that the original intention was at once to make a diversion in favour of Austria, and to secure an object exclusively British. The expedition was fitted out in the most complete manner; and the command was conferred on the Earl of Chatham; a man, unfortunately, proverbial for indolence and inactivity. On the 28th and 29th of July, the expedition sailed from the Downs; and on the 1st of August Flushing was invested. On the 13th the batteries were completed, and the frigates and smaller vessels, having taken their respective stations, the bombardment commenced on that day. The town suffered dreadfully from Congreve's rockets, but the fortifications were little injured. The French General, Monnet, the commander of the place, made an attempt to inundate the island; but this purpose was not so effected as materially to retard or impede our offensive operations. On the 14th, Sir Richard Strachan, our naval commander, cannonaded the town for some hours, with so much effect, that a summons was sent in; but some delay and difficulty having arisen, the attack recommenced,

* In addition to these and other services, the fleet of Lord Collingwood, in the Mediterranean, distinguished itself in the cause of the Spanish patriots. Towards the end of October, 8 sail of the line, 4 frigates, and 20 large transports, were dispatched from Toulon, under the French Admiral Baudin, to the relief of Barcelona. As soon as this fleet was discovered, Lord Collingwood gave orders to Admiral Martin to chase them. The sight of the English fleet was the signal for the flight of the French; and, to escape their pursuers, the line of battle ships, and one frigate, ran ashore between Cette and Frontignan, where they were set on fire by their crews, and destroyed, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the British. The transports separated from the men of war, and took refuge in the bay of Rosas; where, under the shelter of an armed store-ship, two bombards, and a xebeck, they seemed to regard themselves secure; but in this situation they were attacked by Captain Hallowell, who headed the boats of the English squadron, and notwithstanding a gallant resistance, every ship and vessel of the enemy was either burnt or brought off, in the sight of thousands of spectators, who witnessed the humiliation of their countrymen, and the resistless bravery of the British seamen. In the West Indies, the Island of Martinique, and the city of St. Domingo, were added to our numerous possessions; and the colony of Cayenne, under the government of Victor Hugues, fell an easy conquest to a combined attack made by English and Portuguese troops. In the east, the Island of Bourbon surrendered to the English on the 21st of September, and nearly about the same time, the small Grecian Islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, acknowledged the British flag.

† For the purpose of removing one of the most irritating parts of the British orders in council, the board of trade, in the beginning of April issued certain regulations, that all neutral vessels were at liberty to trade with any port whatever, except those in a state of actual blockade; and the blockade was expressly defined to extend to the whole coast of France, Holland, and the ports of Italy under the dominion of France. America was therefore permitted to trade with Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and all the ports of the Baltic, without molestation. About the same time that these regulations were issued in England, an assurance was given to the American Secretary of State, by the Hon. D. M. Erskine, the British minister to the United States, that his Majesty's orders in council, of January and November, 1807, would be withdrawn, as respected the United States, on the 10th of June next, in the persuasion that the president would issue a a proclamation for the renewal of the intercourse with Great Britain. In virtue of this assurance, Mr. Madison, the President, issued a proclamation on the following day, announcing that the trade between England and America would be renewed on the 10th of June. This pleasing prospect was dispelled, by the discovery, that the arrangements entered into by Erskine with the American government, were unauthorised by his instructions, and that, therefore, his Britannic Majesty did not deem it proper or advisable to carry them into effect. Mr. Jackson was appointed to supersede Mr. Erskine. Previously to the arrangement with Mr. Erskine, the American government finding the embargo to fall with a severe pressure upon every part of the community, had raised the embargo, as to all other nations, and a system of non-intercourse and non-importation towards England and France, was substituted in its stead. By this act of Congress, all voyages to the British and French dominions, and all trade in articles of British or French manufacture, were prohibited; with the reservation, however, that whichever of the belligerents should so revoke or modify her edicts, that they should cease to violate the commerce of the United States, the trade with that country should be renewed.

menced, and the advanced post was carried at the point of the bayonet. The next day the enemy demanded a suspension of arms, which was succeeded by the surrender of the town, and the garrison, amounting to more than 4,000 troops, were made prisoners of war. Soon afterwards a rumour reached England that no ulterior operations would be undertaken; and it appeared that no decision on this point was made before the 27th of August, when Sir Richard Strachan, having waited upon Lord Chatham in person to learn his Lordship's plans, was informed that he had come to the determination not to advance. The French had not been inactive: every preparation was made to oppose the passage both of our army and navy; the interior of the Netherlands, and of France as far as Paris, was stripped of the national guards: and an army, formidable for numbers, if not from discipline and experience, had actually been collected for the defence of Antwerp and the shipping; the naval stores were removed, and preparations were made for conveying the ships so high up the river, as to put them beyond the reach of either the invading army or navy. Lord Chatham, with a great proportion of the troops, at length returned to England; and the rest found it expedient to give up all their conquests but the Island of Walcheren. This pestilential station it was resolved to keep, for the purpose of shutting up the mouth of the Scheldt, and for enabling our merchants to introduce British merchandise into Holland. But, from this island, the sole fruit of one of the most formidable and expensive expeditions ever sent from this country, we were doomed to be driven by an enemy more cruel and destructive than the French. A malady of the most fatal kind soon shewed itself among the troops, and shewed the necessity for immediate recall; but, it was not till a great proportion of the forces had either died of the prevailing epidemic, or been rendered incapable of performing their duty, that the fortifications were destroyed, and the island was evacuated in the sight of an enemy, who, aware that the ravages of disease would render attack unnecessary, took no measures to expel the British forces from the scene of death.

Two circumstances of a very opposite nature—the intrigues and disputes among the ministry, and the celebration of a jubilee, on the King having attained the fiftieth year of his reign—now attracted the attention of the people. On the 21st of September, a duel took place between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, two members of the cabinet; the former, Secretary for the War and Colonial Department, the latter, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The parties, who met on Putney-Heath, fired a first time without effect; and as the nature of the difference did not appear to the combatants to admit of explanation or apology, they fired at each other a second time, when Mr. Canning received his antagonist's ball in his right thigh.*

The day after the duel, Mr. Perceval, on whom, in consequence of the resignation of the Duke of Portland, the ostensible, as well as the real superintendence of the government of the country had fallen, wrote to Earl Grey and Lord Grenville, inviting them to co-operate with him, for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration. These noblemen were in the country, and Earl Grey, in reply to Mr. Perceval's letter, declined coming to London, since it was utterly impossible for him to form an union with his Majesty's ministers, with any hope of promoting the interests of the country. Lord Grenville immediately repaired to town; but the day after his arrival he sent a reply, objecting to an union with his Majesty's present ministers, and adding, that his objections were not personal, but applied "to the principle of the government itself, and to the circumstances which attended its appointment." After this refusal, Mr. Perceval applied to several public men, who were known to be generally favourable to the line of politics which he had pursued; and the arrangements were at length completed.†

For the third time in the annals of the country, this year beheld a monarch deservedly dear to his people, enter the fiftieth year of his reign. In celebration of this day, numerous institutions of benevolence and utility were founded in various parts of the empire; the hungry were fed; the naked were clothed; the prison doors were thrown open to numbers of unfortunate debtors; and every heart which man was capable of making glad rejoiced on this memorable day.‡

Subsequently to the battle of Corunna, the attention and movements of the French were principally directed to the pursuit and discomfiture of the Spanish corps, which still occupied the centre of the kingdom, and to the occupation of such of the sea-ports in the north and east as kept open the communication with England, or that contained the Spanish navy. Accordingly, in the centre of Spain the Duke of Belluno attacked and defeated the division of the Duc del Infantado's army, under the command of General Venegas; while in the north the Duke of Dalmatia advanced to Ferrol, and, through the pusillanimity and perfidy of the civil and military authorities, made himself master of that place, as well as the fleet moored in the harbour. The next place against which the operations of the French were directed was Oporto, and of this city, though defended by 24,000 troops and 200 pieces of cannon, the Duke of Dalmatia possessed himself without encountering any formidable resistance.§

Early in the year, a solemn treaty of peace and alliance was entered into between Great Britain and the authorities

---

* This duel was preceded by a letter from Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Canning; in which his Lordship accused the foreign secretary of having clandestinely endeavoured to procure his removal from his situation, and of having obtained a positive promise to that effect from the Duke of Portland.

Nearly a month elapsed before Mr. Canning found himself prepared to enter on his defence; and in the mean time the ministry was completely dissolved. The Duke of Portland gave in his resignation, on account of his age and infirmities; and Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning resigned. At length Mr. Canning's statement made its appearance. In this document it was admitted that the proposal and plan for Lord Castlereagh's dismissal continued from Easter till September; but Mr. Canning contended that it was entirely owing to his Lordship's friends that the actual dismission was delayed till the termination of the expedition to the Scheldt. The principal point on which he insisted was, that he supposed his colleague knew that his dismissal was in contemplation, and that the proposal originated with him.

† Mr. Perceval himself took the office of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Marquis of Wellesley succeeded to the foreign department; Lord Liverpool was tranferred from the home to the department of war and colonies; Mr. Ryder was appointed to succeed Lord Liverpool; and Lord Palmerston was at the same time appointed Secretary at War, in the room of Sir James Pulteney.

‡ On this day of Jubilee, it appeared that the short period of twenty years had swept from their thrones all the sovereigns of Europe, that monarch alone excepted whose long and eventful reign the national festival of the 25th of October, 1809, was appointed to celebrate:

Louis XVI. King of France, deposed 10th of August, 1792, executed January 21st, 1793.
Louis XVII. died in the Temple, June 9th, 1795.
Joseph II. Emperor of Germany, Leopold II. Emperor of Germany, Catharine II. Empress of Russia, Frederic-William II. King of Prussia, Christian VII. King of Denmark — Died — Feb. 20th. 1790; March 1st. 1792; Nov. 17th, 1796; Nov. 16th, 1797; March 13th, 1808.
Stanislaus, King of Poland, deposed Nov. 25th, 1795; died Feb. 12th, 1798.
Pope Pius VI. deposed February, 1798; died August 19th, 1798.
William V. Stadtholder of Holland, deposed, Jan. 1795; died, April, 1806.
Charles Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. Kings of Spain, Gustavus Adolphus IV. King of Sweden, Pope Pius VII. Ferdinand VI. King of Naples. — Deposed — June 4th, 1801; May, 1808; March 13, 1809; June 1st. 1809; Jan. 23d, 1799.
Gustavus III. King of Sweden, Paul I. Emperor of Russia, Selim III. Grand Seignor, — Assassinated — March 27th, 1792; March 22d, 1801; May 29th, 1807.
Maria Frances Isabella, Queen of Portugal, expatriated, Nov. 1807.

§ Early in April, the principal Spanish and French armies occupied the following positions: the Marquis del Romana was at Villafranca; General Cuesta, having been joined by the division under the Duc d'Albuquerque, had halted in his retreat before the French at Talavera; General Reding, having suffered severely in an attempt to surprise Barcelona, and in a succession of engagements near Taragona, had been reinforced by the army of General Blake, and was, with that General, employed in opposing the progress of the French in Catalonia. Of the French forces, Soult was at Oporto; Ney in the neigbourhood of Corunna and Ferrol; and Victor was advancing towards

authorities administering the Spanish government in the name of Ferdinand the VII.*

Sir Arther Wellesley sailed from Portsmouth on the 15th of April, and arrived at Lisbon on the 22d, to take the command of the British army, which, by reinforcements sent principally from Ireland, had been increased to 30,000 men. Sir Arthur determined to dispossess the French under Soult of the city of Oporto; and with this view he assembled the British army at Coimbra, on the 7th of May, and advanced towards the Douro. Soult, aware of the magnitude of the opposing force, withdrew the main body of his army, and Oporto fell into the hands of the British almost without resistance. Sir Arthur Wellesley, having placed that city in a proper state of defence, returned to the south of Portugal, to protect Lisbon and its vicinity from the French army, which was advancing along the Tagus, under Marshal Victor.

In the north-east of Spain, prodigies of valour had been displayed; the second siege of Saragossa rivalled the first, and will for ever occupy a distinguished place in the military annals of the country.† After the fall of Saragossa, an attempt was made by General Blake to regain possession of that city, but in this he entirely failed, and the Spanish army under his commad became exposed to a fatal and inglorious defeat at Belchite. ‡

Sir Arthur Wellesley had concerted a plan with General Cuesta, to attack the central French armies, and to obtain possession of Madrid. With this view, a junction of the British and Spanish forces took place in the neighbourhood of Plasencia, on the 20th of July. Sir Robert Wilson, who commanded a Portuguese corps, which he had brought into a state of excellent discipline, was ordered to advance to Ascolona, on the river Alberche. The division of the Spanish General, Venegas, at the same time broke up from Madrilejos, and advanced to Arganda. After these preparatory movements had been made, the combined British and Spanish army, amounting to about 60,000 men, of which 20,000 were British, proceeded to Talavera, where the French army, under Victor, 35,000 strong, had been for some time stationed. On the 22d the allied forces moved upon Oropesa, and drove in Victor's rear-guard, which was drawn up in order of battle upon a plain about a league from Talavera. The hostile armies were now in sight of each other, and Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to attack the French General the following day, and to bring him to action before he should be joined by Joseph Buonaparte and Sebastiani, who were marching to his relief. For this purpose the British columns were formed at five o'clock in the morning; but, at the moment when the troops were ready to advance, they learned, that General Cuesta, not wishing to profane the sabbath, had determined to delay the attack till the following day. On the morning of the 24th, the British and Spanish armies were again drawn out; but Victor had, during the evening of the Sunday, retreated from his position, to effect a junction with other divisions of the French army of the centre; and so deficient was the combined army in the means of transport, that it was found impossible to pursue the enemy. This inconvenience had long been felt, and Sir Arthur Wellesley now came to the determination to return to Portugal, unless more vigorous exertions should be made by the supreme junta to supply the wants of his army. Cuesta appeared fully sensible of the propriety of this resolution, and, trusting that the possession of Madrid, which seemed now almost within his reach, would relieve all the wants by which the combined army was surrounded, he determined to advance in the pursuit of Victor. On the 25th, the French force, under Joseph Buonaparte and General Sebastiani, formed a junction with Marshal Victor at Toledo, by which their force amounted to 35,000 men; and General Cuesta, unable to withstand so formidable an army, fell back, in disorder, and with considerable loss, upon the English position at Talavera. As it was now obvious that the enemy intended to try the result of a general action, Sir Arthur Wellesley selected the neighbourhood of Talavera as the scene of operations. About two o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th, the enemy appeared in strengh upon the left bank of the Alberche, and manifested an intention to attack General Mackenzie, who had been placed, with a division of infantry, and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post, in a wood which covered the left flank of the British army. These troops suffered considerably, but they were withdrawn in perfect order, and took their place in the line. The enemy now cannonaded the left of the British position, and attacked the Spanish infantry with his horse, hoping to break the ranks, and carry the town; but he was bravely withstood, and finally repulsed. Early in the evening, Marshal Victor pushed a division along the valley, on the left of a height occupied by General Hill; this he considered the key of the British position, and the efforts of the French to obtain this eminence corresponded with the estimation in which it was held. For a moment the attack was successful; but General Hill instantly charged the assailants with the bayonet, and regained the post. The French repeated their attack about midnight; but they were again repulsed with great slaughter. Both armies passed the night on the field, and several partial engagements were fought before the ensuing dawn. In these night combats, the men, after they had discharged their fire-arms, frequently closed, and beat out each other's brains with their muskets. The French having ascertained that any attack upon the town, posted as the Spaniards were, was hopeless, at day-break on the 28th, General Ruffin advanced with three regiments in close columns against the eminence occupied by General Hill; but here again they were resisted by the bayonet, and driven back, leaving the field covered with their slain. About eleven o'clock, the enemy, finding himself baffled in all his efforts, suspended the attack, and dined upon the field of battle. Wine and bread were at the same time served out to the British troops, and during this pause in the work of destruction, the men in both armies repaired to a brook

---

wards Lisbon, by the route of Badajoz, with the Spanish force under General Cuesta in his front. The only engagement worthy of notice, was fought between Marshal Victor and General Cuesta, at Medellin, a town of Estramadura, equi-distant from Merida and Truxillo. In this, the patriots lost, according to the French accounts, 1,400 men in killed and wounded, with six standards, and the whole of their artillery.

* By this treaty, negociated on the part of the Spaniards by Don Pedro Cevallos, his Britannic Majesty pledged himself to assist the Spanish nation in their struggle against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and not to acknowledge any other King of Spain and the Indies than his Majesty Ferdinand VII. his heirs, and lawful successors.

† A body of about 10,000 men, who had escaped from the battle of Tudela, had thrown themselves into Saragossa, and the citizens and peasants from the country swelled the number of its defenders to about 50,000. The second siege was commenced about the middle of December, 1808, and Palafox ordained, that all the inhabitants, of whatever rank or condition, should consider themselves bound to devote their persons, their property, and their lives, to the defence of the city. On the 10th of January the bombardment began. The French, aware that the only way to conquer Saragossa was to destroy it house by house, and street by street, proceeded upon this system, and three companies of miners and eight companies of sappers were continually employed in carrying on this subterraneous war. During the bombardment, which continued 42 days, there was no respite either by day or night for this devoted city. After a glorious defence, the garrison began to experience a want of ammunition, which was succeeded by the horrors of famine, and a pestilential disease appearing at this moment in the city, served to complete the dreadful climax. On the 1st of February, the situation of the place appeared hopeless; but the Governor-General still refused to capitulate, and for 17 days more the defence was continued; when Palafox himself being siezed with the contagion, was obliged to transfer his authority to a Junta, of which Don Pedro Maria Ric was appointed president. On the 19th the enemy obtained a possession of the Puerto del Angel, and to such a deplorable situation was the garrison reduced by its accumulated miseries, that all the efforts of Don Ric proved fruitless. Disease had subdued the inhabitants; two thirds of the city had been destroyed; 30,000 of the people had perished, and from 3 to 4,000 were dying daily of the pestilence. Reduced to this situation, the city capitulated, and the French, after a siege of two months, obtained possession of a mass of ruins.

‡ According to the account of this battle, published by the Spanish General, one of his regiments was thrown into confusion by the discharge of the enemy's grenades; the panic spread rapidly; regiment after regiment fled without discharging a gun; and in a short time, the General and his officers were left alone to oppose the enemy. The fruits of this victory, were nine pieces of cannon, immense quantities of stores and provisions, and upwards of 3,000 prisoners.

to

to quench their thirst, and stooped to the stream in the presence of each other without molestation: numbers of them even shook hands across the brook before the battle recommenced. About noon, Victor ordered a general attack with his whole force upon that part of the position of the allies which was ocupied by the British army.

In consequence of the repeated attacks made upon the left, Sir Arthur Wellesley had now placed two brigades of British cavalry in the valley, supported in the rear by the Duc d'Albuquerque's division of Spanish cavalry. The general attack began by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley, with a view to make another attack on the height occupied by General Hill. From the moment this operation commenced, the firing of the musketry was heard on all sides like the roll of a drum, with scarcely a moment's interruption, during the remainder of the day; and the deeper sound of the heavy cannonade resembled continual peals of thunder. The operations of the French were deranged by Leval's division, which, instead of forming in echellon in the rear, advanced to the front. Sebastiani, perceiving the blunder committed by this division, sent a brigade to extricate Leval from his perilous situation, which, after considerable loss, was effected. This attack upon the hill was formidable in the extreme, but, like all the former, it failed. The French General, La Pisse, who was the first to cross the ravine, was mortally wounded, and his men were driven back with severe loss. About three o'clock in the afternoon the enemy again advanced to the attack, with his whole force. Marshal Victor had resolved to storm and carry the heights which had so repeatedly and so successfully defied his former attempts; and placing himself at the head of his troops, he led them to the foot of the hill, while General Vilatte advanced to his support from the valley. At this moment General Anson's brigade, consisting of the 1st German light dragoons, and the 23d dragoons, with General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry, were ordered to attack the French, who had formed in two solid squares, protected by a deep ditch, and supported by a tremendous fire of musketry and artillery. Here the brunt of the action lay; numbers of men and horses fell into the ditch, which, till now, had been undiscovered, and numbers were mown down by the artillery; but still the columns advanced, and made a desperate charge upon the solid and impenetrable squares of the enemy. The British suffered dreadfully; and the 23d regiment in particular was almost annihilated. This gallant attempt, although it was not attended with success, had the effect of preventing the execution of the enemy's plan, and no further attempt was made upon the hill, which was now covered with the dead and the dying. The attack upon the centre was repulsed by Brigadier-General Alexander Campbell, supported by the King's regiment of Spanish cavalry, and two regiments of Spanish infantry; and while the Spaniards turned the enemy's flank, the English took their cannon. At the same time an attack was made upon Lieutenant-General Sherbrook's division, which was on the left and centre of the first line of the British army. This attack was gallantly repulsed by a charge with the bayonet by the whole division; but the brigade of guards, impelled by their military ardour, advanced too far, and laid themselves open, on the left flank, both to the fire of the enemy's batteries and to their retiring columns. The enemy lost not a moment in seizing the advantage that now presented itself, and for some time the fate of the day appeared more than doubtful. At this crisis, the skill and foresight of Sir Arthur Wellesley turned the current of success which had set in so strongly against him, and secured a victory which had so long hung in suspense. Seeing the guards advance, and aware of the danger to which they would be exposed, Sir Arthur Wellesley moved a battalion of the 48th from the heights to their support; and this timely succour, with the assistance of the second line of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, enabled the guards to extricate themselves from the impending danger, and decided the fate of the battle. Soon after the repulse of the general attack, the enemy commenced his retreat in the most regular order across the Alberche, leaving twenty pieces of cannon in the hands of the combined army.

The loss on both sides was severe; the enemy had entire brigades of infantry destroyed; and his loss in the engagements of the 27th and 28th was estimated by the English commander at 10,000 men. On the same authority it is stated, that the British had 800 killed, 3,000 wounded, and 650 missing, exclusive of the loss of the Spaniards, which amounted to 1,250 in killed and wounded.*

The English army had scarcely had time to congratulate itself on the achievement of this brilliant victory when intelligence was received, that the Marshals Soult, Ney, and Mortier, had advanced through Estremadura, and were already in the rear of the combined British and Spanish army. There was no time for hesitation or delay; a retreat had become indispensible, and promptitude alone could save the army. The bridge of Almarez, by which one of the divisions of the English was to have crossed the Tagus, was destroyed, and the bridge of Arzobispo alone remained for the passage of the whole army. As no doubt could be entertained that Victor's army would again advance as soon as he heard of the approach of the French forces through Estremadura, it became necessary that part of the combined troops should remain at Talavera, as well for the purpose of checking the advance of the French, as for taking care of the sick and wounded of the combined army. Cuesta was accordingly left at Talavera, where it was hoped he might be able to maintain his position; but, in any event, it was understood that he should by no means abandon the wounded. On the 3d of August, the British force left Talavera, and marched to Oropesa, on the way to Plasentia, with an intention to attack the force under Soult. On the evening of that day, Sir Arthur Wellesley received information that Cuesta meant to quit Talavera immediately; and that, for want of conveyance, he should be obliged to abandon his hospitals.† Surrounded by difficulties, with an army of 30,000 men, under Soult, pressing upon him from the north, and with an army equally strong under Victor, advancing from the east, the British General determined to retreat, and to take up a position at Deleytosa, on the way to Truxillo. Here he remained unmolested by the French, and was enabled to recruit his army; but, finding that the Junta were by no means disposed to supply the wants which had prevented his pursuit of the French before the battle of Talavera, he determined to retreat to Badajoz, where, during the remainder of the year, his army continued inactive, and exposed, from the unhealthiness of the situation, to the ravages of a fatal epidemic.‡

The Marquis Wellesley, appointed ambassador ex-

* On this occasion, the King was most graciously pleased to command that his royal approbation of the conduct of the army serving under the command of Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley, should be publicly declared in general orders. These sentiments were acquiesced in by both branches of the legislature, who voted the thanks of Parliament to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and to the officers and men under his command; and as a special mark of his Majesty's favour and approbation, the Commander-in-Chief was, on the 26th of August, elevated to the peerage, by the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera and of Wellington, and Baron Douro of Wellesley, in the county of Somerset.

† The Spanish General was not deficient in personal gallantry, but he was obstinate, intractable, and unfit for command; and his reason for leaving the sick and wounded, by quitting his station even before the French approached, seemed to partake of the imbecility of old age: it was not that he had any apprehension for the safety of his own army, but he was afraid that Sir Arthur Wellesley would not be able to contend with the French force that was coming against him; and he had in consequence left Talavera that he might be enabled to support his British ally.

‡ When Sir Arthur Wellesley, and General Cuesta, were reduced to the necessity of retreating from Talavera, Sir Robert Wilson, who had pushed almost to the gates of Madrid, was suddenly recalled. This partisan corps did not arrive at Valada, till the night of the 4th of August, when the commander conceiving it too late to retire by the bridge of Arzobispo, was obliged to take the route of Banos, where he was attacked by Marshal Ney, and defeated. Sir Robert Wilson, on his defeat, retired along the mountains, and after a harassing march, succeeded at length in forming a junction with the British army.

traordinary to Spain, was received there with the greatest attention and respect. In his communications with the Junta, he pointed out the only course that could be pursued with any rational prospect of success; and, in particular, he pressed upon their attention, the propriety of calling forth and concentrating the military resources of the kingdom. He was also desirous of giving a tone to public opinion, of exciting and directing the national spirit, and of applying its energy to national objects. He accordingly recommended the appointment of a Council of Regency, and the speedy convocation of the Spanish Cortes. What effects might have resulted from the further exertion of the influence of the Marquis Wellesley, can only be conjectured; as, in the autumn of the year, he was recalled for the purpose of filling a distinguished office at home.†

A. D. 1810.] The members of the Supreme Central Junta having transferred their authority to a Council of Regency, at Leon, in the month of April (about the time when the French armies opened their batteries before Cadiz) the British cabinet made an attempt to rescue the person of Ferdinand out of the hands of Napoleon. The person employed in this mission, was an Irish adventurer of the name of Kelly; the plan, it appears, was concerted with the Marquis Wellesley, the English Secretary of State for foreign affairs, who had placed at Kelly's disposal a squadron off Quiberon, whence the Prince was to embark. Kelly, under pretence of having some valuable articles for sale, made his way to Valencay, the residence, or rather the place of imprisonment of Ferdinand, and endeavoured to speak with the Prince. To effect this purpose, he disclosed his intentions to the Infante, Don Antonio, and to Amazaga, the intendant of the royal prisoner's household. Ferdinand was no sooner made acquainted with Kelly's visit than he sent for Berthemy, the Governor of the Castle, and with the greatest emotion informed him, that an English emissary had found his way into the Castle, and that he was furnished with ample credentials to shew that he came from the British government. Kelly was immediately placed under arrest; and the vigilance of the French Governor over the person and suite of the imbecile monarch, was, if possible, increased by this unfortunate failure.

Lord Wellington, after the battle of Talavera, seemed to have abandoned all idea of advancing into Spain, and to have determined to direct and confine his operations to the defence of Portugal, till a more auspicious state of affairs should arise. As the force which this country could send into the Peninsula, was small in comparison with the immense armies of France, and as the Portuguese troops could not at first be expected to equal the British, it was expedient to defend Portugal in that particular spot, where inequality of numbers would be compensated by local and artificial strength, and where the means of supplying and increasing his force would be easy to the British General,

† Early in August, soon after the battle of Talavera, General Vanegas, with an army computed at 30,000 men, descended from the mountains of the Sierra Morena, and on the 10th of that month, took up a strong position about three leagues from Toledo. On the advance of General Vanegas into the plain, he found himself opposed to a French corps under the command of General Sebastiani. On the commencement of the engagement, which took place on a rising ground beyond the village of Almonacid, near Toledo, his line was penetrated in every direction, by squadrons of French cavalry; and the Spaniards, incapable of sustaining the charge, threw down their arms and dispersed, leaving their baggage, artillery, and ammunition, in the hands of the enemy. This disaster was followed by a change in the command of the army of La Mancha, which was now taken from General Vanegas, and confided to the Marquis of Areizaga. This army was soon re-assembled, and increased to the number of 50,000 men. With this force, the new commander resolved to advance direct to Madrid. The French forces under Joseph Buonaparte took up, in consequence, a strong position near Toledo. The numbers of the Spanish army failed to inspire them with sufficient confidence to pursue their march, and instead of advancing, they retreated along the banks of the Tajo, followed by the enemy, who came up with them near Ocana. On the vast plain by which this place is surrounded, a general battle was fought on the 19th of November. The action commenced at eleven o'clock, and in less than two hours the fate of the day was completely decided. The Spaniards made a vigorous resistance; but, unfortunately, a regiment of cavalry appointed to cover a large body of Spanish infantry, gave way. The panic instantly became general, and the French pressed upon the deranged battalions, and completed their overthrow. According to the French accounts, 4000 men were left dead on the field of battle; 20,000 were made prisoners; and from 30 to 40,000 were muskets, 20 standards, 30 pieces of artillery, and an incredible quantity of baggage, were taken. The battle of Ocana was speedily followed by the reduction of Cordova and Seville, and a road was thus opened to Cadiz. The Junta issued a manifesto, dated at Seville, on the 28th of October, convoking the Cortes on the first day of the ensuing year, and appointing the 1st of March as the period upon which they were to enter upon their functions.

The Spanish armies, in the early part of November, consisted of three divisions; the army of the right under the command of General Blake; the army of the centre under Don Juan Carlos de Areizaga, and the Duc d'Albuquerque; and the army of the left under the command of the Duc del Parque. The forces under this General, amounting to about 30,000 men, were posted on the heights of Zamames, about six leagues to the south of Salamanca. The French army, under General Marchand, had for some time evinced, by their movements, an intention to lay siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, but their design could not be carried into effect till the Spaniards were dislodged from the neighbouring heights. To effect this purpose, General Marchand left Salamanca, and attacked the Duc del Parque in his strong position; but, after a long and obstinate contest, the assailants were compelled to retire, with the loss of 1000 men, and the Spaniards following up their success, obtained possession of Salamanca. The French, after their defeat at Zamames, gradually accumulated a force, amounting to 20,000 men, with an intention of making a second attack upon the army under the Spanish General, who had now occupied a position on the heights of Pena de Francia, in the vicinity of Salamanca. The Duc del Parque, seduced by the advantages he had already gained, and anxious to co-operate with the army of the centre, in the proposed advance to Madrid, quitted his strong position, and crossed over the Tormes to the right bank of that river. Here Marshal Kellerman was posted. The battle was fought at Alba, on the 28th of November, and terminated in the total defeat of the Spaniards; who, in their precipitate retreat, abandoned their baggage, and left in the hands of the enemy, 15 pieces of cannon, 6 standards, 10,000 muskets, and about 2000 prisoners.

The fortress of Gerona was compelled to surrender to Marshal Augereau, on the 10th of December, after having sustained a siege of nearly six months, and endured all the horrors of famine.—The close of the year, witnessed the successive defeat and dispersion of the principal armies of Spain, as well as the fall of several of the fortresses of that country.

Subsequently to the battle of Ocana, the French advanced into the south of Spain: knowing how easily the barrier of the Sierra Morena would be forced, they looked upon the possession of Cadiz as secure. The command of the army destined to this enterprise was vested in Soult, assisted by Victor and Mortier, and accompanied by Joseph Buonaparte, in person, who attended to take possession of the kingdom of Andalusia. On the advance of the enemy, the Spaniards under Areizaga, gave way at every point; and, on the 20th of January, 1810, the head-quarters of the French army were established at Baylen. Five days before the French entered Andalusia, the Supreme central Junta at Seville had announced their intention of transferring the seat of government to Cadiz, and the island of Leon was fixed upon as the place where the Cortes should hold their sittings. The Junta had now entirely lost the public confidence, and the termination of their power was at hand. Every hour brought fresh tidings of the progress of the enemy, and the murmurs of the people of Seville became louder as their agitation increased. The members of the government were hastening their departure for Cadiz; their equipages were conveyed to the quays, and the papers and archives from the public offices, were embarked on the Guadalquiver. A conspiracy had been forming for some days, at the head of which stood Count de Montijo, and Don Francisco Palafox, one of the members of the Junta, and brother of the hero of Saragossa. On the morning of the 24th, the populace assembled in the Square of St. Francisco, and in front of the Alcazar; some demanded the deposition of the Junta; others, more violent, insisted, that they had betrayed their country, and that they should be put to death; but the universal cry was, that the city should be defended, and that no person whatever his rank or authority, should be suffered to quit the place. In this emergency, Don Francisco de Saavedra, the minister of finance, was called upon to take the direction of public affairs. Montijo and Palafox, who had some days before been placed in duresse, by the Junta, on a charge of conspiring against the government, were liberated; and the Marquis Romana was nominated to the command of the army of the left, from which he had been lately removed by that body. The people, however, called upon Romana to take upon himself the defence of the city; but the Marquis evaded their importunities, and hastened to Badajoz to protect that important fortress; while Seville, incapable of withstanding the force by which it was soon after assailed, shared the fate of Cordova, and passed under the French yoke. Had it been possible that the fate of Spain could have depended upon any single event, it would have been the capture of Cadiz at this crisis; and the French, aware of its importance, advanced rapidly to the coast. The city was utterly unprepared for an attack; there were not 1000 troops in the island of Leon, and not as many volunteers as would man the works. At the time that the French advanced across the Sierra Morena, the Duc d'Albuquerque was on the banks of the Guadiana; but, by a rapid march of 200 miles, performed in eight days, he placed himself, on the 30th of January, between Cadiz and the French army, and, on the 2d of February, entered the island of Leon at the head of his small army, which consisted only of 8000 troops. Having saved this place by his prudence, the Duke lost no time in securing his possession; and the people hailed him as their deliverer, and conferred on him the office of Governor by general consent.

and

and proportionately difficult to the enemy. Lord Wellington soon perceived that no place in Portugal presented so favourable a situation for this purpose, as the lines of Torres Vedras, and he determined to make this his stand. This position was capable of being rendered absolutely impregnable: lying near the Tagus, his army could receive reinforcements and supplies readily from England, and his vicinity to the sea would enable him, in case of exigency, to embark without delay. The French General, on the other hand, would be in the very heart of a hostile country, the inhabitants of which were neither disposed nor able to supply his wants; and, from the nature of the war in the Peninsula, it would be extremely difficult to procure the supplies from any great distance. To render the defence of the lines of Torres Vedras, more effectual and secure, and to render the situation of the French, if they should advance to Lisbon, more difficult and desperate, Lord Wellington determined to retard the progress of the enemy as long as possible, without hazarding a general engagement. In furtherance of this plan, his Lordship, with his combined army of British, Spanish, and Portuguese, advanced, at the commencement of the summer, to the north-eastern frontier of Portugal; his force consisting, at that time, of about 30,000 British, and nearly 60,000 of the native armies.*

After the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, which was defended with great bravery, and did not surrender till the fortress was no longer defensible, the French General advanced to the siege of Almeida. Massena opened his trenches before this fortress; on the 15th of August. While a false attack was made against the north of the town, 2000 men dug the first parallel to a depth of three feet; and, on Sunday, the 26th, at five o'clock in the morning, eleven batteries, mounted with 65 pieces of cannon, opened their fire. The garrison consisted of 5000 men, of whose spirit no doubt was entertained; the city was well provided, and its works had been placed in so respectable a state, that Lord Wellington felt assured the enemy would be detained till late in the season. These well-founded expectations were frustrated by one of those casualties which sometimes disconcert the wisest plans, and disappoint the surest hopes. On the night after the batteries opened, the large powder magazine in the citadel, blew up with a tremendous explosion. More than half the artillerymen, a great number of the garrison, and many of the inhabitants, perished; the guns were dismounted; and the works were rendered no longer defensible. The necessary and almost immediate consequence was, the surrender of the place, and all the troops in the garrison were made prisoners of war.—On the fall of Almeida, Massena advanced further into Portugal, and Lord Wellington retreated slowly before him, towards Coimbra. His Lordship resolved to take up a position on the Sierra de Busaco, and there to resist the advance of the French army. The British and Portuguese troops were posted along the ridge of the mountain or Sierra, extending nearly eight miles, and forming the segment of a circle, whose extreme points embraced every part of the enemy's position, and whence every movement below could be distinctly observed. On the 26th of September, the light troops on both sides were engaged throughout the line. At six o'clock on the following morning, the French, under Ney and Regnier, made two desperate attacks upon Lord Wellington's position; one on the right, the other on the left, of the highest point of the Sierra. The division under Ney, gained the top of the ridge, but was driven back with the bayonet; and another division, further to the right, was repulsed before it could reach the top of the mountain. On the left, the attack was made by three divisions, only one of which made any progress towards the summit, and this force being charged with the bayonet, was driven down with immense loss. The Portuguese soldiers established this day their character for courage and discipline. They were worthy, Lord Wellington said, to contend in the same ranks with British troops, in that good cause which they afforded the best hopes of saving.† The enemy, thus repulsed in his attempts to open a passage for his further advance into Portugal, accomplished by a manœuvre, what force had failed to effect. On the evening of the 28th, Lord Wellington observed the French army withdrawing from their position, and silently moving round the northern edge of the Sierra, whence they advanced to Avelans, on the high road to Coimbra. The British General had foreseen this movement, and had given orders to Colonel Trant, who commanded the Portuguese militia, to occupy Sardao; but the General officer who commanded in the north, having sent the Colonel round by Oporto, he was prevented from executing this order till the night of the 28th, when he found the French in possession of that place. In this situation, Lord Wellington, to prevent his army from being cut off from Coimbra, or compelled to fight a general action on disadvantageous ground, was under the necessity of quitting Busaco, and retreating to the left bank of the Mondego. In the afternoon of the 30th, the French advanced guard appeared in the front of Coimbra, and the next day, Lord Wellington continuing his retreat, fell back upon Leyria, and from thence to the lines of Torres Vedras.

So perfectly convinced was the French General, that the retreat of Lord Wellington was for the purpose of embarking at Lisbon, and that his sole object should be immediate and close pursuit, that he abandoned his wounded at Coimbra, with little or no protection, and advanced, without taking the precaution to form and establish magazines. On his arrival at Torres Vedras, after reconnoitring the British line, he found their position to be impregnable, and here the error he had committed, in making so incautious an advance, became manifest. These lines, strong by nature, and greatly improved by art, extended to a distance of 35 miles, flanked, on one side, by the sea, and on the other by the Tagus. The British army consisted of 30,000 efficient troops; besides 25,000 Portuguese regulars, 40,000 militia, and about 10,000 Spaniards. This army was divided into four divisions, and each division occupied one of the four passes of the mountains. The French force, when they reached the vicinity of Torres Vedras, could not consist of more than 60,000 men, harassed by fatigue, straitened for provisions, and without magazines in their rear; and when the relative strength and situation of the two armies was known in England, the destruction of the enemy was regarded as inevitable. Massena, how-

* Buonaparte was evidently preparing to make a more powerful effort to put an end to the war than had ever been made since he himself advanced into Spain; Massena was dispatched from Paris to put himself at the head of an army, composed of the divisions of Soult and Ney, and of large reinforcements brought from France, as well as from various parts of the Peninsula. In the beginning of July the hostile armies were posted as follows: a small French corps was stationed before Badajoz, watched by the Spanish army of Romana, consisting of 9000 men, and by General Hill, with a British force, amounting to about 5000. The grand French army, under Massena, was posted before Ciudad Rodrigo, which fortress he determined to take before he advanced further into Portugal. The head-quarters of the English army were in front of Celerico. Lord Wellington's army was formed into five divisions of which the first, under General Spencer, was at Celerico; the second, under General Hill, at Portalegra; the third, commanded by General Cole, was cantoned at Garda; the fourth, under General Picton, was at Pinhel; and the light division, under General Crawford, including two regiments of Portuguese cacadores or marksmen, was advanced close to the French army at Ciudad Rodrigo. Each division had attached to it some Portuguese regiments, with one or more English officers in them, and by whose efforts they had been brought into such excellent order and discipline, that it was reasonably expected they would, in the hour of trial, not disgrace their companions in the field.

† General Junot made also an unintentional acknowledgment of the gallant conduct of the Portuguese: Lord Wellington, he said, had practised a ruse de guerre, and deceived his enemy by dressing Englishmen in Portuguese uniforms. This day, the operations of the French army were directed by Marshal Massena, whose troops actually engaged amounted to 25,000 men; of this force, 286 were taken prisoners, including General Simon, three Colonels, and 33 officers; 2000 French troops were left dead on the field, and the number of wounded was in equal proportion. The loss of the English amounted to 197 killed, 493 wounded, and 31 prisoners; and that of the Portuguese to 90 killed, 512 wounded, and 50 prisoners.

ever,

ever, kept his position in front of Torres Vedras, till the 14th of November, when he marched for Santarem. On the morning of the following day, the allied army broke up, and followed the march of the enemy, hoping that the time for his destruction had now arrived; but, on examining his position at Santarem, it was not judged advisable to make an attack. Lord Wellington therefore contented himself with fixing his head-quarters at Cartaxo, about ten miles nearer Lisbon; and, in these positions, the two armies remained at the close of the year.

Parliament assembled on the 23d of January; and the opening speech, which was read by commission, turned principally upon the peace concluded between Austria and France; the disastrous expedition to Walcheren; the precarious state of our relations with Sweden; and the necessity of affording further assistance to Spain and Portugal. The debates on the address, which related chiefly to the conduct of the war in Spain, were followed by votes of thanks to Lord Wellington and his army, for the skill and gallantry displayed in the battle of Talavera: and these discussions were succeeded by a motion by Lord Portchester, for an inquiry into the policy and conduct of the late expedition to Walcheren. His Lordship moved for the appointment of a committee—not a select and secret committee, he said, before whom garbled extracts might be laid by ministers themselves, in order to produce a partial decision, but a committee of the whole House, by which oral evidence might be examined at the bar. This motion was opposed by ministers; but, on a division, there appeared, for the motion, 198; against it, 186. On the 1st of February, the day before the investigation commenced, Mr. Yorke gave notice that he should, during the inquiry, enforce the standing order of the House, for the exclusion of strangers. Mr. Sheridan deprecated the idea of proceeding in an investigation, in which the nation was so deeply interested, with closed doors, and asked, whether it could be endured that the people should be kept in complete ignorance of what Parliament was doing at one of the most awful moments of its existence. A majority, of members, however, 166 to 80, decided, that the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, should remain unaltered.* Amongst the papers laid before Parliament, was a "copy of the

* On the 19th of February, while the investigation into the Scheldt expedition was proceeding in the House, with closed doors, Mr. Yorke complained of a breach of privilege. His conduct in that assembly, he said, had been made the subject of discussion, in a speaking club, called, the British Forum, and their hand-bills, stuck upon all the walls of the city, stated, that, "after an interesting discussion, it was unanimously decided, that the enforcement of the standing order, by shutting out strangers from the gallery of the House of Commons, ought to be considered as an insidious and ill-timed attack upon the liberty of the press, as tending to aggravate the discontents of the people, and to render their representatives objects of jealous suspicion." The same hand-bill proposed a question for the next night's meeting, couched in these terms—"Which was the greatest outrage upon public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing orders, or Mr. Windham's recent attack upon the liberty of the press?" This Mr. Yorke complained of as a gross violation of the privileges of that House, and the printer of the hand-bill, was ordered to attend at the bar. The printer, after humbly begging pardon of the honourable House for his offence, stated, that John Gale Jones was the author of the obnoxious hand-bill. Mr. Jones, when summoned to the bar, acknowledged that he was the author of the paper in question, adding, that he had always considered it the privilege of every Englishman to animadvert on public measures, and the conduct of public men; but, on looking over the paper again, he found he had erred, and begged to express his contrition, and cast himself upon the mercy of the House. The speaker now put the question, that John Gale Jones has been guilty of a gross breach of the privileges of this House, which was carried unanimously; and, on the motion of Mr. Yorke, he was committed to Newgate. The printer having given up his author, was reprimanded and discharged. Though several of the members of the House of Commons had expressed their doubts of the policy of committing Mr. Gale Jones to Newgate, none of them had denied or doubted the power of the House to punish a breach of privilege by imprisonment. This was reserved for Sir Francis Burdett, a man, who, as his friends insist, never suffers to pass unnoticed, or unemployed, an opportunity of defending the liberties, and securing the properties of the subject; or, as his enemies assert, of shaking the foundations of government, and inspiring dissatisfaction and discontent among the people. On the day when the committal took place, Sir Francis was confined to his house by indisposition; but as soon as possible after his return to his Parliamentary duty, he moved for the liberation of the prisoner of privilege, grounding his motion on an assumption that the House of Commons had exerted a power which the constitution did not confer upon them, and of which no precedent could be found, except in the worst periods of our history. The motion was made by Sir Francis Burdett, on the 12th of March, and in the speech delivered on that occasion, great research and knowledge of the law and practise of Parliament, were displayed. The honourable baronet, at the conclusion of his speech, moved, that John Gale Jones should be discharged; which motion was resisted by both sides of the House, and negatived by 153 against 14. The speech delivered on this occasion, Sir Francis Burdett published in a periodical paper, of the 24th of the same month, with a letter prefixed, addressed to his constituents. In consequence of this publication, it was moved by Mr. Lethbridge, and decided by a majority of the House of Commons, that Sir Francis Burdett had been guilty of publishing a scandalous and libellous paper, reflecting upon the just rights and privileges of that honourable House, for which offence, he was ordered to be taken into custody by the Serjeant at Arms, and committed to the Tower. This motion for commitment, which was made by Sir Robert Salisbury, was carried, after a long and animated debate, by a majority of 190 to 152 voices. The division did not take place till seven o'clock on the morning of Friday, the 6th of April; and, at half-past eight, the same morning, the Speaker signed the warrant, and delivered it to Mr. Colman, the Serjeant at Arms, with a direction to execute it before ten o'clock, that he might not have to convey his prisoner to the Tower through the streets of London in the middle of the day. Owing to the absence of Sir Francis from town, the Serjeant at Arms did not see him till the afternoon of that day, when the baronet, who was then at his house, in Piccadilly, told him that he intended to write to the Speaker, and that he should be ready to receive him the next morning, at eleven o'clock. The Serjeant at Arms then retired, and reported to the Speaker the steps that had been taken; when Mr. Abbot advised him to go back, and execute the warrant without further delay. In compliance with this advice, he returned to the house of Sir Francis, and informed him, that he had been reprimanded by the Speaker for the delay that had already taken place, and intimated, that he must accompany him to the Tower forthwith. To this Sir Francis Burdett replied, "If you bring an overwhelming force I must submit; but I dare not, from my allegiance to the King, and my respect to the laws, yield a voluntary submission to the warrant you have just exhibited: it is illegal; and you must leave my house." Mr. Colman, feeling himself at a loss how to act, withdrew, and repaired to the office of the Secretary of State. On the evening of the day on which the House of Commons directed the Speaker to issue his warrant for the apprehension and commitment of Sir Francis Burdett, the populace began to collect before his house in Piccadilly. On Saturday, in the afternoon, the concourse of people was so great, and the resistance to the execution of the warrant so highly probable, that ministers thought proper to call out all the military who were in London, and sent orders to several regiments, who were within a day's march, to proceed to the metropolis with all possible dispatch. The populace, who were before the baronet's house, compelled all the passengers on horseback, or in carriages, to pull off their hats as they passed, and in the evening they paraded the neighbouring streets, calling for lights, breaking the windows of such houses as did not illuminate, and more particularly venting their fury on the houses of his Majesty's ministers, and of such members of the House of Commons, as had distinguished themselves by speaking in favour of the imprisonment of Sir Francis Burdett. A doubt now arose in the mind of the Serjeant at Arms, whether the warrant under which he acted, would authorise him to break open the baronet's doors, which, he had learnt, were strongly barricadoed; and the opinion of Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Attorney-General, to whom the question was submitted, tended rather to confirm than to remove his apprehensions: there was no precedent to govern his decision, the Attorney-General said, but reasoning from analogy, the tendency of his opinion was, that the door might be broken open for the purpose of executing the warrant; but if, in any conflict that might take place in consequence, death should ensue, the officer who executed the warrant, would stand justified or not, as the breaking the House might be deemed lawful or unlawful. On this opinion, vague and inconclusive as it was, the Serjeant at Arms was obliged to act, and a little before eleven o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 9th of April, Mr. Colman, accompanied by messengers, and police officers, and supported by a large military force, broke open the baronet's house. Mr. Colman, advancing to Sir Francis Burdett, and, at the same time, presenting his warrant, said, "You are my prisoner." "That," rejoined Sir Francis, "is not a legal instrument; and I tell you, distinctly, that I will not voluntarily submit to an unlawful order. I demand, in the King's name, and in the name of the laws, that you forthwith retire from my house."—"Then, Sir," said the Serjeant, "I must call assistance, and force you to yield." The constables now laid hold on Sir Francis; Mr. Jones Burdett, and Mr. Roger O'Connor, who were in the room, immediately took him by the arm; but the peace officers closed on all three, and drew them down stairs. Sir Francis was then conducted to the coach, which, preceded and guarded by a large body of cavalry, conveyed him to the Tower. At the time that the Serjeant at Arms, and his attendants, broke into the house of Sir Francis Burdett, very few people were collected in Piccadilly, but the report of his seizure spread rapidly through every part of the metropolis; and before the coach, which, to avoid going through the city had taken a circuitous route, arrived at Tower Hill, the multitude in that quarter was immense. As soon as they perceived the carriage in which he was conveyed, their heads were instantly uncovered, and the air rang with acclamations in favour of the man whom they regarded as suffering in the cause of the liberties of his country. No attack was made upon the military till they began to return; but scarcely had they entered East Cheap, when they were assailed in the rear by a shower of stones

the Earl of Chatham's statement of his proceedings;" dated the 15th of October, 1809, presented to the King on the 14th of February, 1810. The tenor of the narrative was to impute blame to the naval part of the expedition, and his Lordship represented its failure to have arisen, "either from insufficient arrangements on the part of the Admiral, Sir Richard Strachan, or from unavoidable difficulties, inherent in the nature of the expedition itself, which, being entirely of a naval nature, did not come within his province." The presenting of such a document to the sovereign by a military commander, without the intervention of any responsible minister, and without the knowledge of the accused party, was deprecated as a clandestine and unconstitutional attempt to poison the royal ear; and a motion made by Mr. Whitbread for an address to his Majesty, praying that copies of all papers submitted to him by the Earl of Chatham, at any time, concerning the expedition to the Scheldt, might be laid before that House, was carried in opposition to ministers by a majority of seven voices. This proceeding was followed by a vote of censure, proposed by Mr. Whitbread, and amended by Mr. Canning, in which Lord Chatham was pronounced highly reprehensible for the communication made to his Majesty; and his Lordship, in order to avoid an address to the King, praying for his removal from his Majesty's councils, resigned his office of master-general of the ordnance. The examination of evidence upon the Walcheren expedition occupied the House from the 2d of February to the 26th of March. Lord Porchester then moved two series of resolutions, to the effect, that the expedition was undertaken under circumstances which afforded no rational hope of adequate success, and at the precise season of the year when the disease, which had proved so fatal, was known to be most prevalent; that the advisers of that ill-judged enterprise were therefore highly reprehensible for the calamities with which its failure had been attended; and that their conduct, in delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, called for the severest censure. After four nights' debate, there appeared, for Lord Porchester's resolutions 227, and against them, 275 voices. The House next decided upon an amendment of General Crawford's, purporting, that though the House considered with regret the lives which had been lost, it was of opinion that his Majesty's ministers had proceeded upon good grounds in undertaking the expedition; which amendment was carried by a majority of 40 voices. The second set of resolutions, censuring ministers for delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, was negatived by 275 against 224; and a resolution, approving their conduct for retaining the island till the time it was abandoned, was carried by 255 against 232.

On the 16th of May the budget was brought forward, and the supplies voted for the year amounted to 52,185,000*l.* of which the proportion for Ireland was 6,106,000*l.* The ways and means, without the imposition of any new taxes, were estimated at a surplus of 141,202 over the demand, including, however, a loan of eight millions, which was borrowed at 4*l.* 4s. 3¼d. per cent; upwards of fifteen shillings per cent below the rate of legal interest.

With a view to economical reform, Mr. Bankes moved, that the act for suspending the granting of offices in reversion should be made perpetual; and a bill for this purpose passed the House of Commons almost without opposition. When this bill reached the Upper House it was thrown out at its second reading by a large majority. Mr. Bankes, finding, as he said, that there was a determined principle to oppose the bill in its present shape, introduced a second bill for a limited period; but this attempted compromise proved ineffectual, and the second bill was, in like manner, rejected by the Peers.*

Mr. Brand, on the 21st of May, moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the representation of the people in Parliament; which motion

---

stones and mud. For a considerable time the soldiers endured this attack with coolness and patience; but at length, finding the mob grow more daring, they fired several shots, by which, unfortunately, eight persons were wounded, two of them mortally.

The letter which Sir Francis Burdett had addressed to the Speaker, on Friday evening, was communicated to the House of Commons on Monday, and produced an unanimous resolution, "That the letter of Sir Francis Burdett to the Speaker is a high and flagrant breach of privilege." In this letter the baronet declared, that his duty to his King, and to his constituents, would not allow him voluntarily to obey the act of any set of men, who, contrary to the laws, assume the sovereign power; and he professed his readiness to accept the meanest office that would vacate his seat to get out of an association, which had illegally usurped the whole power of the realm. Sir Francis Burdett was consoled under his imprisonment by the addresses from different parts of the kingdom, and by the petitions that were sent to the House for his liberation. The first place that petitioned was the city of Westminster; and the counties of Middlesex and Berkshire, as well as the livery of London, the borough of Southwark, and the towns of Rochester, Hull, Reading, Nottingham, and Sheffield followed their example. Though the warrant by which Sir Francis Burdett was committed to the Tower, directed that he should remain imprisoned during the pleasure of the House of Commons, yet it had always been customary to liberate persons thus committed when the prorogation of Parliament took place, and that period was anxiously expected by the friends of the baronet in the metropolis. Though his liberation, by the lapse of time, could not, in any respect, be considered a triumph, it was determined to celebrate the day, and preparations were made to conduct him in great state from the Tower to his House in Piccadilly. Early in the morning of the 21st of June, all the streets through which the procession was to pass, were crowded with those who meant either to witness or to join in the splendid pageant. The hour at which it was known that Parliament would be prorogued was looked for with intense anxiety, and the most effectual methods had been taken to communicate the notice from Westminster-Hall to the Tower. The expected intelligence at last arrived; Parliament was prorogued, and Sir Francis Burdett was free. The immense multitudes on Tower-Hill pressed forward to catch the first glimpse of the popular favourite. Several minutes elapsed after the prorogation had been made known to the governor of the Tower, but the baronet did not appear. At length, after long and anxious expectation, it was announced by a speaking-trumpet, from the battlements of the fortress, that "Sir Francis Burdett left the Tower by water at half-past three o'clock." His friends were, for some time, incredulous, and it was suspected that it was meant to detain him; but they soon became convinced that he had crossed the river, and was probably at that time far advanced on the road to his country-house at Wimbledon. Discontent and chagrin began to appear among the multitude: they had been led to understand that the procession was planned and arranged with the knowledge and approbation of Sir Francis Burdett, and no intimation had been given that he had changed his mind. The explanation given by Sir Francis of this part of his conduct was by no means satisfactory; for if, as he stated to the committee that waited upon him, he apprehended mischief, he ought not to have countenanced the procession in the first instance; and as to the necessity of an expression of the public sentiment, no such necessity existed, the public having already sufficiently expressed their feelings and views of his imprisonment. The liberation of Mr. John Gale Jones from Newgate, took place at the same time that Sir Francis Burdett was discharged from the Tower; and Mr. Jones arrived in sufficient time at Tower-Hill to occupy the principal place in the procession, on its return into Westminster.

Sir Francis Burdett commenced actions against the Speaker of the House of Commons, for issuing the warrant for his arrest and imprisonment; against the serjeant-at-arms, for executing the warrant generally, and for breaking open the outer-door of his house in its execution; and against Earl Moira, the governor of the Tower, for illegal imprisonment. These actions the House of Commons ordered the Attorney General to defend. The plea was, that the warrant, being issued by the authority of the House of Commons, was a legal instrument, and that therefore the arrest and imprisonment were legal. This plea, as might have been foreseen, was admitted; and the privileges of Parliament were allowed by the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, not to be cognizable in a court of law, but to be part of the laws of the land. Thus, the attempt of Sir Francis Burdett to overthrow this branch of the privilege of Parliament, served to confirm those privileges, and gave to the claims of the House of Commons a solemn judicial recognition.

* A subject of considerable importance to the community, was brought under the consideration of Parliament, by Mr. Horner, who, on the 1st of February, moved for a variety of accounts and returns respecting the present state of the circulating medium, and the trade in bullion. On the production of these papers, a committee was appointed for the purpose of inquiry into the present high price of bullion, and the consequent effect on the value of the paper currency; but this inquiry opened so wide a field of investigation, that it was not till the eve of the prorogation of Parliament that the report of the committee could be submitted to the House. The bullion committee were of opinion, that the evils, into the causes of which they were commissioned to inquire, were to be attributed to an excessive issue of Bank of England paper; and it was stated in their report, that "a general rise of all prices, a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall in the foreign exchanges, will be the effect of an undue quantity of circulating medium in a country which has adopted a currency not exportable to other countries, or convertible at will into a coin that is convertible." But though the Bank of England notes were in reality at a discount, that discount, in the judment of the committee, did not arise from want of credit, or confidence in the funds, and stability in the bank, but merely from over issue. And it was stated, that "no sufficient remedy for the present evil, or security for the

motion was rejected by a large majority. The frequently agitated question of Catholic emancipation was also brought forward in both Houses; and motions for the removal of the disabilities under which his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects labour, made by the Earl of Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, were rejected both in the Lords and Commons by considerable majorities.

On the 13th of June, when the session was drawing nigh to a close, Earl Grey submitted to the consideration of the House of Peers a motion on the state of the nation; which was rejected by 134 against 72.—This was the last subject of importance that engaged the attention of Parliament; and on the 21st of June the two Houses were prorogued.*

In January, this year, the Dutch settlement of Amboyna, with its dependencies, was carried by a coup de main, by an expedition under Captain Tucker, who obtained a rich booty. Soon afterwards, the islands of Guadaloupe,† St. Martin's, and Eustatius also, surrendered to the British arms. The island of Bourbon and the Mauritius, or the Isle of France, had long served to afford shelter and protection to a large number of French privateers, which scoured the seas in the track of the East India shipping, and had captured vessels of that description to an enormous amount. In the hopes of regaining this booty, and for the purpose of rooting out the nest of privateers which infested these seas, expeditions were planned, first against the Isle of Bourbon, and afterwards against the Isle of France. A force was collected, consisting of 2,500 Europeans, and 2000 native troops, who were afterwards joined by 1000 men from the island of Rodriguez, under Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, to whom the command of the expedition against the Isle of Bourbon was confided. By the co-operation of the naval part of the expedition, under Commodore Rowley, the destruction of the French batteries and guns at St. Paul's took place in the month of September, 1809; and dispositions having been made for an attack on St. Dennis, a herald presented himself with an offer from the governor, Colonel St. Susanne, to capitulate, which proposal was readily acquiesced in, and the whole island passed under the sway of the British sceptre. A body of troops from the British settlements in India and the Cape of Good Hope, amounting to about 10,000, destined for the reduction of the Isle of France, arrived at the place of rendezvous on the 21st of November, 1810. This army was commanded by Major-General John Abercrombie, and the whole fleet under Admiral Bertie, including transports and ships of war, amounted to seventy-sail. On the 29th of November, the troops effected a landing under cover of the fire-ships, and on the 2d of December, prepared for attacking the forts; but on the day following, General de Caen, the French governor, proposed to capitulate, on condition that the troops should return to France without being considered as prisoners of war. These terms it was thought advisable to allow, and on the same day the capitulation was signed, by which the Isle of France, an immense quantity of stores and valuable merchandise, five large frigates, some smaller ships of war, and 28 merchantmen, with two captured British East Indiamen, were surrendered to his Majesty's arms.

Towards the close of the year, a domestic event occurred which suspended the royal functions, and plunged the country into great distress and embarrassment. The Princess Amelia, the youngest and favourite daughter of the King, after a painful and protracted illness, died on the 2d of November. The effect which this produced on the mental health of her royal father, was of the most melancholy nature.‡ Some days before the indisposition of the King, a proclamation had been issued, stating it to be the royal pleasure that Parliament should not assemble till the month of December; but the usual commission not being prepared, the meeting of Parliament took place on the 1st of November, the period to which, by a former commission, it had been prorogued.§

The mildness of the symptoms assumed by his Majesty's complaint, at the commencement of his present illness, induced a hope that the malady would not be of long continuance;‖ and, when Parliament again assembled on the 15th of November, ministers announced that the medical attendants of his Majesty were unanimously of opinion that his health was in a state of progressive improvement, and that they continued to express the most flattering and confident hopes that he would, in a very short space of time, be enabled to resume the personal exercise of the royal functions. On the faith of these representations, the two houses, after some debate, consented to a second adjournment till the 29th of November. On that day, ministers again moved and carried a further adjournment till the 13th of December.

future, could be pointed out, except the repeal of the law which suspends the cash payments of the Bank of England." To effect so important a change, the committee was aware that some difficulties must be encountered; but all hazards to the stability of the bank, and all injury to public credit, might be obviated, by restricting cash payments for two years from the present time, and by intrusting to the bank itself the charge of conducting and completing the operation.

* On the 4th of June, died the Right Honourable William Windham, a man whose name, in the history of literature and of politics, will be joined with those of Burke, Johnson, Pitt, and Fox. His death, which was occasioned by an operation for the removal of an indolent encysted tumour, took place, in the 61st year of his age. No man occupied a more elevated situation in the estimation of all parties, for honour, integrity, and patriotism, than Mr. Windham; but there was a certain tortuousness in his political course, which gave to his conduct an air of eccentricity; and his great talents were, on some occasions, applied to the purpose of advocating established abuses, even at the expense of humanity. As an official and party man, from a chivalry of sentiment inseparable from his nature, he occasionally displayed a dissonance of opinion from those with whom he acted, but his intentions were always pure; he was not made to belong to any set or party of men; he moved in an orbit of his own; and was never to be diverted from his purpose by any considerations either of fear or favour. As an orator, he was simple, eloquent, prompt, and graceful. As a statesman, he entertained a most profound veneration for the constitution of his country; and even his faults were not of an ordinary or grovelling kind. He aimed not at the attainment of transient popularity, but aspired to a lasting and imperishable reputation; and his sovereign embalmed his memory with this high eulogium—"Windham was a genuine patriot, and a truly honest man."

† A few weeks before the fall of Guadaloupe, two French frigates, of 48 guns each, with two vessels armed en flute, carrying troops and stores for the succour of that island, were met at sea by the Junon frigate, Captain Shortland, about 150 miles from their destination. Captain Shortland having been decoyed into a situation which compelled him either to fight or to surrender, determined to encounter the enemy, while a brig that was in company effected her escape. The two frigates lay, one on each side of the Junon, while one of the smaller vessels passed her bowsprit on the larboard, and the other on her starboard quarters. In this situation, they opened a most destructive fire upon their victim from all sides, the muskets of the enemy's troops being particularly galling. Captain Shortland soon perceived that his only hope of success depended upon an effort to board one of the frigates; but the party ordered upon this service were almost all cut off, by a general volley directed against them by the troops. After the battle had raged for some time, the enemy, in their turn, attempted to board, but they were three times repulsed, and it was not till after an action of an hour and a quarter that the Junon struck her colours. In this unequal conflict 90 of the French seamen were killed and wounded, and the vessel was reduced to so complete a wreck that the next day she was set on fire and destroyed. Captain Shortland, with a pike in his hand, headed his men till the last moment, when a langridge shot laid him senseless on the deck, and terminated his heroic career.

‡ It has been stated, that when the Princess Amelia felt that her end was fast approaching, she ordered a ring to be made, inclosing a lock of her hair, and inscribed with the words—"Remember me." This token of her dying affection she silently placed upon the finger of her royal father at his next visit to her chamber. Her own departure was so near that she never knew the fatal consequences. The King, who felt all that this charge imported, retired from her apartment extremely agitated, and when the dissolution of his beloved child actually took place, his mind was no longer in a state to derive consolation from the reflection that death had terminated her sufferings.

§ The only case in history exactly similar to that which now presented itself was the precedent of 1788-9; Parliament had that year been prorogued to the 20th of November, and as the regular commission for its further intended prorogation had not been signed by the King, it necessarily met on that day. The Peers and the Commons each remained in their separate chambers, and after the state of his Majesty's mental health had been explained, an adjournment for fifteen days was unanimously resolved upon. This precedent was strictly followed upon the present melancholy occasion; and letters were transmitted to the members of the respective houses, requiring their attendance on Thursday the 15th of November.

‖ Sir Henry Halford, and Drs. Heberden and Baillie, were the physicians first called in. By them the bulletins were signed, which were regularly issued, at first once, and afterwards twice a day, from the 29th of October to the 4th of November, when the signature of Dr. Reynolds, for the first time, appeared. On the 9th day of that month, Dr. Willis was called in; a circumstance from which it was inferred that his Majesty's disorder had assumed a more decided and obstinate character than was originally contemplated.

BAPIN'S

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

THE PRINCE REGENT.

cember. During this period, the disease of his Majesty by no means abated, and it was generally understood that the malady threatened a long and tedious endurance. When, therefore, Parliament met for the fourth time, ministers were under the necessity of proposing that the physicians should be examined by a committee, appointed by each house; and of explicitly stating, that if the report should not hold out a prospect of speedy recovery, they would then propose measures to supply the defect in the royal authority. The physicians, in the examination that took place, described his Majesty's disorder to be a derangement of mind, closely allied to delirium, and occasionally falling into it; and the result of the inquiry established the fact, that his Majesty was not only at this time totally incapable of performing the high functions of his royal office, but that his recovery would be slow and remote. Under these circumstances, all idea of further adjournment was at an end, and ministers found it absolutely necessary to proceed towards the appointment of a regency. The session not having been opened by the royal authority, could not be constitutionally regarded as the Parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but merely as a convention of the Lords and Commons; and in opening the business in the House of Commons, on the 20th of December, Mr. Perceval moved three distinct propositions, declaratory of the present incapacity of the King; of the competency of the two Houses of Parliament to supply the defect; and of the necessity of passing a bill for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the King. The first of these resolutions passed unanimously; the second, with the single negative of Sir Francis Burdett, who denied that all the estates of this realm were "lawfully, fully, and freely represented in Parliament." On the third resolution, Mr. Ponsonby moved an amendment, to the effect that an address should be presented to the Prince of Wales, praying him to take upon himself the office of Regent. On this amendment, long and animated debates took place, but as Lord Grenville and his friends adhered to the doctrines which they had maintained and acted upon with Mr. Pitt on a former occasion, the opposition were out-voted in the Commons by a majority of 112, and in the Lords by 26 voices. After these resolutions, had received the sanction of the three estates of the realm (the Lords spiritual, and temporal, and the Commons) another series of resolutions* was brought forward by Mr. Perceval, expressive of the expediency of vesting the royal authority in the Prince of Wales, as "Regent of the Kingdom," subject to certain restrictions and limitations enumerated in these resolutions. The opposition made a formidable stand against the general principle of restrictions, as well as against the particular limitations of the royal power, which ministers proposed to impose upon the Regent; in many of the divisions they were joined by Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, and their respective friends, as well as by other members, who usually voted with ministers, and the existing government carried some of their motions by very small majorities. The proposed exception to the grant of Peerages in favour of military officers, was opposed by Lord Grenville, and in this, as in the other restrictions, the precedent of 1788-9 was ultimately adhered to. As soon as Parliament had come to the determination to proceed by bill and not by address, and Mr. Perceval had sketched the plan of his proposed restrictions, he addressed a letter to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, communicating to him his intentions. The Prince, in reply, simply and briefly referred Mr. Perceval to the letter, which, on a similar occasion, he had sent to Mr. Pitt, and in which he had protested against the proposed plan of restricted regency.

His Royal Highness, however, agreed to accept the high and important trust, even though fettered and limited in such a manner as, in his apprehension, might prevent him from fulfilling its duties so completely and beneficially to the nation as he could wish. In these views the royal brothers of the Prince fully concurred, and in a species of extra-official note to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, entered their protest against a proceeding, which they considered "perfectly unconstitutional and as contrary to and subversive of the principles which seated their family upon the throne of this realm."†

This year was distinguished by a variety of miscellaneous events upon the Continent, each of which, respectively, had a considerable influence upon the general system. Amongst these may be particularly mentioned, the sudden and suspicious death of the crown Prince of Sweden, and the consequent election of Marshal Bernadotte to that elevated station;‡ the marriage of

* I. That for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the royal authority, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances, and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being resident within the realm, shall be empowered to exercise and to administer the royal authority, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, and under the style and title of Regent of the kingdom; and to use, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, that belong to the King of this realm, to use, execute, and perform, according to the law thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.

II. That the powers to be given to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, shall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the Peerage of the realm to any person whatever, except to—(persons who have rendered eminent services to the country by sea or land).

III. That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reversion, or to the granting of any office, salary, or pension, for other terms than during his Majesty's pleasure, except such offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during good behaviour.

IV. That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any part of his Majesty's real and personal estate, except as far as relates to the renewal of leases.

V. That the care of his Majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, shall be committed to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty; and that her Majesty shall have the power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several offices in his Majesty's household; and to dispose, order, and manage, all other matters and things relating to the care of his Majesty's royal person, during the time aforesaid; and that, for the better enabling her Majesty to discharge this important task, it is also expedient that a council shall be appointed, to advise and assist her Majesty in the several matters aforesaid; and with power, from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine, upon oath, the physicians and others attending his Majesty's person, touching the state of his Majesty's health, and all other matters relating thereto.

The Regency bill, of which the above may be considered as an official abstract, enacted, that the restriction imposed on the executive power as exercised by the Prince Regent, should cease on the 1st of February, 1812.

† Parliament was opened by commission under the great seal, on the 15th of January, 1811. It was well known that the political attachments and principles of the Prince Regent lay all on the side of Earl Grey and Lord Grenville; and it was naturally expected that the existing administration would be dissolved, and the members who now occupied the opposition benches, taken into power; but the period for the installation was fast approaching, and no arrangements for a new ministry had taken place. The malady of the King, after undergoing frequent and great variations, assumed a much more mild and favourable form, and the physicians again pronounced his Majesty's complete recovery as not far distant. This circumstance, combined with others, determined the Prince to retain the present ministers. This determination he communicated to Mr. Perceval, in a note, dated the 4th of February: at the same time explicitly and candidly stating to him, that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father, made him unwilling to do a single act which might retard his recovery; and that this consideration alone had dictated the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval. He added, that it would not be one of the least blessings that would result from the restoration of his Majesty to health and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, that it would rescue the Regency from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs, ill calculated, he feared, to sustain the interests of the united kingdom in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution.

‡ Charles Augustus, Prince of Augustenburg, who had, on the 24th of January, been elected to the dignity of Crown Prince of Sweden, died suddenly, on the 29th of May, while he was reviewing some regiments of cavalry on Bonorp Heath; and his death was preceded and accompanied by circumstances, which excited in the minds of the populace, a strong and general suspicion, that he had been poisoned. In other times, his death might have appeared perfectly natural; but suspicions fixed upon the two families of Ferseh and Piper, who were thought to be jealous of his popularity, and apprehensive that his elevation to the throne would destroy that influence which they had long enjoyed in the government. The interval which

of Buonaparte, to the Archduchess Maria Louisa, of Austria;* the abdication of Louis Buonaparte, in favour of his son, and the annexation of Holland, and the Hanse Towns to France;† the death of the Queen of Prussia; ‡ and the junction of Hanover with the kingdom of Westphalia.—Nor was the succeeding year (1811) destitute of events calculated to render this portion of history interesting to the present, and memorable in future ages. The navy of England, indeed, finding no adequate antagonist, was obliged to satisfy itself with such minor exploits as occasionally presented themselves, but in which the skill and superiority of the Lords of the ocean were always sufficiently conspicuous.§ Lord Minto, however, the Governor-General of India, under

---

which elapsed between the death of the Prince and his interment, gave time for suspicion to spread; and when the funeral procession arrived at Stockholm, on the 20th of June, the agitation had increased to so alarming a degree, that the populace fell upon Count Axel Fersen, who led the procession in his carriage and six, and actually tore him to pieces. To calm this dreadful ferment, a proclamation was issued, and measures were adopted to remove the suspicions of the people, by an open judicial inquiry into the cause of the death of their favourite. A reward of 20,000 rix dollars, was also offered to any person who would give such evidence, touching the supposed murder, as would convict the offender, whatever might be his rank or description. The result of the examination was, that the Crown Prince had died a natural death, by apoplexy; and public tranquillity being in a few days restored, the attention of the inhabitants of Sweden, as well as of a great part of Europe, was fixed on the choice that was about to be made of his successor. On the 15th of August, the four estates of Sweden were assembled at Orebro, for the purpose of electing a Crown Prince, or heir-apparent to the Swedish throne. The four candidates who aspired to this honour, were, Frederic VI. King of Denmark; the Prince of Oldenburg, son of Gustavus Adolphus, the late King; the Prince of Augustenburg, brother to the deceased Crown Prince; and the French Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo. Through the predominating influence of Buonaparte, Jean Baptiste Julian Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, was elected; and from that moment, he may be considered as the efficient ruler of Sweden.—Adverse, however, to open and actual hostility with Great Britain, he continued for some time to permit the commercial intercourse to be carried on between the two countries; and when, in the month of December, war was declared against England, the Swedish declaration of war contained an almost explicit avowal that this resolution was taken at the instigation of Buonaparte.

* Marshal Berthier, was dispatched on a special mission to Vienna, to demand the Archduchess Maria Louisa in marriage. The Princess, in the excess of female vanity, exulting in the conquest of the subjugator of Europe, was easily won; and the council of Vienna moderated the Emperor's feelings of humility, by unveiling to him the future, and expatiating upon the advantages of the proposed alliance. The marriage ceremony, in which the Archduke Charles, as the proxy of Napoleon, received the hand of his august relative, was performed on the 11th of March, at Vienna, in the church of the Augustines, and in the presence of the Emperor and Empress of Austria. On the 13th, Maria Louisa, left Vienna, and arrived at Compeigne on the 27th, where she was met by Buonaparte. On the 1st of April, the civil ceremony of the celebration and ratification of the marriage, took place in the Hall of Mars, in the imperial chatean of St. Cloud; and on the following day, the religious ceremony was performed by the grand almoner and two assistant Bishops, in the Chapel of the Louvre.

† In the war waged by France against the commercial prosperity, and the maritime greatness, of England, it became peculiarly necessary that Holland should lend her cordial co-operation. The character and necessities of the Dutch operated powerfully against the project for the total exclusion of British commerce, and induced Napoleon to issue the most strict and peremptory orders to Louis to enforce his decrees with rigour. For a short time these orders were obeyed, but the wretchedness which every where presented itself, and the numerous and urgent petitions of the sufferers, so far prevailed in the mind of Louis over every consideration of state policy, that he threw open the Dutch ports, and repealed his decrees against commerce. This conduct was highly resented by Buonaparte; and Louis at length, finding that all his endeavours and sacrifices on behalf of the Dutch nation were unavailing, abdicated his throne in favour of his eldest son, Louis Napoleon. This act of abdication, which bore date the 1st of July, not having been previously concerted with Buonaparte, was declared invalid; and on the 9th day of the same month an imperial decree was issued from Paris, by which the kingdom of Holland was united to the French empire. The next act of usurpation consisted in the annexation of the Hanse Towns to France. "The orders published by the British consul in 1806 and 1807 had," it was said, "rent in pieces the public law of Europe, and created the necessity for the junction of the mouths of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, to the French empire."

‡ The Queen, of Prussia, whose high spirit had been broken by the disasters of her country, languished till the 19th of July, when she expired in the prime of life. The loss of a beloved consort, not less distinguished for her domestic virtues than for her personalcharms, almost overpowered the disconsolate monarch, and he was with difficulty prevailed upon to abandon a resolution which he had taken to quit the affairs of state, and to seek in retirement and seclusion a solace for his accumulated distresses. Absorbed in these feelings he saw, without emotion, the electorate of Hanover pass into the hands of Jerome Buonaparte, and become an integral part of the kingdom of Westphalia.

§ Early in March a small English squadron, under the command of Captain Hoste, consisting of the Amphion and Cerberus, each of 32 guns, and of the Active and Volage, the former of 38, and the latter of 22 guns, discovered off the island of Lissa, in the Italian seas, a French squadron of five frigates, one corvette, four brigs, two schooners, and two smaller vessels, commanded by Captain Duhordieu. On the approach of the English fleet, the enemy formed themselves into two divisions, and bore down under a press of sail, to carry into effect the British system of tactics, by breaking their adversary's line. This attempt having failed of success, the French commodore, who led the van in the favourite, of 44 guns, attempted to place the English squadron between two fires, but while he was manœuvring for this purpose, his ship approached too near the shore, and was driven on the rocks of Lissa. The enemy, undismayed by the fate of their commodore, persisted in the attempt to place the British between two fires, and the starboard division having passed under the stern of the British ships engaged them to leeward, while the larboard division tacked and remained to windward. Though the enemy displayed more than their accustomed skill on this occasion, and followed up that skill with a considerable share of activity, and bravery, yet they made no impression on the British squadron; but on the contrary, after the battle had raged about two hours, the two French frigates to the leeward struck their colours. Those who had attacked to the windward, seeing the fate of their companions, endeavoured to escape, but they were closely pursued, and one of them was compelled to surrender, leaving Captain Hoste in the possession of the Corona, of 44 guns, and the Bellona, of 32 guns. Besides these vessels, the Favourite, which had driven on the rocks, shortly after blew up, while the corvette and two frigates took shelter in the port of Lessina. At the time that the Flora, Captain Peridier, which was one of the frigates to leeward, struck her colours, the Amphion, to which she surrendered, was so closely engaged with the Bellona, that Captain Hoste could not spare a boat to take possession of his prize, and the Flora, availing herself of this circumstance, took an opportunity to re-hoist her colours, and dishonourably to sheer off. After this most gallant action, Captain Hoste had the gratification to find that the vanquished fleet had on board 500 troops for the purpose of garrisoning the island of Lissa, with every thing necessary for its fortification; and an additional share of splendour was shed round the glory of this enterprise by the entire defeat of the enemy's intention to possess himself of that island. The loss of the English amounted to 50 killed, and 150 wounded.

Another gallant service was performed in the Mediterranean sea by the Pomone, and Unité frigates, and the Scout sloop of war, under the command of Captain Barrie, in the destruction of three large vessels lying in Sagone bay, in the island of Corsica.

On the coast of Calabria a convoy of 22 sail were attacked and captured by his Majesty's ships, the Thames, Captain Napier, and the Cephalus, Captain Clifford, with 11 French gun-boats, and one armed felucca, without the loss of a single man. At Palinura, on the coast of Naples, a detachment of 200 under the command of Captain Darley, disembarked from on board the Thames and Impérieuse frigates, with 50 marines, commanded by Lieutenant Pipon, landed in the face of 900 of the enemy, and after destroying the batteries and cannon of the fort, captured and brought off six gun-boats, and 20 merchant vessels. The capture and destruction of an entire convoy in the Adriatic sea was effected by Captain Gordon, of the Active. And about the same time Captain Bourchier, of his Majesty's ship, the Hawke, succeeded, after a desperate engagement, in driving two of the enemy's brigs, and two luggers, with 15 of their convoy on shore on the coast of Normandy.

In August, at the mouth of the Gironde, Captain Ferris, of the Diana, and Captain Richardson, of the Semiramis, perceiving four sail of merchant vessels, under convoy of a national brig of war, within the shoals, and aware that no forcible attempt could be made to pass the river and carry the vessels with any prospect of success, hoisted French colours, and so completely did they deceive the enemy, that a pilot was sent out to conduct them into port. With this assistance, the Diana and the Semiramis anchored, after dark, near the batteries at the mouth of the Gironde, when Captain Ferris dispatched three boats from his vessel, which being seconded by four others from the Semiramis, proceeded up the river about the middle of the night of the 24th, and captured the convoy. In the morning the enemy's gun-boats were attacked and destroyed; and Captain Richardson, as though in contempt of their batteries, drove the armed brig on shore, and burnt her under the fire of their cannon.

A short time after the capture of the Isle of France, three French frigates, (the Renommée, Nereide, and Clorinde) full of troops, intended for the succour of that colony, were known to be in the Indian seas; and the Astræa, Phœbe, and Galatea frigates, with the Race Horse brig, were dispatched in quest of them. On the 19th of May, the enemy, who had put into Madagascar to water, was discovered off the coast of that island. After a chase of ten hours, the French frigates were brought to action, and for some time the battle raged with so much fury that one of the frigates on each side was completely disabled, and obliged to withdraw from the contest. The battle re-commenced by the Astrea pouring a destructive broadside into the French commodore's ship, La Renommée: instead of returning this fire, the commodore ordered his men to board the Astrea, but owing to the skilful manœuvres of the British Captain, and the gallant conduct of his crew, this attempt was completely frustrated. Night had now closed upon the conflicting squadrons, and the dismal gloom was only interrupted by the vivid flashes of the cannon, which served to impart a degree of awful sublimity to the surrounding scene. At length, after a most gallant resistance, the French commodore's ship struck her colours, and the Clorinde, finding

under whose auspices and direction the conquest of the Isle of Bourbon and the Isle of France were achieved, had formed a plan for adding Java, the most important possession of the Dutch East India Company, to the British colonial empire.

A. D. 1811.] Batavia, the capital of this settlement, had long been the principal seat of the Dutch government of the east; and from this station the mother-country had, in the days of her independence and prosperity, derived great wealth and many commercial advantages. The paralyzing influence of French alliance had latterly diminished the importance of this colony, but it still served as a shelter and protection to the cruisers of the enemy, and interposed as a barrier in the way of the trade of the British East India Company between Hindostan and China. The enemy, aware of the intended attack, was indefatigable in his endeavours to protect and defend his only remaining colony in the east; and with this view, a force of 10,000 men was collected, and placed under the command of General Jansens. In March was embarked at Madras, a force consisting of the 14th, 59th, and 69th regiments of foot, four squadrons of the 22d dragoons, two squadrons of horse, and a party of foot artillery, with a considerable portion of native troops. This force was to be joined on its passage by the 78th regiment from Bengal, and the chief command of the expedition was vested in Sir Samuel Auchmuty. The magnitude of the preparations delayed the departure of the expedition till the approach of the Monsoons; but Lord Minto avoided the apprehended danger by judiciously profiting by the land winds, and striking from the south-west point of Sambhar to the coast of Java. On the 4th of August, the troops were debarked about 12 miles to the eastward of the city of Batavia.

The force of the enemy had taken up a strongly fortified position at Cornelis, and thither the British General determined to proceed without loss of time, having previously taken possession of Batavia, which surrendered to Colonel Gillespie without resistance. The enemy, before he evacuated the city, had set fire to several large store houses of public property, and had attempted to destroy the remainder; but many of the valuable granaries and store-houses of sugar, which had been laid open to the weather, in hopes that the rain might so far injure the stocks as to render them unfit for use, were happily preserved. Early in the morning of the 13th, Colonel Gillespie moved towards the enemy's cantonment at Weltevreede, which they abandoned on his approach, and took up a strong position about two miles in advance of their works at Cornelis. This fort, which was protected by an abatis, and defended by 3000 of the enemy's best troops, Colonel Gillespie carried at the point of the bayonet, and from thence advanced to the front of the lines at Cornelis. The enemy, greatly superior in numbers, was strongly intrenched between the river Jacatra and the Sloken canal, neither of which was fordable, and the position was shut up by a deep trench, strongly palisadoed: seven redoubts, and numerous batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, occupied the most commanding ground within the lines; and the fort of Cornelis, and the whole of the works, were defended by a numerous and well organized artillery.

By these works, it was thought, that the British army would be delayed, and their destruction might then be safely left to the operation of a climate the most pestilential in the world. Sir Samuel Auchmuty well understood the danger of delay, and the consequent necessity of promptitude of action. The season was too far advanced, the heat too intense, and his numbers insufficient, to admit of regular approaches; he therefore determined upon an assault, and for the purpose of disabling the principal redoubts of the enemy, batteries were erected, which continued to play upon their works till this object was fully accomplished. The moment had arrived for the general assault, and at the dawn of the 26th, this hazardous operation was undertaken. In this attack, as in the preliminary enterprises, the principal duty was assigned to Colonel Gillespie. General Jansens was in the redoubt when the assault commenced. Colonel Gillespie having possessed himself almost instantaneously of the bridge over the Sloken, attacked and carried one of the redoubts within the lines. Part of the Colonel's corps being now joined by a portion of the army which had attacked the enemy in front, the united force assailed and carried another of the redoubts. Similar success attended the corps under Colonel M'Leod, of the 69th regiment, who fell in the moment of victory, and four redoubts within the lines were now in the possession of the British. The front of the enemy was also routed, and their position at that point laid open. The only redoubts now possessed by the enemy, lay in his rear, and to those Colonel Gillespie, being joined by Colonel M'Leod, of the 59th regiment, directed his attention. Here the greater part of the enemy's artillery, surrounded and protected by their cavalry, was posted; the redoubts, however, were carried in the same heroic style as those in advance, their artillery was captured, and their cavalry compelled to fly. Soon after Cornelis surrendered; and in this engagement the whole of the hostile army was killed, taken, or dispersed. General Jansens, who had thrice rallied his retreating troops, escaped with difficulty from the field, followed only by a few cavalry. The loss of the enemy in these different actions was immense—about 1000 men were buried in the works; vast numbers were cut down in the retreat; the rivers were literally choaked with the bodies of the slain, and the adjacent huts and woods were filled with the wounded, most of whom afterwards died. Nearly 5000 prisoners were taken, among whom were three general officers and 36 field officers; and the number of artillery and field pieces, taken in this memorable campaign, amounted to upwards of 700. Twenty-seven native troops, and 114 British, killed, and 123 natives, and 610 British, wounded, was the price paid for the island of Java. As soon as these conquests were secured, a body of troops was embarked, under Rear-Admiral Stopford, and ordered to proceed to Samerang, where they were joined by Sir Samuel Auchmuty. General Jansens, who had retired to that town, answered a summons sent to him to surrender the island, by expressing a determination to persevere in his resistance; but, on the 12th of September, it was discovered that he had evacuated the place, and taken up a position on the road to Solo, the capital of the Soesoehoenam, or Autocrat. This position Colonel Gibbs was directed to attack on the 16th; but the allies and native troops of the enemy had no zeal in the service, and dreading the attack of men who had displayed such prodigies of valour at Cornelis, they fled at their approach, leaving the road

finding herself completely overpowered, followed her example. In this action, which from its commencement to its close continued seven hours, and was four times renewed, the enemy lost upwards of 200 men killed and wounded, amongst the former of whom were the Captains of the Nereide and the Renommée. The loss of the British was also severe, and amounted to upwards of 100 killed and wounded, 60 of whom were on board the Galatea.

On the night of the 4th of December, the Saldanha frigate, of 32 guns, commanded by the Hon. Captain Pakenham, was lost off Lough Swilly, on the coast of Ireland, and every soul on board perished. On the 23d of the same month, his Majesty's ship the Hero, Captain Newman, of 74 guns, with a convoy of 120 sail of merchant-men under his protection, was overtaken by a dreadful gale in the German ocean, and driven on the Haak Sand off the Texel, where both ship and crew were engulphed in the watery abyss. Many of the convoy rode out the storm, but upwards of 20 of the number shared the deplorable fate of the Hero and her crew. On the night of the 24th of December, the St. George, of 98 guns, commanded by Admiral Reynolds, and the Defence, of 74 guns, Captain Atkins, after encountering severe storms in the Baltic, were stranded on the western coast of North Jutland. The Defence first took the ground, and in less than half an hour became a complete wreck, when the Captain and all her crew, six only excepted, perished. For some hours the St. George continued to brave the storm, and the most persevering exertions were made to afford her succour from the shore, but all proved unavailing. Of the whole crew, which amounted to nearly 800 men, 11 only succeeded in gaining the land; and when the last of them left the St. George, in the afternoon of the 25th, Admiral Reynolds and Captain Guion were stretched dead upon the quarter-deck, with at least 500 of the crew. At that time about 50 of the ship's company remained alive, and their piteous cries were heard for several hours, but during the night of the 26th the ship went to pieces, and at once extinguished their hopes and terminated their sufferings.

covered with the equipments which they had thrown away in their retreat. Early in the night, a flag of truce arrived from General Jansens, with an offer to surrender, and a negociation was immediately entered into, which terminated in a capitulation, by which the Dutch General and all his remaining troops surrendered prisoners of war. The overthrow of the Dutch empire in the east was thus completed; and, except in Europe, the British nation was left without an enemy or a rival.

Buonaparte's new wife, to whose "illustrious progeny" the people of France looked for a successor to the Napoleon throne, this year (April 2) brought forth a son. The joyous event, communicated by telegraphic messages to every part of France, was celebrated in Paris by rejoicings, illuminations, and public thanksgiving. The mistress of the world afforded a title to the heir-apparent, who, from the day of his birth, took the title of King of Rome.

After the passing of the act for investing the Prince of Wales with the powers requisite for exercising the office of Regent, his Royal Highness took the prescribed oaths before the privy council, and from that time became the representative of the sovereign. On the 12th of February, Parliament was opened with the usual formalities.* In the Lords, the Earl of Aberdeen moved the address, which was seconded by Lord Elliot, and carried without a division. In the Lower House, the address, moved by Mr. Milner, and seconded by Mr. Richard Wellesley, encountered no other opposition than that which might seem to be implied in a declaration made by Mr. Ponsonby, that in acquiescing in the address he should not be precluded from discussing any particular topic in the speech when the subject came before the House in a separate and detached form.† The increasing commercial distresses of the nation were now so seriously felt, that the attention of government was necessarily fixed upon them; and on the 1st of March, a committee of twenty-one members distinguished for their knowledge of commercial concerns, and nominated without any regard to political party, was appointed to take into consideration the present state of the commercial credit of the country, and to make their report thereon. On the 11th of March, the report of the committee was taken into consideration, and on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a bill was introduced into Parliament and passed into a law, whereby the sum of 6,000,000*l.* was to be advanced to certain commissioners, for the assistance of such merchants as should apply for the same, on giving sufficient security for the re-payment of the money so advanced. It might naturally have been supposed that, in the midst of so much embarrassment and distress, the money voted by Parliament at the recommendation of the committee would have been eagerly sought after and soon exhausted; such was the case in 1793; the reverse, however, happened now, and the sums applied for were to a less amount than the provision made. Yet the commercial distresses continued to increase during the year, and displayed themselves by frightful lists of bankrupts in every gazette, amounting to an aggregate of which no former year in the annals of the country afforded a parallel.*

A degree of melioration in the discipline of the army, took place during the present session of Parliament. The practise of flogging in the army had frequently been a subject of animadversion both in and out of Parliament; but, though government had strenuously opposed the motions which had been made to abolish this punishment, when the mutiny bill came to be submitted to the House of Commons on the 14th of March, Mr. Manners Sutton proposed to introduce a clause by which a power should be given to courts-martial to substitute at their option the punishment of imprisonment for corporal punishments. To the admission of this humane provision no objection was made, and the mutiny bill, so amended, passed into a law.*

It was with no slight degree of surprise, that the country heard the intention announced by Lord Sidmouth, of introducing a bill into Parliament, to amend and explain the act of William and Mary, usually called

---

* The speech, which was delivered by commission in the name of the regent, expressed the most unfeigned sorrow on account of the calamity which had imposed upon his royal highness the duty of exercising the royal authority; the Prince Regent, at the same time, congratulated Parliament upon the success of his Majesty's arms, both by sea and land; and trusted that he would be enabled to continue to afford the most effectual assistance to the brave nations of the Peninsula. With regard to the United States of America, it was his earnest wish to bring the discussions with that country to an amicable termination, consistent with the honour of the crown and the maintenance of the maritime rights and interests of this kingdom; and he trusted to the zeal of Parliament for adequate supplies in order to bring the great contest in which the country was engaged to a happy issue.

† A proof of the manner in which the Prince Regent regarded the temporary authority with which he was vested, was afforded by a communication made to the House of Commons on the 21st of February, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that his royal highness, on being informed that a motion was intended to be made for a provision for the royal household, declared that he would not add to the burthens of the people, by accepting of any addition to his public state as Regent of the United Kingdom. This subject was illustrated by Mr. Adam, who stated that the Regent had put into his hands the letter from Mr. Perceval, relating to the intended provision, accompanying it with written instructions, that, should any proposition for an establishment, or a grant from the privy purse, be made to the House, he should inform that assembly that his royal highness wished to discharge the duties of the temporary regency without increasing his establishment. In case, however, of such circumstances occurring as might lead to a permanent regency, he conceived that the question would then be opened anew to the consideration of his royal highness.

* The report of the Bullion Committee was brought under the consideration of the House of Commons on the 6th of May, by Mr. Horner, who moved a series of resolutions, grounded upon the report of the committee, and maintaining the same doctrines. It was hence contended, that the standard value of gold, as a measure of exchange, could not possibly fluctuate under any change of circumstances, though its real price was unquestionably subject to all the variations arising from the increase or diminution of the supply; that bank paper, measured by this standard, was depreciated; and that the consequence of this depreciation was, to render our exchanges with the continent unfavourable, to advance prices, to occasion immense losses to creditors, and materially to injure all monied incomes. Mr. Vansittart, who took the lead on the part of the practical statesmen, as they were designated, in opposition to the bullionists, moved by way of amendment, a number of counter resolutions to those proposed by Mr. Horner, in which it was declared, that bank notes were not depreciated; that the political and commercial relations of this country with foreign states were sufficient to account for the unfavourable state of the foreign exchange, and the high price of bullion; that it was highly important that the restrictions on cash payments at the bank should be removed whenever it was compatible with the public interest; but that, to fix a definite period earlier than that of six months after the conclusion of peace, which was already fixed, would be highly inexpedient and dangerous. These discussions occupied the House of Commons no less than seven nights, and issued in the rejection of the resolutions moved by Mr. Horner, and the adoption by a large majority of those presented by Mr. Vansittart. Before the session closed, however, a practical illustration was adduced by Lord King, that the question was not set at rest by this decision. His Lordship, in a notice sent to his tenants, reminded them, that by their leases, bearing date in the year 1802, they had agreed to pay their rents in good and lawful money of Great Britain, and informed them that in consequence of the late depreciation of paper money, he could no longer accept of bank notes at their nominal value in payment or satisfaction of those contracts. He therefore called upon them to pay their rents, either in guineas, or in equivalent weight in Portuguese gold coin, or in bank notes, sufficient to purchase, at the existing market price, the weight of as much standard gold as would discharge the rents. This notice had not attracted any degree of the public attention till Lord Stanhope brought the matter under consideration in the House of Lords. His Lordship thought this proceeding so unjust in itself, so much calculated to shake the credit of the currency of the country, and the example so infectious, and likely to be followed by the landlords throughout the kingdom, that in pursuance of what he considered a public duty, his Lordship introduced a bill into the House of Lords on the 27th of June, for preventing the current gold coin of the realm from being paid for more than its mint value, and for preventing bank notes from being received for any smaller sum than that for which they were issued. The fate of this bill was very extraordinary: on its first reading, ministers opposed it on the ground that such a measure was unnecessary, and might be mischievous; but on the second reading they had discovered their error, and the prorogation of Parliament was actually delayed beyond the appointed time to pass Lord Stanhope's bill into an act; and, at the close of the session, it became the law of the land.

† A measure, closely allied in principle to the new clause in the mutiny act, was brought into Parliament by Mr. Brougham, by whom leave was obtained to introduce a bill for the prevention of the enormities which still continued to be practised by captains of vessels and others, who, notwithstanding the legislative enactments to the contrary, persisted in carrying on the African Slave Trade. The object of the bill, was to render any British subject who might engage in this traffic liable to transportation for any period not exceeding fourteen years; and this measure, after passing through its respective stages in both Houses of Parliament, obtained the royal assent.

called the toleration act.* The Lords Holland and Stanhope, at the commencement of this business, declared their decided hostility to the measure; but leave was given to bring in the bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be printed. It is scarcely possible to describe the sensation and cordial co-operation produced by Lord Sidmouth's bill among all classes of dissenters. In 48 hours, 336 petitions against the bill, from various congregations within 100 miles of London, signed only by males, above 16 years of age, were poured into the House of Lords;† and, when it came to be read a second time, on the 21st of May, it was encountered by 500 additional petitions from the country. Such an expression of the public feeling was not to be resisted: ministers themselves, and even the dignitaries of the church, now resisted the further progress of the measure, which was characterised by Lord Liverpool, as more likely to do harm than good; and not a single voice in the House of Lords, that of Lord Sidmouth alone excepted, was raised in favour of this attempt to explain and amend the toleration act.—Under these circumstances, the bill was rejected without a division.

On the 20th of May, Mr. Perceval opened the budget for the year. The supply voted for the public service, he stated at 54,308,453*l.* including a sum of 2,000,000*l.* granted to the government of Portugal, and 100,000*l.* granted as an eleemosynary aid to the distressed Portuguese. The loan for the present year, Mr. Perceval stated to amount to 12,000,000*l.* the interest on which sum he proposed to discharge by an additional duty on British and foreign spirits. He further stated it to be his intention to impose an additional duty on timber, pearl and potashes, and foreign linens, which, with a tax of one penny per pound on cotton wool, imported from the United States of America, he estimated at 866,600*l.* Owing, however, to the opposition made to the principle of taxing a raw material, the proposed duty on cotton-wool was abandoned; and a tax upon hats, which had long operated as a burdensome and vexatious impost on the fair trader, while it sunk into insignificance as a subject of revenue, shared the same fate.

One of the earliest acts of the Prince Regent, after his assumption of the royal functions, was the restoration of his brother, the Duke of York, to the post of Commander-in-Chief of the army; a measure which induced Lord Milton to propose a vote of censure upon the advisers of the Regent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer acknowledged in the fullest manner, the responsibility of his Majesty's servants in recommending the measure in question. Sir David Dundas, who had lately filled the office of Commander-in-Chief, after spending nearly half a century in the service of his country, had contracted an illness, which obliged him to apply for liberty to retire from the arduous duties of his station: and there was not the slightest hesitation in the mind of ministers, whom they should recommend to supply the vacancy thus created. The eminent services rendered to the army by the Duke of York, which were universally acknowledged, left them no choice. As to the proceedings on a former occasion, alluded to by the noble lord, they pledged the House to nothing; and there was not the most distant idea of lowering the dignity of Parliament by the advice given to the Prince Regent to re-appoint the Duke of York to the post of commander-in-chief. Amongst the speakers who addressed the House on this occasion, several gentlemen presented themselves who had, during the proceedings in the year 1809, taken part against the Duke of York, and who did not hesitate to avow, either that they had been formerly carried away by the current of public opinion, or that they considered the case as it now presented itself in a different point of view. The votes for Lord Milton's motion, were 47; against it, 296; constituting a majority of 249 in favour of the re-appointment. The nation at large seemed to have been affected with a similar change of opinion, and the duke resumed his post with all the facility of a public functionary who had quitted his office without imputation.‡

His Majesty's health, in the early part of the year underwent several variations; but, in the report of the queen's council, made on the 6th of July, a few days before the prorogation of Parliament, it was stated, "that his Majesty's health was not such as to enable his Majesty to resume the personal exercise of the royal functions."‖

This year was rendered memorable in the annals of Britain, by the establishment of a general, or national§ plan

* His Lordship had previously moved for, and obtained, Returns of the Archbishops and Bishops, of the number of churches and chapels of the Church of England, in every parish of 1000 persons and upwards; and of the number of other places of worship, not of the establishment; from which it appeared, that the number of churches and chapels of the establishment, amounted to 2547; and that the chapels and meeting-houses NOT of the establishment, besides many private houses used for religious worship, and not introduced in the enumeration, amounted to 3457. The smaller parishes, not amounting to 1000 inhabitants, were not returned. His Lordship observed, that, according to the act of William and Mary, all ministers in holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, provided they subscribed 26 of the 39 articles, and took the requisite oaths, might preach in any place of religious worship. This act was amended by the 19th of George III. which dispensed with the signing of any of the 39 articles, and required persons applying for licenses only to express their belief in the holy scriptures. Till within the last 30 or 40 years, he said, the toleration act had been construed in such a manner as to exclude all persons unqualified from want of the requisite talents and learning, and unfit, from the meanness of their situation, or the profligacy of their character, from exercising the functions of ministers of religion. But, subsequent to that period, all who offered themselves at the quarter sessions, provided they took the oaths, and made the declaration required by law, obtained the requisite certificates, not only as a matter of course, but as a matter of right. In order to remedy this evil, it was his intention to bring in a bill, in which he proposed, that to entitle any man to obtain a license as a preacher, he should have the recommendation of at least six respectable householders of the congregation to which he belonged; and that he should actually have a congregation which was willing to listen to his instructions. With regard to the preachers who were not stationary, but itinerant, he proposed that they should be required to bring a testimonial from six respectable householders, stating them to be of sober life and character, together with the belief that they were qualified to perform the functions of preachers. The effects which he expected to be produced by this bill were, that improper and unaccredited men would be prevented from assuming the most important of all duties—that of instructing their fellow creatures in the principles of religion and virtue.

† The grand and fundamental point of difference in church government between the established church and the dissenters is this: the former hold the opinion that religion and the temporal concerns of mankind should be united, and that to effect this union, the government ought to patronise and support a particular form of belief; whereas, the latter contend that religion ought to be an affair entirely between man and his Maker; that it stands not in need of the aid of the civil power for its support; and that, whenever that aid has been held out to religion, and accepted by it, the effect has been to diminish the force of religious principle, and to corrupt its purity and simplicity. Proceeding upon this leading principle of difference and separation from the established church, the dissenters objected to the bill introduced by Lord Sidmouth, as having a manifest and undoubted tendency to countenance the interference of the secular power, and to encroach upon religious rights. They considered the bill also, not only as objectionable and prejudicial in itself, but as paving the way for further encroachment upon the act of toleration; and as the commencement of a regular system of persecution and intolerance, which had already shewn itself among the magistracy in some parts of the country, and which it was incumbent upon the dissenters to arrest in its progress, before it had attained a maturity and strength which might baffle all their efforts.

‡ In the month of July, 1809, a trial took place on an action brought by Mr. Wright, an upholsterer, against Colonel Wardle, for goods furnished by order of the defendant to Mrs. Clarke, which order, as Mrs. Clarke deposed, was given by the colonel, on condition that she should put him in possession of all the evidence she possessed against the Duke of York, and appear at the bar of the House of Commons as a witness, in support of the charges preferred against His Royal Highness. The jury, after a patient investigation of the case, returned a verdict in favour of the plaintiff; on which Colonel Wardle indicted Mrs. Clarke and Mr. Wright for a conspiracy, but the evidence adduced failed to establish the charge; and, on this second trial, the colonel himself distinctly admitted, that he had advanced money to Mrs. Clarke.

‖ To the Catholics of Ireland, the determination of the Prince Regent to retain the ministers of his royal father, was a circumstance of extreme mortification. An impression had obtained universally, that the prince was a decided friend to their claims; and, on his investment with power, a lively hope burst upon the Catholic subject. But again, at least for a season, disappointment clouded their expectations, and ultimately produced some unpleasant results.

§ Mr. Joseph Lancaster, a member of the society of Quakers, had previously employed himself in the establishment of a school in the borough of Southwark, on a plan which attracted much attention: by this

plan of education; and also for a census which was taken of the population of the kingdom, the result of which appears from the note, below.*

The peninsular war was carried on with considerable vigour, and attended by various success. On the 2d of January, Suchet made himself master of Tortosa; and, on the 23d of the same month, Olivença was taken possession of by Soult. On the latter day died the gallant and truly patriotic Marquis de la Romana, in a fit of apoplexy, at Badajoz, at the moment when he was quitting his horse to concert a plan of military operations with Lord Wellington. Within a month afterwards, Romana's corps, the command of which had devolved on General Mendizabel, was totally defeated, by Soult.

On the 25th of February, an expedition sailed from Cadiz, under the command of Lieutenant General Graham, the object of which was to attack the French who were employed in the siege of that city. On the 28th a body of English, Spaniards, and Portuguese were landed from the flotilla, at Algesiras; and, on the morning of the 5th of March, they arrived on the low ridge of Barrosa, about four miles to the southward of the mouth of the river Santi Petri. This ridge, continuing on the north the extensive heathy plain of Chiclana, reaches inland about a mile and a half. A noble forest of pines, skirting the plain, and encircling the height at some distance, terminated at the river, the intermediate space between the north side of the height and the forest being broken and uneven ground. So situated, General Graham, and La Penas, the Spanish commander, found themselves obliged to attack the French army, of about 8,000 men, in two divisions, commanded by Victor. A spirited and successful attack on the rear of the enemy's lines near Santi Petri, made by the vanguard of the Spaniards under General Ladrizabel, opened the communication with the Isle of Leon; after which, General Graham moved down from the position of Barrosa to the Torre de Bermesa, about half way to the Santi Petri, to secure the communication across that river, over which a bridge had been recently thrown. This position occupied a narrow woody ridge, the right of which extended to the sea, and the left fell down to the Almanza creek, on the edge of a marsh. General Graham, whilst making this movement, received notice that the enemy had appeared in force on the plain of Chiclana, and was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa. Considering that position as the key to Santi Petri, the English General immediately made a counter march, to support the troops left for its defence. However, before this corps could wholly disentangle itself from the woods, the troops on the ridge of Barrosa were seen retiring, whilst the left wing of the enemy was rapidly ascending. His right was, at the same time, posted on the plain at the edge of the wood. To retreat in the face of an enemy superior in numbers, and so advantageously posted, would have exposed the allies to great danger: relying, therefore, on the courage of his troops, an immediate attack was determined on by the English commander. A powerful battery, of ten guns, was accordingly opened on the enemy's centre, by Major Duncan. The brigade

this system children were taught reading, writing, and the most common and useful rules of arithmetic, in a very short space of time, and at a very little expense. This saving of time, labour, and expense, was effected principally by making the boys at once teachers and learners; and by a process which united great simplicity and quickness with great effect. Soon after Mr. Lancaster established his school and made known his plan of education, he was patronized by the King; and it is recorded of his Majesty, that in a conversation held with Mr. Lancaster, he expressed the benevolent wish, "That every subject in his dominions should be able to read his bible." Many, however, considered this system of education, as decidedly hostile to the interests, and even to the existence of the established church, because the children were not instructed in the peculiar doctrines of that community. Dr. Bell, a clergyman of the established church; who had been in India, had, soon after his return from that country, and before Mr. Lancaster had thought of his plan, published a pamphlet, in which he detailed the mode of education which he had practised at a seminary established in Madras. Mr. Lancaster has acknowledged, that the perusal of Dr. Bell's work suggested the idea to him. The schools established by Mr. Lancaster gave birth to the formation of a society under the designation of "The British and Foreign School Society." A rival institution was also established under the auspices of Dr. Bell, with the name of "The National School Society," at the head of which establishment appears a large proportion of the dignitaries of the church, and the leading men of the state. The object of the former is to afford learning to the poor at home and abroad without regard to any particular creed, or preference to any religious community; and the design of the latter, to instruct the children of the poor in the doctrines of the established religion, as well as in the common and useful branches of education. Schools, upon the plan either of Dr. Bell or of Mr. Lancaster, have also been formed in many regiments, and the Commander-in-chief, in public orders, has called upon the chaplains of the army to attend in the most scrupulous manner to this duty.

* GENERAL ABSTRACT of the Returns made pursuant to an Act passed in the Fifty-first Year of his Majesty King GEORGE III.

	HOUSES.				OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.		
	Inhabited	By how many families occupied	Building	Uninhabited	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture	Families chiefly employed in Trade and Manufacture	All other Families not comprised in these Classes	Males	Females	Total of Persons.
ENGLAND	1,678,100	2,012,391	15,188	47,925	697,333	923,588	391,450	4,575,763	4,963,064	9,538,827
WALES	119,398	129,756	1,019	3,095	72,846	36,044	20,880	291,633	320,155	611,788
SCOTLAND	304,093	402,068	2,341	11,329	125,799	169,417	106,852	826,191	979,497	1,805,688
ARMY, NAVY, MARINES, and Seamen in Registered Vessels								640,500		640,500
TOTALS	3,101,597	2,544,215	18,548	62,349	895,998	1,129,049	519,168	6,334,087	6,262,716	12,595,803

SUMMARY of the ENUMERATION of 1801, as compared with that of 1811.

	POPULATION 1801.			INCREASE	POPULATION 1811.		
	Males	Females	Total		Males	Females	Total
ENGLAND	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434	1,207,393	4,575,763	4,963,064	9,538,827
WALES	257,178	284,368	541,546	70,242	291,633	320,155	611,788
SCOTLAND	734,581	864,487	1,599,068	206,620	826,191	979,497	1,805,688
ARMY, NAVY, &c.	470,598		470,598	169,902	640,500		640,500
TOTALS	5,450,292	5,492,354	10,924,646	1,654,157	6,334,087	6,262,716	12,596,803

of

of guards, with Lieutenant Colonel Brown's flank battalion, Lieutenant Colonel Norcott's two companies of the second rifle corps, and Major Acheson, with a part of the 67th foot, separated from the regiment in the wood, formed on the right, under the command of Brigadier-General Dilkes. The left was formed by Colonel Wheatley's brigade with three companies of the Coldstream guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson —separated also from his battalion in the wood—and Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard's flank battalion. The infantry having been thus hastily arranged, the artillery advanced to a more favourable position, and kept up a most destructive fire on the enemy.

The right wing of the allies proceeded to the attack of General Rufin's division on the hill, whilst Lieutenant Colonel Barnard's battalion, and Lieutenant Colonel Burke's detachment of Portuguese, were warmly engaged with the French tirailleurs. Notwithstanding the carnage produced by Major Duncan's battery, General Laval's division, opening a heavy fire of musketry, advanced in very formidable masses. Maintaining a constant fire, the left wing of the English now advanced; the result of which was the total defeat of Laval's corps. Major Gough took the eagle of the 8th regiment of light infantry. Equal success crowned the exertions of the right wing of the English: the enemy met General Dilkes on the ascent of the hill: the contest was sanguinary; but the undaunted perseverance of the British surmounted every obstacle; and General Rufin's division having been driven from the heights, lost two pieces of cannon. Within an hour and a half from the commencement of the action the French were in full retreat; but, after so unequal a contest, the allies found pursuit impracticable. On this occasion, the enemy lost about 3,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with 6 pieces of cannon, their ammunition waggons, a number of horses, and several eagles. General Bellegarde, Chief of the Staff, and Aid-de-camp of Marshal Victor, 1 Colonel, and many other officers were killed, and several wounded and taken. Amongst the prisoners, were the General of Division, Rufin, and Russian General of Brigade: the latter soon after died of his wounds. The English lost in killed and wounded, about 1243, amongst whom were several officers high in estimation. It should be mentioned that Sir Richard Keats very ably seconded the operations of the army; and a small body of seamen and marines stormed and dismantled the works of the enemy at the mouth of the Guadaleté.

General Graham, finding it impossible to procure supplies, withdrew the next day across the Santi Petri, and afterwards returned to Cadiz.—The whole allied force, in the action of Barrosa, did not amount to 6,000; of which 3,000 only were English; whilst the number of the enemy was about 8,000, all of them well appointed, ably commanded, and in a high state of discipline.

About this period, General Massena began his retreat from Santarem, where he had never found an opportunity to attack Lord Wellington with any favourable prospect. The vanguard of Lord Wellington attacked Massena's rear near Pombal, and drove it from its position, on the 11th of March; but this advantage was more than counterpoised by the loss of Badajoz, which, after a vigorous resistance, surrendered to Marshal Soult on the same day.

Massena, continuing his retreat through Portugal, was closely pursued by Lord Wellington. General Beresford, on the 25th of March, attacked the advanced guard of Marshal Mortier, and pursued it to the gates of Badajoz, and on the 15th of April, he forced Olivença to capitulate. On the 10th of the same month, the Catalonians took Figueras by surprise, having maintained intelligence with the Italian troops in that place. They are said to have put all the French to the sword. Lord Wellington attacked the rear of Massena's army on the 3d of April, and after a spirited contest, the French position was carried by the bayonet. Lord Wellington in turn was attacked by Massena in his position of Fuente de Honore, on the 3d of May. The French gained some advantage at the commencement of the action; but they were at length obliged to repass the Agueda, without accomplishing their object of throwing a body of troops into Almeida. The garrison of that fortress, however, succeeded in evacuating the place, and blowing up the works in view of the British, on the 10th of May.

Massena, rapidly pursued by the English, conducted his retreat in the most able manner, but his route was tracked by the most horrible desolation.

By the 8th of May, General Beresford had invested Badajoz, and repelled, though with some loss, the sorties of the garrison. Scarcely had the siege been commenced when General Beresford received the intelligence that Marshal Soult had left Seville, with 15,000 men, and was marching to the relief of Badajos. This information was repeated on the night of the 12th of May, in consequence of which, the English Commander immediately suspended his operations, removed the battering cannon, and stores to Elvas, and, having been joined on the 14th, by the Spanish Generals Castanos and Blake, he prepared to meet the enemy. Soult, in the afternoon of the 15th, appeared in front of the allies with a force of about 20,000 men, having been joined in his march, by Mauburg's corps of 5,000 troops. The allied army completed its dipositions for receiving the enemy on the morning of the 16th: it was then formed in two lines, on a rising ground, running nearly parallel to the little river Albuera. Several of the Spanish corps, although they made forced marches, were unable to join the army till the middle of the preceding night. At eight o'clock in the morning the French army was observed to be motion; and, at some distance above the right of the allies, the cavalry was seen passing the river. Soon afterwards, they moved a strong force of cavalry, and two heavy columns of infantry directly towards the front of the allies, as though to attack the bridge and village of Albuera. Soult was at the same time filing the principal body of his infantry over the river to the right, under cover of his cavalry, which was greatly superior to that of the allies. To turn their right flank, was his apparent intention. He commenced the attack, which was bravely sustained by the allies, at nine o'clock. Great intrepidity and consummate skill were displayed on both sides, and the conflict was of a most sanguinary nature. The English, Spanish, and Portuguese troops nobly supported the honour of their respective countries; and, after a long and well fought battle, their exertions were rewarded by victory. General Beresford, however, on account of his inferiority in cavalry, did not deem it prudent to hazard a pursuit, but contented himself with driving the enemy across the river. Independently of the loss sustained by General Blake's corps, this brilliant affair cost the allies, in killed wounded and missing, 4,537 men, amongst whom were many officers of distinction and merit. Five French Generals were killed or wounded; and the total loss of the enemy was estimated at nearly 9,000.

Soult retired to the ground which he had occupied previously to the battle, and on the morning of the 18th, leaving Badajoz to his fate, he recommenced his retreat towards Seville. General Beresford again invested Badajoz, and Lord Wellington advanced with the grand army to superintend the operations of the siege. His Lordship made two unsuccessful assaults on the fort of St. Christoval; but, in consequence of the junction of the two armies of Marmont and Soult, he found it expedient to raise the siege about the middle of June.

In other parts of Spain, the Patriots were extremely unfortunate. On the 28th of June, Suchet took Tarragona by assault; on the 1st of August, General Blake was repulsed by the enemy in an attack on Niebla; and, on the 9th of August, Soult defeated the army of Murcia, in the vicinity of Baza. On the 14th of August the Spaniards surprised the French in Santander; and on the 19th Figueras was retaken by the French General Macdonald, after a long and very difficult blockade; and, on the 25th the Spanish General Abudia was defeated

feated by Dorsenne in the neighbourhood of Astorga.—Lord Wellington formed the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo on the 4th of September; but, on the 25th he retired, and his rear was attacked by the advanced guard of Marmont. The infantry, however, forming a square, and presenting a firm front, retreated without being broken. The English army quitted its entrenched camp at Fuente Guinaldo, on the 27th the French attacked its rear guard near Aldea de Ponte, but they were repulsed. General Hill, with a division of the allied army, by a series of bold and skilful manœuvres, surprised and completely routed a French column, commanded by General Gerard, on the 28th of October.—Suchet took the town of Murviedro, and on the 29th of September, he invested the castle which is built on the ruins of the ancient Saguntum. General Blake attacked him on the 25th of the following month; but Suchet was victorious, and the castle capitulated on the 26th. Suchet passed the Guadalquiver on the 26th of December, defeated the Patriots, and compelled Blake to retire within the walls of Valencia. The Baron d'Eroles, however, had defeated the French, near Perigeorda on the 26th of October.

A. D. 1812.] On the 9th of January, the city of Valencia capitulated, with an army of more than 16,000 men. By this event, immense magazines also fell into the hands of the enemy. The commencement of this year was distinguished by the raising of the siege of Tariffa, which had been bravely defended by a small garrison of English and Spaniards, from the 20th of December to the 4th of January. On the 19th of January Lord Wellington, after a fortnight's siege, carried Ciudad Rodrigo by assault. General Crauford, an officer of exalted merit, fell mortally wounded in the breach at the head of his men. In the eastern parts of the kingdom, the Patriotic Generals carried on the war against the common enemy with considerable spirit. The French commander Montbrun was compelled to retire from before Alicant, after an ineffectual cannonade of the fortress. The French attacked General Lacy, who was posted on the heights of Altafalla, near Tarragona on the 24th of January. The Patriots eminently distinguished themselves; but, overwhelmed by the numbers and discipline of the enemy, they were ultimately obliged to retreat to the mountains. By the treachery of its governor, the town of Peniscola, a place of great strength, seated on a bold promontory, overlooking the Mediterranean, was soon afterwards surrendered to the French.

General Ballasteros attacked and defeated near Malaga, a French corps commanded by General Marausin, on the 16th of February. On the 16th of the following month, Lord Wellington again invested Badajoz; and, on the 31st, he opened his fire from 26 pieces of artillery. His Lordship's operations were continued with extraordinary spirit and activity; new batteries were opened; and, in the evening of the 5th of April, practicable breaches were effected in the bastions of St. Maria and La Trinidad. As the enemy were making the most formidable preparations for the defence of those breaches, Lord Wellington did not think it expedient to precipitate the assault. He ordered all the guns of the batteries in the second parallel to be directed against the curtain of La Trinidad; and, in the evening of the 6th a third breach was effected. The English troops advanced to the attack, which was led by Lieutenant General Picton, and Major General Kempt, at 10 o'clock at night. General Kempt was wounded in crossing the river Rivellas; notwithstanding which, and the obstinate resistance of the besieged, the Castle of Badajoz was carried by escalade, and the third division of the English army was established in it half an hour before midnight. In the interim, Major Wilson of the 48th carried the raveline of St. Roque, and with the assistance of Major Squire of the engineers, established himself in that work. Major General Colville, with the 4th division, and Lieutenant Colonel Barnard, with the light division, advanced to the attack of the breaches in the bastions of Santa Maria and La Trinadad; but, though the attack was made with the utmost vigour and intrepidity, so formidable were the obstacles prepared by the enemy upon and behind the bridges, and so determined was the resistance, that they could not succeed in their attempt. Numbers of officers and soldiers were killed or wounded by explosions at the top of the breaches; and others, in succession, were compelled to give way! These efforts were renewed without success, till after midnight, when Lord Wellington ordered the two divisions to retire to the ground which they occupied immediately before the assault. In the mean time, Major General Walker forced the barrier on the road of Olivença, and entered the covered way on the left of the bastion of St. Vincent, close to the Guadiana. There he descended into the ditch and escaladed the bastion. Lieutenant General Leith supported this attack with the 38th regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Nugent, and the 15th Portuguese regiment under Lieutenant Colonel De Regeo. After these proceedings, the 4th and light divisions having been formed again for the assault of the breaches, General Philippon, the Governor, surrendered the city. The garrison, consisting of about 4,000 men remained prisoners of war. This splendid triumph, on the part of the allies, was purchased by the sacrifice of 4,825 English and Portuguese killed and wounded in the siege and assault. The ordnance found at Badajoz consisted of 133 brass guns, 19 brass mortars, and 20 howitzers; besides 5,181 muskets with bayonets, besides an immense quantity of powder, bags, shot, shells, and materials for the construction of gun carriages.

Not long after the capture of Badajoz, a brilliant atchievement was performed by General Hill with a separate division of the allied army. After a march of seven days, through a mountainous and difficult country, he took Almarez by assault, and on the 10th of May, returned to his position.—Lord Wellington having advanced almost without opposition to Salamanca, the English army entered that city amidst the grateful acclamations of the people. The French had left garrisons in the three forts of Salamanca; of these, St. Caystano was taken by assault, La Mercede was taken by escalade: and St. Vincente surrendered by capitulation on the 27th of June. Soon afterwards a grand scene of operations was opened. The French army, now commanded by Marmont, Massena having been recalled to Paris, passed the Douro on the evening of the 16th of July. Various and intricate movements followed. In the course of the night, the enemy recrossed the Douro, at Toro, and moved with their whole force to Tordesillas, where, on the morning of the 17th they again crossed the Douro, and assembled their army at La Maradel Rey, having marched about thirty miles in the course of the day. In the afternoon of the 21st both the armies, after a great variety of movements, crossed the Tormes; the allies, by the bridge of Salamanca and the neighbouring fords, and the French by the fords between the Alba de Torres and Huerta. Lord Wellington placed his troops in a position of which the right was upon one of the two heights called Dos Arapiles, the left on the Tormes below the ford of St. Martha. Each army had left a considerable corps on the right of the Tormes. In the course of the night, the French took possession of the village of Calvarosa de Arabi, and of the height near it called Neustra Senorœ de la Pena, the English cavalry being in possession of Calvarosa de Abaxo. The next morning, soon after day light, detachments from both armies endeavoured to obtain possession of the more distant of the two heights of Arapiles. The French succeeded in gaining that point, which considerably strengthened their position and increased their means of annoyance: Lord Wellington was consequently induced to make some changes in his position. After various evolutions, Marmont, about 2 in the afternoon, under cover of a heavy cannonade, extended his left, and moved forward his army. This extension, though his troops continued to occupy a strong and well defended position, afforded Lord Wellington an advantageous opportunity of directing his attacks. The engagement soon became general, and after numerous attacks, repulses, and evolutions, which

continued until night, the French were totally defeated and compelled to fly. Notwithstanding the darkness of the night, the number of prisoners amounted to about 7,000, amongst whom were 1 General, 3 Lieutenant Colonels, and 130 inferior officers. Eleven pieces of cannon, several ammunition waggons, 6 stands of colours, and 2 eagles, also fell into the hands of the allies. Marmont himself was severely wounded early in the action. In killed, wounded and missing, the loss of the allies amounted to 5,220, and that of the enemy is thought to have been much greater. In this action, the Portuguese displayed great bravery and sustained a heavy loss; their killed and wounded amounting to 1,856.—Joseph Buonaparte marched from Madrid on the 21st of July, with a body of troops, amounting it was said to 2,000 horse, and 12,000 foot, to join Marmont; but, receiving intelligence of his defeat at Salamanca, he marched towards Segovia. The allies pushed forward; and, as the first consequence of their important victory, obtained possession of Madrid.

Lord Wellington next advanced towards Burgos. He succeeded in making himself master of some of the outworks, but failed in all his attempts against the castle, and at length raised the siege after sustaining considerable loss. This was the last military event of importance which took place between the British and the enemy this year in Spain. The patriotic corps, however, had numerous skirmishes with the French, and were frequently successful. The guerillas also carried on their desultory operations with wonderful enterprise and effect.

In the course of the autumn, the enemy, who had long but ineffectually besieged Cadiz, broke up from before that place, evacuated Seville, Grenada, Cordova, and all the south of Spain. Their subsequent movements indicating an intention of concentrating their force on the north side of the Ebro. By a decree of the Regency and the Cortes, Lord Wellington was constituted Generalissimo of the Spanish armies. His Lordship had previously been created Earl and afterwards Marquis of Wellington, titles which he had nobly acquired by his conduct of the peninsular war.

In a domestic light, this year, by a re-union of all the prerogatives of the crown in the person of the Prince Regent, may be considered as the actual commencement of a new reign. Parliament met on the 7th of January. The royal speech, delivered by the Lord Chancellor, after lamenting the disappointment of the hopes so confidently entertained of his Majesty's speedy recovery, congratulated Parliament on the skill and valour displayed by the British army in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, as well as upon the extinction of the colonial power of the enemy in the east; and concluded with an assurance on the part of the Regent, that he would continue to employ all such means of conciliation for adjusting the existing differences between Great Britain and America, as might be consistent with the honour and dignity of his Majesty's crown.

A melancholy change had taken place, about the beginning of July, 1811, in the King's health, and though, from that period, his Majesty had been able at intervals to converse with his medical attendants, the symptoms of his illness gradually became more discouraging, until, in the beginning of the present year, they had assumed such an aspect as almost to close the door of hope against his complete restoration to mental health. At a very early period of the session, Mr. Perceval came forward with a plan (which was ultimately agreed to) for the arrangement of his Majesty's household, which seemed neither to imply confident hope nor absolute despair of his recovery.*

On the 13th of February, when the Regency restrictions were on the eve of their termination, the Prince addressed a letter to the Duke of York, in which he expressed his approbation of the conduct of ministers, and his intention to retain them in office. The letter, however, concluded with the expression of a wish on the part of his Royal Highness, that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his hands, and constitute a part of his government. Two days after the date of this letter, Lords Grey and Grenville, to whom the Duke of York had, in compliance with the request of the Prince Regent, communicated his sentiments, addressed a reply to his Royal Highness, from which it was evident that all attempts to accomplish a fair and honourable union between Lords Grey and Grenville and the present ministers, must prove fruitless. Thus Mr. Perceval was fixed more firmly than before in his office of prime minister.

The ministry now consisted of two parties, at the head of one of which was Mr. Perceval, and at the head of the other the Marquis Wellesley. The differences between these statesmen were partly personal and partly political; the high and aspiring views of the Marquis Wellesley would not permit him to serve under Mr. Perceval, though he had no objection to serve with him, or to serve under either Earl Moira or Lord Holland; and when it appeared that the Regent intended to continue Mr. Perceval at the head of his councils, the Marquis resigned the seals of his office into the hands of his Royal Highness. On the resignation of this minister, the seals of the foreign department were put into the hands of the Earl of Liverpool, pro tempore; but Lord Castlereagh was afterwards appointed to that department; and the Earl continued in his station of secretary of state for war and the colonies. Lord Boringdon's motion, for an address to the Regent, beseeching his Royal Highness to form an efficient administration, was negatived, by 165 against 72.

The first year of the Regency had been eminently distinguished by success abroad; but, at home, great distress and dissatisfaction prevailed; in various parts of the country, disturbances of a very alarming nature burst forth; and in the metropolis, events occurred during the winter of 1811, which excited the alarm and

* Parliament, he said, had last year made full provision for supplying the exercise of the royal authority; and as the law now stood, all the prerogatives, as well as all the duties of the sovereign, would, on the 18th of February, devolve on the Prince Regent; and as the civil list would of course at that time be transferred to his Royal Highness, it became necessary to make some provision for the personal comfort and dignity of the King. His Majesty's civil list he considered as the proper fund for such a provision; and as separate establishments for the Regent and the King would now be necessary, he had to propose that an addition of 70,000*l.* per annum should be made to the civil list, out of the consolidated fund. As the Lord Steward and Lord Chamberlain had duties to perform immediately connected with the royal functions, these officers should be placed round the person of the Regent; and, in their room, the first gentlemen of the bed-chamber should be substituted as the chief officer of the King's household, with the vice-chancellor as his deputy; four Lords and as many grooms of the bed-chamber, a master of the robes, and seven or eight equerries, together with his Majesty's private secretary, should form the new officers of the proposed establishment, which of course must be placed under the controul of the queen, to whom the care of his Majesty's person must continue to be intrusted. The annual expense of this establishment was estimated at 100,000*l.* and this sum it was proposed to take from the civil list, with a reservation that any deficiency should be drawn from the treasury, and that any surplus should go in aid of the public supplies. In the circumstances which the Queen was placed, it was judged proper to add 10,000*l.* a year to her income. It was further proposed, that all pensions and allowances which the King was accustomed to grant to the objects of his bounty, were to be paid as formerly out of the privy purse; that the expenses incurred for medical assistance should be paid out of the revenue of the duchy of Lancaster; and lastly, that a commission of three persons should be appointed, one of them to be a master in chancery, and the other two to be named by the Queen and the Prince Regent, for the management of the King's private property. In virtue of this arrangement, 100,000*l.* were to be appropriated to the King's household, together with 60,000*l.* the amount of the King's privy purse, and 10,000*l.* to the Queen, making an aggregate sum of 170,000*l.* a year. To meet these charges, the Prince Regent consented to give up his exchequer income of 50,000*l.* a year, which, with the 70,000*l.* voted by Parliament, would leave a deficiency of 50,000*l.*; but this sum, it was judged, might be dispensed with, as the Prince had not so large a family as his royal father. The plan proposed by Mr. Perceval ultimately passed, and also a bill, by which the sum of 100,000*l.* was voted to the Prince Regent to meet the expences which his Royal Highness had incurred, or might yet incur, on his assumption of the royal authority. The liberality of Parliament was likewise called forth in favour of the Princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sophia, to each of whom a grant of 9,000*l.* *per* annum was made, exclusive of 4,000 per annum, granted to each of the princesses from the civil list, in the 18th and 39th years of his Majesty's reign.

apprehension

apprehension of the inhabitants in a most extraordinary degree. Under the impression of alarm, a cry was raised for the establishment of an armed police; but the rashness of this proposal was soon detected, and the principal measure resorted to by government on this occasion was the establishment of a more efficient nightly watch than had hitherto existed in the metropolis.*

On the 11th of May, the proceedings of Parliament, were interrupted, and the whole nation was thrown into the utmost consternation and horror, by the assassination of Mr. Perceval, the prime minister. At half past five o'clock in the afternoon, that gentleman was entering the lobby of the House of Commons, when a person, who had some time before taken his station in the recess of the door-way, drew out a small pocket pistol, and shot him in the lower part of the left breast. Mr. Perceval, on receiving the shot, merely moved forward a few steps, and as he was in the act of falling, a gentleman stepped forward, and caught him in his arms. The only word that escaped his lips after receiving the shot was, "murder," or "murdered," uttered in a low, faint, and nearly inarticulate voice. A surgeon was immediately sent for, but the ball had entered the heart, and before the return of the messenger Mr. Perceval had breathed his last. Amidst the general horror and dismay no attempt was made for some time to secure the assassin; but when a spectator at last exclaimed, "Where is the villian who fired?" a person, who had remained unobserved, stepped forward, and coolly said, "I am the unfortunate man." The prisoner, who had made no attempt to escape, was seized by General Gascoigne, and conveyed to the bar of the House of Commons. An immediate examination took place in the House of Commons, before several of the members who were in the commission of the peace, and the assassin himself, when questioned on the subject, said—"My name is John Bellingham—it is a private injury—I know what I have done—it was a denial of justice on the part of the government." Being cautioned not to criminate himself, he added—"I have admitted the fact—I do admit it—I have been ill-treated—they all know who I am, and what I am, through the Secretary of State and Mr. Beckett, with whom I have had frequent communications—they knew of my intention six weeks ago, through the Bow-Street magistrates—I have sought redress in vain—I am an unfortunate man, and feel here (pointing to his heart) sufficient justification of the act I have committed." At the conclusion of the examination the prisoner was committed to the prison-room of the House of Commons, and at one o'clock in the morning, conveyed, under an escort of dragoons, to Newgate.

An opinion instantly became prevalent that the murder of Mr. Perceval was the first act of a deep and extensive conspiracy, and the departure of the post was delayed till dispatches could be made out, and instructions prepared, for the civil and military authorities in the different parts of the kingdom, particularly in the disturbed counties. It was desirable, in a case of this nature, that no unnecessary time should be lost between the commission of the crime and the infliction of the punishment awarded by the law against the delinquent. The deed was committed on Monday evening; the prisoner was tried and convicted on the Friday following; and, on the ensuing Monday, the execution took place.†

The day after the assasination of Mr. Perceval, a message was sent down to Parliament by the Prince Regent, expressing the wish of his Royal Highness that a suitable provision should be made for the family of the deceased premier. A grant of 2,000*l.* a year was accordingly made to Mrs. Perceval, and the sum of 50,000*l.* voted by the liberality of Parliament to her twelve children. It was afterwards proposed, and agreed to, that the annuity of Mrs. Perceval should, at her demise, descend to her eldest son.‡

On the death of Mr. Perceval, great difficulty was found

* The most dreadful occurrence was that of the family of Mr. Timothy Marr, Linen draper, Ratcliffe-Highway, consisting of himself, his wife, an infant son, fourteen weeks old, and an apprentice boy, being all found murdered, between twelve and one o'clock on Sunday morning, the 8th of December, 1811. On entering the house, James Gohen, the apprentice, was found lying on his face in the shop, with his brains dashed out, and part of them actually forced against the ceiling. Mrs. Marr was found lying on the floor, near the street door, and Mr. Marr behind the counter, in the shop, both weltering in their blood, from mortal wounds in the head; and the child in the cradle, had its throat cut from ear to ear. Plunder was no doubt the object of the murderer; but the unexpected return of the servant maid, who had been dispatched at night, to obtain some oysters, created an alarm, and obliged him to decamp without his booty. On the 19th of the same month, another family was murdered in Gravel-Lane, in the same neighbourhood, and with circumstances which led to the suspicion that the bloody intent was formed in the same sanguinary mind, and executed by the same relentless hand. The scene of this second series of murders was the King's Arms public-house, and the victims were Mr. and Mrs. Williamson, the keepers of that house, and their servant maid. A lodger, roused by the cries of murder, let himself out of a two pair of stairs window by the sheets of his bed, and alarmed the neighbourhood. On the outer door being forced open, the mistress of the house, and the maid servant, were found lying one upon the other, by the kitchen fire, quite dead, with their throats cut from ear to ear; and on continuing the search, Mr. Williamson was found in the cellar, a corpse, with one of his legs broken, and his head nearly severed from his body. The murderer unfortunately had escaped. The retributive finger of Providence, however, speedily pointed to the person of John Williams, alias Murphy, a sailor, who had, for some months, lodged at a neighbouring public-house; and the evidence of the guilt of this wretch was every day accumulating, when, on the 27th of December, he terminated an existence which had become intolerable, by hanging himself with his neck-kerchief, in his cell in the Cold-Bath-Fields prison. The coroner's inquest on this occasion, returned a verdict of felo de se, and the body of the assassin and suicide was committed to the earth with every possible mark of ignominy.

† Of the fact of the murder the evidence was too clear to admit of any doubt; but the sanity of the prisoner was involved in some uncertainty. On his trial, he conducted himself with great coolness and self-possession: he displayed a mind not wanting in quick perception, but apt to draw erroneous conclusions; he discovered intellectual powers which could discern all the tendencies of human action, and estimate its several qualities; bewildered, however, by passion, and stimulated to the confiness of madness, by an acute sense of supposed injury, he considered himself as the judge of his own actions, and claimed the right to avenge his own wrongs. He seemed fully and deeply impressed with the idea that the act he had committed was perfectly justifiable; that his acquittal was certain, and that his conduct would be approved by the nation. His defence was remarkable for its acuteness: he stated that he had been engaged in extensive mercantile concerns in Russia; that, by the tyranny and oppression of that government, he had been stripped of nearly all his property, and thrown into prison; that he had applied repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, to Lord Granville Leveson Gower, the British ambassador at St. Petersburgh, for redress. In consequence of this he had returned to England, where he had laid the hardships and injustice of his case before his Majesty's ministers, but they also refused to do any thing in his behalf. He then formed his resolution: this resolution he communicated to the officers at Bow-Street, and they had transmitted it to the treasury; but instead of obtaining redress, he was told, he might do his worst; and he had obeyed these instructions. Towards Mr. Perceval he had no antipathy or ill-will. He was sorry, as sorry as any of the friends of that gentleman could be, for his fate; but he was convinced that much public good would result from it, and that ministers would be taught, by the lesson he had given them, to pay more attention to the just claims of individuals. He concluded by expressing his firm persuasion that it was impossible to convict him of the crime of wilful murder, unless it were proved that he had malice prepense towards the unfortunate gentleman for whose death he was then on his trial, and towards whom he utterly denied all personal ill-will. At the close of this singular defence his counsel wished to put in a plea of insanity; but this the prisoner rejected, declaring, that he acted from a well-defined motive; that reflection, instead of creating compunction and remorse for the deed which he had done, only tended to convince him of the propriety of his conduct, and to console him under its consequences; and that he should prefer a thousand deaths to the injuries and indignities he had experienced. After a suitable charge from Mr. Justice Mansfield, the jury retired, and on their return into court pronounced the fatal verdict of guilty. In the brief interval between the prisoner's conviction and execution, his behaviour was composed and tranquil. To the last he laboured under the delusion that the murder he had committed was justifiable; the moment before he was led from his cell to the scaffold, he solemnly declared, in answer to the inquiries of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, that he had no accomplices; a declaration which appears to have been strictly correct.

‡ Spencer Perceval, was the second son of John, the late Earl of Egmont, by Catherine Compton, sister of Spencer, Earl of Northampton. His mother was, in 1770, created a peeress of Ireland in her own right, with the title of Baroness Arden; and dying in 1784, she was succeeded by her eldest son, Charles George, who, in July 1808, was raised to the Peerage of England. Mr. Perceval, as soon as he had completed his collegiate studies, at Cambridge, entered himself a member of Lincoln's Inn, and pursued the study of the law as a profession. He was remarkable for close and regular application. On the death of his uncle, in 1796, a vacancy was created in the borough of Northampton, which place introduced Mr. Perceval to parliamentary life. He immediately gave his support to Mr. Pitt, and pursued the same line of politics, regularly and consistently, through the whole of his parliamentary career. In 1801, at the formation

found in the formation of a new ministry; but, the object was at length accomplished, and Lord Liverpool was declared premier.*

In consequence of the distress of the commercial and manufacturing classes, the new ministers at length consented to the repeal of the orders in council; and on the 23d of June, a declaration from the Prince Regent appeared in the London Gazette, absolutely and unequivocally revoking these orders as far as they regarded American vessels; with the proviso, that if, after the notification of this repeal by the British minister in America, the government of the United States should not revoke their interdictory acts against British commerce, that revocation on our part should be null and void. It afterwards appeared, that five days before the document announcing their repeal appeared in the London Gazette, the government of the United States of America had declared war against Great Britain.

On the 17th of June, Mr. Vansittart, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought forward the budget† of the taxes. That principally opposed in Parliament was the increased duty on leather; but this opposition, though strong, was unavailing, and the entire budget received the sanction of Parliament.

The advocates of the Catholic cause resolved to appeal again to the legislature; and Mr. Canning rose, in the Commons, on the 22d of June, to propose, "That the House will, early in the next session of Parliament, take into its most serious consideration the state of the laws affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the united kindom; to the stability of the Protestant establishment; and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his Majesty's subjects." This motion was carried by a majority of 235 against 106. A similar motion, in the Lords, by the Marquis Wellesley, on the 1st of July, was supported by 125, and opposed by 126 voices. Of the royal Dukes, two voted on one side, and three on the other; even the bench of bishops was divided, three of them voting for, and fifteen against the pledge to consider the subject.‡

In April, when Buonaparte was meditating a war against Russia, he made overtures for peace with England, and a correspondence took place upon the subject, which terminated unsuccessfully, after the interchange of a single dispatch between the foreign ministers of the two governments; Buonaparte having demanded, as a preliminary, the recognition of the Corsican dynasty in Spain. No notice of this correspondence was taken in Parliament before the 17th of July. On the 30th of July, Parliament was prorogued; and on the 29th of September, a proclamation was issued by the Prince Regent announcing its dissolution.§

The year 1812 will be for ever memorable in history, for the disastrous campaign of Buonaparte against Russia. The refusal of the Emperor Alexander to shut his ports against the commerce of Britain, and thereby to ruin his subjects, and to impoverish the Imperial revenue, was at once the ostensible and the real cause of Buonaparte's hostilities. Alexander no longer chose to support what the enemy of Europe had been pleased to term the continental system. The object of the invader was great, and the army which he assembled for the atchievement of that object, was in full proportion to its magnitude. According to a statement of the Earl of Liverpool, the number of the French army, previously to its entrance on the Russian territory, was not fewer than 360,000 men; and some estimates ran it up to nearly 500,000. In assembling this immense force, much time was necessarily employed. Buonaparte left Paris, for Dresden, on the 25th of May; on the 22d of June, he declared war against Russia; on

---

mation of the Addington administration. Mr. Perceval, then in his 39th year, was appointed Solicitor-General; and in 1802, he was promoted to the situation of Attorney-General, on the elevation of Edward Law, now Lord Ellenborough, to the chief-justiceship of the court of King's Bench. He first came forward as a public speaker after the death of Mr. Pitt. When the Fox administration quitted office, in the early part of the year 1807, Mr. Perceval was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; and, on the death of the Duke of Portland, he became prime minister. As a public speaker, he rose much in reputation after he had become prime minister; and in domestic life, few men were more amiable or more deservedly respected.

* CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl of Harrowby	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland....	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Liverpool.....	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister.)
Rt. Hon. Nich. Vansittart	Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Lord Viscount Melville..	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl Mulgrave	Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Viscount Sidmouth..	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh	——— for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Bathurst	——— for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Earl of Buckinghamshire Marquis Camden.....	President of the Board of Controul for the affairs of India.

MINISTERS NOT OF THE CABINET.

Earl of Clancarty	President of the Board of Trade.
Rt. Hon. F. Robinson....	Vice President of the Board of Trade.
Rt. Hon. George Rose ..	Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Palmerston.....	Secretary at War.
Lord Charles Somerset Right Hon. Charles Long	Joint Pay-Masters-General of the Forces.
Earl of Chichester..... Earl of Sandwich.....	Joint Post-Masters General.
Richard Wharton Esq..... Sir Charles Arbuthnot, Knt.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Thomas Plomer.....	Attorney-General.
Sir William Garrow.....	Solicitor-General.

MINISTRY IN IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond.....	Lord-Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Rt. Hon. Robert Peel....	Chief Secretary.
Rt. Hon. W. Fitzgerald ..	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

† The amount of the charges to be be provided by the supplies, he stated at 62,376,348*l.* from which 7,025,700*l.* was to be deducted for Ireland, leaving a total to be provided for by Great Britain for the year 1812, of 55,350,648*l.* This sum certainly was an enormous, he might say a terrible extent of charge; but, he had the consolation to reflect that, great as it was, the resources of the country were still equal to support it; and by an enumeration of the ways and mean, he produced a result of 55,390,460*l.*, including a loan made on the preceding day, for 15,650,000*l.* In the course of the present year, a former loan had been obtained to the amount of 6,789,625*l.* which added to the loan as stated above, and to the exchequer bills funded in 1812, created an annual interest of 1,905,924*l.*, which was to be provided for by new taxes. For this purpose he proposed to discontinue the bounty on the exportation of printed goods; to double the duty on tanned hides and skins; to double also the duty on glass; to add one tenth to the existing duty on tobacco; to subject all property offered to sale by auction to the auction duty, under certain modifications; to make an addition of one penny to the postage of all letters carried more than twenty miles; and to increase the assessed taxes on male servants, carriages, horses, dogs, and game certificates; the aggregate annual product of which taxes he estimated at 1,903,000*l.*

‡ To extend and secure the privileges of the dissenters, a bill was introduced into Parliament by Lord Castlereagh on the 10th of July, by which it was proposed to repeal the intolerant statutes, known by the designation of the conventicle and five-mile acts, and to make it obligatory upon preachers, when required to take the oath and declaration, set forth in the 19th of George III. cap. 44.; and upon justices of the peace, to administer such oath and to take such declaration when applied to for that purpose Meetings for worship, in which the persons assembled did not exceed twenty, above the family of the occupier of the house, were, by this bill, exempt from all restrictions, but other places of religious worship were required to be registered at the quarter sessions, and held with open doors; and persons disturbing such assemblies were made liable to a heavy penalty. This bill passed without opposition.

§ Towards the close of the year 1811, a spirit of riot and insubordination had manifested itself in the county of Nottingham, which, in the course of the present year, extended to the counties of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, and, in some degree, pervaded all the manufacturing districts of England. The avowed and immediate object of the insurgents, who assumed the name of "Luddites," was the destruction of certain articles of machinery, the use of which had superseded or diminished manual labour, in the manufacture of the articles to which they were applied. In consequence of the report of the secret cummittee appointed by Parliament, on the subject, a bill was brought into the House of Commons, which made it a capital offence to administer illegal oaths; and the power of the magistrates in the disturbed districts was considerably enlarged. The exertions of the magistrates in Lancashire and Cheshire, had, early in May, filled the goals of those counties with prisoners; and in the interval between the spring and the summer assizes, special commissions were issued to try the offenders. Under each of the commissions numerous convictions took place for every gradation of offence; and of the capital convicts, eight at Lancaster, and two at Chester, suffered the penalty of the law.

the 25th of the same month, he crossed the Niemen—a river, which forms the line of demarcation between the Prussian and Polish territories; and, on the 28th he entered Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland. On the 29th of July, after various movements, Buonaparte entered Witepsk; on the 18th of August, he advanced towards Smolensko; on the 29th, he proceeded in the direction of Wiasma; and, on the 7th of September, he fought the bloody battle of Borodino, otherwise of Moskwa. A victory was claimed by each army; but the consequences established the claim of the Russians.* Immediately after the battle, Buonaparte found himself under the necessity of pushing on to Moscow, which he entered on the 14th of September; doubtlessly with the intention of fixing himself there for the winter. For some time, it was a contested point, whether Moscow were destroyed by the French or by the Russians; but every probability, and every circumstance of the case, seemed to favour the opinion, that it was a national sacrifice—the sacrifice of a city, for the preservation of an empire. "The conflagration at Moscow, that splendid example of patriotic ardour, (observes an eye-witness of the scene) was the voluntary act of the inhabitants. The Russian government had authorised its soldiers to set fire to some smaller places, such as Smolensko; but it would not venture on so great a sacrifice of the national wealth and dignity, as the destruction of Moscow; and was totally ignorant of the means by which it was effected, insomuch, as to be for a long time persuaded, that it was the act of the French. Neither had Count Rostopchin any thing else to do with this noble act than to set the example of destroying his own palace in the neighbourhood of Moscow, to which he set fire with his own hand, and burnt it to the ground, with the second library in the Russian empire."†

Through the entire progress of this campaign, Buonaparte appears to have been thwarted in his plans,

* At four o'clock, in the morning, the corps of Davoust and Prince Poniatowski, advanced by the wood which supported the Russian left; at six the action commenced, and the enemy experienced the advantages derived from the possession of a redoubt which he had taken on the 5th. Ney, in the mean time, bore down with great force on the Russian centre, and the Viceroy of Italy assailed the right. General as the attack seemed, the corps of Prince Bagration had to sustain the accumulated weight of nearly half the French army. The resolution of the enemy's cavalry on his flank, was conspicuous; they charged the Russians even to the batteries, and both cavalry and infantry were mown down by the cannon. For three hours this furious attack continued without effect; and Buonaparte, well aware of the importance of the station, ordered up reinforcements of troops, under Marshals Murat, and Count Caulaincourt, supported by 50 additional pieces of cannon. The vigour of the onset thus strengthened, was found irresistible, and Prince Bagration was compelled to fall back on the second line of the army, while the enemy turned against the retiring columns, the guns which had just been abandoned. Prince Kutusoff, seeing the left of his army thus overpowered, ordered up to its support, from the reserve, a strong body of cavalry and grenadiers; and, at the moment when they were making a desperate effort to regain their lost position, the militia and other troops, which had been posted in the wood, rushed forward, and took a dreadful vengeance on the enemy. The shock of this concentrated force obliged the French, in their turn, to give way, and Buonaparte had the mortification to behold the choicest of his troops driven from their dearly acquired conquests with immense loss. On the other extremity of the line, a combat scarcely less obstinate was maintained: Eugene Beauharnois made repeated efforts to carry the village of Borodino, and the redoubts by which it was protected; but his failure in all of them was complete, and he was ultimately repulsed with great loss. The Russian commander was now enabled to reinforce his centre, where the battle still raged with undiminished violence. The thunder of a thousand pieces of artillery, was answered by an equal number on the part of the French. A veil of smoke shut out the combatants from the sun, and left them no other light to pursue the work of death but the flashes which blazed from the cannon and musketry. The sabres of 40,000 dragoons met each other, clashing in the horrid gloom; and the moving ramparts of countless bayonets, bursting through the rolling vapour, strewed the earth with heaps of slain. Night at last arrived, and added to the sublime horrors of the scene. The return of day presented a scene calculated to appal the stoutest heart. The carnage on both sides was immense. The Russians estimated their own loss in killed and wounded, at 40,000 men, and that of the enemy at 60,000. The enemy, in putting in their claim to the victory, assert, that the loss of the French did not exceed 10,000, while that of the Russians, is estimated at from 40 to 50,000.

† On the 14th of September, at noon, the French army appeared in front of Moscow. The advanced guard, under the command of Murat, entered the gates with all the pomp and pride of conquest.—The troops moved towards the Kremlin, where a body of the self-devoted citizens had stationed themselves; but the "holy gate" was instantly forced, and the "sacred fortress," which, in the confidence of superstition, was held to be impregnable, became an easy prey to the invaders. Scarcely had the French troops entered the Kremlin, when Moscow appeared, at different quarters, in flames. The entry of Buonaparte was delayed by the expectation, that he should be met at the barrier, by the constituted authorities, and hailed as a conqueror; but this expectation being entirely disappointed, he entered the city on the 15th, in sullen silence, and took up his residence in the Kremlin. Immediately on his arrival, he directed that all the Russians who might be suspected of participating in the destruction of the city, by setting fire to its edifices, should be seized and brought to instant trial. One hundred of these unhappy persons were soon arraigned before the tribunal, and questioned as to their proceedings; but, though offered a free pardon on condition of divulging the nature and extent of the conspiracy, formed for the destruction of the city, they all remained silent; death had lost its terrors to them; and they received in succession the balls of the executioner, with no other emotion than that which was exhibited by each in a magnanimous contest to become the first victim. One of the buildings first consigned to the flames, was that vast mercantile pile, called the Exchange; numerous warehouses, containing every kind of merchandise, the productions of Europe and Asia, composed this edifice. The activity of the soldiery was never more visible—not in extinguishing the flames, that indeed was impossible, but in securing the plunder. No cry nor tumult prevailed in this scene of horror and destruction; every one found sufficient to satisfy his cupidity; and the falling roofs, and exploding combustibles, alone broke in upon the dreadful silence. On the morning of the 16th, a violent wind prevailed, which spread the flames in every direction. The whole extent of the capital, for many versts, seemed at length a sheet of flame. The immense tract of land about the river, which was formerly covered with houses, was one sea of fire; and the sky was hidden from the view by the tremendous volumes of smoke which rolled over this ancient city. The most heart-rending scenes now presented themselves; that portion of the population which had not abandoned the city, had concealed themselves in the interior of the houses; but, the fire having penetrated to almost every part of the town, forced them to quit their asylums.—The aged, borne down with grief, as much as with years, could hardly follow their families, and numbers of them, lamenting the ruin of their country, expired near the houses in which they drew their first breath. Parents, absorbed in the feelings of nature, were seen emerging from their places of concealment, saving nothing but their children from the universal wreck. The streets, public buildings, and particularly the churches, were filled with these unhappy people. Neither the accents of sympathy or lamentation were heard; both the conqueror and the conquered were equally hardened—the former from excess of fortune, the latter from excess of misery. The fire, which continued, soon reached the finest parts of the city. All those places which had been admired for the elegance of their architecture, and the taste of their furniture, were buried in the flames; many of the churches, with their beautiful steeples, resplendent as gold, disappeared; and the hospitals, which contained more than 20,000 wounded Russian soldiers, soon began to burn. This occasioned a most revolting and dreadful scene; almost all these poor wretches perished, and a few, who still lingered, were seen crawling half consumed among the smoking embers. "But how," says Labaume, a French officer from whom we quote, "shall I describe the tumultuous proceedings, when permission was granted to pillage this immense city! Soldiers, sutlers, galley-slaves, and prostitutes, were running through the streets, penetrating into the deserted palaces, and seizing every article which could gratify their avarice. Some were covering themselves with stuffs, of the most costly fabrics; others, without any discrimination, placed rich and costly furs upon their shoulders; and even the galley-slaves concealed their rags under splendid court dresses; the rest crowded into cellars, and forcing open the doors, drank the most costly wines, and carried off immense booty. This horrible pillage was not confined to deserted houses alone, but extended also to those which were inhabited. All the asylums were soon violated; and the cries of the miserable wretches who fell under the hands of the murderer, and the shrieks and groans of young females seeking protection against the brutal outrages of a licentious soldiery, added inexpressibly to the horrors of the scene. Napoleon, finding himself no longer safe in Moscow, the ruin of which had now become unavoidable, left the Kremlin, and established himself with his suite, in the imperial palace of Petrovsky, four versts from the city. It now became necessary, that the army should quit the ruins of Moscow, when a scene of the most dreadful confusion arose. A long line of carriages, loaded with plunder, was drawn through the streets of the capital. The soldiers, still stimulated by an ardent desire of pillage, ventured into the middle of the flames. They walked in blood, treading upon dead bodies, while burning fragments fell on their murderous heads. They would probably all have perished, had not an insupportable heat forced them at last to withdraw from the city, and take refuge in the camp. During the four days that the army remained at Petrovsky, Moscow never ceased burning. In the mean time, the rain fell in torrents: and the houses near the place being too few in number for the great multitude who were encamped there, it became impossible to obtain shelter, and men, horses, and carriages, bivouacked in the middle of the fields. Although it was forbidden to go into the city, the soldiers drawn there by hope of gain, betrayed their trust, and continually returned loaded with provisions and merchandise. Thus the French camp no longer resembled an army, but a fair, where the soldiers, metamorphosed into merchants, sold the most valuable articles, at an inconsiderable price; and, although encamped in the fields, and exposed to the injuries of the weather, by a singular contrast, they dined off china plates, drank out of silver vases, and possessed the richest and most elegant commodities of life, which luxury could invent."

and

and constrained to abandon the objects he originally had in view. To his early disappointments, in this respect—disappointments unquestionably produced by the judgment, perseverance, and physical superiority of the Russians—must be attributed his failure, and the consequent destruction of his army. It is generally understood, that Buonaparte's taking the road to Moscow, was an act of necessity, not of choice. St. Petersburgh, the seat of empire, was his aim; but the positions of the respective Russian armies, the flanking manœuvres which they practised, were such as rendered him incapable of pursuing a northern course. He therefore made a virtue of the evil, and turned eastward.—This circumstance, effected solely, as it has been observed, by the Russians, consumed the time, a point above all others, to be desired.

Pressed on all sides by the Russians; unprotected from the severities of a northern winter, and without the means of subsistence, Buonaparte found himself compelled, after having in vain offered peace to the Emperor of Russia, to quit the ruins of Moscow. That determination was carried into effect on the 19th of October; from which period, the retreat of his army towards the frontiers of Poland, was only an unbroken series of defeats, disasters, and miseries scarcely paralleled, amounting almost to annihilation.* From the time of his crossing the

* The passage of the Vope can never be forgotten. On the 7th of November, Platoff, and the light cavalry, were dispatched in pursuit of Beauharnois. On coming up with the enemy, near the village of Zezelia, the Hetman directed both these corps to be turned at the same time, while with a chosen squadron, he bore down himself upon the centre. Discomfited at every point, the division of Beauharnois fled in two parties, one towards Smolensk, and the other towards the Vope. Beauharnois, who had dispatched General Poitevin forward in the night, with a body of engineers, to construct a bridge for the passage of the army over the Vope, found to his extreme consternation, that a sudden rise in the water had swept away the bridge, at the moment when it was nearly finished. The Cossacks, apprised of this disaster, did not fail to advance in great strength; and the Viceroy, seeing that it was necessary that some officer of rank should set an example of courage, ordered Colonel Delfanti to place himself at the head of the royal guard, and to force the Vope. In obedience to this order, the Colonel, rushing into the river, at the head of the grenadiers, made his way through the masses of ice that floated down its stream. The Viceroy next followed with his staff, and on his arrival at the opposite bank, gave the necessary orders to facilitate the passage of the army. The waggons now began to file off; the first passed over with much difficulty; and, after them a few pieces of artillery: but, as the channel was far below the level of the ground, and the banks were steep, and covered with ice, the only practicable point was at a place where steps had been dug to descend to the river. The cannon all passing in the same track, formed indentions so deep, that it soon became impossible to drag them out. Thus the only accessible ford was soon choked up, and rendered utterly impassable for the rest of the artillery and baggage. Notwithstanding the efforts of the rear-guard, the Russians still continued to advance. The river was only half-frozen; and, as the waggons could no longer make any progress, it became necessary for those who had no horses, to throw themselves into the stream. A vast number of provision-waggons, carts, and drouschki, were abandoned, and the artillerymen, on the report that the enemy was fast approaching, spiked 100 pieces of cannon. The cries of those who were passing the river, the consternation of others who were preparing to descend, and who, with their horses, were every moment seen overwhelmed by the current, the despair of the women, the cries of the children, and the terror even of the soldiers, rendered this passage so horrible, that the very recollection of it yet terrifies those who witnessed and survived the scene. On the 7th, the loss of the French amounted to 1500 killed, and 3500 taken prisoners; on the 8th, in the words of Platoff, "the Cossacks killed a great many, but made few prisoners." The night of that day was truly dreadful. "To form some idea of it," says an eye-witness, "the reader must picture to himself an army encamped on the bare snow, in the midst of a Russian winter, closely pursued by the enemy, and having neither cavalry nor artillery to oppose him. The soldiers, without shoes, and almost without clothes, were enfeebled by famine and fatigue. Sitting on their knapsacks, they slept on their knees. From this benumbing posture, they rose but to broil some slices of horse-flesh, or to melt a few morsels of ice. Often they had no wood, and to find fuel they destroyed the houses in which their Generals lodged; sometimes, when they awoke in the morning, the village which they had seen the night before had disappeared; and towns, which to-day were untouched, would form, on the morrow, one vast conflagration." The Russians, habituated to the climate, and supplied with every necessary, scarcely felt the severity of the season: while the French and Italians, born in more genial climes, and unprepared for the intense rigour of a northern winter, sunk under its severity. Kutusoff, perceiving that Buonaparte designed to make a movement upon Krasnoi, pushed forward a strong body of troops, on the 16th of November, in order to intercept his advance: the French, aware of their danger, drew together strong bodies of troops, under the command of Davoust, and marched without interruption, into the vicinity of Krasnoi. Here the Russians suddenly attacked them at all points, and with their artillery, which had been placed in ambush, made dreadful ravages in the hostile ranks. The French fought desperately until night, when they were completely routed, and the whole division was either slain or dispersed among the woods on the banks of the Dnieper; their loss in killed was immense; two Generals, 58 superior officers, and upwards of 9000 soldiers, with 70 pieces of artillery, three standards, and the marshal's staff of Davoust, fell into the hands of the victors. This defeat, which annihilated the first corps of the French army, was only a prelude to one more fatal. Marshal Ney, ignorant of the events of the preceding day, was advancing from Smolensk towards Krasnoi, with the rear-guard of the French army. The Russian Commander-in-Chief, determining to cut off this division from the rest of the hostile forces, strongly reinforced General Millaradowitch. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the approach of the French was discovered, and a herald was dispatched to inform them, that the Imperial Guard had sustained a signal defeat on the preceding day, and to summon them to surrender. This summons the French Marshal treated with contempt, and immediately prepared for action. Under cover of a thick fog, he advanced to the very foot of the hill on which the Russians were encamped, when suddenly their batteries were unmasked, and such was the effect of the tremendous discharge of 40 pieces of cannon, and the whole musquetry of the line, that a flag of truce was sent to the Russian camp, and at midnight, nearly 12,000 French soldiers laid down their arms. On this day, 27 pieces of cannon were taken, together with immense booty. Favoured by the darkness of the night, Ney fled across the Dnieper, accompanied by a few hundred fugitives, who were actively pursued by clouds of Cossacks.—The Russians have divided the retreat of the French into three epochs, which besides the constant increase of their misfortunes, have each a peculiar character. The first ended at the battle of Krasnoi; the second, at the passage of the Beresina; and the third, at the Niemen. At the conclusion of the first period, at which we are now arrived, the Russians had already taken 40,000 men, 27 Generals, 500 pieces of cannon, 31 standards; and, besides the immense baggage of the French army, all the plunder of Moscow, that had not been destroyed. If to these losses are added 40,000 men, dead of fatigue or famine, or killed in the different battles, it will be found that the army, which quitted Moscow, with a force amounting to 110,000 men, was reduced to 30,000, including the Imperial Guard, of whom not more than 8000 combatants survived. The cavalry was almost extinct. In this situation, the soldiers formed mournful presages of what they had yet to endure, since they were scarcely half-way to the Niemen, and had three rivers to cross, and two mountains to climb. Nov. 18, was rendered memorable in the history of this campaign, by the arrival of Col. Czernicheff from the army of the Danube, at the head-quarters of Count Wittgenstein, after one of the most extraordinary marches on record. For his corps had to encounter, on every day's march, numerous bands of the enemy; but these he either eluded or overcame, frequently seizing their convoys, and destroying the escorts by which they were accompanied. In other respects, the march of Czernicheff was such as Russian troops only could have accomplished; he had many rivers to cross, and had no leisure to construct bridges, but he and his troops, even at that inclement season, plunged into the streams, and gained the opposite shores. On his arrival, he brought to Count Wittgenstein, the welcome intelligence of the flight of the Austrian and Saxon auxiliaries, the utter ruin of the French army, and the rapid advance of the Russians. A few days afterwards, the general Aid-de-Camp, Kutusoff, also arrived, and announced to the Count, that he was in communication with Platoff, and with the main army; in fact, that the whole force of the Russian empire was now in full communication; and that the circle was thus completely around the remains of the French armies. Buonaparte, finding his situation perilous in the extreme, was hastening by forced marches, with the remnant of his army, from Orcha towards the Beresina, hoping to effect his retreat to the Vistula by the way of Minsk; in which, by his orders, stores of all kinds, had been accumulated. But, in the mean time, Admiral Tscikakoff occupied that town, and detached his advanced-guard, under Count Lambert, to Borisov; on the 21st, this General attacked the tetes-du-pont on the Beresina, guarded by Dombrowski: and, after carrying the works by storm, and taking 3000 prisoners, destroyed the bridge of Borisov. Thus disappointed in his expectation of crossing the Beresina, Buonaparte, with the remainder of the army of Moscow, which having been joined by the skeletons of Victor's and Oudinot's corps, and by the different detachments that had been left on the Dnieper, now amounted to about 70,000 men, proceeded towards Minsk, along the right bank of the Beresina. On his rear and flank was the grand army, under Prince Kutusoff; on his right, was Count Wittgenstein, who had been joined by the northern corps; and in front, at Borisov, was the victorious division under Admiral Tschikakoff. During the 25th Buonaparte manœuvred to deceive the vigilance of the Russians, and by stratagem obtained possession of the village of Studzianca, where the Beresina is 40 toises or 80 English yards wide. Here, in the presence, and in the face of the opposition of the Russians, he constructed two bridges, one for cavalry, and the other for the passage of the infantry. Over these bridges Marshal Oudinot passed to attack the troops which resisted the advance of the French army. Napoleon having, with the assistance of his guards, forced his way through the immense crowd which now lined the banks of the Beresina, crossed that river about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th of November, taking the route towards Zembin. A large proportion of the French army, paralysed by their sufferings, and insensible of their approaching danger, passed the night of the 27th on the left bank of the Beresina. On the morning of the 28th, Count Wittgenstein arrived with the first division of the Russian army in the neighbourhood of Studzianca, and opened a dreadful cannonade upon the fugitives, who were pressing in such crowds over the bridges as completely to choke up the passage.

To

the Niemen, to that of the arrival of the wretched remnant of his army at Molodetschino, about 160 days elapsed.* That 300,000 human beings (French and Russians together, independently of sick and wounded) perished within that period — were sacrificed to the guilty ambition of a low-born usurper—is an estimate far too low. At that estimate, however, the loss will be found to average 1875 per diem! According to the most accurate calculation which there are data for forming, of the immense French force, mentioned by Lord Liverpool at 360,000 men, not 100,000 could be mustered at the close of the campaign. Buonaparte formed a "sacred" guard of his officers, deserted his army, left his men to perish, by the sword of the enemy, by famine,

: To add to the confusion and horrors of the scene, about eight o'clock in the morning the bridge for carriages and cavalry broke down, and the baggage and artillery, now advancing towards the bridge intended for the infantry, a scene of horror and contention arose exceeding all description. Numbers perished by the hands of their comrades, but a greater number were suffocated at the head of the bridge, and the bodies of men and horses so choked every avenue, that it was necessary to climb over mountains of dead bodies to arrive at the river. Some, buried in these horrible heaps, still breathed, and struggling with the agonies of death, caught hold of those who mounted over them. During this contention, the multitude which followed like a furious wave, swept away, and increased the number of victims. The French division of Parthonneaux, which formed the rear-guard of the army, having received orders to return, left a brigade to burn the bridge. These troops, having lost their way, wandered more than three leagues in a wrong direction. In the middle of a dismal night, and pierced with cold, they mistook the forces of the Russians for those of their own army, and ran to join their comrades; when seeing themselves surrounded, and without the least hope of escape, they were forced to surrender. While the troops under Marshal Victor were engaged on the left bank of the river, those under Marshal Oudinot were attacked on the right. Soldiers, who had before been wandering in confusion, fell into the ranks, and the battle was maintained with great obstinacy. Oudinot, who could only obtain the victory at the price of his own blood, was wounded at the beginning of the action, and being obliged to quit the field, the command devolved on Marshal Ney. The marshal having rallied his troops, the battle recommenced with great fury, and several pieces of cannon, and 4000 prisoners, were taken by the French.—But, it was in vain that they captured prisoners whom they could not retain; they fought not for victory, but for life. In the heat of the engagement, many balls struck the miserable crowds which were yet pressing to cross the bridge of the Beresina; some shells burst in the midst of them; and terror and despair took possession of every heart. The women and children, who had escaped so many disasters, seemed to have been preserved only to meet here a death the most deplorable. The artillery, the baggage-waggons, the cavalry, and the infantry, all pressed on to escape the cannon and musketry in their rear, each endeavouring to gain the opposite bank by passing before the other. The strong made their way by casting the weak into the river, or trampled under foot the maimed and the sick that interrupted their passage. Hundreds were crushed to death by the wheels of the cannon; others, hoping to save themselves by swimming, were frozen in the middle of the river, or perished by placing themselves on pieces of ice, which, overweighted, sunk in the stream; and thousands of victims deprived of hope, threw themselves into the Beresina, and perished in the waves. The division of Girard made its way, by force, through all the obstacles that retarded its march; and climbing over the mountains of dead bodies that obstructed the way, gained the other side; thither the Russians were pressing to follow them, when they hastened to effect their escape by setting fire to the bridge. At this moment the unhappy beings still on the left side of the Beresina, abandoned themselves to absolute despair. Crowds upon crowds still pressed towards the burning bridge, choking up the passage amid bursting flames, scorched and frozen at the same instant, till at length the whole sunk with a tremendous crash, into the bosom of the Beresina. On the frightful night of the 28th, the elements, let loose, seemed to conspire to afflict universal nature, and to chastise the ambition and the crimes of men. The conquerors and the conquered, were alike overwhelmed with suffering. Between the 25th and the 29th of November, upwards of 20,000 French soldiers fell into the hands of the Russians; 200 pieces of cannon were abandoned, and the passage of the Beresina was, in its consequences, more terrible than the most sanguinary battle. After the passage of the Beresina, Buonaparte finding Minsk already occupied by the Russians, was compelled to take the more circuitous route of Wilna; and, in order to cover his retreat, the wretched fugitives who formed the wreck of his once stupendous army were collected near Kamen. This movement had been anticipated by the enterprising Wittgenstein, who, having dispatched Count Kutusoff, the general aid-de-camp, by a more distant route, proceeded himself, on the enemy's right flank, to intercept his retreat. Both these plans were crowned with complete success: the whole body of the Bavarians, under General Wrede, which formed the remains of the 6th corps, and were on their march to join the main French army, were taken in detail by Count Kutusoff; and Napoleon, finding himself cut off from Vileika, abandoned his project of advancing to Wilna in that direction, and took the road by Molodetschino. Here, however, he was exposed to the attacks of Tschikakoff, whose force, impatient to give the final blow to the retreating army, was hovering on his flanks. On the 29th, they bore down upon the French; who, notwithstanding the efforts of the commanding officers to re-animate their exhausted and dispirited troops, were at length obliged to retreat in disorder. Early in the morning of the same day, 2000 Cossacks fell upon the advanced guard of the 4th corps of the French army, with their usual "*Hourra!*" and slaughtered great numbers of them in the streets of Kamen. On the 1st of December, the retreating army arrived at Ilija, and on the 2d at Molodetschino.

* From Molodetschino, the memorable "Twenty-Ninth Bulletin," which may be considered as the French official account of the retreat from the Moskwa to the Wilna, was issued, in the following terms:—

"*Molodetschino, December* 3, 1812.

"To the 6th of November, the weather was fine, and the movement of the army was executed with the greatest success. The cold weather began on the 7th; from that moment, we every night lost several hundred horses, in consequence of bivouacking. Arrived at Smolensk, we had already lost many cavalry and artillery horses. The Russian army from Volhynia, was opposed to our right: our right left the Minsk line of operations, and took for the pivot of its operations, the Warsaw line. On the 9th, the Emperor was informed, at Smolensk, of this change in the line of operations, and conceived what the enemy would do. However hard it appeared to him to put himself in movement during so cruel a season, the new state of things demanded it. He expected to arrive at Minsk, or at least upon the Beresina, before the enemy; on the 13th, he quitted Smolensk; on the 16th he slept at Krasnoi. The cold, which began on the 7th, suddenly increased; and on the 14th, 15th, and 16th, the thermometer was 16 and 18 degrees below the freezing point. The roads were covered with ice; the cavalry, artillery, and baggage horses, perished every night, not only by hundreds, but by thousands, particularly the German and French horses. In a few days, more than 30,000 horses perished; our cavalry were on foot; our artillery and our baggage were without conveyance. It was necessary to abandon and destroy a great part of our cannon, ammunition, and provisions. This army, so fine on the 6th, was very different on the 14th—almost without cavalry, without artillery, without transports. Without cavalry, we could not reconnoitre a quarter of a league's distance; without artillery, we could not risk a battle, and firmly await it; it was requisite to march, in order not to be constrained to a battle, which the want of ammunition prevented us from desiring; it was requisite to occupy a certain space not to be turned, and that too without cavalry, which led and connected the columns. This difficulty, joined to the cold, which suddenly came on, rendered our situation miserable.—Those men, whom nature had not sufficiently steeled to be above all the chances of fate and fortune, appeared shaken, lost their gaiety, their good humour, and dreamed but of misfortunes and catastrophes; those whom she has created superior to every thing, preserved their gaiety, and their ordinary manners, and saw fresh glory in the different difficulties to be surmounted.

"The enemy, who saw upon the roads traces of that frightful calamity which had overtaken the French army, endeavoured to take advantage of it. He surrounded all the columns with his Cossacks, who carried off, like the Arabs of the desert, the trains and carriages which separated. This contemptible cavalry, which only make a noise, and are not capable of penetrating through a company of voltigeurs, rendered themselves formidable by favour of circumstances. Nevertheless, the enemy had to repent of all the serious attempts which they wished to undertake: they were overthrown by the Viceroy, before whom they were placed, and lost many men.

"The Duke of Elchingen, with 3000 men, had blown up the ramparts of Smolensk: he was surrounded, and found himself in a critical position, but he extricated himself from it with that intrepidity by which he is distinguished. After having kept the enemy at a distance from him during the whole of the 18th, and constantly repulsed him, at night he made a movement on the right, passed the Borysthenes, and deceived all the calculations of the enemy. On the 19th, the army passed the Borysthenes at Orcha: and the Russian army, being fatigued, and having lost a great number of men, ceased from its attempts. The army of Volhynia, had inclined, on the 16th, upon Minsk, and marched upon Borisov. General Dombrowski defended the bridge-head of Borisov, with 3000 men. On the 23d, he was forced and obliged to evacuate this position. The enemy then passed the Beresina, marching upon Bobr; the division, Lambert, formed the advanced-guard. The second corps, commanded by the Duke of Reggio, which was at Tacherein, had received orders to march upon Borisov, to secure the army the passage of the Beresina. On the 24th, the Duke of Reggio met the division, Lambert, four leagues from Borisov, attacked and defeated it, took 2000 prisoners, six pieces of cannon, 500 baggage-waggons of the army of Volhynia, and threw the enemy on the right bank of the Beresina. General Berkeim, with the 4th cuirassiers, distinguished himself by a fine charge. The enemy could only secure his safety by burning the bridge, which is more than 300 toises in length. Nevertheless the enemy occupied all the passages of the Beresina: this river is 40 toises wide, and had much floating ice on it, but its banks are covered with marshes 300 toises long, which present great obstacles in clearing it. The enemy's General had placed his four divisions at the different debouches, where he presumed the French army would attempt to pass. On the 26th, at break of day, the Emperor, after having deceived the enemy, by different movements, made during the day of the 25th, marched upon the village of Studzianca, and caused in spite of an enemy's division, and in its presence, two bridges to be thrown over the river. The Duke of Reggio passed, attacked the enemy, and led him, fighting, two hours. The enemy retired upon the tete-du-pont of Borisov.—General Legrand, an officer of first-rate merit, was badly, but not dangerously wounded. During the whole of the 26th and 27th, the army passed.

"The Duke of Belluno, commanding the 9th corps, had received orders to follow the movement of the Duke of Reggio, to form the rear-guard, and keep in check the Russian army from the Dwina, which followed him. Parthonneau's division formed the rear guard of this corps.

famine, or by cold; and literally fled, in disguise, to Paris.*

Russia exerted herself in the cabinet, as well as in the field; as, in the course of the year, she effected peace with Britain, with Sweden, with Spain, and with Turkey. To Britain she gave the most substantial proof of her sincerity, by charging her with the protection of her naval force.

America, as already stated, declared war against England, on the 18th of July. The compliment was not returned till the 13th of October, hope having been entertained until that period, that the American government might have been induced by the repeal of the British Orders in Council, to revoke its hostile declaration. The conduct of the Americans, however, was distinguished by shuffling and prevarication; whilst the error of the British ministry, from the commencement of the dispute, was marked by an excess of concessions, and conciliatory proposals. The progress of the land war, on the part of the Americans, displayed nothing but imbecility, failure, and defeat. On the 16th of August, General Hull's entire army, exceeding 2500 men, with 33 pieces of ordnance, intended for the conquest of Canada, surrendered to the British; and, on the 13th of October, a second army, repeating the attempt on Canada, was completely defeated, 900 prisoners being taken, and the remainder either killed or wounded. The English loss, on the first occasion, amounted to only 18 killed and wounded; and, on the second, with the exception of Sir Isaac Brock, who was killed previously to the actual commencement of the battle, their loss was also very slight. At sea, the Americans were more successful; a circumstance to be ascribed chiefly to the great superiority of their frigates, in size, (nearly equal to British 74's) weight of metal, and number of men. Their advantage, in the capture of the Guerriere, by the Constitution, consisted only in an accession of fame, for the Guerriere was burnt; but, in their subsequent capture of the Macedonian, the prize was carried, in a sound state, into an American port. Ministers were much censured, by the opposition, for a want of foresight in not being prepared with a more efficient naval force to contend with the Americans. Several ships of the line were afterwards ordered out.

The naval force of France was in so reduced a state, that scarcely any thing remained to be done. In February, however, the Victorious, Captain Talbot, took the Rivoli, of 74 guns, in the Adriatic; in March, the Rosario sloop, Captain Harvey, in company with the Griffon, defeated a French flotilla, of 13 sail, 6 of which were destroyed or taken, off Boulogne; and, in

* "On the 27th, at noon, the Duke of Belluno arrived with two divisions at the bridge of Studzianca. Parthonneaux's division set out at night from Borisov. A brigade of this division, which formed the rear-guard, and which was charged with burning the bridge, marched at seven in the evening, and arrived between ten and eleven o'clock: it sought its first brigade and its General, who had departed two hours before, and which it had not met with in its route. Its researches were in vain; some uneasiness was then conceived. All we have since been able to learn is, that the first brigade set out at five o'clock, missed its way at six, went to the right in place of proceeding to the left, and marched two or three leagues in this direction; that during the night, and benumbed with cold, it rallied at seeing the enemy's fires, which it mistook for the French army. Thus surrounded, it was taken. This cruel mistake must have caused us a loss of 2000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and three pieces of artillery. Report states, that the general of division was not with his column, and had marched alone.

"All the army having passed on the morning of the 28th, the Duke of Belluno guarded the tete-du-pont upon the left bank: the Duke of Reggio, and behind him all the army, was upon the right bank. Borisov having been evacuated, the armies of the Dwina and Volhynia communicated; they planned an attack on the 28th at break of day. The Duke of Reggio caused the Emperor to be informed that he was attacked. Half an hour afterwards, the Duke of Belluno was on the left bank. The Duke of Elchingen immediately followed the Duke of Reggio, and the Duke of Treviso, the Duke of Elchingen. The battle became warm. The enemy wishing to turn our right, General Doumere, commanding the 5th division of cuirassiers, which made part of the 2d corps that remained on the Dwina, ordered a charge of cavalry, by the 4th and 5th regiments of cuirassiers, at the moment when the legion of the Vistula was engaged in the woods, to pierce the centre of the enemy. The enemy was defeated and put to the rout, together with his cavalry, which came to the assistance of his infantry. Six thousand prisoners, two standards, and six pieces of cannon, fell into our hands. On his side, the Duke of Belluno vigorously charged the enemy, defeated him, took from 5 to 600 prisoners, and did not suffer him to advance within reach of the cannon of the bridge. General Fournier made a fine charge of cavalry. In the battle of the Beresina, the army of Volhynia suffered much. The Duke of Reggio was wounded, but his wound is not dangerous. He received a ball in his side.

"The next day, the 29th, we remained on the field of battle.—We had to make our choice between two routes—that to Minsk, and that to Wilna. The road to Minsk led through the middle of a forest, and of uncultivated marshes, where it was impossible for the army to subsist itself. On the other hand, the road to Wilna led through a very fine country. The army being without cavalry, deficient in ammunition, and horribly fatigued by 50 days' march, carrying in its train all the sick and wounded of so many battles, stood greatly in need of getting to its magazines.

"On the 30th, the head-quarters were at Pletchinichou; on the 1st of December, at Slaike; and, on the 3d, at Molodetschino, where the army received the first convoys from Wilna. All the wounded officers and soldiers, and whatever else could be of embarrassment, with the baggage, &c. were sent off to Wilna.

"To say that the army stands in need of re-establishing its discipline, of refreshing itself, of remounting its cavalry, completing its artillery, and its *materiel*—this is the result of the *exposé* which has just been made. Its repose is of the first necessity. The *materiel* and the horses are coming in; General Boureir has already more than 20,000 remount horses in different depots.

"The artillery has already repaired its losses. The generals, officers, and soldiers, have suffered greatly from want. Numbers have lost their baggage by the loss of their horses, and several by the effect of the Cossacks' ambushes. The Cossacks have taken numbers of isolated persons, of geographical engineers, who were taking positions, and of wounded officers, who were marching without precaution, preferring running the risk, to marching slowly, and going with the convoy.

"The report of the General officers commanding the different corps, will make known what officers and soldiers have chiefly distinguished themselves, and the details of these memorable events.

"In all these movements the Emperor has been continually marching in the middle of his guards—the cavalry, commanded by the Duke of Istria, and the infantry commanded by the Duke of Dantzic. His Majesty has been well satisfied with the fine spirit shewn by his guards. They have always been ready to shew themselves wherever their presence was needful: but circumstances have always been such that their appearance alone was sufficient, and that they never were in a situation which required them to charge. The Prince of Neufchatel, the grand marshal, the grand equerry, and all the aides-de-camp, and military officers of the household, have always accompanied his Majesty. Our cavalry was dismounted to such a degree, that it was necessary to collect the officers, who had still a horse remaining, in order to form four companies of 150 men each.

"The Generals there performed the functions of Captains, and the Colonels those of subalterns. This sacred squadron, commanded by General Grouchy, and under the orders of the King of Naples, did not lose sight of the Emperor in all those movements. The health of his Majesty was never better."

* Quitting Molodetschino at midnight, on the 3d of December, Buonaparte proceeded to Smorghoni, where he called together the chiefs of his army, and after having appointed Murat his lieutenant general, took his departure from that place, incognito, on the 4th, accompanied by and under the name of the Duke of Vicenza. On his route to the French capital, he travelled in a single sledge, passing rapidly from Wilna, through Warsaw, to Dresden; whence he pursued his journey through Leipsic and Mentz, and arrived in Paris at midnight, on the 18th of December. His presence had kept the chiefs, in some degree, to their duty; but, when the fact of his departure became known, many of the officers abandoned the remains of the regiments committed to their command. Till that time, some armed soldiers still rallied round the standard which they had sworn never to forsake; but, from the moment they were deprived of their chiefs, unheard of calamities reduced their numbers. The division, Loison, which had arrived from Konigsberg, and the Neapolitans from Wilna, having been obliged to encamp in cold 22 degrees below the freezing point, were almost annihilated, and out of 6000 men, of which each division was composed, only some feeble battalions remained, who, on their junction with the main army, ran on the road in a state of distraction, or fell down without being able to rise again. Those who could support the fatigue of marching, prolonged their griefs; but if, weary of life, they wished to terminate their existence, it was only necessary to stand still, and the frost would become their executioner. The roads, in every direction, presented at every step, brave officers, covered with rags, supported upon sticks, their hair and beards stiffened by the ice; these warriors, who, but a short time before, were the terror of their enemies, and the conquerors of two-thirds of Europe, could now scarcely obtain a look of pity from soldiers whom they had formerly commanded. Misfortune having equalised conditions, every thing was confounded. The colonel who had no food, was obliged to beg from a private soldier. Thus the man who possessed provisions, although he were a servant, was surrounded by a crowd of courtiers, who to obtain food, threw aside their rank and distinction, and condescended to caress him. On the 7th, the French army advanced to Joupranoui, and on the 8th to Ochmiana. The route was still covered with soldiers, so deplorably reduced, that the Russians disdained to make them prisoners. Some had lost the sense of hearing; others, their speech; and many, by excessive hunger and cold, were reduced to a state of frantic stupidity, which made them roast dead bodies for nourishment, or consume their own hands and arms. Suffering had driven many mad, who threw themselves into the fires and perished in the flames; and, every day's march presented a repitition of these horrible scenes.

May, the Northumberland, Captain Hotham, destroyed two French frigates and a brig, under the batteries of the Isle of Groa.

A. D. 1813.] In the north of Europe, the year 1813 opened as auspiciously as the preceding year had closed. Numerous French levies were ordered, but victory continued to crown the exertions of the allies. One of the first events of importance which occurred, was the surrender, or rather defection, of the Prussian General, D'Yorck, who entered into a convention with the Russian commander, Wittgenstein. That convention, the King of Prussia, then within the grasp of Buonaparte, refused to ratify; but, no sooner had he freed himself from the apprehension of peril—no sooner did he perceive that there was a chance of emancipation for himself, and for his country—than he conferred the most distinguished approbation upon D'Yorck.

Advancing in the year, a Russian envoy was dispatched to Vienna; the Russians obtained possession of Hamburgh; an Austrian ambassador arrived in London; and Sweden, by landing a considerable force in Swedish Pomerania, struck the first decisive blow against the French. During the three first months of the year, Buonaparte strained every nerve to recruit his armies; or, more properly speaking, to create new ones. By the 3d of April, decrees had been passed for levies to the amount of 535,000 men; and it was then estimated that he would have 400,000 on the Elbe, 200,000 in Spain, and 200,000 partly on the Rhine, and partly in Italy. On the 15th of April, he left Paris; "the Empress Maria Louisa having first been declared Regent of the French Empire, till the moment when victory should return the Emperor." Previously to this, the King of Prussia had issued an edict, abolishing the continental system; the Emperor of Austria was understood to have formed the resolution of taking part against France, unless Buonaparte should listen to his offer of mediation; and the Crown Prince of Sweden, over whose intentions some clouds of doubt yet hung, had resolved to place himself at the head of the Swedish armies.

About this time (April) a Danish mission arrived in England. For a while, the hope was indulged, that the relations of peace between Britain and Denmark would be restored; but, in consequence of the demands of Denmark being such as could not be acceded to, or, according to other accounts, in consequence of the cession of Norway to Sweden, being demanded by this country, the negociation failed.

The campaign opened with several advantages gained by the allies. On the 2d of May was fought the great battle of Lutzen; in which the French claimed the victory, admitting their own loss to have been 10,000 men, and stating that of the allies at 25 or 30,000.* The allies, however, kept possession of the field of battle, and fired a round for victory, and, according to their statement, their loss was only 8 or 10,000 men, while that of the French was estimated at 12 or 15,000. The allies afterwards retreated; but their retreat was slow, and orderly, unmarked by the confusion of a discomfited army. Another dreadful battle, or rather a succession of battles, took place on the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d of May, the result of which, according to their own accounts, was, that the French lost between 11 and 12,000 men in killed and wounded, and two pieces of cannon; that they took from the allies 10,000 wounded, and 19 cannon; and that they advanced about thirty miles, the allies retiring before them, unbroken and formidable, into the Prussian territory. These engagements were fatally ominous to Buonaparte. In the action of the 21st, he was deserted by a part of the Saxon, and of the Wirtemberg troops; and, on the 22d, the celebrated Marshal Duroc was killed.

Buonaparte now listened, or affected to listen, to the propositions

* The French forces at this time assembled on the scene of action were estimated at 170,000 men. On the 25th of April, Buonaparte arrived at Erfurt, whence he ordered all the divisions of his army to move in the direction of Leipzic. A sharp battle took place on the 1st of May, on the plains between Weissenfels and Lutzen, in which the French claimed the advantage. The first cannon ball which was fired on this day, struck the wrist of Marshal Bessieres, pierced his groin, and killed him instantly. On the morning of the 2d Napoleon advanced at the head of his army into the plain of Lutzen, with the view of reaching Leipzic, and throwing himself upon the rear of the allied armies. To defeat the object of this movement, the whole of the allied forces suddenly crossed the Elster, and commenced a grand attack upon the enemy. The contest that ensued was one of the most sanguinary description. The Russians and Prussians fought under the command of General Wittgenstein, in the presence of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, and the French under Buonaparte. The left of the French army formed by the viceroy, having under his command the 5th and 11th corps, leaned upon the Elster. The centre was commanded by Marshal Ney, in the village of Kaja. Buonaparte, with the young and old guard, was at Lutzen; and Marshal Marmont, who commanded the right, was placed at the defile of Poserna. In the order of battle formed by the allies, General Blucher formed the first line; the corps formerly belonging to Count Wittgenstein, the second; and the corps of General Winzingerode, together with the Russian guards and grenadiers, the reserve. The position occupied by the French was remarkable for its strength; behind them was a rising ground, and a succession of villages; in front there was a hollow way, through which ran a stream of considerable depth; and thus supported in front and rear, they awaited the attack of the allies. These advantages were much increased by an immense quantity of ordnance, which was distributed through the line, and in the vallies; besides batteries in the open country, supported by masses of infantry in solid squares. The allies had the advantage in cavalry, but the superiority of numbers was on the side of the French. The villages of Gross-Gorschen, Klein-Gorschen, Rahno, Kaja, and Starrsiedef, occupied by the French, are in the vicinity of each other, and form a kind of irregular square; and the plan of the allies was, by directing the principal weight of their attack against the right wing of the enemy, to take these villages and to occupy them with an advanced-guard. With this concentration of force it was their intention to throw back the right wing of Napoleon from the direct road to the Saale, and with their numerous mass of cavalry, to turn this wing by a furious charge on his flank and rear, and thus to decide the fortune of the day. The battle commenced at noon, by the attack of the village of Gross-Gorschen. From three to four batteries were erected within 800 yards, and the village was heavily cannonaded. The enemy's battalions, which were drawn up before the village, supported the fire with distinguished firmness, but the Prussian brigade advanced with so much steadiness and impetuosity, that the French were at length driven from their position. From this moment, all the corps came successively into action, and the battle became general. The village of Gross-Gorschen was disputed with unexampled obstinacy; six times it was taken and re-taken by the bayonet, and at last remained in the hands of the allies. For several hours the conflict was dubious; and the discharges of musketry raged with such indescribable destruction, that the number of killed and wounded in this part of the field was immense. The artillery was gradually brought forward by the hostile armies, on a field of about 1,500 yards square, intersected by villages, hamlets, meadows, and ditches, and slaughter in all its horrors reigned triumphant. The enemy, determined, if possible, to regain possession of the captured villages, brought up continually numerous bodies of fresh troops, and at last obtained a superiority of numbers so decided, as to oblige the weakened battalions of the allies to evacuate Klein-Gorschen. This success was only temporary; the Prussians, again led on and inspired by their generals, profited by some fortunate changes in the French cavalry, and Napoleon was once more deprived of his precarious advantage. Obstinate as was the contest on the wings, the great efforts of the infantry, cavalry, and artillery took place in the centre. The village of Kaja, which formed the pivot of the French position, was taken and re-taken several times. In the afternoon of this sanguinary day Eugene Beauharnois came up with his corps, and entered the French lines at the moment when Marshal Macdonald was attacking the Russian reserve. The allies now redoubled their efforts; the French centre gave way; some of their battalions fled in disorder, and the village of Kaja, was again taken. Buonaparte now ordered Marshal Mortier to march with sixteen battalions of the young guards to the disputed village of Kaja, which, after an ardent contest, was again carried, and passed into the hands of the French. The allied armies, though, on the whole, they had the advantage of the day, were too much weakened by the conflict, to be able to maintain their ground. They, therefore, resolved to make good their retreat, with as little sacrifice as possible. On the 3d they marched to Borne and Altenburg; on the 4th to Rocklitz and Colditz; and on the 7th they crossed the Elbe, taking the road to Bautzen.

Buonaparte followed up his original plan of pushing on to Leipzic, whence he advanced to Dresden, and entered that city on the 8th of May.

† Whilst the French remained at Dresden, their army received considerable reinforcements, so as to form a mass little short of 200,000 men. The Prussian and Russian reinforcements, under Bennigsen, Tolly, Langeron, Sass, and Kleist, had also arrived in the meantime, and the total amount of the combined force was estimated at 150 to 180,000 men. The allies had taken up a position with the Spree in their front; their right extending to fortified eminences which defended the debouches from that river—Bautzen, which had been intrenched and covered by redoubts, forming their centre; and their left was supported by mountains covered with wood, and running parallel to the course of the Spree. Where the ground was open, particularly in the centre, strong works had been thrown up; and behind the first position, at the distance of 6,000 yards, other works of equal strength had been constructed.

Buonaparte, who had joined his army before Bautzen on the morning of the 19th of May, spent the whole of that day in reconnoitring the strength and position of the allies. Count Wittgenstein, having penetrated Buonaparte's intention in detaching Ney and Lauriston to the left, resolved to counteract the design by attacking them separately.

proposition for a Congress to be holden at Prague, for negociating a general peace; and, in pursuance of that object, a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon on the 1st of June; and, on the 4th, an armistice, to continue on all points till the 20th of July, was finally concluded and ratified—hostilities not to recommence without six days notice. At the "request" of Austria, who appears to have been the prime mover in this affair, the armistice was prolonged till the 10th of August. Every attempt at negociation, however failed; and, on the 17th, agreeably to notice, hostilities again commenced. Austria, having signed a treaty, by which she became a member of the grand alliance, having for its object the recovery of the independence of Europe, had issued a declaration of war against France; and at the different interviews which, during the armistice, had taken place between the respective Sovereigns and their ministers, it had been determined that the Crown Prince of Sweden should be invested with the chief command of the combined forces.

Various movements and affairs of posts, took place immediately on the renewal of hostilities; but it was not until the 27th of August, that a general battle was fought. In the engagement of that day—designated as the battle of Culm—General Vandamme, and other Generals, the whole of Vandamme's staff, several officers of rank, 6 standards, 60 pieces of artillery, and 10,000 prisoners were taken. On the preceding day, General Blucher had taken 50 pieces of artillery, 30 tumbrils and ammunition waggons, and above 10,000 prisoners, and, renewing the contest on the 27th and 28th, he took 30 more pieces of cannon, and 5,000 prisoners. The loss of the French was also increased, and the allies proportionately strengthened, by the desertion of two Westphalian regiments, during the principal battle. In the action of the 27th fell the gallant, the unfortunate Moreau! He had arrived at Gottenburgh, from America, only at the latter end of May; and, proceeding to the head quarters of the allies, he was appointed to the high station of Major-General of the allied

---

rately, before they were sufficiently advanced to co-operate with the main army. With this view, General Barclay de Tolly was ordered to advance on the 19th to Koningswarta, where he fell in with part of Lauriston's corps under General Pery, amounting to 9,000 men, and after a severe battle, forced the town at the point of the bayonet, took 1,500 prisoners, and seven pieces of cannon, and put the enemy totally to rout. At the same time, the troops under Marshal Ney were vigorously attacked by General D'Yorck, who, with inferior numbers, made a gallant stand, and at the close of the day retired with General Barclay de Tolly to the positions which they were appointed to hold in the great battle that was now approaching. On the 20th, at eight o'clock in the morning, Buonaparte appeared on the heights in the rear of Bautzen, and at noon the French columns under Marshals Oudinot, Macdonald, Marmont, and Soult, were ordered to advance and pass the Spree. At noon these corps advanced on Bautzen, and attacked, under the cover of a brisk cannonade, the advanced-guard of the allies, commanded by Generals Milloradowitch and Kleist. The determination of Kleist to defend the heights situated on the side of Bautzen, occasioned a desperate combat. He had to withstand a force, which, according to the Russian account, was four times as strong as his own; and yet he maintained his position till four o'clock in the afternoon, and did not give way till he had resisted the most vigorous attack, from these superior numbers, both on his right flank and on his front. The obstinacy with which the Russian Generals Rudiger and Roth, and Colonel Marcoff, defended these heights, excited also the admiration of the whole army. While the attack was made on this point, another was made by the enemy on the centre and left of the allies; but here again he was vigorously received by Count Milloradowitch, and Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, and repeatedly repulsed. Notwithstanding this gallant resistance, the enemy gained ground, and after a desperate cannonade, of six hours' continuance, the French General Compans entered Bautzen. Oudinot soon after gained possession of the heights, and at seven o'clock in the evening the allies were driven back to their second position; but Soult and Bertrand, who were sent to dispossess them of the heights on the right, failed in their object; and Ney, Lauriston and Regnier, who were ordered to pass the Spree, and turn the right flank, were equally unsuccessful. At eight o'clock in the evening Buonaparte entered Bautzen, but the battle was continued till ten at night, and the advantages gained by the enemy in this day's engagement were purchased by the loss of at least 6,000 men. At daybreak on the 21st the allied army was attacked in their position in advance of Wurschen and Hochkirch, two small towns of Lusatia, on the eastern side of the Spree, between Bautzen and Goerlitz. This ground, selected by the allies to resist the enemy's approach on the great roads to Silesia and the Oder, was bounded on the left by a range of mountains, through which Marshal Daun marched in the year 1757 to the battle and victory of Hochkirch. The line of the allied army, which extended between three and four miles, was formed by the corps of General's Kleist and D'Yorck in echellon on the right; General Blucher's, Count Wittgenstein, and General Milloradowitch's, formed the left; while the guards and grenadiers, with all the Russian cavalry, were stationed in reserve in the centre. The enemy's first efforts were directed against the two principal points of the allied position, under Barclay de Tolly and General Blucher, and after these attacks had been opened by the sharp-shooters and artillery, he gradually displayed his whole force down the entire extent of the line. Buonaparte was now visible on a commanding spot, directing the battle; and from the eminences of the allied centre a full view was presented of the enemy's columns marching over the heights to the right and left of Bautzen. These masses of troops might be estimated at from 30 to 40,000 men, who, were scarcely drawn up in order of battle, when pillars of smoke were seen rising from the high grounds to which they had advanced. This fire was the signal of attack, for Marshal Ney and General Lauriston, who instantly pressed forward with about 30,000 men, and threw themselves with great impetuosity on General Barclay de Tolly's position at Glein. A desperate engagement ensued, which raged with undiminished fury till ten o'clock in the morning, at which hour Marshal Ney, who had carried the position of Prulitz, was attacked by the allies, and driven back from that village. The conflict in the mountains was at the same time carried on with redoubled animosity; but the inflexible spirit and steady fire of the allied battalions, under the direction of the Prince of Wirtemberg and General Milloradowitch, prevented the enemy from making any progress in this quarter, and cost him an inconceivable number of men. The enemy now seemed to menace an advance in the centre, and the cannonade in that quarter became tremendous. General Blucher, finding that the important position held by General Barclay de Tolly was again threatened, resolved to part with the only reserve he had at his command, and ordered this brigade to march to the village of Krekwitz. These dispositions were scarcely made, when the enemy attacked General Blucher himself in the whole extent of his position; and the action at this time had taken a very unfavourable turn. Two Russian batteries, the one by Krekwitz, the other by Nieder Gurke, that formed the principal defence of the centre, had expended all their ammunition; and the enemy, by superior numbers, had made himself master of the heights behind Nieder Gurke, from which it was found impossibe to dislodge him. In this situation General Blucher demanded reinforcements, and General D'Yorck was ordered up to secure the execution of his dispositions; but the required succour came too late, and the two brigades of General Blucher's front gradually withdrew themselves out of their centre position to the high grounds above Krekwitz. But here not a single tenable position could be found, and as it was already perceived that the commander-in-chief began to despair of any favourable issue to the contest, General Blucher ordered his reserve cavalry to draw back across the defile, that the retrograde movement which he now contemplated might not meet with any impediment. It was now an hour after noon, and the centre of the allied army was yet untouched, but the enemy began to make demonstrations, and had opened a brisk cannonade in that quarter. Buonaparte seizing this crisis of the battle, marched with the guards, General Latour Maubourg's four divisions, and a great quantity of artillery, upon the right flank of the position of the allies, and the division of Morand and Wittenberg carried the ground which formed their point d'appui. At three o'clock in the afternoon, and while the event of the battle still seemed dubious, a heavy firing was heard along a line of three leagues, which served to announce that the allies had begun their retreat. At seven o'clock in the evening Marshal Ney and General Lauriston arrived at Wurtchen, and Marshal Marmont, after occupying all the intrenched villages and redoubts which the allies had evacuated, advanced in the direction of Hochkirch, and thus took the whole of the left of the retreating army in flank. Ever since the opening of the campaign, the policy of the allies had been rather to break off a battle before it was ended, if its tendency were obviously unfavourable, than to risk every thing by exposing themselves to the chance of a total defeat; and as the contest in the battle of the 21st, had actually taken an unfavourable turn, they availed themselves of their undisputed superiority in cavalry to secure their retreat. This movement was made in the face of day, with the most perfect order and regularity, in two columns. On the 22d the allied armies continued their retreat, and were pursued by the French to the heights in the rear of Ruckenback, where the combat was renewed, chiefly between the cavalry of the two armies. In the early part of the day the pursuers were repulsed, but, to the astonishment of the allies, the French were enabled to bring up more than 15,000 cavalry, and thus to turn the fortune of the day in their favour. At seven o'clock in the evening, Marshal Duroc, the Duke of Friuli, and the Grand Chamberlain of France, being on a small eminence, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz, along with Marshal Mortier and General Kirgener, one of the last balls fired by the allies struck the ground close to Marshal Mortier, dreadfully lacerated the lower extremities of Marshal Duroc, and killed General Kirgener on the spot. Duroc felt that he was mortally wounded; in less than twelve hours he expired. On the 23d, at nine o'clock in the morning, General Regnier entered Goerlitz; and while one part of the French army advanced into Silesia, another took the route towards Berlin. On the 24th, Ney, Lauriston, and Regnier, forced the passage of the Neiss, and on the 25th that of the Queiss. The allied armies in their retreat seemed to have deviated from the direct line towards the Oder, and to have moved upon Schweidnitz; this change in the direction of their retreat was probably occasioned by their desire to occupy the strong places of Silesia, and by a hope that Buonaparte would not dare to follow them so far into that country. In this, however, they were mistaken, for the pursuit was so rapid, that within ten days from the battle of Bautzen one division of the French

allied army. To his judicious advice, respecting the plan of the campaign, much credit was given.* On the 29th General Blucher again defeated the enemy; taking General Putton prisoner, with 20 eagles, and 22 pieces of cannon.

Advancing in the career of victory, the Crown Prince, early in September, atchieved a signal victory over Buonaparte's favourite, Marshal Ney, alias the Prince of Moskwa. On that occasion, the loss of the enemy was mentioned at from 16,000 to 18,000 men, 3 standards, upwards of 50 pieces of cannon, and 400 ammunition waggons.† From the recommencement of hostilities, down to this period, the entire loss of the enemy, was estimated at upwards of 100,000 men, and 250 pieces of cannon.

Feeling the severity of their losses, an extraordinary sitting of the French Senate was holden on the 4th of October, the Empress Maria Louisa attending in person. The object of this sitting was, to pass a decree for another levy of 280,000 men.

But France had yet greater, severer losses to sustain, The defection of the King of Bavaria, and his junction with the allied powers; the defeat—the total rout of Buonaparte, on the 15th, 16th, 18th, and 19th of October, with the loss of 120,000 men, and 120 pieces of cannon were yet to be proclaimed to the world.—In this last and decisive action, during the heat of the conflict, 17 battalions of German infantry, with all their staff, and two regiments of Westphalian hussars, with 22 pieces of artillery, came over to the allies.‡

The

army had advanced one hundred miles into Silesia; the blockade of Glogau, one of the important keys of the Oder, was raised; and the French had obtained possession of Breslau, the capital of Silesia.

* When Buonaparte entered Dresden from Silesia, at eight o'clock in the morning of the 26th of August, the grand Russian, Prussian, and Austrian army, commanded by the sovereigns, were before that city. The allied army at that time crowned all the hills which surround Dresden, and had approached upon the left bank of the Elbe, to the distance of a league from the French posts. At noon all was tranquil. At four o'clock in the afternoon, six columns of the allied army, each preceeded by 50 pieces of artillery, descended into the plain, and marched towards the French redoubts. In less than a quarter of an hour afterwards the fire became terrible, and one of the redoubts was silenced. At five o'clock a part of the French reserve was engaged, and several shells fell in the town. Roused to the greatest exertions by the urgency of the danger, Buonaparte ordered Murat to march with General Latour Maubourg's cavalry upon the right flank of the allies, and at the same moment, four divisions of the young guards debouched through the gates of Pirna and Plauen. The effect of these efforts was to force the allies back from the centre to the extremity of their position, and to cover the field with the dead. On the 27th the weather was dreadful, and the rain fell in torrents. At nine o'clock in the morning the battle was renewed, and the allies determined if possible to drive the French from the city. But it was soon perceived that it would be impossible to effect a practicable breach in the walls, and at two o'clock in the afternoon, the allied army, finding themselves in danger of being surrounded and cut off from their communication with Bohemia, resolved upon a retreat. The French having thus succeeded in repulsing the assailants, marched out of the city on the morning of the 28th, to harass them in their retreat. Buonaparte, availing himself of the perilous situation in which he had placed his enemies, ordered an immense number of cannon to be brought out of the city, and the battle was renewed by a heavy cannonade on both sides, accompanied by charges of cavalry. After several hours, the French army, perceiving that they could make no impression, withdrew into Dresden; and the allies retreated into the valley of Toplitz, in Bohemia.

General Moreau received a mortal wound from a cannon fired by the French imperial guard on the 27th, while that General was in earnest conversation with the Emperor of Russia, and which, passing through the horse, carried off both his legs. This dreadful wound did not immediately prove mortal; he was removed from the field of battle on a litter, made of Cossack's pikes, and after undergoing repeated operations, died on the 3d of September, at Laun, in Bohemia.

† The allies having retired from before Dresden, Buonaparte found himself at liberty to dispatch a strong force towards Berlin, and Marshal Ney, at the head of 70,000 men, was appointed on that service. After the repulse of the French on the 23d of August, the Crown Prince, finding that he was not opposed by an equal force, determined to take advantage of his superior numbers, and moved towards the Elbe with the intention to cross that river, and to march upon Leipzic. But on his arrival at Rabenstein his march was arrested by the intelligence that the enemy, under Marshal Ney, was in full march upon Juterbock, and that the Prussian army under General Bulow, which did not exceed 40,000 men, was threatened with an immediate attack. On the receipt of this intelligence the Crown Prince changed his route, and arrived at Juterbock, by forced marches on the 6th of September, at the moment when the Prussian army, after having sustained the unequal combat with distinguished gallantry for several hours, was nearly overpowered by numbers. For a moment the Russians and Swedes halted, for the purpose of forming in order of battle; and as soon as this was accomplished 70 battalions, and 10,000 horse, supported by 150 pieces of artillery, advanced in columns to the attack, preceded by 4,000 Russian and Swedish cavalry, who advanced at full speed, for the purpose of supporting some points against which the principal efforts of the enemy were directed. At the sight of this immense army coming up to the assistance of a foe against whom the enemy had scarcely made an impression, the French first wavered, and then fled with precipitation. In their retreat they were charged by the numerous cavalry of the allies with so much impetuosity that their ranks were broken, and the utmost disorder ensued. The enemy after their defeat, attempted in vain to rally.

‡ During the month of September, which was principally occupied in military movements, the allied forces had been augmented by the arrival of General Benningsen, at the head of a Russian corps of 40,000 men. Platoff, the Cossack chief, re-appeared, and his warriors formed part of General Benningsen's corps, which joined the grand army in Bohemia. This seasonable reinforcement determined

the leaders of that army to make a movement on the left, and, ascending from Bohemia, to interpose between Dresden and the communication with the Rhine. Platoff, with his Cossacks, led the advance, and vanquished a French corps, under General Lefebvre, which had been dispatched to clear the road from Dresden. The allied army, in quitting the Bohemian frontier, proceeded in three divisions towards Leipzic, the force of the Russians and Prussians amounting to 90,000 and the Austrians to 100,000 men. The armies of the Crown Prince and General Blucher, amounting together to 130,000 men, made a combined movement on the 5th of October in the direction of Leipzic, and by the 9th the whole of the combined armies formed a line in Buonaparte's rear, stretching from Dessau to the Bohemian mountains. Never perhaps was a military operation accomplished by so extensive and simultaneous a movement. The allies had now effected their great preliminary design, and it is impossible not to admire the skill, boldness, and energy, displayed upon this occasion.

Bavaria had long been the ally of France; but she had been treated as a vassal; a superior Austrian corps, under Prince Reuss, had already entered the Bavarian territory; and the French army assembled on the Maine, and from which Buonaparte had promised assistance to Bavaria, had been ordered to repair to the Elbe. Maximilian Joseph, therefore suddenly determined to dissolve all the ties which united him to France, and to afford to the cause of the allies his full and cordial co-operation. A treaty of alliance and concert between Austria and Bavaria was accordingly signed by Prince Reuss and General Wrede, on the 8th of October; and the Bavarian General with 35,000 Bavarian troops and 25,000 Austrians under his command, immediately communicated with the combined armies. In this state of affairs, Buonaparte was reduced to the necessity of commencing his retreat, and on the 7th of October he quitted Dresden, accompanied by the royal family of Saxony. His march was not directed upon Leipzic, but upon Wittenburg; Berlin seemed to be his ulterior object, and the utmost alarm seized that capital. The Crown Prince, and General Blucher, determined to follow close in his rear, to be ready to assail him at any point against which he might direct his operations. With this view, they re-crossed the Saale and the Elster, and were preparing to gain the right bank of the Elbe, when they learned that a complete change was observable in the movements of the enemy. It now appeared that the French division which had passed the Elbe, and threatened Berlin, had been recalled, and that all the different corps were moving in the direction of Leipzic. On the 15th of October Buonaparte arrived at Leipzic, and found that place still in the possession of his troops; but the city was surrounded by hostile armies. The united force of Blucher and the Crown Prince extended on the north from Mulda to the Saale; and the army of Silesia communicated along the Saale with the grand army, which extended to the south from that river to the Mulda. According to this disposition of the allied forces, the two armies touched each other at the extremities, and though they were separated at other points, yet even their opposite lines were so nearly in contact that they could communicate by signals, and hear distinctly the sound of each other's cannon. The 10th of October, the day immediately following the arrival of Napoleon, was fixed upon by Prince Schwartzenberg, for a general attack on all the French positions round Leipzic. On the north the French divisions under Ney, occupied a line about four miles in extent, stretching from Leipzic along the roads to Dessau and Magdeburg. The army of the Crown Prince of Sweden formed the left of the opposite line, reaching from Wetten to Zarlug. On the right, nearer Leipzic, was General Blucher, with his head-quarters pushed to Gross Kirgal, and it was determined that on this side the grand effort should be made. At mid-day a furious onset was made by the Prussian cavalry, which dislodged the enemy from the advanced villages which they had occupied; but they tenaciously held the woody ground on their right, and maintained themselves in the villages of Mockern and Mokau, on the left of their position. In the former of these villages a bloody contest ensued. Five times it was taken and re-taken by General D'Yorck, but at length the victorious Silesians carried all before them, and drove the French force beyond the banks of the Partha. The Russians, equally with their brave allies in arms, made the most gallant efforts in the villages of Great and Little Wetteritz; and the loss of the French in this battle, was 40 pieces of cannon, 12,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, one eagle, and many caissons; while the loss of the allies did not exceed 7,000 men. Whilst this contest was raging to the north of Liepzic, a separate, and still more furious battle, was fought on the south, between Prince Schwartzenberg, who was advancing towards Leipzic by the road of Lutzen, and that portion of the French army which was commanded by Buonaparte in person. The attack was made by the allies at eight o'clock in the morning, and the principal operations took place on the side of Wachau and Liebertwolkwitz. At eleven o'clock

Mac-

The result of this affair was, that Buonaparte again deserted the shattered remains of his army, and fled to Paris, which, as a contemporary writer observes, he entered with the assured confidence of a bully, not with the noble firmness of a hero. The immediate consequences of this grand overthrow of the Tyrant were great and glorious,

Marshal Macdonald showed himself in advance before Holzhauzen, and, in conjunction with General Lauriston, succeeded in forcing General Count Klenau to evacuate the position he had occupied near Gross Possna. Count Klenau, having obtained reinforcements, ordered a succession of attacks to be made on the enemy at Seyfartshayn and Gross Possna, and these posts were, in the course of the day, taken and re-taken several times. On the side of Wachau, the enemy, aided by fresh troops, pressed forward with so much vigour, that the Prince of Wirtemberg was obliged to make a retrograde movement; and Prince Schwartzenberg, being apprized that Buonaparte was making his great effort in this quarter, immediately ordered up into line the whole of the Austrian reserves. At the moment that the Austrian reserve cavalry, under General Nostitz, was debouching in advance of Grobern, the French dragoon-guards and Polish cavalry, under General Letori, had already penetrated to the vicinity of that village, and several of the battalions of infantry, drawn up in square masses, were following in close order. In this emergency General Nostitz charged the enemy's cavalry at the head of three regiments of Austrian cuirassiers; and the charge was made with so much energy that the cavalry was broken, and several squares of French guards, put completely to the rout. Napoleon, finding all his attempts to gain ground in this quarter frustrated, now determined to repeat his attacks upon the Prince of Wirtemberg; and for this purpose, the corps of cavalry under General Latour Maubourg, headed by the King of Naples, was brought into action. In this quarter the French infantry greatly out-numbered the Russians, and the allies had only ten squadrons of light cavalry on the spot. The enemy, favoured by the nature of the ground, advanced to the charge with impetuosity, and were actually on the point of breaking through the confederate army and cutting off the right wing, when the Emperor Alexander, perceiving the critical situation in which the army was placed, and fully aware of the disastrous consequences that would ensue, ordered, at this decisive moment, the reserve of the Cossack guards to charge the enemy. The charge was irresistible; and the French horse were broken and dispersed; twenty-four pieces of captured cannon were retaken, and the disasters of the day were retrieved. On the approach of night, both parties desisted from hostilities. The 17th was occupied by the French in replacing the 80,000 cannon balls which had been fired on the preceding day, and by the allies in bringing up their reinforcements. On the 18th, Prince Schwartzenberg determined to execute the designs of the allied sovereigns, and to bring the fate of Europe to its final crisis. At two o'clock in the morning Buonaparte was upon the field. He approached within two leagues of Leipzic, and stationed his army, the right of Connewitz, the centre at Probstheyda, and the left at Sletteritz villages to the south-east of the city, placing himself in the mill of Ta.

The grand army of the allies, which was under arms by the dawn of day, was divided into three columns: the first, under the command of General Benningsen, received orders to proceed from Seyfartshayn in the direction of Holzhausen; the second, commanded by General Barclay de Tolly, was destined to advance against the heights of Wachau; and the third, under the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, formed the reserve.

Prodigious as were the efforts made on this day by the confederate army, to make an impression on Buonaparte's line of positions, the conflict was marked by no particular feature, nor distinguished by any bold manœuvre, or striking vicissitude: physical force supplied the place of military skill, and a series of regular assaults, bloody and obstinate, seem to have formed the general characteristic of the battle of Leipzic. At three o'clock in the afternoon, victory still hovered between the two armies; when a brigade of Saxon cavalry, the light artillery of the 7th corps, and a battalion of Saxon light infantry, with a brigade of Wirtemberg cavalry, under General Normann, finding themselves on the point of being charged by the Russian cavalry, marched hastily forwards, the infantry shouldering their firelocks, and the cavalry sheathing their swords, passed over to the allies! The Saxon corps posted in Paunsdorf no sooner heard of this event, than they took the same resolution; and although the Saxon General Zeschau exerted his utmost efforts to detain his troops in the French ranks, the whole of the 1st brigade, consisting of eleven battalions of infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, and three complete batteries of heavy artillery, followed the example of their brethren in arms, and made the cause of the confederates their own. This defection, at so critical a moment, not only caused an opening in the French lines, but gave up to the Crown Prince the important debouch confided to the Saxon army, which carried its hostilities to such a height as immediately to turn its 40 pieces of cannon against General Durett's division. Disorder now prevailed in the French ranks; the allies established themselves on the left bank of the Partha, and soon advanced within half a league of Leipzic. Buonaparte instantly dispatched General Nansouty, with twenty pieces of artillery, to take in flank the troops which were advancing along the Partha to attack Leipzic, while he himself was seen on the field proceeding in haste with a division of his guards to the village of Reudnitz, to oppose General Langeron. The promptitude of these movements re-established order in the French army; but the appearance of General Count Bubna at Molkau arrested the progress of Nansouty, and obliged him to forego his intention of outflanking the advanced column of the allies. From some unaccountable delay, the Swedish artillery had not arrived upon the field, but the Crown Prince found a substitute in the cannon of the Saxons, which, being supported by a battery of Congreve's rockets, mowed down the ranks of the enemy, and contributed materially to their repulse. Buonaparte, from his post at Reudnitz, pushed forward a division of his guards to the support of Marshal Marmont, who now succeeded in forcing Count Langeron to retire from his position at Schonfeld. The Crown Prince, perceiving the inequality of numbers by which General Langeron was pressed and obliged to retreat, ordered the Swedish General Cardell to advance with twenty pieces of cannon; and thus reinforced, Langeron was enabled towards the close of the day to retake the village. Blucher, though he took no prominent part in the battle of Leipzic, contributed by his dispositions to promote the fortune of the day. Perceiving that the enemy was sending off troops in his rear on the road to Weissenfels, he detached General D'Yorck with his whole corps, on the evening of the 18th, towards Halle, in hopes that on the left bank of the Saale he might reach Weissenfels before the enemy. The approach of night put a stop to the operations of the conflicting armies. To add to the embarrassment of Buonaparte, Generals Sorbier and Dulauloy repaired to his bivouac in the evening, to inform him, that in the course of the day 95,000 cannon-balls had been fired; that the ammunition in reserve was exhausted; and that there remained only 16,000 cannon balls, which would scarcely suffice for a cannonade of two hours, after which no ammunition would remain for ulterior events; that the army had in five days fired 220,000 cannon balls, and that a further supply could only be obtained at Magdebourg or Erfurt. This state of things rendered an immediate retreat indispensible, and Buonaparte determined to march upon Erfurt, for the same reason which induced him to march to Leipzic. The evening had scarcely closed when the French army began to defile, and the whole of the night of the 18th was occupied in the retreat. Buonaparte, with the main body of his guards, remained in the vicinity of Leipzic till the morning of the 19th, when the victorious army of the confederates made every preparation to storm his last strong hold. At nine o'clock the bombardment commenced. The Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, had scarcely joined the army in front of Leipzic, when a Saxon officer with a flag of truce arrived, and, in the name of the magistracy, requested that hostilities might be suspended for the purpose of arranging a capitulation. The messenger was received by the Emperor Alexander in person, who announced to him that his request could not be granted; and the preparations for the assault were continued with undiminished alacrity; when a second flag of truce appeared from Marshal Marmont, with an offer to deliver up the remainder of the Saxon troops, if the French might be permitted to retire unmolested, and the city spared a bombardment. These proposals being made only to gain time, were rejected, and the general attack had already begun. General Sacken, who had advanced to the north side of the city, carried the intrenchments in front of the Halle gate after a severe action; but a galling fire of grape shot still retarded his advance, till General Langeron, by order of General Blucher, filed off a body of troops for his support through the meadows of the Partha, and after forcing the enemy to abandon the gate, entered the city as conquerors. The northern army commenced its operations towards the east; and the Crown Prince ordered General Bulow to attack and occupy Leipzic in that direction. The gates were defended with great bravery, but nothing could withstand the Prussian bayonet; the French gave way in all directions, and notwithstanding all their attempts to rally in the streets, the intrepid Prussians bore down all opposition, and became masters of the eastern division of the town. About the same time the advanced-guard of General Benningsen's army entered the city, and after a severe engagement in some of the avenues, put the enemy completely to the rout. The immense quantity of baggage, artillery, and equipages of every description, relinquished by the French army in their precipitate retreat, had choked up every street, gate-way, and outlet; and the retreating army exhibited a chaos of confusion that cannot be described, while each individual sought in flight his personal safety. Obstinately as the French defended themselves, they were unable to withstand the iron masses of the assailants. They were overthrown in every quarter, and finally driven out of the city. Buonaparte did not quit Leipzic till ten o'clock in the morning, only a few minutes previously to the victorious entrance of the allies. Before his departure, he had ordered the engineers to form a mine under the grand bridge between Leipzic and Lindenau, with directions to blow up the bridge when the French troops had all marched over, and thus to retard the advance of their pursuers. This duty, by a neglect on the part of Colonel Montfort, was confided to a corporal and four sappers, who upon hearing the first shot discharged from the ramparts of the city, set fire to the mine, and blew up the bridge. When this explosion took place, the whole of the rear-guard of the French army, under Marshal Macdonald and Prince Poniatowski, were still on the Leipzic side of the river, with a park of eight pieces of cannon, and several hundred waggons. A cry of dismay soon spread through the ranks on the approach of the troops to that river—"The enemy are close upon our rear, and the bridges are destroyed;" was heard on every side. The soldiers dispersed, and were all either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; Marshal Macdonald swam across the river; but Prince Poniatowski, less fortunate, plunged into the Elster, and sunk never more to rise.

The results of the battle of Leipzic were immense and decisive. The allied armies took fifteen general officers; among them Generals Regnier and Lauriston, commanding corps d'armée. The body of General Dumorestier was found in the river, and more than 1,000 men perished in the stream; and 250 pieces of cannon, 900 caissons, and about 15,000 prisoners, including the King of Saxony, and all his court, fell into the hands of the allies, besides several eagles and colours. The enemy abandoned more than 23,000 sick and wounded, and his total loss exceeded 60,000 men. According to calculation, Buonaparte, was not able to save from the general disaster more than from 75 to 80,000 troops.

The allied monarchs, proceeding from different quarters, at the head of their guards, made a solemn entry into Leipzic about mid-day on the 19th of October, and met in the great square of that city.

Buonaparte's

glorious, beyond all hope and calculation. The house of Orange was reinstated in Holland;* Hanover and Brunswick were restored to their rightful sovereigns; the Confederation of the Rhine was dissolved; the Rhine itself was passed by the allies,† and the "sacred territory" of France laid open to its very frontier. To these might be added a general revival of trade throughout Europe.

The first steps of Buonaparte, after his arrival at Paris, were, to throw an oppressive weight of taxation upon the people, and to decree a new levy of 300,000 conscripts. Thus, at the lowest calculation, 1,110,000 of the youths of France were ordered to be dragged from their homes, from the arms of their parents and relations, within a year, to be sacrificed at the shrine of unprincipled ambition. Shortly after the issuing of the French Senatus Consultum for the new levy just mentioned, the allied powers promulgated a declaration offering peace to Buonaparte, on the liberal basis of guaranteeing to the French Empire "an extent of territory, which France under her Kings never knew." On this basis, Buonaparte professed himself willing to treat; and a Congress was therefore expected to assemble at Manheim, to negociate a general peace. It was the desire of Buonaparte, that, during the negociation, an armistice should be proclaimed; but, to this the allies very prudently refused to assent.

In the south of Europe, the progress of the allied arms this year, was equally gratifying. Spain and Portugal were almost cleared of the enemy; the sittings of the Cortes were transferred to Madrid; "the intrusive King," like his great brother, was again compelled to seek his safety in flight; and the victorious Wellington, having passed the Pyrenees, planted the British standard on the sacred territory of France.

In the month of April, General Murray with an inferior force, defeated Marshal Suchet, near the Veilein; the French having upwards of 1,000 killed, and losing a proportionate number in wounded and prisoners. The total loss of the allies, in killed, wounded, and missing, was only between 6 and 700. On the 26th of May, Lord Wellington entered Salamanca, the French precipitately evacuating the city on his approach. On the day following, the French, apparently fearful of being cut off by the rapid advance of the allied army, commenced a hasty evacuation of Madrid, and of all the posts in its vicinity. Lord Wellington continued to advance, the French flying before him, in every direction. On the 13th of June, the enemy blew up the inner walls of Burgos, fled from that fortress, and, rapidly continuing their retreat, abandoned the whole of the country to the Ebro, which General Graham immediately passed. Lord Wellington's next laurels were gathered on the plains of Vittoria; where, on the 21st of June, his Lordship obtained a complete victory over the French army commanded by Marshal Jourdan. The enemy lost 115 pieces of cannon, 415 waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions,

---

Buonaparte's retreat was such as might have been expected; a powerful army was behind, and clouds of Cossacks and other light troops were far advanced before him; his line of march from the Saale to Fulda was strewed with artillery, baggage, and every species of military wreck; and the more effectually to impede his movements, the Bavarian army, amounting to 35,000 men, had placed themselves at Hanau, near the banks of the Maine. On the arrival of Napoleon at Erfurt, on the 23d, he halted for two days, to re-organize and refresh his exhausted army. To the neighbourhood of this city he was pursued by Blucher, who concluding that Buonaparte would endeavour to cross the Rhine at Coblentz, had advanced in the direction of that city. Relieved by this movement of the Silesian army from the apprehension of being placed between two fires, Buonaparte advanced by rapid marches upon Hanau, where he turned the whole of his remaining force against the Bavarians. General Wrede resolved to sustain the unequal contest; but after a well contested battle, of eight hours duration, he was compelled to give way; and on the evening of the 31st the head-quarters of the French army were established at Francfort. On the 7th of November Buonaparte crossed the Rhine at Mentz, with the remnant of his German army, leaving behind him all his conquests, and with them his towering hopes of universal dominion.

* During the spring and summer of the year 1813, Holland remained tranquil; and the French government seems to have been lulled by this tranquillity into a state of delusive confidence. However, when the intelligence of the result of the battle of Leipzic began to transpire, the confederates at the Hague, amounting to 100 in number, judged that the time had arrived to emancipate their country, and as one of the first steps towards effecting their object, they determined to enlarge their number by the addition of a respectable body of their fellow citizens. With this view, each of the confederates engaged to select from among his friends four individuals, who, without any mutual concert or knowledge of each other, should engage to be ready whenever called upon to obey the command of the friend by whom each was selected. Thus they formed a band of 400 respectable adherents, selected chiefly from among the burghers of the town, and held together by the terms of friendship, patriotism, and mutual security. At the head of this band stood Count Styrum; and the services of the inhabitants of Schœveningen, a village on the coast, about a mile from the Hague, were secured by the influence of an inhabitant of that place, of the name of Pronck. No measures were taken to influence the people, for none were necessary, it being perfectly clear that their good will and co-operation might be depended upon the moment leaders were presented to them in whom they could confide. Count Styrum, whose zeal, courage, and activity, were remarkable, soon succeeded in gaining over the whole of the Dutch national guard at the Hague, consisting of 300 men, along with their Colonel (Tulling), who conducted himself with so much circumspection as to retain, to the moment of the explosion, the confidence of the French prefect. On the 15th of November, the populace being already in a state of great fermentation, a mob was collected at Amsterdam, which immediately proceeded to burn the wooden huts in which the douaniers, or excise officers, levied the duties, and to pillage the house of the receiver of the customs, who refused to take down the French arms. This tumult, which had the appearance of being accidental, succeeded in terrifying the French authorities, who on the next day quitted the town; and from this period, the corporation, and the more opulent part of the inhabitants, of Amsterdam, who had hitherto resisted the idea of a counter-revolution, attached themselves to the popular cause. On the next a proclamation was issued, in which four and twenty citizens were called on by name to assume the administration of affairs, and the government of the city passed into their hands. No sooner had the intelligence of the insurrection at Amsterdam reached the Hague, than Count Styrum was immediately appointed governor by the confederates, in the name of the Prince of Orange. An instrument was also drawn up, summoning a meeting of those persons who had been members of the states of Holland in the years 1794-5, and this meeting was appointed to take place on the following day. A proclamation was then addressed to the Dutch people, which was received by the people with every demonstration of joy; an orange flag was hoisted on the tower of the Hague, and similar emblems were suspended from almost every window in the town. On the 27th M. Fagel arrived from England, with a letter from the Prince of Orange to M. Van Hogendorp, who, with M. Maasdam, had been appointed, on the 21st, to the general administration of affairs at the Hague. On the 30th, the Prince of Orange, accompanied by Lord Clancarty, arrived off the Dutch coast, and in the course of the day effected a landing off Schœveningen, under a royal salute from a small English fleet off that station. The day was remarkably fine, the beach was covered with spectators, and the cry of Orange boven! was heard in every direction, accompanied by the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy.

On the 3d of December, the Prince of Orange, accompanied by the English embassy, made his entrance into Amsterdam, where he was received with enthusiastic plaudits, and proclaimed by the title of William I. Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands. This proclamation was followed by the levy and organization of an army of 25,000 men; and the rapid progress of the allied armies completed the triumph of Dutch independence.

† While the grand allied army directed its march towards the Rhine, and on the 5th of November established their head-quarters at Francfort, the Crown Prince, with the army of the north, liberated his Majesty's Hanoverian dominions from the presence of the French armies.

On the 4th of December, the corps of the Prince Royal's army moved forwards towards the Strecknitz; and on their arrival on the banks of that river, Marshal Davoust shut himself up in Hamburgh, leaving the right wing of the Danes posted at Oldeslohe. The Crown Prince now marched upon Lubec, which city soon capitulated; and from thence directed his operations against Danish Holstein. An attempt was made by the government to raise the militia in this province, but the inhabitants refused to arm against the allies, and the conquest of Holstein became inevitable. The fall of Gluckstadt speedily followed the invasion of Holstein; and Denmark, finding all further resistance unavailing, separated her interests from France, and negociated a treaty of peace with Sweden and Great Britain. By this treaty Norway was surrendered to Sweden, in return for which Denmark was to receive Swedish Pomerania. Britain, on her part, agreed to restore to Denmark all the conquests made from that country, with the exception of Heligoland, in consideration of which the Danes were to join the allies with ten thousand troops, on receiving a subsidy from this country of 400,000*l.*

Whilst the negociations were in progress between the allied powers and Denmark, Marshal Davoust exercised the most tyrannical conduct towards the inhabitants of Hamburgh. The funds of the bank, with all the private property deposited in that institution by the citizens, were seized and confiscated; every species of oppression and injustice was practised towards the inhabitants, and thousands of them, were expelled from the city, because it was not in their power to accumulate a stock of provision on which they could subsist for six months.

The battle of Leipzic was soon followed by the fate of Dresden, and General St. Cyr, with the garrison of 16,000 men, were made prisoners of war, and marched into Russia. Buonaparte now proposed to treat for the surrender of all the fortresses on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula; but as the consequence of any arrangement of this nature would have been to restore an army of upwards of 50,000 men to France, the proposal was deemed inadmissible, and rejected by the allied sovereigns.

treasure,

BATTLE OF VITTORIA.

Published by J. Roberts[illegible]

treasure, &c. and the French Commanders' baton of a Marshal of France.* Lord Wellington continued the pursuit, and, on the 25th, took the enemy's only remaining gun.—The battle of Vittoria was celebrated in England by general illuminations, and by splendid fetes at Carlton House and Vauxhall. In Spain, medals were struck upon the occasion. The Cortes, also, by an unanimous vote, decreed a territorial property to Lord Wellington, in testimony of the gratitude of the Spanish nation.

So sensibly was Buonaparte affected by this defeat of Jourdan, that he immediately superseded that officer in the command, and appointed Soult to succeed him, with the title, or rank, of "Lieutenant-General of the Emperor"—an honour never before conferred upon any of Buonaparte's Generals. Previously to his joining the army, he issued a proclamation, stating, that His Imperial Majesty's instructions, and his own intentions were, to drive the allies across the Ebro, and to celebrate the Emperor's birth day in the town of Vittoria! Soult, though the "Lieutenant General of the Emperor," was destined, in his turn, to acknowledge the superiority of British prowess. From the 25th of July to the 2d of August, a series of engagements took place between Soult's army and that of Lord Wellington, the result of which was the defeat, and the retreat of the enemy, from the Spanish frontiers into France, with a loss of from 15,000 to 20,000 men, 4,900 of which were prisoners.

On the 31st of August, the town of St. Sebastian's, which had been invested shortly after the battle of Vittoria, was carried by storm, Soult, in a desperate attempt to relieve that town, is said to have lost 1,000 men. The fortress held out till the 8th of September, when it surrendered by capitulation.

On the 7th of October, the allied army crossed the Bidassoa, and planted the British standard in France. Pampeluna, the siege of which Lord Wellington had left to the care of the Spanish General Don C. D'Espana, surrendered on the 31st of October, a circumstance which relieved Lord Wellington from every apprehension respecting his rear, and enabled him to concentrate and dispose of his forces at pleasure—On the 9th 10th 11th 12th and 13th of December, Soult—who intended to drive the allies across the Ebro, and to celebrate Buonaparte's birth day in the town of Vittoria, sustained another series of defeats on the banks of the Adour. Immediately after the action, three German regiments, apprised of the important changes which had taken place in the northern parts of the Continent, went over in a body to the allies.

To this brilliant, and almost unprecedented tissue of successes, the only alloy was the sudden embarkation of General Murray, from Tarragona, in June, an extraordinary and unfortunate circumstance, which excited much chagrin in the country.†

This year, the war with America was conducted with much bitterness and malignity, on the part of the

* Vittoria was the central depot of the French, in the frontier provinces. Here Joseph Buonaparte, having Marshal Jourdan as his Major-General, had taken up a position in front of the city. On the 20th the two armies were in presence of each other. The French had their left wing stationed on the heights between Arunez and Puebla d'Arlanson, their centre on a height which commanded the valley of Zadora, and their right wing resting upon Vittoria. Lord Wellington, having determined to dislodge the enemy from these positions, commenced the attack on the following day by a successful movement made on the part of Sir Rowland Hill, who at the beginning of the action drove the enemy from the important heights of Puebla, and took possession of Subijana de Alava. The French Generals soon became sensible of the importance of the position they had lost, and Joseph Buonaparte and Marshal Jourdan repaired in person to encourage the troops to regain the village of Subijana; but all their efforts proved unavailing, and after an arduous contest, Sir Rowland Hill remained master both of the village and the heights. During this conflict the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, an officer of distinguished zeal and tried gallantry, fell at the head of his regiment, and General Murillo was seriously wounded, but refused to quit the field. The 4th and light divisions passed the Zadora immediately after Sir Rowland Hill had obtained possession of the Subijana de Alava, the former at the bridge of Nauclaus, and the latter at the bridge of Tres Puentes; while the 3d division, under Sir Thomas Picton, crossed the bridge higher up the river, and was followed by the 7th, under the Earl of Dalhousie. These four divisions, forming the centre of the allied army, were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed; while Sir Rowland Hill should move forward from Subijana to the attack of the left. The enemy, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment on the hills, abandoned his position in the valley, and commenced his retreat in the direction of Vittoria, towards which city the allied troops continued to advance in good order, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground. Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the 1st and 5th divisions, and Generals Pack and Bradford's brigades of infantry, with the brigades of cavalry under Generals Bock and Anson, moved forward from Margina towards Vittoria, accompanied by the Spanish division under Colonel Longa and General Giron. The enemy advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on the strong heights which cover the village of Gamarra Major, and occupying the tetes de pont to the bridges over the Zadora at Gamarra and Abechucho. It now became necessary that the position of the enemy should be turned, and General Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa, with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by Major-General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry, under the command of Major-General Oswald, to whom the command of all the troops was confided. In the execution of this service, which was performed with great gallantry and success, the whole of the Spanish and Portuguese force behaved most admirably. No sooner were the heights in possession of the allies, than the village of Gamarra Major was stormed and carried by the 5th brigade, under Brigadier-General Robinson; which advanced to the charge in column of battalions, under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, and after storming the place, captured three pieces of cannon. Sir Thomas Graham, supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry, now proceeded to attack the village of Abechucho, with the first division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Dubourdieu's brigade, and Captain Romsey's troop of horse artillery, under the cover of whose fire, Colonel Walker's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried at the point of the bayonet, the light battalion having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge. During the operations at Abechucho, the enemy made the most vigorous efforts to re-possess themselves of the village of Gamarra Major, but they were gallantly repulsed by the troops of the 5th division, under the command of General Oswald, and at length, finding all their endeavours unavailing, they desisted from the attack. The enemy had still two divisions of infantry in reserve on the heights to the left of the Zadora, and it was found impossible for the allies to cross the bridges until the troops which had moved upon his centre and left had driven this reserved corps through Vittoria. This service having been admirably performed, the enemy gave way in every direction, and the whole of the allied army was brought into communication, and co-operated in the pursuit. The movements of the troops under Sir Thomas Graham having, by the occupation of Gamarra and Abechucho, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France, the vanquished army was obliged to turn to the road towards Pampluna; but even in this direction the fugitives were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off.

† Lord Wellington transmitted instructions to Sir John Murray, dated the 14th of April, directing him to embark his troops at Alicant, and to effect a landing in Catalonia, for the purpose of undertaking the siege of Tarragona, in concert with a British squadron stationed off this part of the coast of Spain, under the command of Admiral Hallowell, a most active and enterprising officer. On the 2d of June the fleet destined for this expedition anchored to the eastward of the Point of Salon; on the 3d, soon after sun-rise, the debarkation of the troops commenced; and in the course of that day the whole of the infantry, with some field pieces were landed. Tarragona was immediately reconnoitred and invested, the point of attack was decided upon, and a place fixed upon for the depot of artillery stores. Between the 4th and the 11th five batteries were constructed, and the fire was kept up with great spirit. During the latter day, Major Thackaray, the chief officer of engineers, having reported that he was now perfectly prepared to push the siege with vigour, the fire on the Fuente Reale was increased, and it was decided to storm that work during the night. The intelligence, however, which General Murray received late in the evening, of the approach of Marshal Suchet, and of the march of a French column from Barcelona, prevented him from carrying his intention into execution, and determined him to raise the siege and re-embark his troops. General Murray, in defence of his conduct for raising the siege, stated that very large French armies were advancing to the relief of the place, and that Marshal Suchet, after leaving 20,000 men to garrison the cities of Valencia and Catalonia, had still under his command a disposable force of 24,000 veteran troops. To oppose this army the British General stated that he had about 13,000 men under his immediate command, exclusive of the force under General Copons, which amounted to 8,500 men, without pay, without discipline, without a single piece of cannon, without the means of subsistence, and totally incapable of acting in the field. The allied army therefore consisted of 21,500 men, of whom 4,500 only were British and German troops, and the remainder Sicilians, Calabrese, and Spaniards, the armies of the allies being moreover greatly inferior in point of cavalry to the enemy. The embarkation of the troops, which was completed on the 17th, was made with so much precipitation, that the guns in the most advanced batteries of the allies were abandoned. However, after an ample investigation of the conduct of Sir John Murray, before a court of military inquiry, he was acquitted of all the charges brought against him, except that by which he was accused of having "unnecessarily abandoned a considerable quantity of artillery and stores, which he might have embarked in safety." This part of his conduct was, however, ascribed merely to "an error of judgment;" and nothing followed upon the decision, as the case did not appear to the Prince Regent to call for the admonition pointed out by the court.

enemy. By land, however, we were uniformly successful; and by sea, Captain (now Sir Philip Broke) nobly redeemed the naval honour of Britain. The capture of the Chesapeake by the Shannon, on the 1st of June, will long shine in our annals.

The new Parliament was opened by the Prince Regent, in person, on the 30th of November, 1812; and one of its first acts was to grant a sum not exceeding 200,000*l.* for the relief of such parts of the inhabitants of the empire of Russia as had suffered "in their persons and property, in consequence of the unprovoked and atrocious invasion of that country by the Ruler of France."

For a long period, no subject of a domestic nature had fixed upon the public mind with so much force as the discords and alienation which had for years subsisted between the Prince Regent and his illustrious consort. The cause of these dissentions it would be perhaps impossible to trace, but that they originated at a period so early as the first year of the residence of the Princess of Wales in this country, and that they were of such a nature as almost to dissolve the marriage contract, is clear from a correspondence which took place between those illustrious personages in the year 1796. The marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales was solemnized on the 8th of April, 1795; the date of the birth of their only child was the 7th of January following; and in the month of April, in the same year, a message from the Prince was conveyed to the Princess of Wales, through the medium of Lord Cholmondeley, informing her that the intercourse between herself and the Prince was in future to be of the most restrictive nature—in fact, that a separation as to all conjugal relations was, from that time, and for ever, to take place. In this arrangement the Princess expressed her acquiescence, but she considered the subject of too important a nature to rest merely on verbal communication, and in compliance with her request, the pleasure of his Royal Highness was communicated to her in writing. In 1805, while the Prince and Princess of Wales were living in a state of separation, the Duke of Sussex informed the Prince, that Sir John Douglas had made known to him some circumstances respecting the behaviour of the Princess of Wales, which, in the opinion of the Duke, it was of the highest importance the Prince should hear, as they might, if true, not only affect the honour and peace of mind of his Royal Highness, but also the succession to the throne. Sir John and Lady Douglas, having made a formal declaration of the charges they thought proper to advance against the Princess of Wales, this declaration was submitted by the Prince to Lord Thurlow, who gave it as his opinion that his Royal Highness had no alternative but to submit the matter to the King. In consequence of this opinion, and some further examinations which took place, the declarations of William and Sarah Lambert, servants to Sir John Douglas; William Cole, Robert and Sarah Bidgood, Frances Lloyd, and Sir John and Lady Douglas, were laid before his Majesty; who thereupon issued a warrant, dated the 29th of May, 1806, directing and authorising Lord Erskine, as Lord Chancellor; Lord Grenville, as First Lord of the Treasury; Earl Spencer, as one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State; and Lord Ellenborough, as Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench; to inquire "into the truth of the said allegations, and to report to him thereon." The Commissioners so appointed first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas, and Charlotte his wife; who both positively swore, the former, to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her Royal Highness; and the latter, not only that she had observed it, but that her Royal Highness had made not the least scruple of talking about it with her, and describing the stratagems she meant to resort to in order to avoid detection. It was further deposed by Lady Douglas, that in the course of the year 1802, the Princess was secretly delivered of a male child, which had been brought up in her own House, and under her own inspection! On this part of the inquiry, the commissioners, in their report to his Majesty, declared, that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now living with the Princess, is the child of her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor had any thing appeared to them that could warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of their inquiries. That child was, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-Street Hospital, on the 11th day of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the Princess's house in the month of November following. The commissioners did not feel themselves at liberty to close their report here. Besides the allegation of the pregnancy and delivery of the Princess, those declarations, on the whole of which his Majesty had been pleased to command them to inquire and report, contained other particulars respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness, such as must necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable impressions.

From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examination of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle,* it would, the commissioners said, "be perceived, that several strong circumstances of this description, had been positively sworn to by witnesses, who could not, in their judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, they had no ground to question; "it appears therefore," continued the commissioners, "that as on the one hand, the fact of pregnancy and delivery are, to our minds, satisfactorily disproved; so on the other we think, that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her Royal Highness and Captain Manby, must be credited, until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration." Immediately on the receipt of a copy of this report, the Princess of Wales addressed a letter to his Majesty on the subject; in which, in the face of the Almighty, she assured his Majesty, not only of her innocence as to the weightier parts of the charge preferred against her by her enemies, but of her freedom from all the indecorums and improprieties which had been imputed to her by the Lords Commissioners, upon the evidence of persons who spoke as falsely as Sir John and Lady Douglas themselves. On the 17th of August she again wrote to the King, requesting that she might have authenticated copies of the report, and of the declarations and depositions on which it proceeded. Having received these papers, the Princess submitted them to her legal advisers, Lord Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and Sir Thomas Plomer, and on the 2d of October she transmitted to his Majesty an elaborate letter, containing her observations on the charges against her, and the evidence on which they rested.† Nine weeks having elapsed after this letter was sent to his Majesty without any

* Bidgood and Cole, it was said stated, that certain levities of a nature unbecoming her rank and station, and incompatible with the character of a virtuous woman, had been practised by the Princess of Wales, in the years 1802-3; and that Sir Sidney Smith, Mr. Lawrence, the artist, and Captain Manby, of the ship Africaine, had been admitted to her house on a footing that warranted suspicion of criminal intercourse. Frances Lloyd spoke less distinctly to the same fact; and Mrs. Lisle, a lady of the Princess's household, whose evidence was principally relied upon, deposed, that the behaviour of the Princess towards Captain Manby, who often visited at Montague-House, was a flirting conduct, and such as, in the witness's opinion, did not become a married woman.

† After stating that the extravagance of the malice of Sir John and Lady Douglas had defeated itself, she states that there still remained imputations "strongly sanctioned and countenanced by the report," respecting which she could not remain silent without incurring the most fatal consequences to her honour and character. Against the substance of the proceeding itself, and the manner in which it was conducted, she considered herself bound to protest. The report proceeded upon ex parte examination, without affording her an opportunity of explaining or defending her conduct, or without the Lords Commissioners even hearing one word which she could urge in her own defence. For more than two years, she had been informed, her conduct had been made the subject of investigation; but the cause of this she did not learn till the investigation had actually taken place, and then she found that the charge against her was high treason, committed

RAPIN'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT,
DELIVERING A SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

any reply, the Princess again wrote, expressing her anxiety, and her wish to learn whether she might be admitted to the royal presence. In reply to which her Royal Highness was informed, that her vindication had been referred to his Majesty's confidential servants, who had given it as their opinion, "that it was no longer necessary for his Majesty to decline receiving the Princess into his royal presence;" but at the same time, "his Majesty could not forbear to express in the conclusion of the business, his desire and expectation, that such a conduct might be in future observed by the Princess, as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection, which the King always wishes to shew to every part of his royal family." The Princess no sooner received this communication, than she named a day, on which, if agreeable to his Majesty, she would have the happiness to throw herself in filial duty and affection at his Majesty's feet. The day, however, was at first postponed by his Majesty, who afterwards informed the Princess, that at the request of the Prince of Wales, he declined to see her until her vindication had been examined by the lawyers of the Prince, and until the Prince had been enabled to submit the statement which he proposed to make thereon. The Princess remonstrated in strong terms against the unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this interposition of the Prince of Wales, at such a time, and under such circumstances; and trusted that his Majesty would recall his determination not to see her till the Prince's answer respecting her vindication was received.

After a lapse of three weeks, during which time it does not appear that any reply was made to the letter of the Princess, her Royal Highness informed his Majesty that having received no command to wait upon his Majesty, and no intimation of his pleasure, she was reduced to the necessity, in vindication of her character, to resort to the publication of the proceedings upon the inquiry into her conduct, and that the publication alluded to would not be withheld beyond the following Monday.* To avoid coming to this painful extremity, she had taken every step in her power, except that which would be abandoning her character to utter infamy, and her station in life to no uncertain danger, and possibly to no very distant destruction. This letter was dated the 5th of March, within two days of which time a resolution was taken to call Mr. Perceval and his friends to his Majesty's councils. As soon as the ministerial arrangements could be completed, a minute of council was made, dated April 22, 1807, wherein it was humbly submitted to his Majesty, "that it was essentially necessary, in justice to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and for the honour and interest of his Majesty's illustrious family, that her Royal Highness should be admitted, with as little delay as possible, into his Majesty's presence; and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station, in his Majesty's court and family." Notwithstanding this advice, it does not appear that the Princess of Wales was ever restored to complete favour either at court or in the royal family. Her intercourse with her daughter also became subject to great restraint.

Nothing, however, occurred, that is publicly or officially known, till the month of January, 1813. At this time the Princess was so much debarred from the society of her daughter, that she determined to write to the Prince Regent on the subject; but, though her letter was transmitted to ministers on the 14th, it was not till the 23d that it was read to his Royal Highness. In this letter she dwelt with great force upon the injustice of widening the separation between mother and daughter, which she considered as not only cutting her off from one of the few domestic enjoyments which she still retained, but as giving countenance to those calumnious reports which had been proved to be totally unfounded. In consequence of this letter, which, soon after it was sent, appeared in one of the daily journals, the Prince Regent thought proper to direct, that the letter of the Princess of Wales, and the whole of the documents relating to the investigation of 1806, (inappropriately called the 'delicate investigation') should be referred to the members of his Majesty's Privy Council, for their consideration, and that they should report to his Royal Highness their "opinion, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it was fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter, the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions."

In virtue of this appointment, the members of the Privy Council assembled on the 23d of February, when they reported to the Prince Regent, that, in their opinion, "it was highly fit and proper, that the intercourse between her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint."

On the 1st of March, the Princess of Wales addressed a letter to the speaker of the House of Commons, in which she complains that the tendency of this report, a copy of which had been transmitted to her by Lord Sidmouth, was to cast aspersions upon her honour and character. Thus assailed by a secret tribunal, before which she could not be heard in her own defence, she was compelled to throw herself upon the House, and upon the justice of Parliament, and to require that the fullest investigation might be instituted into the whole of her conduct during her residence in this country. "The Princess of Wales," adds the letter to the Speaker, "fears no scrutiny, "however strict, provided she is tried by impartial judges, known to the constitution, and in the fair and open manner the law of the land requires. Her only desire is, that she may be either declared to be innocent, or proved to be guilty." On the 5th of March, Mr. C. Johnstone, after avowing that he had no concert with, or authority from the Princess of Wales, submitted to the House of Commons a motion for an address to the Prince Regent, requesting him to order that a copy of a report made to his Majesty on the 14th of July, 1806, by the Lord Chancellor Erskine, Lord Grenville, and Lord Ellenborough, touching the

---

committed in the infamous crime of adultery. Her Royal Highness dwells with great force of argument on the extreme improbability of Lady Douglas's accusation respecting her pregnancy. But as the commissioners most unequivocally and decidedly acquit her of that charge, she proceeds to examine the evidence of those witnesses, who, in the opinion of the commissioners, were particularly deserving of credit, namely, W. Cole, R. Bidgood, F. Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle. Having replied to the evidence of Cole, Bidgood, and Lloyd, she proceeds to observe upon the evidence of Mrs. Lisle. What is exactly meant by flirting conduct, "it is difficult," says the Princess, "with any precision to ascertain. How many women are there, most virtuous, most truly modest, incapable of any thing impure, vicious, or immoral, in deed or thought, who, from greater vivacity of spirits, from less natural reserve, from the want of caution, which the very consciousness of innocence betrays into, conduct themselves in a manner which a woman of a graver character, of a more reserved disposition, but not with one particular or superior virtue, thinks too incautious, too unreserved, too familiar; and which, if forced upon her oath to give her opinion upon it, she might feel herself, as an honest woman, bound to say, in that opinion was flirting." The other allegations of the different witnesses, are all then examined in their order, and the Princess, in concluding her letter to the King, thus expresses herself: "Oh, sire, to be unfortunate, and scarcely to feel at liberty to lament; to be cruelly used, and to feel it almost an offence and a duty to be silent—is a hard lot; but use has in some degree inured me to it. Before my spirits had been yet all lowered by my misfortunes, I should have been disposed to have met such a charge with the contempt, which, I trust, by this time, your Majesty thinks due to it; I should have been disposed to defy my enemies to the utmost; and to have scorned to answer any thing but a legal charge, before a competent tribunal; but in my present misfortunes such force of mind is gone. I ought, perhaps, so far to be thankful to them for their wholesome lessons of humility. I have, therefore, entered into this long detail, to endeavour to remove, at the first possible opportunity, any unfavourable impressions; to rescue myself from the dangers which the continuance of these suspicions might occasion, and to preserve to me your Majesty's good opinion, in whose kindness, hitherto, I have found infinite consolation, and to whose justice, under all circumstances, I can confidently appeal. . . . . At all events, I trust your Majesty will restore me to the blessing of your gracious presence, and confirm to me, by your own gracious words, your satisfactory conviction of my innocence."

* All the principal documents connected with this subject, comprehending the report of the Lords Commissioners, the letters of the Princess of Wales to his Majesty, and the depositions both criminatory and exculpatory, had already been printed under the superintendance of Mr. Perceval, in a volume quaintly styled "The Book."

conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, be laid before the House, with a view to an inquiry, now, while the witnesses on both sides were still living, into all the allegations, facts, and circumstances, appertaining to that investigation; a proceeding, which, in his opinion, was due to the honour of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, the safety of the throne, and the tranquillity of the country.

Lord Castlereagh, in opposing the motion, said, the House could not suppose, that the papers called for by the honourable mover, were at all necessary to remove any apprehension as to the successor to the throne of these kingdoms. The innocence of the Princess of Wales of the charge brought against her by Lady Douglas, had been established on the report of the members of two successive administrations; and if a prosecution had not been instituted against her accusers, it did not arise from any doubt in the minds of the law officers, as to the punishment that would be brought down upon the degraded and guilty heads of Sir John and Lady Douglas, but from a wish to avoid bringing such subjects before the public. It may suffice to add, that the document called for, was not produced; the Princess was declared free from imputation; and addresses of congratulation poured in upon her from all quarters of the kingdom.

Mr. Grattan, on the 30th of April, presented to the House, his bill "to provide for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications under which his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects now labour." On the 18th of May, the bill was read a second time, and committed for the following day; but it was lost in a subsequent stage:*

In submitting his new plan of finance to the consideration of the House of Commons, Mr. Vansittart said, that further measures might be taken for promoting and facilitating the redemption of the land-tax. For the completion of this part of his plans, he chiefly relied upon the simplification of the mode of the redemption of the land-tax, and on creating facilities for its purchase, by freeing it from troublesome formalities. He should propose, that upon a simple notice given to the collector, by any person desirous of redeeming his land-tax, the collector might be allowed to charge his tax double or treble, as might be agreed upon, for a certain number of years respectively, at the close of which the process of redemption should terminate; and that the produce of such tax should be annually applied to the redemption of the national debt. In the second place, he should propose, that on all loans hereafter to be contracted, there should be a provision made for discharging the debt. There was a third proposition to which he wished to call the attention of the House: it was his intention to submit a measure for the repeal of part of the act of 1802, regarding the sinking fund. The sinking fund should be sacredly supported to a certain amount; but he believed it might be shewn that its enormous increase, by throwing into the market immense sums of money at one time, would produce effects similar to those of a national bankruptcy. When the establishment of a sinking fund was proposed by Mr. Pitt, in 1786, the national debt amounted to nearly 240,000,000*l.*—a sum of which few then living ever hoped to see the redemption, but which, by the steady perseverance of Parliament, in this important measure, had already been redeemed; while within the same period, 200,000,000*l.* of war taxes had been paid by the unexampled exertions of the country. Having entered into various other statements, he said, by the plan now proposed, a gradual and equitable reduction of the debt might be provided for with great and immediate advantage to the public; it would only be necessary to enact, that the debt first contracted, should be deemed first to be paid off, whether purchased by the sinking fund, originally provided for its redemption or not. In order, however, effectually to secure the means of redeeming all future loans within 45 years, and to preserve a proper proportion between the sinking fund and the unredeemed debt, it would be expedient to enact, that whenever the sum borrowed in any year should exceed the sum to be paid off, a sinking fund should be provided for the excess of the loan, equal to one-half of its interest; and for the remainder of the loan, or for the whole, if not exceeding the amount to be redeemed within the year, a sinking fund of one per cent. conformable to the act of 1792. This arrangement involved the repeal of those provisions of the act of 1802, under which the whole sinking fund then existing was directed to accumulate, at compound interest. Till the complete redemption of the debt, which then remained unredeemed, it would be proper to make good to the sinking fund, the annual sum of 870,000*l.* which would have been appropriated to the different sums provided for in 1802, if that consolidation had not taken place, and if those sums had been accompanied by the usual redeeming fund of one per cent. If this plan were adopted, no fresh taxes would be required for four years, except about 1,000,000*l.* for the year 1813.—After this developement of the new plan of finance, the Chancellor of the Exchequer read the resolutions grounded upon it, which he proposed to submit to the committee, and which were ultimately passed without any essential alterations. In submitting to the House the proposed ways and means for the year, in case his plan with respect to the sinking fund should not be adopted, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that the sum to be raised was 1,136,000*l.* for which he meant to provide by an additional duty on tobacco, in lieu of the proposed auction duty of last year; additional duties on the consolidated customs, with some exceptions; an additional duty of thirteen-pence per bottle, on French wines; an increased duty of two-thirds on goods imported from France, and her dependencies; an increase generally of one-half the present amount of the war duties on exports; and an additional duty of one penny per pound on the export of foreign hides. These resolutions, which proposed taxes as little burthensome as possible, were agreed to, with expressions of satisfaction.

One of the most momentous and permanently interesting questions which came before Parliament, during the session of 1812, was that which related to the renewal of the charter of the East India Company. On the 22d of March, Lord Castlereagh observed, that the term of the existing charter of the East India Company, would expire in May, 1814, and in renewing the charter, his Majesty's ministers had to consider three propositions—Whether the existing government in India should be allowed to continue in its present state—whether an entire change should take place in the system—or whether a middle course should be adopted. On a question of so much importance, it was deemed necessary to hear evidence at the bar; and, on the 30th of March, the examination of witnesses commenced at the bar of the House of Commons, before a committee of the whole House. The individuals examined, were principally those who had occupied high stations in India; and the general tendency of their evidence was against opening the trade, and decidedly against allowing missionaries to repair to the east for the purpose of proselyting the natives to the Christian faith. The subject continued before the two Houses of Parliament, till the 22d of June. An ardent zeal for religion had displayed itself in a great number of petitions to parliament, praying, that in the new ar-

* In the discussion on the Catholic emancipation bill, the most extensive and liberal principles of religious toleration were generally professed. Hence, probably, the time was chosen for an attempt to relieve from the pains and penalties still legally impending over them, those Christians who impugn the doctrine of the trinity, and to extend to them the benefits of the toleration act. Mr. William Smith moved for leave to bring in a bill for this purpose. As the law stood, he said, persons who in conversation, or writing, denied the existence of any of the persons of the trinity, were disabled, on conviction, from holding any office, civil, ecclesiastical, or military; and if a second time convicted, they were disabled to sue or prosecute, in any action or information, or to be the guardian of any child, and were liable to imprisonment for three years. The object of the honourable gentleman was to bring in a bill for the repeal of these laws; and a bill was accordingly introduced, and carried successfully through all its stages.

rangement

rangements for the government of India, provision should be made for the instruction of the natives in the principles of the Christian faith: and so much attention had been paid to these applications, that an addition was made to the 13th resolution, to the effect, "that such measures ought to be adopted as might tend to the introduction of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement, among the natives of the British dominions in India; and that, in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities should be afforded by law, to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs. A long debate ensued, which terminated in a division of the House, when there appeared for the resolution, 89, and against it 36 voices. All the resolutions, with certain alterations, were ultimately passed,* and a bill grounded upon them came to its third reading in the House of Commons, on the 13th of July. At the close of the session, this highly important measure passed into a law, and the path taken by government, in forming the resolutions on which the bill was grounded, although, perhaps, not perfectly satisfactory to any party, was, on the whole, the course dictated by wisdom and enlightened policy. Parliament was prorogued on the 22d of July.

A. D. 1814.] By the middle of January, 1814, the allied sovereigns, with their respective armies, had crossed the Rhine, and were in full march towards the capital of France.† On the 25th of the same month, Buonaparte, confiding the regency of the empire to his wife, left Paris to place himself at the head of the army. But the protecting power of his presence had been dissolved; the appalling force of his arm had fled; and the great, the sacred, the invincible nation, bled beneath a succession of defeats. In the interim, plenipotentiaries from France, and from the other belligerent powers, assembled at Chatillon.‡ Terms, the most magnanimous in their nature, were submitted to Buonaparte; terms, by which he might have retained his throne, and have preserved France in a state superior

* The original resolutions opened with a declaration, that it is expedient, that all the privileges, authorities, and immunities, granted to the East India Company, shall continue and be in force for the further term of 20 years, except as far as the same may hereinafter be modified and repealed. The second resolution provides, that the present restraints on the commercial intercourse with China, and the company's exclusive trade in tea, shall be continued. The third and fourth contain a permission to any of his Majesty's subjects to export to, and import from, all ports within the limits of the Company's charter, China excepted, such goods, wares, &c. as are allowed by law. The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, provide, that warehouses at the said ports, be deemed safe for the purposes of the revenue; that the vessels, in which goods are imported and exported, be of the burthen of at least 350 tons; and that on approaching port, they notify their arrival by a manifesto. The ninth contains regulations as to the importation and sale of silk and hair goods. The tenth regulates the application of the Company's revenues: 1. To the payment of the troops, and support of the forts. 2. To liquidate the debts on bills of exchange. 3. Other debts, except bond debts. 4. To pay a debt of ten per cent. and a contingent half per cent. 5. To liquidate the bond debts until they amount to ten millions in India, and three millions in England. 6. The surplus profits to be divided in the ratio of five-sixths to government, and one-sixth to the Company, and a provision for paying the capital stock. The eleventh resolution regards the employment of India shipping; the twelfth makes provision for the support and return of Lascars brought to England, in private vessels; the thirteenth grants pensions and gratuities by the Company; the fourteenth regards the appointments to the different presidencies; and the fifteenth places the church establishment, in the British territories in India, under the superintendance of a bishop and three archdeacons.

† At the opening of the campaign, the forces of the allies were divided into seven armies, of which four acted immediately against France, one in Holland, and two in Italy. They were thus divided: First, the grand Austro-Russian army, commanded by Prince Schwartzenberg, was composed of the Austrian division of Colloredo, Wimpfen, Giulay, Bianchi, Bubna, Maurice, and Louis of Lichtenstein; the Russian division of Barclay de Tolly and Wittgenstein; the Bavarians, in three divisions, commanded by Count Wrede; and the Wirtembergers, under the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg. Second, The grand army of Prussia, or Silesia, commanded by Marshal Blucher, was formed of the corps of D'Yorck, Kleist, Bulow; the four Russian corps of Tscherbatoff, Langeron, Sacken, and Winzingerode, and the Saxons, under the Prince of Saxe Weimar, and Baron de Thielman. Third, the grand Swedish army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, the Prince Royal of Sweden, consisting of the Swedish corps, the five Russian corps of Benningsen, Tettenborn, Doernberg, Benkendorf, and Czernicheff—the first of which remained before Hamburgh, a corps of Hanoverians, the Hanseatic troops, and the contingents of the smaller states of the confederation. Fourth, the Anglo-Spanish and Portuguese army of the Pyrennees, under the command of Lord Wellington, in the south of France. Fifth, the Anglo-Batavian army, commanded by Sir Thomas Graham, in Holland. Sixth, the Austrian army in Italy, commanded by Count Bellegarde. Seventh, the army of Naples, under the orders of Murat, who joined the confederation, by a treaty dated January 11, 1814.—The armies operating upon the Rhine probably exceeded half a million of men. Prussia and Austria had between them an effective force of 250,000 men; Russia alone had nearly 200,000; and to these may be added, 30,000 Swedes, 10,000 Danes, and a large number of troops contributed by the Princes of the confederation of the Rhine. This immense body did not, however, take the field at the same moment. The first armies, which passed the Rhine, at the end of December, consisted of about 350,000 men, to which an augmentation of about one-third was made by reinforcements, which arrived about the middle of February.

‡ No endeavours were spared to raise the male population of France, en masse; commissioners were dispatched to all the military divisions of the empire to facilitate the organization of the levies; and the Duke of Vicenza, minister of the interior relations of France, was sent to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns at Basle, to propose that a congress for the negociation of a general peace should assemble at Chatillon-sur-Seine. These overtures were accepted by the allies, without hesitation: and plenipotentiaries were appointed to the congress, which assembled at the place proposed, between the 15th and the 20th of January; but the allies, secure in their own resources, peremptorily refused either to suspend or to interrupt the military movements of their armies during the progress of the negociations. The invading force, bearing down all opposition, still continued to advance; and, at length, an army was assembled before Chalons, between the Marne and the Seine, and Buonaparte prepared to quit his capital, to place himself at the head of his troops. On the 24th of January, the allies commenced their operations in the interior, by the battle of Bar, between Chaumont and Joinville.—Mortier defended this position, but he was eventually obliged to abandon the town, and to retire upon Troyes. Blucher, proceeding on his march to form the meditated junction with Prince Schwartzenberg, possessed himself, on the 23d and 24th, of Ligny and St. Dizier, and from thence pushed forward a corps towards Brienne, to establish a communication with the Austrian division at Bar. Buonaparte, sensible of the importance of this movement, and determined to defeat its object, made immediate preparations to attack the Prussian rear-guard, while it awaited the arrival of D'Yorck's division from St. Dizier. This attack, in which the French were successful, took place on the 27th, and the allies were forced from their position.—On the 29th, at mid-day, the French army appeared; the battle which ensued was most sanguinary; and the French army was left in possession of the field. This success enabled the French columns, under Marshal Victor, and General Grouchy, to take up fine positions at the villages of La Rothiere and Dienville, on the 30th. The hostile armies passed two days in sight of each other. General D'Yorck recaptured the town of St. Dizier; while Count Wittgenstein, supported by Count Wrede, repulsed the corps of Marshal Marmont, near Vassy. The grand allied army, under Prince Schwartzenberg, approached towards the Aube, and the general commandant, Count Barclay de Tolly, united the Russian and Prussian guards, to form a reserve on the heights, and in the defiles of Trannes, from which he could support any point that was menaced. At half-past twelve o'clock, on the 1st of February, the cavalry of the two armies were put in motion. About three o'clock, all the allied troops deployed in the plains of La Rothiere and Brienne, and at that hour, the battle became general. The ardour of the troops was excited to enthusiasm by the presence of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. The efforts of the Russians, in front of the line, were directed by Marshal Blucher in person. At length, the whole village of La Rothiere was ceded to the obstinate valour of the Russians; and General Sacken, who had three times been on the point of becoming a prisoner, made a bold charge on the right of the village, seized 20 pieces of cannon, and took from 5 to 600 prisoners of the French guards. At midnight, Buonaparte made his last attack on La Rothiere, which the Russians repulsed, and thus decided the victory in favour of the allies. Under favour of the night, the French army concealed from the allies the disorder into which it had been thrown at the close of the action, and effected its retreat on Troyes and Arcis. The allied sovereigns now decided that their armies should march to the capital in two grand corps; the one following the course of the Seine, by the road of Troyes and Sens; and the other advancing on the banks of the Marne, by Chalons, Chateau Thierry, and Meaux. This plan of dividing the allied forces, though liable to serious objections, afforded the double advantage of securing subsistence in a country which they conceived to be drained of provisions, and of placing the enemy between two hostile armies, one of which might hold him in check, while the other, by its sudden appearance at the gates of the metropolis, would cause every idea of defence to be abandoned, and prevent the destruction of the city.—The first effect of this arrangement was to separate the army of Silesia from the grand army; and while Marshal Blucher took the direction of Ferre Champenoise towards the Marne, the Prince of Schwartzenberg marched on Troyes. Resolved to expel the enemy from that town, the allies pushed forward strong corps on the roads to Arcis, Bar-sur-Aube, and Sens, to intercept the communication of the French army with Paris. The alarm in the capital now became extreme. Works were begun for the purpose of guarding the approaches; the barriers were palisadoed to guard against a coup de main; and Passy, Montmartre, and the adjoining heights, were fixed upon to serve as the defensive positions. Towers were, at the same time, made to St. Denis and Abervilliers, and an immense fabrication of pikes was announced for the purpose of arming the peasantry.—

Such

perior to that in which she stood at the revolution; but, impelled by that insanity, which seemed to have actuated all his recent actions, he rejected the projet of the allies, and rushed upon his fate. Nor did that fate remain long in suspense. The projet had been rejected on the 12th of March; on the 18th, a final rupture

Such was the situation of the metropolis, when Buonaparte, on the 6th of February, abandoned Troyes, and retreated to Nogent, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the Silesian army. After the capture of Troyes, a momentary indecision seemed to pervade the councils of the allied sovereigns. The Austrian monarch wished for peace, but his views did not extend to the overthrow of the reigning dynasty. In this policy, Russia and Britain seem to have acquiesced. The conferences at Chatillon had opened on the 4th of February, and Lord Castlereagh had arrived at that place to take part in the deliberations. The pacific disposition of Austria did not escape the observation of Buonaparte; and, relying on this disposition, he sent instructions to his plenipotentiary at Chatillon, the object of which was to propose an armistice, founded upon the basis laid down by the allies, and offering, at the same time, to surrender all the fortified places in the countries proposed to be ceded by France, on condition that military operations should be entirely suspended. To this the allies replied, that instead of an armistice, it was their wish that the preliminaries of peace should be signed without delay, with a condition that the principal places now invested by their armies, comprehending Antwerp, Wesel, Mentz, Strasburg, and Besancon, should be resigned by Buonaparte, as pledges for the sincerity of his intentions. On the 9th of February, several Prussian battalions entered Chateau Thierry, and were soon succeeded by a number of Russian brigades, supported by cavalry and artillery. These troops, which formed the advanced guard of Marshal Blucher's army, soon extended themselves to Meaux, announcing that they were on their march to Paris, which it was their intention to enter on the succeeding Sunday. On the Seine, detachments from Prince Schwartzenberg's army touched upon the gates of Sens, while his light troops pushed forwards to Melun, distant only ten leagues from Paris. Buonaparte found himself thus doubly outflanked; but he resolved to fall, by a bold and rapid march, on the flank and rear of Marshal Blucher's army, and not merely to repulse, but to annihilate, these divisions of the invaders. On the 9th, orders were dispatched to Marshals Marmont and Ney, to prepare to attack the enemy. On the 10th, at daybreak, Buonaparte conducted his troops to the heights of St. Prix, while Marmont was ordered to pass the swampy defile of St. Gond, and to attack the village of Baye. At this point, the advanced-guard of the Russian General, Alsufieff, was stationed, but being unprovided with cavalry, and seeing himself attacked by 5 or 6000 dragoons, and a superior body of infantry, he concentrated all his force, amounting to 4 or 5000 men, at Champeaubert, intending to fight as he retreated. The cavalry of the Imperial Guard now deployed upon the plain, attacking and turning the Russians, in order to intercept their march on the Chalons road. In vain did General Alsufieff form his infantry in squares; in vain did he attempt to resist the shock of the French cavalry, and the fire of their numerous batteries; his ranks gave way in all directions; and artillery, infantry, and cavalry, fled into the woods and marshes. The General, several superior officers, and more than 2000 men, were made prisoners; and of 24 pieces of cannon, nine remained in the hands of the victors. General Sacken, having learned the disaster of his advanced guard, quitted Ferte-Sous-Jouarre, and marched all night on the 10th towards Montmirail, after having dispatched several messengers to General D'Yorck, who, by his advice, marched from the environs of Meaux, in the same direction. In the forenoon of the 11th, General Sacken's corps, reinforced by three brigades from General D'Yorck's division, appeared before Montmirail, where Buonaparte had already arrived, with the division of Ricard, and the Imperial Guard. The Russian army consisted of only 18 or 20,000 men, but being no longer able to avoid a battle, they attacked the village of Marchais, where the division of Ricard was posted, under the immediate command of Marshal Ney. This village was twice taken and re-taken; and the Russians exhibited, in the assault, as much impetuosity as the French displayed determination and bravery in its defence. At length, the Russians, thrown into extreme disorder, at all points, retired by the road of Chateau Thierry, having sustained a loss of 5 or 6000 men. The French army now supported their privations and fatigues without a murmur, and testified the happiest disposition. Marshal Blucher having heard of the disasters of Generals Sacken and D'Yorck, collected the Prussian corps of General Kleist, and the Russian division of General Langeron, forming in all, about 18,000 men, and on the 13th, marched against Marshal Marmont's position at Etoges, on the road from Chalons to Montmirail. This movement re-called Buonaparte from the pursuit of General Sacken, and on the 14th, he quitted Chateau Thierry, and made a forced march to join Marmont. At eight o'clock, the cavalry of his advanced guard appeared upon the heights of Vauchamp, where they seized six pieces of cannon. The Prussians formed themselves in squares, and for some time firmly maintained their ground; but, being overpowered by numbers, two of the Prussian battalions were taken, and three others either sabred or driven into the woods. At sun-set, the Prussian commander perceived the main body of the French cavalry had turned his flank, and thrown themselves on the line of his retreat. Only one way of escape remained, and that, with the usual decision and promptitude of the veteran General, was instantly adopted—he ordered his troops to continue their march, and to cut their way through every obstacle. This heroic expedient succeeded; but, the loss sustained by the Prussians on this day, amounted to at least 4000 men, with nine pieces of cannon. Buonaparte now left Marshal Blucher, to accomplish his admirable retreat upon Chalons, and to rally and re-unite the scattered corps of his army. Schwartzenberg, desirous of effecting a diversion in favour of Marshal Blucher, developed an immense force upon the banks of the Seine, near Nogent, while Count Wrede, and General Witgenstein, marched upon Melun, pushing forward the Cossack force, under Platoff, to Fontainbleau, which city he entered on the 17th. On the same day, Buonaparte arrived by forced marches at Nangis, in the vicinity of Melun, and about four leagues to the east of that place. Here three divisions of Count Wittgenstein's corps were posted. The General of Division, Gerard, opened an attack on the village of Mormant, while the cavalry of Generals Milhaud and Kellerman, assailed the Russians on the left, and several batteries advanced to bombard the village. The squares, into which the Russians had formed themselves, gave way before the artillery, and fled in the direction of Montereau, leaving 14 pieces of cannon, and 4000 prisoners. In the afternoon of the 18th, Buonaparte arrived with his staff from Nangis, in front of Montereau, and gave orders for a vigorous attack upon the plain. The French army, amounting to 28,000 men, and 60 pieces of cannon, now moved from all parts of the line, while, at the same time, General Pajol made a charge of cavalry, and turned the flanks of the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg. The onset was irresistible; and the allies fled precipitately into Montereau. Their loss amounted to about 1800 men; besides a considerable quantity of arms, and several pieces of cannon. The Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, on hearing of the discomfiture of their troops at Montereau, hastily quitted Bray, where their head-quarters had been established; and Buonaparte is said to have exultingly exclaimed, "My heart is relieved; I have saved the capital of my empire!" The allies had now nearly lost all the ground which they had gained by the battle of Rothiere, and they, in their turn, relied upon pacific negociations. The Austrian General, Count de Paar, accordingly presented himself at the advanced posts of the French, and demanded a suspension of arms. M. de Rumigny, secretary to the cabinet, also arrived at the head-quarters of the French army, from the congress at Chatillon, with a draft of the conditions of the preliminary treaty. The proposition comprehended all the bases deemed necessary for the re-establishment of a political equilibrium. The treaty, which proceeded upon the ground of placing France in the same territorial situation as she stood under her kings, with some addition to her ancient limits, contained a proposition, that the capital of France should be occupied by the armies of the allied sovereigns till a definitive treaty of peace should be arranged and executed. Buonaparte, elevated by his late successes, seized, with fury, the paper which contained the proposition of peace, exclaiming, while he tore it, "Occupy the French capital! I am at this moment nearer to Vienna than they are to Paris!" The advantages, however, of the allies, were immense; every fortress which fell on either side of the Rhine, augmented their means of invasion; the Oder, the Elbe, and the Rhine, had become a triple line of reserves, from which they continually drew reinforements, and by a judicious union of caution, skill, and energy, they hoped ultimately to surmount all the obstacles that had hitherto retarded their progress. On the 20th, the French army quitted Montereau, and on the 21st passed through Nogent. At Mery, on the Seine, a small town, six leagues to the north-west of Troyes, an attempt was made by the allies to check the progress of the enemy, but after an obstinate engagement, in which the bridge was broken down, and the town itself nearly destroyed by fire, Marshal Blucher was obliged to retreat, and on the 24th, Buonaparte entered Troyes at the head of his victorious army. The grand Austro-Russian army evacuated the whole country between the Seine and the Yonne, and fell back upon Vancœuvres and Chaumont. Blucher, however, commenced the execution of a plan, by which offensive warfare was about to be renewed on the part of the allies, with renovated vigour. From the 24th to the 27th of February, Buonaparte remained stationary at Troyes; and Blucher, availing himself of this period of inaction, marched in the direction of Ferre Champenoise, towards the Marne, with the intention to form a junction with the corps of Generals Winzingerode and Bulow, who, having forced the northern frontier, and released Belgium from the dominion of France, had advanced into the vicinity of Rheims and Soissons. On the advance of the Russians, the small corps of French troops, under General Maison, had evacuated Brussels, and on the 2d of February, the Cossacks entered the city. In almost all the towns of Brabant, the Russians were received with demonstrations of joy; a deputation from Ghent presented the keys of that place to General Bulow, and the allies soon extended their legions over every part of Belgium. In French Flanders, intestine commotions prevailed at the same time, to a most alarming extent; the country was overrun by refractory conscripts, and the communication between Dunkirk and the capital, became subject to daily interruption. Vitry, Chalons, Epernay, and Chateau Thierry, again fell into the possession of the Silesian army, which now occupied 40 leagues of the Marne, stretching from the source of that river to Meaux, in the vicinity of Paris. Alarmed by the dangers of the capital, Buonaparte quitted Troyes, on the 27th, for the purpose of repeating, if possible, the manœuvres of Champeaubert, and Montmirail. The result, however, was widely different; and, in its consequences, accelerated the fate of the French empire. On the 6th of March, Buonaparte had moved on Corbenie, and at a short distance, he found the Russian infantry posted in front of Craone. Marshal Blucher now conceived one of those bold plans for which the tactics of that General have been so much distinguished. Having formed his army in echelon, from the plain of Craone to the approaches of Laon, he formed a detachment of 10,000 horse, consisting nearly of the whole of the cavalry; the command of this force he conferred upon General Winzingerode, ordering him to march during the night, by the roads of Chevrigny and Presle, and after throwing himself upon the French line of communication, to turn Napoleon's position at Craone. The position taken up, by the allies, on the evening of the 6th, was unusually

rupture of the negociations at Chatillon, took place;* on the 31st, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia entered Paris; on the 20th of April, Buonaparte, after casting many a long, lingering look behind, left Fontainbleau; and, on the 3d of May, "the first of heroes and of men," who had found Europe too small for his grasp, took possession of his new and extensive Empire—the Isle of Elba.†

Some

unusually strong; the right and left, as well as the front, were protected by ravines, to which there was no approach, except by a narrow defile. On the 7th, at day-break, Buonaparte caused this position to be reconnoitred, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon he commenced the attack with his whole force, estimated at 50,000 men. After much severe fighting, the allies finding themselves turned, and pressed on all sides, determined upon a retreat in the direction of Laon; but their movements were conducted with such admirable coolness and regularity, that they lost neither cannon nor prisoners, and all the efforts of the French to break their ranks by a general charge of cavalry, failed in their object. Buonaparte next determined to carry the position of Laon, and on the 9th, he marched with the main body of his army to that place. Early in the day, he advanced to the attack, and, under cover of a dense fog, seized the villages of Semilly and Ardon, situated under the town itself, and forming part of its suburbs. Towards eleven o'olock, the fog began to disperse, and Blucher, perceiving from the heights that the French were in force behind the villages of Ardon, Semilly, and Levilly, immediately ordered the combined cavalry of the rear-guard to advance, and turn the left flank of the French army. At the same time, Woronzow marched with his infantry from the left wing, and pushed forward two battalions of chasseurs, who drove the French advanced posts out of Semilly, and held their left in check till the allied cavalry arrived. The centre and left of the French army were now seen in full retreat, but this was merely a feint, for the purpose of drawing the allies into the plain, while a more serious and general attack was made upon their position. Marmont, with an advanced guard of 16 battalions of infantry, supported by cavalry and flying artillery, attacked and carried the village of Athies; but scarcely had he established himself in his new position, when night began to close in upon the combatants, and when a mass of the Russian cavalry put in practice against his troops the manœuvre which had failed at Craone. About seven in the evening, the Cossacks, with a general hourra, surprised his park of artillery, and succeeded in carrying off 30 pieces of cannon. Prince William of Prussia, in concert with Generals Horn and Ziethen, and supported by the corps of Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, resuming the offensive, fell upon the flank and rear of the French army, and carried several batteries at the point of the bayonet. The conscripts fled in all directions, nor did they rally again in numbers, for several days after the battle. Forty-six pieces of cannon, 50 waggons, and nearly 2000 prisoners, fell into the hands of the Prussians. Buonaparte made his dispositions for a regular and general attack on the morning of the 10th. General Charpentier seized the village of Clacey, on the left of the allied position, and a wood in its vicinity, was taken and re-taken several times. About an hour before sunset, the village of Semilly was again attacked; here two Prussian battalions, belonging to the corps of General Bulow, were posted, and being supported by two cross fires on each flank, the murderous discharge was found so destructive, that this last effort was at length abandoned. A retreat was now ordered; and the French army, after sustaining a dreadful loss, fell back, without molestation, in the direction of Soissons. In vain did Buonaparte attempt to palliate the serious check which he had experienced at Laon. Nothing could now escape the attention of the public; the truth soon became known; and the retreat from before the capital of the department of the Aisne, destroyed the moral effect of the victories by which it was preceded. On the side of the Seine, the grand Austro-Russian army had availed itself of the diversion made by Marshal Blucher; after inflicting a severe defeat upon the corps under Marshals Victor and Oudinot, at Bar, Prince Schwartzenberg advanced again towards the French capital, and on the 4th of March once more established his head-quarters at Troyes. Thus, within the short period of a fortnight, were lost all the advantages so recently obtained over the invaders of France.

* The progress of the negociation had been retarded or accelerated according to the nature of military events. The allied sovereigns, anxious to ascertain Buonaparte's views and intentions, allowed his plenipotentiary at the congress to present a counter-proposition, stipulating only that it should correspond with the spirit and substance of the conditions already submitted. To afford time for the preparation of this document, some delay became necessary, and the 10th of March was fixed upon by mutual consent, as the period at which the final determination should be made.

In the mean time, the confederate sovereigns of Europe entered into a formal engagement, by which they covenanted to bring 600,000 men into the field. By this treaty, the high contracted powers engaged, that if Buonaparte should refuse to coincide in the propositions submitted to him, they would employ all the means afforded by their respective dominions in a vigorous prosecution of the war; that they would act in perfect concert for the purpose of procuring a general peace; and that Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, should keep constantly in the field, to be actively employed against the common enemy, 150,000 men each. Britain, wishing to contribute in a manner the most prompt and decisive towards this great object, engaged to furnish a subsidy of five millions sterling, to be equally divided among the other three powers; reserving to herself, however, the right of furnishing her contingent in foreign troops, at the rate of 20*l.* sterling per annum for infantry, and 30*l.* for cavalry. The treaty finally stipulated that the league should continue for twenty years, and should extend also to such other powers as might determine to join the confederation. At the very moment when Buonaparte's pretensions were about to be laid before the congress at Chatillon, fortune again smiled upon him at Rheims; a victory in front of which put him in possession of this important city; upwards of 2,000 Russian troops were made prisoners, and a large quantity of cannon, baggage, and other trophies, fell into the hands of Napoleon. This, however, was his last triumph. From the 14th to the 16th of March, he remained at Rheims, expecting the result of the conferences at Chatillon, which had been delayed a few days longer than the time prescribed. On the 15th of March, the French plenipotentiary laid before the congress his master's counter-proposition. The ultimatum demanded that the Rhine should form the boundary of the French empire; that Antwerp, Flushing, Nimeguen, and part of Waal, should be ceded to him; and that Italy, including Venice, should form a kingdom for the Viceroy, Eugene Beauharnois. In addition to these claims, he demanded indemnities for Joseph Buonaparte, in lieu of the kingdom of Spain; for Jerome, who had lost Westphalia; for Louis, the Grand Duke of Berg; and finally, for the Viceroy as Duke of Francfort. To these demands the ministers of the allied powers replied, that the extent of dominion demanded by the French Emperor was incompatible with a system of equilibrium, and would confer power on France out of all proportion to the other great political bodies of Europe. The present, they held, was not an ordinary war—it was not undertaken for the purpose of obtaining territorial possessions—its object was not to enforce particular rights, but to defend the cause of the world, and to restore to the nations of Europe a durable peace. It had now, they perceived, become clear that no such peace could be made with Buonaparte, and that to continue the negociations under the present auspices would be to renounce the objects which they had in view, and to betray the universal confidence reposed in them. These considerations prevailed. Austria herself abandoned Buonaparte to his fate; and the congress was dissolved. At this decisive moment the allied sovereigns renewed their solemn engagements, never to lay down their arms till the great object of their alliance should be attained.

† On the 10th of March, Buonaparte reviewed his army at the gates of Rheims, and on the same evening Marshal Ney re-entered Chalons without striking a blow. The inhabitants of Chalons, misled by false accounts of important victories obtained by the French arms, spontaneously illuminated the town, and the municipal body repaired without delay to Rheims, to compliment the Emperor on the deliverance he had wrought for his country. At length the Grand Austro-Russian army, commenced a general movement of attack upon the corps of Marshal Oudinot and Macdonald, which were posted between Melun and the Aube, to cover the capital. The Emperor of Austria re-entered Troyes about the 13th of March; and on that day the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia repaired to the head-quarters of Prince Schwartzenburg at Aries, where the troops received orders to pass the Seine at Montereau. Thus, with not more than from 50 to 60,000 men, Buonaparte found himself between two armies each consisting of 100,000 men. On the 16th he put the main body of his army in motion, and on the following entered Epernay with an army of 40,000 men. From Epernay the French army advanced to Fere Champenoise, where M. D. Rurnigny arrived from Chatillon with intelligence of the dissolution of the Congress. This event caused a deep sensation in the army.

The Emperor Alexander, at length formed the determination to concentrate all the allied forces at Aries, and there to give battle. On the 19th the two armies were in sight of each other, and the 1st column of the French on commencing the attack found themselves opposed to a battery of 60 pieces of cannon, and 100 squadrons of horse. Against this impregnable barrier all their efforts were directed in vain. After the repulse of the French guard the retreating squadrons were pursued with extreme ardour by the cavalry of the allies. This sanguinary conflict terminated only with the day; both armies remained on the disputed ground; and the field of battle was covered with the bodies of the slain.

At day break on the 21st, Buonaparte proceeded to reconnoitre the position of the Allies, and found to his surprise that their force had considerably increased. Aware of the necessity of striking a prompt and decisive blow, he had re-united with his troops the corps under Marshals Oudinot and Macdonald, and a large reinforcement of cavalry drawn from the army of Spain. These reinforcements were posted on the right bank of the Aube, and on the heights of Aries. The two armies remained in the presence of each other, ready for battle, till half past one o'clock; and in the interval, Buonaparte changed his plan several times, sent orders and counter-orders, but appeared, nevertheless, determined on a general battle. Much manœuvring was practised on both sides. On the 22d the whole of the grand allied army advanced towards the Marne, for the double purpose of interposing between the French army and the capital, and uniting with the force under Marshal Blucher. Buonaparte pushed on to St. Dizier, whence he dispatched a corps of cavalry, under General Piré, in the direction of Chaumont, with orders to seize on the road every courier, estafette, and carriage, which departed from Vesoul. Having thus cut off the line of communication of the allies, General Piré was enabled to intercept several ministers of state, and other persons of distinction, who were proceeding on missions to the head-quarters of the allied army. The seizure of these persons and their papers tended to develope the plans and objects of the allies to the enemy, but in his grand object, which was to capture Monsieur, Count d'Artois, who had recently arrived from England, and was known to be in the eastern provinces of France, he was happily disappointed. The Cossacks, always on the alert, intercepted a courier who had been sent to Paris with a letter from Buonaparte to his wife, disclosing the object of his movement on St. Dizier, and holding out

flattering

Some weeks previously, a general suspension of hostilities had taken place; and, on the 30th of May, a definitive treaty of peace, between Great Britain and France, was signed at Paris. By this treaty, Malta was confirmed to this country; but France recovered all her colonies which she possessed in 1792, excepting St. Lucie, Tobago, and the Isle of France. On the day after the definitive treaty of peace was signed, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia left Paris for England, where they arrived on the 6th of June, and remained till the 27th, when they returned to the Continent in order to proceed to Vienna, at which capital it had been determined to hold a general Congress of the European powers. Doubts were entertained by many, whether France would be willing to reinstate the Bourbons; and, from the matrimonial connection which existed

flattering expectations regarding the final issue of the campaign. Being certain that Paris, and even the government itself, contained many persons who were discontented, and that the population of that capital were far from being disposed to take up arms and sacrifice every thing for a man who had imposed upon his country a military despotism, the confederated monarchs determined to effect a junction of the allied armies, to place themselves between the French army and Paris, and to march at the head of 200,000 men direct to the capital. On the 24th of March, Prince Schwartzenburg established his head-qumters at Vitry, and on the same day Field-marshal Blucher arrived with a large proportion of his army at Chalons. Generals Winzingerode and Czernichelf were now dispatched, with 10,000 horse, and 50 pieces of cannon, to observe the march of Napoleon on St. Dizier, and to menace his rear. The arrangements being complete, the King of Prussia issued orders to Marshal Blucher to direct his army on Paris; and on the 25th the Austro-Russian army faced about from Vitry, and took the same direction, by the route of Fere Champenoise, where a junction between the two armies was formed. A splendid and unforeseen advantage was about to mark this re-union. A column of 5,000 men had been dispatched from Paris, under the command of Generals Amey and Pactod, as an escort to an immense convoy of ammunition, and 100,000 rations of bread, intended for Buonaparte's army. Protected by Marshal Marmont's corps, this convoy had approached to Montmirail, and found, when it was too late, that it was impossible to escape the two grand armies of the allies, and after a most obstinate defence, they were obliged to surrender, with the whole of their cannon, ammunition, and stores.

The grand army, continuing its march, established its head-quarters at Conlommiers, on the 27th, having marched twenty-seven leagues in three days, and being now no more than thirteen leagues from Paris. The plan of the allied sovereigns was to concentrate the whole of their force on the right banks of the Marne and the Seine, and to attack Paris on the north, by taking a position on the heights of Montmartre. On the 28th they continued their progress to Meaux by the two roads of Ferte Gaucher and Montmirail, and on the evening of that day the allied sovereigns arrived in the neighbourhood of the French metropolis, without having encountered any formidable obstacle in their line of march. Hitherto, Buonaparte had displayed to his army the most invincible confidence in the final result of the campaign, considering the armies to which he was opposed as cut off in their retreat, and inclosed in the heart of France. Roused at length from this delusion, by intelligence received on the 27th, that the allied armies were marching directly on the capital, he advanced at the head of his army, by the route of Vitry, to the Aube. On the 29th, at day-break, the advanced guard was preparing to pass that river at the bridge of Doulancourt, when a courier arrived from Paris with dispatches. On the appearance of the courier Buonaparte alighted from his horse, in a small meadow on the borders of the Aube, where he hastily broke the seals of the packet, and put questions to the courier. The result of his answers and information proved, that on the preceding day, the allied armies were at Claye, five leagues from Paris, and that Marshals Marmont and Mortier, after having fallen back before the enemy, were making dispositions to defend the capital. All the hopes and favourable presages of Buonaparte were at once dissipated. Aware of the insufficiency of the means that existed for the defence of the capital, he foresaw the catastrophe which was about to destroy the great edifice of his power. He appeared to be subdued by his reverses. In this state he passed several hours at the bridge of Doulancourt, surrounded by his aides-de-camp and generals, and deliberating upon the course that was to be pursued. At length, he determined to apply to the Emperor of Austria, and for that purpose, he summoned into his presence Baron de Wissenberg, the Austrian minister, recently seized and made a prisoner near Chaumont. In the conference that ensued, he conjured the Baron to repair, without loss of time, to his imperial father, for the purpose of interceding in favour of Maria Louisa, and recommending his son, the King of Rome, to the tenderness and political influence of his august grandfather. Baron de Wissenberg repaired immediately to Dijon, but his mission, though seconded by a similar application through the medium of M. de Galbois, failed of success. The tempest hovered about the heads of the Parisians, and they expected soon to be crushed by the explosion. On Sunday the 27th of March, 6,000 regular troops, and 20,000 national guards, were ranged in battle array, and passed in review before the Thuilleries. In the morning of the 29th the allies removed their advanced posts towards Pantin, Villette, and the forest of Vincennes, harassing the French corps which were rallying under the walls of Paris. The troops left to defend the capital consisted of the remains of the corps which had fallen back before the allied armies, 5 or 6,000 regulars in garrison, commanded by Generals Compans and Ornans, and 30,000 national guards, of whom 8 or 10,000 at the most were fit for active service. This small army was under the immediate command of Joseph Buonaparte, assisted by Marshals Mortier and Marmont, and the Governor-general Hulin.

On the 30th of March, at two o'clock in the morning, Joseph Buonaparte gave a formal order for the defence of Paris, and the march of the national guards. Two hours afterwards the Parisians were roused from their beds by the beat of the drums. At the dawn of day two officers from the allied army presented themselves at the advanced posts of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, bearing a proclamation from the commander-in-chief to the inhabitants of Paris, in which they were told—"that there existed in the nature of the government which oppressed them an insurmountable obstacle to that peace which the allies had made so many attempts to obtain; that Europe in arms, now before their walls, sought only for a salutary authority in France, which might cement the union of all governments with her; that the inhabitants had only to declare themselves, and from that moment the allied armies would become the supporters of their decisions." The bearers of this proclamation were refused admittance; and every thing was prepared for a determined resistance on the heights of Paris. The fire of artillery commenced between five and six o'clock in the morning, and the engagement on the hills of Belleville and Saint-Chaumont, where the principal part of the French force was stationed, under Marshal Mortier, soon became very animated.

Marshal Blucher had not yet arrived on the field, and the resistance of the French began to render the issue of the contest doubtful. General Barclay de Tolly, the commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, judged it indispensable to bring the choicest of his troops at once into action, and thus, if possible, to decide the fortune of the day. The field of battle soon became covered with the dead, and the carnage presented on all sides a hideous spectacle. Joseph Buonaparte flattered himself that the seat of his brother's government would yet remain unconquered; but no sooner was he informed that the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia were at Bondy, and that their whole force was congregated in the vicinity of Paris, than he exclaimed—"In that case there is no alternative but to capitulate."

Towards Charonne, Belleville, Mesnil-Montant, and Saint-Chaumont, the allied troops had surmounted every obstacle. In every direction the French troops had been driven to the barriers, and the capital was about to be forced, when Marshal Marmont, on whom the command had devolved, dispatched an officer to General Barclay de Tolly to solicit a truce; engaging to abandon all the ground which he occupied beyond the barriers, and to sign a capitulation for the surrender of Paris in two hours. The Russian general lost no time in submitting this proposition to his imperial master, and to the King of Prussia, neither of whom had for a moment quitted the field of battle. These monarchs, animated by a desire to stop the effusion of blood, and wishing to preserve from ruin one of the first cities in Europe, agreed to the truce without hesitation, and ordered their armies to cease hostilities. Count Orloff, aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, and Count de Paar, aide-de-camp to the Prince of Schwartzenberg, were charged with the office of regulating the cessation of hostilities, in concert with Colonel Denys, principal aide-de-camp to Marshal Marmont, and Colonel Baron Fabrier, attached to his staff. A shout of "capitulation!" now resounded on all sides; the thunders of the artillery had already ceased; and the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia repaired to the heights of Belville, where they surveyed the capital of France, and received its deputies. At four o'clock in the afternoon Count de Nesselrode entered the city, furnished with full powers to ratify the capitulation, which was concluded at two o'clock in the morning of the 31st of March.

Buonaparte arrived at Troyes at eleven o'clock at night on the 29th, having exhausted his troops by a march of 20 leagues that day. He dispatched General Girardin, his aid-de-camp, during the night, with orders diametrically opposite to those of which General Dejean had been made the bearer from the bridge of Doulancourt. These last dispatches contained positive commands to defend Paris by all practicable means, assuring the ministers, that in twelve hours after the arrival of his aid-de-camp, himself and his army would enter Paris. Early in the morning of the 30th Napoleon left Troyes at the head of his guard, taking the direction towards Sens. But so great was his impatience, that he quitted his army at the distance of five leagues from Troyes, and with an escort of 1,500 cavalry, selected from his horse-guards, proceeded with the utmost rapidity to Fontainebleau, and in the night of the same day arrived at Cour de France, about four leagues from the capital. Assuming an air of tranquillity, he awaited, at an inn, the return of his aid-de-camp from Paris. With every exertion General Girardin was not able to reach Paris till the armistice had taken place, and till all hopes of preventing the entrance of the allies were completely dissipated.

Early in the morning of the 31st, the intelligence reached Buonaparte that his capital had capitulated, and that no efforts could now prevent the entrance of the allied armies into Paris. In this emergency he held a council with the officers by whom he was surrounded, consisting of the Duke of Vicenza, General Bertrand, and several others, at which it was determined that Buonaparte should repair to Fontainebleau, and there rally his army, while the Duke of Vicenza proceeded to the head-quarters of the allied monarchs, furnished with full powers to coincide in such conditions as the conquerors might be disposed to dictate.

The military government of Paris was confided to General Baron Sacken, and the propriety of this choice was manifested by the good order and tranquillity which prevailed in all quarters. The senate was the only body which possessed any authority; but this assembly thought itself crushed beneath the ruins of Buonaparte's throne, till a declaration on the part of the Emperor Alexander called it into action

isted between Buonaparte and the house of Austria, it was considered that, though Buonaparte might be shorn of a portion of his power, and confined within narrower limits, the allies would not urge his actual dethronement. In several parts of France, however, the white flag was spontaneously hoisted; at Bourdeaux in particular, the English army was received with acclamations, and the Bourbons were proclaimed with the loudest demonstrations of joy. Buonaparte, at the same time, madly rejected the offers of the allies; and the general interests of Europe prevailing over the individual feelings of the Emperor of Austria, it was resolved, that Louis XVIII. should be restored to the throne of his ancestors. On this point, indeed, the voluntary acts of the French Senate and nation corresponded with the wishes of the allies. On the 31st of March, as already stated, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia entered Paris; on the 1st of April, the senate established a provisional government; on the 2d they declared that Buonaparte had forfeited the throne of France; and, on the 5th, they formed and adopted a constitutional charter, by which Louis XVIII. was proclaimed King, and invested with all his hereditary rights. On the 20th of the same month, the long exiled monarch arrived in the British metropolis, where, from all ranks of society, he experienced the warmest, and most heartfelt congratulations. After a stay of three days, he left London for Dover, where he embarked for Calais; and, on the 3d of May, he made his public entry into the city of Paris.*

Great

tion, and gave it a new existence. This proclamation was no sooner promulgated, than the senators were suddenly convoked by Prince Talleyrand de Perigord, in his quality of vice grand elector. Sixty-five senators, assembled by this authority, on the 1st of April, threw off the imperial sway, and created a provisional government, charged with the office of re-establishing the functions and administration of the state. The installation of the provisional government was signalized by an address to the French armies, in which it was said:—"You are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon; the senate and all France release you from your oath." On the following day, the 2d of April, the senate decreed, that Buonaparte had forfeited the throne of France, and that the people, as well as the army, were released from the oath of fidelity. At the close of the sitting the members proceeded in a body to the Emperor of Russia, who, after receiving their homage, addressed them in these terms:—"A man, who called himself my ally, came as an unjust aggressor into my dominions. It is against him, and not against France, that I have carried on the war. I am the friend of the French, and you cause me to renew this declaration. It is just and wise that France should have strong and liberal institutions, commensurate with her present enlightened state. The allies and I have only come to protect the freedom of your decisions. As a proof of the durable alliance which I wish to contract with your nation, I restore to you all the prisoners now in Russia. The provisional government has solicited this of me; I grant it to the senate in consequence of the resolution which it has taken." Thus, by a splendid act of munificence, 200,000 French captives were restored without ransom, and returned from the extremities of Europe and Asia to the bosom of their families in France.

Marshal Marmont, in a correspondence with Prince Schwartzenberg, on the 3d of April, professed his readiness to accede to the decree by which Buonaparte was declared to have forfeited the throne of France, but he required as a guarantee—"That all troops quitting the standard of Napoleon should have leave to pass freely into Normandy; and that if the events of the war should place Buonaparte as a prisoner in the hands of the allies, that his life and safety should be guaranteed, and that he should be sent to a country chosen by the allied powers and the French government." To these demands Prince Schwartzenberg acceded, and Marshal Marmont, with his corps of 12,000 men, passed within the lines of the allies. In the mean time Buonaparte collected all his troops at Fontainbleau, amounting to 60,000 men, and announced, that it was his intention to march his army to the capital, and to repel the invaders. The struggle, however, had become hopeless, and the army had no disposition to sacrifice themselves, or to light up a flame of civil war, which might lay their country in ruins The Major-General Berthier was deputed to repair to the palace during the night of the 3d of April, and to recommend to Buonaparte the salutary measures of abdication. The first mention of this subject roused the natural irritability of his temper into rage; but when Marshals Ney, Oudinot, and Macdonald, who afterwards arrived, assured him that this measure alone could save the country, his spirit seemed subdued, and he consented to abdicate his throne in favour of his son, the infant King of Rome. This proposal it was determined to submit to the senate and the French nation, and on the 4th, Marshals Ney and Macdonald, accompanied by M. de Caulaincourt, were deputed to repair to Paris for that purpose. At the conference which ensued, Talleyrand, General Pozzo di Borgo, and others, attended, and the result was, that the Bourbon dynasty should be restored. At the breaking up of the conference Marshals Ney and Macdonald returned to Fontainebleau, where they arrived at eleven o'clock at night on the 5th. Ney was the first to enter the apartments of the palace, when Buonaparte inquired with earnestness if he had succeeded. "In part, sire," said the marshal, "but not with regard to the regency—it was too late. Revolutions never give way. This has taken its course, and the senate will to-morrow recognize the Bourbons." The marshal then proceeded to state, that the personal safety of the Emperor and his family had been stipulated for; that he would be permitted to retire to the Isle of Elba; and that a stipend of 2,000,000 of francs would be allowed for his annual expenditure. In virtue of these arrangements Buonaparte consented to the entire renunciation of his rights, and on the 6th of April announced his abdication in the following terms:—"The allied powers have proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe; the emperor, faithful to his oath, declares, that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interest of France."

* The operations of the allied armies in the south of France had produced, in succession, the defeat of the French army, and the capture of its magazines, the investment of Bayonne, Navarrens, and St. Jean Pied-de-Port, the passage of the Adour, and the possession of all the great communications upon that river; and the arrival of the nephew of Louis XVIII. in the south of France, favoured a revolution which had been some time contemplated. Lord Wellington, having made himself master of the whole extent of the French coast, from Bayonne to Bourdeaux, invited his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angouleme to his head-quarters at St. Sever; and soon afterwards a deputation from the royalists repaired to the British camp. His Lordship, yielding to the solicitations of the mayor, and other inhabitants of Bourdeaux, Marshal Beresford was authorised to move from Mont-de-Marsen upon that city, with a body of 15,000 men. At the report of the approach of Marshal Beresford, who was now rapidly advancing, the Senator Cornudet, the extraordinary commissary of Buonaparte, left the city, with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and his example was soon after followed by General Lhuillier, at the head of 2000 soldiers. The royalists, thus released from all restraint, awaited with confidence the arrival of the English army. M. Lynch, the Mayor of Bourdeaux, an ardent friend of the Bourbon family, had made every arrangement to receive the allies in a manner that should exhibit the most unequivocal proof of devotion to the exiled monarch; couriers were dispatched to meet Marshal Beresford; and deputies hastened to lay at the feet of his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angouleme the homage of the city. On the arrival of Marshal Beresford at the bridge of La Maye, in the morning of the 12th of March, Colonel Vivian was dispatched to the mayor, to announce that the British General hoped to enter a city favourably disposed to the cause in which he was engaged. The mayor returned the most solemn assurances of his friendship, and confirmed his declaration by hastening, at the head of a large body of municipal officers, to hail the arrival of the advancing army. The king's commissary, with a train of more than 10,000 inhabitants, accompanied the chief magistrate, and the rear of the procession was brought up by the Marquis de la Rochejaquelin, the brother of the unfortunate Vendean chief of that name. Advancing to the staff of the British army, the mayor addressed Marshal Beresford, who assured him, in the most impressive manner, that he considered the city which he was about to enter as the city of an ally, inhabited by the subjects of Louis XVIII. Scarcely had he uttered these words, when the mayor exclaimed—"Vive le Roi." The shout was instantly repeated with enthusiasm, both by the military and the inhabitants; while the mayor cast away his scarf, and resumed the ancient emblem of the French nation. At this moment the white flag was displayed from the steeple of St. Michael, and the white cockade was generally adopted with a spontaneous sentiment of satisfaction and joy. Shouts of "Long live the Bourbons"—"Honour to the English nation"—"Long live the Mayor," succeeded each other, and resounded through every quarter of the city. The people now became clamorous to see the illustrious descendant of Henry IV. the nephew of the King, and the husband of the daughter of Louis XVI. in the person of the Duke d'Angouleme, who was advancing from the head-quarters of Lord Wellington, accompanied by Count Etienne de Damas, the Duke de Guiche, and Count d'Escars. When the Duke entered the city the cries of Vive le Roi were renewed, and the transport exhibited by the inhabitants became unbounded. The crowd was so immense that two hours were scarcely sufficient to reach the cathedral, where the archbishop of Bourdeaux, at the head of his clergy, awaited the arrival of his royal highness, whom he addressed on the occasion. As soon as silence could be obtained, Te Deum was chaunted; and at the conclusion of the service the Duke returned to the Palais Royal, where he took up his residence. The presence of the nephew of Louis XVIII. served to convert into allies irritated nations, bearing the character of enemies till they reached the gates of Bourdeaux; the friendly ensigns of England, Spain, and Portugal, were now united with the oriflame—the signal for the restoration was given, and the short, but comprehensive sentences—"No more tyranny—no more war—no more conscription—no more vexatious taxes," uttered by the Duke d'Angouleme, and reiterated by the Mayor of Bourdeaux, gave a currency to the counter-revolution, which, like an electric shock, instantly extended its influence through the southern departments of France.

After the fall of Bourdeaux, that city, and the department of La Vendee, became the focus of royal insurrection, and Lord Wellington, pursuing his success, marched to the conquest of Languedoc. Early in the morning of the 10th of April, all the corps of the combined army were put in motion, while the French troops, ranged in battle array, prepared to make the most vigorous resistance. At seven o'clock in the morning the battle commenced, near the wharfs at the mouth of the canal, and soon became extremely animated. The attack soon spread along the whole line, and the battle became general. After a long and arduous contest, the allied army established themselves on three of the sides of Toulouse; and having turned the French army, compelled it to seek refuge in the city, and finally, to

retreat

Great as the sufferings of France, in blood and treasure, were known to have been, the impoverishment of her finances was found to be still more deplorable than had ever been imagined. The increase of the debts of the state, in the course of 13 years, had amounted to 1,645,469,000 francs 71,989,269*l.*; and the total of anticipations, and misapplication of funds, by the Napoleon government, amounted to 1,305,469,000 francs, (57,114,269*l.*) In consequence of this distressing deterioration, the utmost economy in all the departments of state was found necessary; and new taxes, to a certain extent, and for a limited period, were ordered to be levied. Almost the only cheering circumstance developed in the Frence Exposé of July the 12th, was that the interests of agriculture were in a state of progressive improvement.

One of the first acts of the French provisional government was to facilitate the return of the Pope to his dominions; and, in gratitude to France, and kindness to all Europe, one of the first acts of his Holiness, was, to re-establish the Order of the Jesuits.

In Spain, one of the latest artifices of Buonaparte was that of proposing to liberate Ferdinand VII. on condition that he should deliver up certain garrisons to the French. By this means, the enemy would have been reinforced with 20,000 men, which might have proved an overmatch for Lord Wellington, and thus the spreading of the insurrection in favour of Louis XVIII. in the southern departments of France, would have been impeded. General Copons, however, managed the affair with great address, and succeeded in obtaining the person of Ferdinand, without acceding to the insidious demand of the French Ruler.

The liberated Ferdinand arrived at Gerona on the 24th of March, and great, enthusiastically great was the joy of the Spaniards throughout the kingdom. Their beloved sovereign was restored to their wishes; and their hearts cherished the reviving thought of peace, happiness, and security. Alas! how soon was the intoxicating chalice fated to be dashed from their lips! One of the first impulses of the "beloved Ferdinand" was to overturn the constitution which had been framed by the Cortes—to spurn his deliverers from his presence—to condemn the saviours of their country to exile, imprisonment, and death—to re-establish the Inquisition—and to encompass himself within a pestiferous swarm of bigotted priests and crime-diseased noblesse, the wretched remnants of his father's infamous court.

Very early in the year (January 14) the relations of peace and amity were restored between Great Britain and Denmark. The conditions of the treaty were highly favourable to the latter power. Britain was to restore all her conquests from Denmark, except Heligoland; prisoners of war on both sides to be released; Denmark to join the allies with 10,000 men, on receiving a subsidy of 400,000*l.* from England; and Pomerania to be ceded, by Sweden, to Denmark in lieu of Norway.

The cession of Norway to Sweden, however, led to violent commotions in the former country. These commotions were fomented, and, probably, first instigated, by Prince Christian, who caused himself to be elected and proclaimed King of Norway. In this instance, fortunately for humanity, the projects of an ambitious Prince were not suffered to prevail. Hostilities commenced between Sweden and Norway about the middle of July; by the latter end of August, Prince Christian was compelled to relinquish his claims; and,

---

retreat from that place in the direction of Castelnaudry, leaving General D'Harispe, Bourot, and St. Hilaire, with 1,600 prisoners, in the hands of the victors. Of the numerous battles fought by Lord Wellington, in the south of Europe, the baule of Toulouse, which was the last of the campaign, and of the war, is among the most sanguinary; the engagement, which commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, did not cease till the same hour in the evening; and the number of the killed and wounded in the allied armies amounted to nearly 5,000. On the 11th of April Colonel Cook and Colonel St. Simon arrived at Toulouse with the intelligence that Buonaparte was dethroned; and the same information was conveyed with all possible dispatch to Marshals Soult and Suchet. For some days the French marshals did not consider the communication as sufficiently authentic to induce them to lay down their arms; and in the interval Sir John Hope was made prisoner by the enemy in a sortie from Bayonne; but the arrival of other messengers placed the fact of the overthrow of Buonaparte's government out of all doubt, and a convention was entered into by the commanders of the hostile armies on the same bases as the convention of Paris.

At the period of the restoration, Louis XVIII. was confined at his residence in England by sickness and infirmity; in consequence of which, his brother, the Count d'Artois, was appointed Lieutenant-General of France, and requested immediately to repair to the capital from Vesoul. On the 12th of April his royal highness made his public entry into Paris, surrounded by several of the great officers of the state, and attended by a group of French marshals. The enthusiasm with which the French people had now become animated was rapidly communicated to the Russian, Austrian, Prussian, English, Spanish, and Portuguese officers assembled in the church of Notre Dame, and it appeared as if all Europe, represented by a selection of warriors, swore on the altar, at the festival of the restoration, to maintain that peace which had been so happily and unexpectedly restored.

The regency at Blois, astonished at the rapid progress of the restoration, and overpowered by the intelligence of Buonaparte's abdication, was suddenly dissolved; and Maria Louisa and her son, placing themselves under the protection of Prince Esterhazy, retired, first to Switzerland, and afterwards to her paternal residence.

Buonaparte now found himself at Fontainbleau, with no troops but his guards, and those reduced to 2 or 3,000 men. The shock of his sudden overthrow had produced an attack of catalepsy, a disorder to which he was subject, and his departure for the Island of Elba was in consequence delayed. During his reverse of fortune he prepared himself for the last scene of his expiring power. Assembling his guards, he placed them in review, and thus addressed them:—"Generals, officers, and soldiers of my guard, I bid you farewel. I am satisfied with you. For twenty years I have always found you in the path of glory. The allied powers have armed all Europe against me; part of the troops have betrayed their duty, and France herself wishes for another dynasty. With you and the other brave men who have remained faithful to me, I could maintain a civil war for three years; but this would be a misfortune to France, and as such is contrary to the object I have ever had in view. Be faithful to the new King which France has chosen; and do not abandon this dear country which has been so long unhappy. Lament not my fate; I shall be always happy when I know that you are so. I might have died—nothing would have been more easy for me; but I will continue in the path of honour. I will write the history of our achievements. I cannot embrace you all, but I embrace your general. Bring me the eagle. Dear Eagle! may these kisses resound in the hearts of all my brave soldiers. Adieu, my children!" On the 20th of April, at noon, Buonaparte departed from Fontainbleau for Elba, accompanied by Generals Bertrand and Drouet, who retired with him to that island. The exiles were escorted on their journey by four superior officers, acting as commissioners to the allied powers, together with one hundred and fifty foreign troops, supported by detachments placed at a distance from each other.

The Emperor of Austria, who had hitherto remained at Dijon, made his entry into the French capital in great state on the 15th of April, and was received by the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and his Royal Highness the Count d'Artois. On the 23d a convention was signed between the allied powers and France, by which it was agreed that hostilities should every where cease; and that the allied armies should evacuate the French territory in fourteen days from that date; the boundary line to be observed being that which constituted the limits of France on the 1st of January, 1792. Fifteen days were allowed for mutual evacuations in Piedmont, and twenty days in Spain; the fleets were to remain in their then present stations, but all blockades were declared to be raised, and the fisheries and coasting trade were permitted. By this convention all prisoners were mutually and immediately liberated and sent to their respective countries. On the 2d of May the French King arrived at the castle of St. Ouen, a royal residence in the vicinity of Paris, where the members of the provisional council were admitted to an audience. Accompanied by the acclamations of the people from the frontiers of his kingdom to the gates of his capital, the impatiently expected monarch made his solemn entry on the 3d of May. The procession was headed by the marshals of France, the generals of the army, and all the officers of the court; accompanied by the national guards, and by detachments of the regular army. The King, dressed in a general's blue uniform, appeared in an open carriage, drawn by eight horses; on his left was placed the august daughter of Louis XVI. opposite to them were the Prince of Conde, and his son, the Duke of Bourbon; and Monsieur, and his son, the Duke of Berri, mounted on their chargers, took the right and left of the carriage. The procession entered the city amidst the reiterated shouts of the populace, and peals of artillery. All the windows in the streets through which they passed, up to the roofs, were filled with spectators, and the King saluted the crowd with the most gracious condescension and benignity. On entering the gates of Notre Dame, the royal personages were saluted by the thousand times repeated cry of "Vive le Roi!" The King alighted at the gates of the cathedral, and after receiving the holy water and incense, was addressed by the vicar-general in the name of the chapter:—"On entering my good city of Paris," said his Majesty in reply, "my first object was to thank God and his blessed mother, the Almighty Protectress of France, for the miracles which have terminated my misfortunes. I am a son of St. Louis, and will imitate his virtues." At the close of the ceremony the King repaired to the palace of the Thuilleries, and in presenting himself to the countless multitude assembled under the windows of his palace, he laid one hand on his heart, and raised the other towards heaven, as though to express, by a single gesture, that the acknowledgment which he owed to God, he would manifest by his love to his people.

subsequently

subsequently to that period, the sceptre of Norway, with the full and free consent of the people, passed into the hands of the King of Sweden.

Soon after his return to Holland, the Stadtholder was declared Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands. The result of the negociation which took place between Great Britain and Holland, in the course of the summer, was, that this country should retain the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, but restore Batavia, Surinam Curacoa, and St. Eustatia.—A negociation was also entered into, for uniting Great Britain and Holland more closely, by a marriage between the Prince of Orange and the Princess Charlotte of Wales, but—whether fortunately or unfortunately cannot now be ascertained—the issue was not successful.

On the 29th of March, the Prince of the Netherlands opened the grand meeting of the notables of the country, to take into consideration the plan of the constitution, which was viewed and adopted with acclamation. Decrees were also passed for the following purposes:—The establishment of the freedom of the press; the restoration of the Dutch language, which had fallen into disuse during the union of Holland with France; the relief of the inferior clergy; the solemn observance of the Sabbath, &c.

In the course of the summer, commissioners from America having arrived at Ghent, Commissioners were also appointed by the British government, at the end of July, to meet them. The avowed object of their meeting was, to negociate the terms of a treaty between the respective countries. Of the progress of their negociations, nothing was known in England until the middle and close of November. The arrival of various documents, from America, then disclosed the pretensions of the two governments; and, from the high tone of each, it seemed unlikely that an amicable close should be effected. All the bitterness of hostility was breathed by the ruling powers of the United States; and although it was found necessary, at a single blow, to double the entire taxation of the country, the strongest determinations appeared to have been made, to push the war with the utmost vigour, and to the last extremity. The negociations, however, were continued at Ghent; and, on the 24th of December, contrary to the expectations of most, they terminated in the signature of a treaty of peace.—Evil fortune had not ceased to pursue us in our naval contest with America. That ever the Americans were allowed to obtain a single victory over us upon our own element, was regarded, by many, as an indelible stain upon the naval administration of this country. The very ignorance, it was said, which induced them to oppose British ships of inferior force to the enemy, was guilt, of a dark shade. The consequences were indeed fatal and destructive, far beyond the limited loss of the ships and men which were thus sacrificed. The advantages which the enemy were allowed to gain increased their skill, raised their courage, and exalted their pretensions.—On land we were, to the last, more successful. The Americans were repeatedly beaten in Canada; and our capture of Washington, our descent upon Baltimore, and several other actions, were exploits which must have inspired no slight degree of terror.

Peace, as asw naturally to be expected, diffused an air of joy, and gladness, and exultation over the whole country. That, and the consequent arrival of the allied sovereigns, and their most distinguished Generals, converted the metropolis of England into a scene of gaiety and pleasure unprecedented within the memory of man. Illuminations, galas, and feasting were the order of the day. Nor were the provincial towns and villages backward or deficient in their demonstrations of joy.

The British Parliament, which assembled in the winter of 1813, principally for the purpose of voting those supplies by which the overthrow of Buonaparte was essentially promoted, adjourned on the 20th of December, and was not re-assembled till the 21st of March, 1814, when the allied armies were within a few days' march of their ultimate destination. The first business of importance, was a motion made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for a grant of 2,000,000*l.* on account of the army extraordinaries, making, with 3,000,000*l.* before voted, the sum of 5,000,000*l.*

On the 3d of May, Mr. Wilberforce moved that an humble address should be presented to the Prince Regent, beseeching him to interpose the good offices and interference of government with the allied powers on the Continent, to induce them to aid and assist in the desirable and humane object of abolishing the slave trade, by discontinuing and forbidding the same in their respective dominions. In these sentiments both sides of the House expressed their cordial concurrence; and, in consequence of the representations which were made to the French government, an engagement was entered into on the part of his most Christian Majesty, "to unite all his efforts to those of his Britannic Majesty, at the approaching congress, to induce all the powers of Christendom to decree the abolition of the slave trade, so that the said trade shall cease universally, as it shall cease definitively, under any circumstances, on the part of the French government, in the course of five years."*

A short time before the arrival of the royal visitors, by whose presence this country was honoured in the summer of the year 1814, the Princess of Wales received a letter from the Queen, acquainting her royal highness, "that she had received a communication from her son the Prince Regent, in which he states, that her Majesty's intention of holding two drawing rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considers that his own presence at her court cannot be dispensed with, and that he desires it may be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination, not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or in private."

To this intimation the Princess of Wales replied, that "though she could not so far forget her duty to her King and to herself, as to surrender her right to appear at any public drawing room to be held by her Majesty, yet that she might not add to the difficulty and uneasiness of her Majesty's situation, she should in the present instance yield to the will of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and should not present herself at the drawing rooms of the next month." The Princess next addressed a letter to the Prince, demanding to know what circumstances could justify the proceeding which he had thus thought fit to adopt? "I owe it," said she, "to myself, to my daughter, and to the nation, to which I am indebted for the vindication of my honour, to remind your royal highness of what you know, that, after open persecution and mysterious inquiries, upon undefined charges, the malice of my enemies fell entirely upon themselves; and that I was restored by the King, with the advice of his ministers, to the full enjoyment of my rank in his court. Upon my complete acquittal, since his Majesty's lamented illness, I have demanded, in the face of Parliament and the country, to be proved guilty or to be treated as innocent; I have been declared, what I am—innocent; and I will not submit to be treated as guilty. Sir, you may possibly refuse to read this letter, but the world must know that I have written it, and they will see my real motives for foregoing, in this instance, the rights of my rank: occasions however may arise (one I trust is far distant) when I must appear in public, and your royal highness must be present also. Can your royal highness have contemplated

* On the same day that Mr. Wilberforce made his motion respecting the Slave Trade, the Prince Regent conferred upon Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington the dignities of Duke and Marquis of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the style and title of Marquis Douro and Duke of Wellington in the county of Somerset. To support the dignity thus conferred upon the Duke, the sum of 400,000*l.* was voted to him by Parliament; which, added to the sum of 100,000*l.* voted on a former occasion, swelled the amount of the grants placed at the disposal of the Duke to half a million sterling. At the same time, Sir John Hope was raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Niddry; Sir Stapleton Cotton was created Lord Combermere; Sir Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch; Sir Rowland Hill, Lord Hill; and Sir William Beresford, Lord Beresford; and the dignities of Lords Lynedoch, Hill, and Beresford, were accompanied by a grant of 2,000*l.* per annum each.

the full extent of your declaration? Has your royal highness forgotten the approaching marriage of our daughter, and the possibility of our coronation? The time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling; many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England, among others, as I am informed, the illustrious heir of the house of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law; from their society I am unjustly excluded; others are expected, of rank equal to your own, to rejoice with your royal highness in the peace of Europe; my daughter will, for the first time, appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of this empire; this season your royal highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity, and of all his Majesty's subjects, I alone am prevented, by your royal highness, from appearing in my place to partake of the general joy, and am deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but me." To the speaker of the House of Commons, her royal highness also addressed a letter, animadverting on the dangerous nature of the "fixed and unalterable determination of the Prince of Wales never to meet her on any occasion, either in public or private;" and inclosing, for the information of the House of Commons, the correspondence which had passed on this occasion. After the letters had been read, Mr. Methuen moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to pray his Royal Highness that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint the House, by whose advice he was induced to form the 'fixed and unalterable determination never to meet her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.'" Ministers contended that it was not within the province of the House of Commons to interfere in this case; and the debate, which was carried on with closed doors, terminated in Mr. Methuen's consenting to withdraw his motion, from a hope that the rigorous proceeding announced against the Princess, would not be acted upon at the approaching drawing rooms. In this expectation the honourable gentleman was disappointed; but when the subject was again resumed on the 23d of June, Mr. Methuen, instead of insisting upon the indignity and injustice offered to the mother of our future sovereign, dwelt rather upon the necessity of increasing the establishment of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales!

Lord Castlereagh observed, that it was the first time Parliament had been told that an increased provision for her Royal Highness was the object which her friends had in view. His Lordship proceeded to state, that he had no objection to submit to the House, on a future day, a proposal on this subject; and in conclusion adverted to a fact not before generally known, namely, that there is in existence an instrument dated in the year 1809, signed by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and approved by his Majesty, and to which his signature, as well as that of a large proportion of the ministers of the time, is applied, which provides for a distinct establishment for the Princess, and admits the fact of the separation. On the 4th of July, the House being in a committee, Lord Castlereagh rose to propose, that such an increase should be made to the income of the Princess of Wales as would enable her to maintain an establishment more suited to her situation in this country; and he thought the most desirable measure would be to raise it to that point to which it would be advanced in the event of the death of the Prince Regent; his proposal therefore was, that the net annual sum of 50,000*l.* should be granted to the Princess of Wales, and that the 5000*l.* and 17,000*l.* per annum which she at present enjoyed should be withheld from the Prince Regent's income. In a subsequent stage of this business, Lord Castlereagh called the attention of the House to a letter received by the chairman of the committee from the Princess of Wales, in which she intimated that it would be more satisfactory to her if the vote of the committee for an allowance of 50,000*l.* per annum was reduced to 35,000*l.* This suggestion, after some discussion was adopted.*

After the departure of the royal visitors, from the British metropolis, the Parliamentary session, which had suffered a temporary interruption, was resumed; and on the 26th of June, the speaker of the House of Commons informed that assembly, that he had received a letter from Lord Cochrane, protesting his innocence of certain charges exhibited against his Lordship, and of which he had, on the 8th of the present month, been convicted in the court of King's Bench.† When the matter came under consideration on the 5th of July, the House of Commons adjudged, by a majority of 140 to 44 voices, that Lord Cochrane should be expelled from that assembly; but the electors of Westminster, under the persuasion of the perfect innocence of their representative, re-elected his Lordship, not only without opposition, but in triumph.

The national income and expenditure, were, on the 13th of June, brought under the consideration of the House of Commons. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated the several sums necessary to be raised for the service of the year, the ways and means to defray those charges, and the terms on which the loan had been contracted for. The whole amount of the joint and separate charges for England he stated at 67,517,478*l.* and for Ireland, at 8,107,094*l.* making the total expence of the year 75,624,572*l.*

To meet the charges upon the public revenue, the taxes and the loans of the year for England would produce 67,708,545*l.* The exports of the past year had very considerably exceeded those of the most flourish-

* The Princess Charlotte of Wales, it was understood, had espoused the cause of her mother, and it was probably in some degree owing to this circumstance that she was kept very retired and private. It was determined, however, that she should marry. The person fixed upon as her husband was the young Prince of Orange; but it does not appear that he was ever very acceptable to his intended consort; and the negotiation was broken off. The Princess Charlotte naturally looked to her mother for protection and advice. This served still more to widen the breach; and all the principal persons about her Royal Highness were removed, either because they were suspected of forwarding her views, or because they wanted either the power or the inclination to exercise that influence over her, which was deemed necessary in order to render her more obedient to the will of her father. On the 12th of July, at the moment when the Prince was engaged at Warwick house, the residence of the Princess Charlotte, giving instructions to those who had superseded her discarded attendants, the Princess took an opportunity of leaving the house in a private manner, and, throwing herself into a hackney coach, ordered the driver to convey her to her mother's residence at Connaught house. The Princess of Wales immediately drove to the House of Parliament to consult her friends as to the proper course to be pursued: and the result was, that at three o'clock the following morning the Princess Charlotte was prevailed upon to accompany her uncle, the Duke of York, to Carlton house. After remaining at that place for some time, she was removed to Cranbourn Lodge, in Windsor Forest, where she was placed under the superintendence of the household recently appointed. Soon afterwards the Princess of Wales asked, and readily obtained, permission from the Prince Regent and his ministers to leave this country; and, on the 9th of August her Royal Highness embarked at Worthing in the Jason frigate, and after having paid a visit to her brother at the court of Brunswick, she proceeded to Italy, every where receiving the honours due to her rank, and on the approach of winter fixed her residence at Naples.

† The charges preferred against Lord Cochrane were, that he, along with Captain Random de Berenger; the Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone, his Lordship's uncle; Richard Gathorne Butt, a stock broker; Ralph Sandom, a spirit merchant, at North Fleet; Alexander Mc Rae; John Peter Holloway; and Henry Lyte; had conspired to defraud the members of the stock exchange, by circulating, on the 11th of February last, false news of Buonaparte's defeat and death, to raise the funds to a higher price than they otherwise would have borne, to the injury of the public, and for the benefit of the conspirators. Of this offence Lord Cochrane, and the other defendants, were found guilty; his Lordship, however, continued after his conviction, to declare his intire ignorance of the plot and conspiracy imputed to him, and earnestly implored a new trial. This indulgence the rules of the court did not allow; and on the 21st of June, his Lordship, with Mr. Butt, was sentenced to pay a fine of 500*l.* to the King, to be imprisoned twelve months, in the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea, and during that time to stand one hour in, and upon the pillory, in front of the Royal Exchange. The same sentence was pronounced on Captain de Berenger, with the exception of the fine; and Sandom and Lyte were ordered to be imprisoned twelve months. Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, and Mr. Alexander Mc Rae, failed to appear. The punishment of the pillory was remitted by the crown.

ing

ing year at any former period. The total amount of the loan for 1814 was twenty-four millions, being 18,500,000*l.* for England, and 5,500,000*l.* for Ireland, and from the terms upon which the loan had been negociated, it might be calculated that the public would remain charged with the yearly interest upon it of 4*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* per cent. At the close of this statement the usual resolutions were read and agreed to, after a remark from Mr. Ponsonby, that the public interest demanded that the property tax should not be collected after the 5th of April next. Apprehensions however were still entertained that the tax might be renewed, and the inconclusive replies given by government to the inquiries made on that subject, excited a very deep and general alarm throughout the country. The first place which took measures to petition Parliament against the renewal of the tax was the city of London; and the example of the metropolis was so generally followed, that the voice of the people, which, when distinctly and perseveringly raised, must always be heard, finally prevailed.* Parliament was prorogued on the 30th of July.

On the 25th of September, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, made their solemn entry into Vienna; but it was not till the 1st of November that the formal installation of the congress took place. The royal personages congregated on this occasion consisted of the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria; with ambassadors from England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, and the minor states of Germany. One of the first acts of the congress was to recognize a new regal title annexed to the British crown, and to confirm to Hanover the rank of a kingdom.†

In Italy, the territories formerly possessed by the sovereign house of Sardinia were restored to Victor Emanuel; and by a protocol, signed in the congress of Vienna, on the 14th of December, the territory forming, before the French revolutionary wars, the venerable republic of Genoa, was definitively united to the states of his Sardinian Majesty. The annexation of all the other districts in the north of Italy to the Austrian dominion, followed almost as a matter of course.

A. D. 1815.] Seldom have the changes wrought by time been so rapid, numerous, or important, as at this period of our history; affecting every clime, every state, and almost every individual of our species. The disturber of Europe, determined on one more desperate effort, again stood forward to alarm, and, it might almost be said, to appal the surrounding nations. Idly pretending that he had been neglected in his exile—that the contract into which the allies had entered with him had been broken, Buonaparte, on the 20th of February, laid an embargo upon all the vessels in the ports of Elba, assembled his guards, and declared his purpose of contending for the imperial crown of France. He embarked in four vessels, with about eleven hundred men, on the 28th of the month; and, on the 1st of March, he effected a landing near Cannes. In four days, the astounding news reached Paris. Monsieur, the King's brother, immediately set off from Paris, with Marshal Ney, who, in the enthusiasm of his loyalty, kissed the hand of Louis, and swore to bring his old comrade to the capital in an iron cage! How well he proved his loyalty, how religiously he kept his oath, is known to all. His Majesty, at the same time, convoked an extraordinary meeting of the legislative body, which instantly voted addresses, and declared their inviolable attachment to the throne. Confiding in the army, the King and his ministers adopted such measures as seemed best calculated to insure the public safety; but, unfortunately, the army was rotten at the very core, and the march of the rebel was unresisted. Followed by his little troop, with drums and music, four field pieces, and a superb carriage, Buonaparte set off from Cannes on horseback. Arriving within a league of Grasse, he found the inhabitants of that place in great agitation; and, deeming it imprudent to enter, he left his field pieces, and his carriage, at the gate, and took the road to St. Vallier. The garrisons at Grenoble and Lyons deserted to the rebel standard. At Grenoble, a large quantity of ammunition fell into the hands of Buonaparte, who pushed on, at the head of only six hundred horse, to Lyons, whence the disaffected troops had previously compelled Monsieur to retire. The same rebellious spirit appeared in other places. Marshal Ney, having issued a proclamation, dated March 14, describing the Bourbons as unfit to reign, and recommending his troops to join the great Napoleon, went over to Buonaparte, at Louis le Saulnier. Secure in the support of the army, Buonaparte proceeded on his march, and entered Paris on the evening of the 20th, exactly three weeks from the time of his sailing from Elba. Contrary, however, to the statements of the Moniteur, his entrance into the capital was effected in the most private manner. On the following morning, he shewed himself at a window in a garden of the Thuilleries, and, about noon, he reviewed the troops on the place Carousel. His most Christian Majesty, accompanied by Marshals Berthier and Macdonald, had previously left Paris for Lisle whither Monsieur and Marshal Marmont were also marching with a considerable force.

One of the first measures of the Usurper, on his return, was to dispatch his minion, Caulaincourt, to invite the Archduchess Maria Louisa to reunite her fortunes with his. For some time, the Parisians were amused with the expectation that their Empress would return. The imperial carriages were ordered from St. Cloud, to meet her and her son on their route from Vienna; their arrival was even announced; but neither the Empress of France, nor the King of Rome, appeared. An attempt to kidnap the baby-monarch proved also unsuccessful.

In the declaration of the allied powers, dated from Franckfort, on the 1st of December, 1813, appeared the following passage:—"The allied powers will not lay down their arms, until they have attained this great

* The state of the sister kingdom had for some time been such as to call for the adoption of additional measures for securing the public tranquillity, and on the 8th of July, Mr. Peel, chief secretary for Ireland, rose to propose the renewal of a measure, which had received the sanction of Parliament in 1807. The clause of the insurrection act, which it was now intended to revive, provided, that in case any part of the country should be disturbed, or in danger of becoming so, two justices of the peace should be impowered to summon an extraordinary sessions of the county, which should consist of seven magistrates; that the Lord Lieutenant, in council, on receiving a report from the magistrates so assembled, stating that the district was in a state of disturbance, and that the ordinary law was inadequate to the preservation of the public peace, should be impowered to issue a proclamation, commanding all resident within the same district to keep within their houses from sun-set to sun-rise; that no person should be suffered to remain drinking in a public house after nine o'clock at night; and further, if any persons should be detected out of their houses at the prohibited times, without being able to show good cause, they should be liable to be transported for the term of seven years. It was also required that the Lord Lieutenant should order a special session of the peace to be held, at which the persons offending against this law should be tried, and if necessary, the trial by jury should in these cases be dispensed with. Other provisions sanctioned the employment of the military; enabled the magistrates to pay domiciliary visits; and to break open doors if denied admission. The bill was warmly discussed in its several stages, but it ultimately passed both branches of the legislature, and at the close of the session obtained the royal assent.

† On the 12th of October, Count Munster, the Hanoverian minister of state, presented a note to the Austrian and other ministers, assembled at Vienna, for the purpose of conveying the declaration of the Prince Regent of Great Britain and Hanover, regarding the title which he had thought it necessary to substitute for that of Elector of the Holy Roman empire. The title of Elector, it was observed, had been rendered unsuitable to present circumstances, by the sixth article of the treaty of Paris, by which it was agreed—"that the states of Germany should remain independent, and joined in a federal union." On this ground, several of the powers concurring in the treaty had invited the Prince Regent to renounce the ancient title, and in its stead to assume the title of King, by which the arrangements required for the future welfare of Germany would be facilitated. The declaration proceeded to observe, that all the ancient electors, and the house of Wirtemberg, having erected their states into kingdoms, the Prince Regent could not derogate from the rank which Hanover had held under the house of Brunswick Lunenburgh, one of the most ancient and illustrious in Europe, before the subversion of the German empire; and that he had, therefore, resolved to erect his provinces, formerly the country of Hanover, into a kingdom, and to assume for its sovereign the title of King of Hanover.

and beneficial result,—a state of peace, which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, may henceforth preserve their people from the numberless calamities which have overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years.—They will not lay down their arms until the political state of Europe is re-established —until our immoveable principles have resumed their rights over vain pretensions, until the sanctity of treaties shall at last have secured a real peace to Europe."—It was important; that the declaration from which we have taken this passage, had never been rescinded: it was found to be still binding, and in full vigour. In fact, every thing which had been effected since the date of the document had been in virtue of its stipulations: the Congress of Vienna was one of its consequences, and the union of the contracting parties was another.

As soon as the intelligence of Buonaparte's irruption had reached Vienna, the allied powers issued a solemn manifesto, in which they declared, that, by thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Buonaparte had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended; that, by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he had deprived himself of the protection of the law, and had manifested to the universe, that there could be neither peace nor truce with him; that he had placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he had rendered himself liable to public vengeance. The allies, at the same time, expressed their firm determination to maintain entire the treaty of Paris, of May 30, 1814, and to employ all their means, and unite all their efforts, to prevent the peace of Europe from being again troubled. This declaration was followed by a new treaty, signed at Vienna, on the 25th of March, by which the contracting parties solemnly engaged not to lay down their arms but in agreement with each other; nor until Buonaparte should be wholly and completely deprived of the power of exciting disturbances, and of renewing his attemps to obtain the supreme power in France.

About a fortnight after his return to Paris (April 4,) Buonaparte endeavoured to cajole the allied sovereigns, by addressing to them, respectively, what was misnomered a pacific letter: at the same time, he, through the medium of Caulaincourt, made overtures, equally ambiguous, to the different foreign ministers; but these attempts proved as unavailing as those for the recovery of his wife and son. He seemed to have no resource but that of throwing himself into the arms of the old ferocious jacobins—the sanguinary survivors of the reign of terror. The cause of the Bourbons was strong in the south of France, and in several other parts of the empire; and, though in the capital, and in the midst of his military adherents, the Usurper felt himself surrounded by difficulties of no ordinary kind. He loitered so long at Paris, that, by some, it was questioned, whether it were his intention, personally, to take the field at all. In the interim, the allies, who were thus enabled to make their election of the seat of war, were, from all points, converging their forces towards one grand focus. However, his new constitution, and his splendid national spectacle of the Champ de Mai—which did not take place, till the 1st of June—having failed, in a great measure, of their intended effect, he left Paris on the 13th of June; and, by one of those lightning-like movements, by which his career has been so frequently distinguished, he joined his army, and put it in motion, in the neighbourhood of Brussels, on the 15th.* On the 18th—a day to be eternally remembered, with honour, in the annals of Britain—the doom of Buonaparte was sealed! During the 16th and 17th, the advantage appears to have been on the side of the enemy: but, on the 18th, his rout was dreadful, bloody, and decisive.† The field of action was small; not exceeding two miles from north to south, from the rear of the British to the rear of the French position; and from east to west, from the extremity of the left wing to that of the right of the contending armies, it was scarcely a mile and a half. The confined extent of the ground, and the consequent intermixture of the contending armies, is supposed to

* "Buonaparte," observes the Duke of Wellington, in his official dispatch to Lord Castlereagh, dated Waterloo, June 19, 1815, "having collected the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army and the imperial guards, and nearly all the cavalry on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th, and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez, on the Sambre, at day light in the morning. I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march; and afterwards to march to the left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack. The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Zieten, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny. The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Brussels, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Prince de Weimar, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bas.—The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and in the morning early regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Brussels, with Marshal Blucher's position. In the mean time I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division under Lieutenant-General Sir T. Picton, arrived at about half past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops, under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau. At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2d corps, and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our posts at Les Quatre Bras. The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of members, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself; and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived. We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery: he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieutenant General Sir T. Picton and Major General Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as Lieutenant General Charles Baron Alten, Major-General Sir C. Halket, Lieutenant-General Cooke, and Major-Generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division and those of the Brunswick corps were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 79th, and 92d regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.—Our loss was great, as your Lordship will perceive by the inclosed return, and I have particularly to regret his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell, fighting gallantly at the head of his troops. Although Marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sombref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and as the 4th corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over. This movement of the Marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Gemappe, and thence upon Waterloo, the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock."

† Buonaparte appears to have considered victory, on the side of the French, as absolutely certain. Amongst his baggage were found several bales of proclamations, dated June 17th, from "Our palace of Lacken" (a royal residence near Brussels) as follows: "The ephemeral successes of our enemies detached you, for a moment, from my empire. In my exile upon a rock in the sea, I heard your complaints. The God of battles has decided the fate of your beautiful provinces; Napoleon is amongst you; you are worthy to be Frenchmen; rise in a mass, join my invincible phalanxes, to exterminate the remainder of these barbarians, who are your enemies and mine; they fly with rage and despair in their hearts."

The trickery that was played off, to induce a belief that Buonaparte had gained a great victory, even before the battle had been fought, was, in the event, truly ludicrous. Emissaries were employed at the Hague, Antwerp, Brussels, and many other places in Flanders and Holland, to report that the allies had been completely defeated; and the Journal of Lisle actually contained the following Bulletin Extraordinary:

"*Valenciennes, June 19th, in the Evening.*

"They say the Emperor fired the first carbine: that he gave the example, and had a horse killed under him; on the 15th, 16th, and 17th, he gained astonishing victories, which were exceeded by that of yesterday, the 18th, on which day he took 30,000 prisoners. The wounded who have come here arrived crying Vive L'Empereur! and say they longed to be cured, that they may be able to return to fight; but for the excessive ardour of his troops, the Emperor would have surrounded and taken prisoners the whole Prussian army. They write from Maubeuge, on the 19th, that our troops have entered Mechlin and Brussels! Another paper says, 'We hear the cannon roar from the ramparts of the cities of France, to celebrate the taking of Brussels by the grand French army!'"

have

BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

Published by J. Roberts & Co. Albion Press London 1820

have occasioned, in some measure, the horrible carnage of the battle. The French position is said to have been decidedly the best; the eminence which they occupied being higher, and the ascent steeper than ours, and better adapted both for attack and defence. The entire force, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, divided into two corps, previously to the battle, was about 94,500; of which 76,000 were infantry, 13,500 cavalry, and 5,000 artillery. From various causes, however, his effective force, on the 18th, is said to have scarcely amounted to 64,000. The French army, chiefly composed of veteran troops, was 130,000 strong. After some skirmishing between the piquetts, the French commenced the engagement about 10 o'clock, with a furious attack upon the post at the wood and garden of Chateau Hougoumont. Buonaparte directed the charge of the French Imperial Guards; but, during this important day, on which his political, if not his physical existence, might be thought to depend, he did not appear at the head of his troops.* Never, "observes a contemporary writer," was there an attack more tremendous, nor a resistance more firm, unshaken, and triumphant. The French army, infuriated by despair, animated by the promised plunder of Brussels, and filled with perjured traitors, who had betrayed their King and country, and who knew that their lives and fortunes depended on success, fought from first to last, with the desperation of madness. But they could not wrest victory from the hands of the British." Of forty thousand French cavalry, not ten thousand capable of service, returned; and of an immense artillery, only twelve pieces were saved. On the part of the allies, also, the loss was dreadful. The carnage is said to have exceeded even that which was produced by the battle of Leipsic.†

Buonaparte, quitting his carriage, escaped on horseback! He again deserted his army; again fled; and, with his accustomed velocity of movement, he reached Paris, and entered his palace, at 11 o'clock, on the night of the 21st. He immediately convoked the council of ministers, to confer with them on the means of replacing the "materiel" of the army. This was immediately announced to the two chambers, in which much tumultuary discussion ensued; the sittings of the chambers were declared permanent; Buonaparte was called upon to abdicate! and a deputation was sent to him, with a message to that effect. Buonaparte was at the palace Elysée. A multitude of persons assembled round the palace, and a faint cry of "Vive l'Empereur" was heard. The impatience of the assembly of deputation was at its height. A message was sent to them, from the council, to say, that in six hours a communica-

* Walter Scott, in his notes to "The Field of Waterloo," and various other writers, have produced abundant evidence, in proof that Buonaparte did not appear at the head of his guards; on the contrary, he was, much to the chagrin and disgust of such parts of his army, as were acquainted with the circumstance, in places of personal safety, during the whole of the battle.

† The Duke of Wellington, in his official dispatch, already quoted from, having stated his falling back upon Waterloo, on the morning of the 17th, observes as follows:—"The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrole which I sent to Sombref in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patroles advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, except by following with a large body of cavalry, brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge. This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life Guards, upon their debouche from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his Lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

"The position which I took up in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelle, and its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Briane, which was occupied; and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter La Haye, which was likewise occupied.—In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelle road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blucher, at Wavre, through Ohain; and the Marshal had promised me that in case we should be attacked he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary. The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the 3d corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blucher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning; and about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment of General Byng's brigade of guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by those brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it. This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these the enemy carried the farm house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them. The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which, Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the Life Guards, Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards, highly distinguished themselves; as did that of Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle. These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated, and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Enschermont, upon Planchnorte, and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands. I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night; he has sent me word this morning that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c, belonging to Buonaparte, in Genappe. I propose to move this morning upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

"Your Lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and I am sorry to add, that ours has been immense. In Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, his Majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service, and he fell gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position, was defeated.—The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his Majesty fc some time of his services. His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct, till he received a wound from a musket ball through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field. It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your Lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of guards under Lieutenant-General Cooke, who is severely wounded, Major General Maitland and Major-General Byng, set an example, which was followed by all; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.—"

His Grace highly praises the other departments of his army, also: he likewise applauds the Prussians; and particularly the attack by General Bulow.

The Supplement to the Moniteur of June 21st, calculates the loss of the Prussians, on the 16th, at 16,000, that of the French, opposed to them, at 3,000, the loss of the English between 4 and 5,000, and that of the French, in this part of the field, at 4,200. Nothing particular occurred on the 17th, and the success of the great battle, which took place on the 18th, is declared to have been such, down to half past eight in the evening, as to have promised a brilliant triumph for the following day; but after this period, a panic terror, it is said, suddenly spread through the French army, which occasioned its total rout; nor was it expected to be rallied before it reached Avesnes or Philippville.

"At the end of the day," says the Moniteur, a charge directed against the flank of the cuirassiers, by several English squadrons, put them in disorder. Several regiments, near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and in consequence were thrown into great disorder. Cries of 'all is lost, the guard is driven back,' were heard on every side. The soldiers pretend, even that on many points evil disposed persons cried out, 'sauve qui peut.' A complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and they threw themselves, in the greatest disorder, on the line of communications, soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, all pressed to this point: the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along. In an instant, the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed pel-mel, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder, and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. The squadrons placed on the side of the Emperor were disorganised and destroyed, by an overwhelming force, and there was nothing left, but to follow the torrent. The park of reserve, all the baggage, which had repassed the Sambre, in short, every thing in the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy."

tion would be made to them. To which they replied, that they would only allow one hour for the determination. Upon which Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, as the organ of the council of ministers, stated to Buonaparte, in plain but respectful terms, that the interests of France demanded "that his Majesty should abdicate the throne." Buonaparte said "What, do you say so? Et tu Brute!" To which Regnault answered, "Your Majesty may believe that it is with grief of heart that I announce to you the fatal necessity, but the well being of France demands this sacrifice at your hands." Napoleon then proposed to abdicate in favour of his son.—"My political life," said he, "is terminated, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon the Second, Emperor of the French." The chambers accepted the abdication, without the proclamation; and one Dubert produced considerable agitation in the Lower House, by affecting to consider Napoleon the Second as acknowledged, and that a council of Regency was to be appointed. Both chambers thanked Buonaparte for his resignation; and the following five persons were chosen from the two bodies, to exercise provisionally the functions of government—Carnot, Fouche, Caulaincourt, Grenier, and Quinette.*

This new government had just finished another new constitution, when the allied armies returned, to relieve them from their legislative labours! Profiting by the victory of Waterloo, Lord Wellington, in conjunction with the veteran Blucher, marched upon Paris; which, although it had been reinforced by 40 or 50,000 troops, who had escaped from Waterloo, surrendered, agreeably to a military convention, on the 3d of July. Amongst other stipulations, it was determined, that Paris should be completely evacuated in three days, and that the French army should retreat, and take up a position behind the Loire. A contribution, equal to about 400,000*l.* sterling, was levied on the inhabitants.

On the 8th of July, Louis XVIII. returned to his capital, and was soon afterwards joined by the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia.† —It was not until the 7th of October, that the two French chambers, or grand council of the nation, corresponding with the British Parliament, were opened by Louis XVIII. His Majesty then formally announced, his having entered into a treaty or convention, with the allies; but it was not until the 20th of November, that the treaty received the final signatures of the contracting powers. From the several conventions of which the grand treaty was composed, it appeared that the restoration of peace had been effected upon the principle of securing to the allies indemnities for the past, and guarantees for the future; the indemnities to be partly territorial, and partly pecuniary. Eighteen fortresses were to be occupied, by 150,000 of the allied troops, at the expence of France, for a period not exceeding five years; and the pecuniary indemnity was settled at 700,000,000 francs. The respective conventions may be considered as having been sealed and cemented by the treaty of alliance, which was at the same time entered into by Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, stipulating the maintenance of the grand treaty in all its vigour, and engaging to employ their united forces again, "should the same revolutionary principles, which supported the last criminal usurpation, again, under other forms, disturb France, and menace the repose of other states."

The French government, and the nation at large, could not but feel the severity of the terms imposed by the allies: a consciousness, however, of their justness, and of the necessity of submission, induced them to meet with firmness that which it would have been the height of folly to resist. Indeed, to the credit of the people, the stability of the government has evidently increased, ever since the nation became acquainted with the extent of the difficulties which it had to encounter.

On the 5th of January, 1814, the total net produce of the British revenue for the preceding year was found to be 62,957,371*l.* and on the 5th of January, 1815, it

* There were tumultuous debates on the 23d in the two chambers, upon Buonaparte's declaration, in answer to the address of the chambers, upon his abdication. His words were, "I repeat to you,—I have abdicated only for my son." In the Chamber of Peers, Lucien Buonaparte called those traitors, who had any other views.—Pontecoulant told him he was not a Frenchman, except by adoption, he was a Roman Prince. Being interrupted by Lucien, he desired him to set an example of equality. After much violent and clamorous discussion it was resolved:—

"1st. That Napoleon the Second is become Emperor of the French, by the act of abdication of Napoleon the First, and by the power of the constitution of the Empire.

"2d. That the two chambers desired and meant by their decree, in nominating a commission of Provisional Government, to assure to the nation the guarantee necessary under the extraordinary circumstances in which it is placed, for its liberty and repose."

In the chamber of representatives there were frequent shouts of Vive L'Empereur. Some members reprobated those, who wished to declare the throne vacant, for the purpose of bringing in the Bourbons. One member said that there was an Orleans faction, which wished to proclaim the Duke of Orleans; he knew it; but it was doubtful whether the Duke would accept the throne, or whether he would not surrender it to Louis XVIII. It was on the motion of the celebrated La Fayette, that the sittings of the Lower Chamber were declared permanent. In the course of the debates, Carnot having stated that the Imperial Guard had reached Rocroy, and that Soult was rallying the army, and had already collected 60,000 men on the frontiers, Ney started up, and flatly contradicted him. "It is time," said he, that the truth should be spoken. Instead of 60,000 men, it is utterly impossible to collect 25,000, and even those cannot again be brought to face the enemy, after such a defeat as thay have sustained. With respect to the Imperial Guard, I myself commanded it under the Emperor, and I aver that it is totally destroyed. Nothing remains to be done, but to treat for peace with the enemy.

† Buonaparte had passed through Tours, on the night of June the 30th, and reached Niort, on the morning of the 2d of July, in a common diligence, on his way to Rochfort. It is supposed that he intended to escape to America, but, measures having been taken to prevent his departure, he at length surrendered to the British ship, the Bellerophon, in which he arrived at Torbay, on the 24th of July, accompanied by General Bertrand, and others, to the number of about thirty-four. The determination of the British Government, in conjunction with the allies, appears to have been previously taken, as it was speedily known that St. Helena was the point of the Ex-Emperor's destination. Against this place in vain did he enter a formal protest.—Having been removed from the Bellerophon into the Northumberland, he sailed in the latter ship, from the Start, on the 7th of August: on the 24th of the same month, he touched at Madeira; and on the 15th of October, he arrived at St. Helena.

On the re-establishment of the kingly government in France, measures were taken for the arrest and punishment of the principal persons engaged in the late rebellion. Numerous individuals were seized, but few of them expiated their crimes with blood. Labedoyere, one of the minor criminals, was tried on the 14th of August, and shot upon the 19th of March. Though the treason of this officer was detested by the loyal part of his countrymen, there were few, we believe, who did not pity and commiserate his fall. To have pardoned him, would have been the worst of all possible policy; but, had his escape been connived at, thousands would have rejoiced; and, from the conduct which he displayed during his trial, and at the moment of his death, we cannot think so unfavourably of human nature, as to believe, that he would ever again have proved a traitor to his King. The trial of the arch traitor Ney, who had pledged himself to secure the wild beast in an iron cage, commenced, before a military tribunal, on the 16th of November; but, by dint of intrigue, and by the powerful interest which he enjoyed among the higher classes, the court-martial was announced imcompetent to try him, and he was consequently arraigned before the Peers. An attempt to rescue him from prison was defeated. His subsequent trial took place on the 4th and 5th of December; and, having been convicted of the treasonable charges alledged against him, he suffered the final execution of the law upon the 7th. Of him, it may be truly said, that his death was the best action of his life. It is probable, that the sacrifice of Ney was the means of saving the lives of many others, some of them almost his equals, but by far the greatest part his inferiors, in guilt. His death appears to have established the principle, that the government have a right, and also the power to exercise that right, over the lives of traitors. Lavalette, the Director-General of the post-office, who was tried, and convicted, November 20 and 21, had the good fortune to escape, through the conjugal heroism of Madame Lavalette; who, exchanging clothes with her husband in the prison, enabled him to depart in disguise. Lavalette, after he had quitted the prison, was further aided in his escape from the French territory, by the English General Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Hutchinson. For this offence against the French laws, these gentlemen were arrested, put upon their trial, and condemned to three months' imprisonment.

Connected, in some measure, with the rebel movements of Buonaparte, appears to have been the perfidious advance of Murat, against Austria. Murat, however, was still more unfortunate than his master. He was defeated in his object of revolutionizing Italy; he failed in his attempt to cut his way through the Austrians, at Tolentino, on the 3d of May; and he arrived at his capital, just in time to escape from it in disguise. His army capitulated on the 21st of May; the populace of Naples rose against his family; and, on the 22d, at the entreaty of the inhabitants, the Austrians entered the city. Ferdinand the Fourth of Sicily was consequently restored to the throne of his ancestors.—Murat effected his escape to Toulon, where he remained some time in disguise; thence he proceeded to Corsica, and assembled a few hundreds of banditti, at the head of which, mimicking, as it were, his master, he again appeared in Italy. He was seized, almost at the instant of his arrival, and torn to pieces by the mob!

was

was 65,129,981*l.* In the former of these years, the property tax, that most inquisitorial and oppressive of all imposts, produced the immense sum of 13,965,803*l.* in the latter 14,218,333*l.* On the 1st of November, 1815, the total funded debt of the country was ascertained to amount to the sum of 819,145,384*l.* 18*s.* 5¼*d.* requiring an interest of 29,681,663*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.*

Agreeably to the terms of the act, the property tax was doomed to expire in the month of April; but, as suspicions were entertained—and the sequel proved that they had been justly entertained—that it was in the contemplation of ministers to continue it another year, meetings were convened all over the country, in deprecation of an evil so alarming and oppressive. Yielding to the just voice of the nation, the state financiers were compelled to abandon their intention; and they had actually made out a schedule of new and additional taxes, to the amount of 3,728,000*l.* as a partial supply for the deficiency to be occasioned by the extinction of the income duty, when, suddenly, the devastator of Europe burst forth from his exile, deranged the whole of their plans, and rendered the revival of that tax a measure of imperative necessity. The supplies demanded for the year were 79,068,112*l.*; and as it was not expedient, nor perhaps practicable, to levy new taxes, to make up the difference between the revenue and the expenditure, a loan of 27,000,000*l.* for England, and another of 9,000,000*l.* for Ireland, were resorted to.

One of the earliest measures of Parliament, which net on the 9th of February, was to take the corn laws into consideration. The opposition of the manufacturing and commercial interests was strong and violent; but, by a decisive majority, resolutions were at length passed for fixing the import price of corn at 80 shillings; that is to say, when British corn should average that price per quarter, foreign corn might be imported duty free. It was considered, by many, that this admission, without the embarrasment of duty, in any shape, was an improvement on what had hitherto been the custom in the operation of our corn laws; for, although foreigners were not, strictly speaking, the importers into Britain, yet, as they were accustomed to regulate their prices by the British prices, this would simplify their calculations. Respecting the effect of the measure upon the price of bread, experience has shown, that all alarm upon the subject was groundless; and the riots which occurred in the metropolis, and in some other parts of the kingdom, proved only that the question was not clearly understood.

In the political circumstances of the times, consequent on the irruption of the exile of Elba, nothing was more remarkable, nothing spoke so forcibly the sense of the nation, nothing gave such weight and importance to the decisions of the cabinet, as the line of conduct which was adopted and pursued by the opposition. With a frankness and promptitude which did them the utmost credit, the leaders, in both Houses, gave their warmest support to the measures which it became necessary to enforce against the outlawed rebel, Buonaparte.

One of the advantages obtained by Britain under the General Treaty, is the surrender of the Ionian islands, henceforth to form an independent state, under our immediate protection. In turning towards our distant possessions we have to record the satisfactory termination of a war in India, which, at one time, excited no ordinary degree of apprehension. Amongst what may be termed the domestic events of this year, the sudden and distressing close of Mr. Whitbread's life, by his own hand, stands prominent.* The escape of Lord Cochrane from the King's Bench prison, his recapture, and subsequent liberation, would scarcely be worth noticing, were it not for the remarkable circumstance, that, on the night when he made his appearance in the legislative assembly of the nation, after the payment of his fine, the motion for an additional grant to the Duke of Cumberland, on his marriage, was negatived by a single voice. Thus, had it not been for his Lordship's presence, the Speaker would have been situated in the awkward predicament of being called upon to give a casting vote, upon a question of much delicacy and interest.

A. D. 1816.] Parliament assembled this year on the 1st of February; when, in consequence of the indisposition of the Prince Regent, the Royal speech was read by the Lord Chancellor. His Royal Highness congratulated the two Houses upon the splendid and decisive successes obtained by his Majesty's arms, and those of his allies, by which he trusted that the lasting repose and security of Europe had been attained. His Royal Highness lamented the heavy pressure upon the country, which the late extraordinary exertions could not have failed to produce; but he assured them that they might rely on every disposition on his part, to concur in such measures of economy as might be found consistent with the security of the country, and with that station which it occupied in Europe. It was further stated in the Royal speech, that the hostilities in which we had been involved in the Island of Ceylon, and the continent of India, had been attended with decisive success; that those in Ceylon had terminated in an arrangement highly honourable to the British character, and which could not fail to augment the security and internal prosperity of that valuable possession; and that the operations in India had led to an armistice, which gave reason to hope that a peace had been concluded on terms advantageous to our interests in that part of the world.† In the House of Lords, an address, the echo of the speech, was agreed to nem. diss.; and, in the Commons, an amendment, moved by Mr. Brand, was negatived by 90, against 23, and the original address, moved

* This deplorable event occurred at Mr. Whitbread's own residence, Dover Street, Picadilly, on the 6th of July. Samuel Whitbread, Esq. M. P. born in 1758, was the only son of the late Samuel Whitbread, Esq. by lady Mary, third daughter of Charles, first Earl of Cornwallis. After passing through Eton and Oxford with distinguished credit, he made the tour of Europe under Mr. Coxe, celebrated for his publications on Switzerland, Russia, &c. He then stored his mind with that vast and comprehensive knowledge which he afterwards so usefully applied. He was distinguished for a firmness of mind, a purity of intention, a brilliancy of thought, and an energy of expression. From his entrance into public life, he warmly attached himself to the late Mr. Fox, and was his zealous supporter. His life may be said to be before his countrymen, for though they witnessed only his exertions in the senate, they must be well aware how many of his private hours had been consumed in informing himself upon every question of general policy, or private interest, that came before the house: for upon almost all these he was a constant speaker. He was the ready advocate of the aggrieved and persecuted of every nation, who thought proper to lay their complaints before the British Parliament; the active investigator of corruption, malversation, and neglect, in all public offices: so that the extent of his utility is to be contemplated not only with a view to the good he performed, but to the evil he prevented. His eloquence was bold, nervous, and decisive; pregnant with idea, it wasted nothing in expression; and disdained the weakness of verbiage when it bore the strength of argument. He was thought to be more powerful in attack than defence. He was the warm, liberal, and enthusiastic encourager of universal education, from the pure feeling of benevolence. In his friendship, no man was more ready to sacrifice time, care, and comfort, than himself. This was conspicuous in the arduous undertaking of the re-establishment of Drury Lane Theatre. His private life, however amiable, was merged in the superior importance of his public avocations. He was most faithful and zealous in the discharge of all the duties of domestic life. Mr. Whitbread married, June 1789, Lady Elizabeth Grey; eldest daughter of first Earl Grey; and Sir George Grey, her brother, married in 1795, Mary, sister of Mr. Whitbread. By Lady Elizabeth, Mr. Whitbread left issue two sons and two daughters Elizabeth: born December 21st, 1791; married to the brother of Earl Waldegrave: William, born January 4th, 1795; Samuel Charles, born February 16th, 1796; and Emma Louisa, born January 19th, 1798. Mr. Whitbread died possessed of five-eights of the brewery: his father making it compulsory on him, by a clause in his will, to retain a majority of shares in his own hands. He had completed his magnificent mansion, and nearly so his extensive plantations around it, at Southwell, the whole at an expenditure of not less than 120,000*l.* The evidence of Mr. Wilshire proved a variety of incidents relative to the deceased for several months, all of which went to establish a derangement of the mind of his lamented friend.—Mr. Holland, a magistrate of Epsom, corroborated the account of Mr. Wilshire. Mr. Whitbread's servant, and his private secretary were examined; and, after a moment's consideration, the Jury returned a verdict of insanity.

† In the month of August following, intelligence was received of the final ratification of the treaty of peace, with the Nepaul government in India, on the 4th of March, agreeably to the terms of the armistice. The Nepaulese, however, had violated the armistice; and, in the short campaign which consequently commenced in the latter end of February, some smart actions were fought: in the last of those, on the 2d or 3d of March, the enemy lost about 500 men: the British loss was comparatively small.

by

by Sir T. Ackland, and seconded by Mr. Methuen, was agreed to.* From an abstract of the net produce of the revenue, in the years ending the 5th of January, 1815, and the 5th of January 1816, it appeared that, in the former, it amounted to 65,429,981*l.* and in the latter to 66,443,802*l.* From the return of the following quarter, it subsequently appeared that the net revenue of the year ending on the 5th of April, 1815, was 65,806,470*l.*; and in the year ending on the 5th of April, 1816, 66,292,135*l*; making a difference of 485,665*l.* in favour of the latter. Notwithstanding this enormous produce, the Chancellor of the Exchequer acknowledged, on the very first day of the session, that it was the intention of his Majesty's ministers to propose a renewal of the Income Tax, at 5*l.* per cent, under the declared conviction that there was no mode of raising the necessary supplies less oppressive or so economical. In this intention, however, the accomplishment of which would have violated the pledge of Parliament, and the honour of government, the ministers were disappointed. The spirit of the people was perhaps never more nobly displayed, than in its firm and persevering opposition to this attempted breach of public faith. On the 5th of March, the subject having previously undergone much discussion—Mr. Vansittart, with the view of gaining over the poorer classes, of bribing one half of the community to sanction the plunder of the other—announced amongst his proposed modifications, that incomes of less than 150*l.* and farms of less rent than 150*l.* were to be exempt from the operation of the tax; and that, upon the farms of higher rent, the assessment was to be upon one third, instead of three fourths of the rent. Independently of the bad faith of the measure, a more feeble financial proposition was probably never made. On the reduced scale of 5*l.* per cent, Mr. Vansittart, in the first instance, estimated the tax to produce six millions annually. It had been proved, however, that, according to the original plan, more than half of the tax had been paid by incomes of 150*l.* a year, and under. Estimating the fair produce of the tax at ten per cent, at 12,000,000*l.* at five per cent the produce would, indeed, be 6,000,000*l.* but, by taking away, at one stroke, half of the sources of production—incomes of 150*l.* a year and under—the produce of the remaining half could be only 3,000,000*l.* and by the reduction of farm rents, &c. the actual produce would probably not have been more than 2,000,000*l.* On the final discussion of the subject, on the 18th of March, the motion for a continuance of the Income Tax was negatived by 238 against 201; giving a majority of 37 against ministers. This important triumph of justice was followed two days afterwards by the voluntary relinquishment, on the part of ministers, of the war tax on malt, which had been estimated to produce 2,000,000*l.* per annum. In consequence of the abolition of these taxes, ministers intimated their intention of proposing a loan. However, in bringing forward the budget, on the 27th of May, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced the important and highly gratifying fact, that the surplus of the preceding year's grants in hand, amounted to no less a sum than 5,663,755*l.* Another circumstance of material importance was, that instead of some new and more oppressive impost than the Income Tax, with which the public had been threatened, the new duties—or rather modifications of duties—in the Customs and Excise, were so light, as scarcely to be felt by any class of the community.

Ministers, in their other favourite object of maintaining a very large standing army, were more successful; and, probably, the situation of the Continent might render it in some measure necessary. From time to time, however, reductions have been made in the military force of the country; and, agreeably to the system of economy to which the Prince Regent and his ministers pledged themselves, further reductions will take place.

Towards the close of the session, a bill was passed for a new silver coinage, of 35 millions of shillings and 35 millions of sixpences, to be put into circulation in the month of February, 1817.

The business of the session having been closed, Parliament was prorogued, by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in person, on the 2d of July, to the 24th of August, and it has since been further prorogued to the 28th of January, 1817. In his speech at the close of the session, his Royal Highness gave assurances of the pacific and friendly disposition of the allies; thanked Parliament for the liberal supplies; expressed satisfaction at the arrangement made respecting the civil list, and for consolidating the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland; stated the happy result of the measures for suppressing the tumults which had recently taken place; and deeply lamented the continuance of pressure and distress, which he attributed to temporary causes, and which would be relieved by the progressive improvement of public credit.

The most important domestic event of the year 1816, was the marriage of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales to his Serene Highness the Prince of Cobourg.† Previously to the union of the Royal pair, a grant of 60,000*l.* per annum was made to them, by Parliament, 10,000*l.* of which was for the privy purse of the Princess. The sum of 60,000*l.* was also voted, as an outfit; it being supposed that 40,000*l.* would be required for furnishing their residence, and purchasing plate and carriages; and 10,000*l.* for jewels for the Princess.‡

The marriage of the Princess Charlotte was followed

treasure,

* Mr. Brand's amendment censured ministers for the length of the late prorogation, which had caused a delay in producing the respective treaties and conventions, and in the revisal of our civil and military establishments. Mr. Brougham expatiated on the distress of the country, which, he contended, was in a state of bankruptcy.—Lord Castlereagh admitted that the natural consequence of a sudden change from war to peace, must be distress, but that could only be considered as temporary. The external commerce of the country, it would appear, from a comparative statement of exports in the last nine months of the years 1814, and 1815, respectively, was in a flourishing condition; the exports in 1814, being 37,100,000*l.* and in 1815, 42,400,000*l.* leaving thus a balance in favour of the latter year of 5,300,,000*l.* As Parliament would exert itself in promoting a system of economy suitable to the times, he saw no room for dejection, complaint, or despondency.

† This event was announced in the London Gazette, under the date of Carlton House, Thursday, May 2d, 1816, as follows:—

"This evening, at nine o'clock, the solemnity of the marriage of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte Augusta, daughter of his Royal Highness George Augusta Frederick, Prince of Wales, Regent of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with his Serene Highness Leopold George Frederick Duke of Saxe, Margrave of Meissen, Landgrave of Thuringuen, Prince of Cobourg of Saalfeld, was performed in the great crimson room at Carlton House by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of her Majesty the Queen, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Kent, their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Augusta, Sophia, Elizabeth and Mary, her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, her Highness the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, their Serene Highnesses the Duke and Mademoisselle D'Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the great officers of state, the ambassadors and ministers from foreign states, the officers of the household of her Majesty the Queen, of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and of the younger branches of the royal family assisting at the ceremony. At the conclusion of the marriage service, the registry of the marriage was attested with the usual formalities, after which her Majesty the Queen, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the bride and bridegroom, with the rest of the royal family, retired to the royal closet. The bride and bridegroom soon after left Carlton House for Oatlands, the seat of his Royal Highness the Duke of York. Her Majesty the Queen, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and the rest of the royal family, passed into the great council chamber, where the great officers, the nobility, foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction present, paid their compliments on the occasion.

"Immediately after the conclusion of the marriage, the Park and Tower guns were fired, and the evening concluded with other public demonstrations of joy throughout the metropolis."

‡ German genealogists trace the origin of the present Saxon Princes to Witikind, the celebrated chief of the Saxons, who, for 30 years, contended against all the power of Charlemagne, and who, after his final submission to that conqueror, still retained large territorial possessions, together with the ducal title. From him were descended the Dukes of Saxony, of whom Bernard, in 1275, was the first that was raised to the electoral dignity. The electorate was enjoyed by the descendants of this Prince until 1422, when, on the failure of his line, it was conferred on Frederick, "the Warlike," Margrave of Thuringia, also a descendant of Witikind. The grandsons of this latter, were Ernest and Albert, from whom are descended the Ernestine and Albertine branches of the House of Saxony. The Ernestine, which was the elder branch, continued to enjoy the electorate until 1547, when John, "the Magnanimous," was deprived of that dignity by Charles V. who conferred it on Maurice the patriarch of the

(July 22d) by that of her Royal Aunt, the Princess Mary, with the Duke of Gloucester. The personages present at the ceremony were, with very few exceptions, the same as at the marriage of the Princess Charlotte.*

In the summer and autumn of this year, an intended divorce between his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and his august consort, was publicly spoken of; and, as it was understood that the proceeding would give birth to a change of administration, a dissolution of Parliament was confidently anticipated. The report, however, gradually died away; the intention, if it ever existed, having probably been dropped, from respect for the feelings of the Princess Charlotte.—The Princess of Wales, having purchased a delightful seat on the banks of the Lake of Como, in Italy, fixed her residence there, for the winter of 1816. She had previously made a tour through several of the islands in the Mediterranean, Algiers, Constantinople, &c.

The revulsion occasioned by a sudden change from a state of war to a state of peace, combined with other causes, produced, in the early part of the year, a degree of agricultural and commercial distress, unparalleled, perhaps, in the annals of Britain, unless at the close of the American war. Distress naturally engenders discontent; and, at such seasons, mischievous characters are always ready to start forward, for their own purposes, to avail themselves of the irritated feelings of the people. In the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and various other parts of the kingdom, tumults of a very serious nature took place. It was at Littleport, however, in the Isle of Ely, that the principal scene of destructive riot and plunder was displayed. About nine o'clock on the evening of the 22d of May, agreeably to a preconcerted plan, a desperate body of Fen men assembled; when a general and furious attack was made upon the premises of the Rev. Mr. Vachel, a magistrate for the Isle of Ely. The rioters commenced by breaking the windows of the house, which they then entered, demolished the furniture, burnt Mr. Vachel's papers and writings, and carried off all the family plate and trinkets of Mrs. Vachel. The damage here occasioned was estimated at 2,000*l*. The rioters then extorted considerable sums of money from the inhabitants of Littleport, and broke into two shops, helping themselves, without any one daring to oppose. The publicans' cellars were their next object, where, having drunk what they liked, they seized a waggon and team of horses, and proceeded to the town of Ely, taking with them every gun, and other deadly weapon, they could find. On their arrival at Ely, they were joined by some of its refractory inhabitants. Early the next morning, they demanded contributions from the houses and shops of the brewers, bakers, butchers, grocers, and millers, which were unavoidably assented to, and a dreadful scene of drunkenness and riotous conduct ensued. The tumult was at length subdued, on the third day, by the exertions of Sir Henry Bate Dudley, Bart. one of his Majesty's Justices of the peace for the Isle of Ely, aided by a number of the inhabitants of the place, a troop of volunteer cavalry, and a detachment of dragoons. The rioters had secreted themselves in different houses, and being armed with guns, they fired many shots at the military and civil powers, and severely wounded one of the soldiers. The military then received orders to fire, and the man who had wounded the soldier was instantly shot dead. The rioters were then completely disconcerted, and fled in exery direction; but, between 70 and 80 of them were taken prisoners and lodged in Ely goal. A special commission for the trial of these men was almost immediately ordered; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that every bill sent to the grand jury was returned true. The proceedings lasted from Monday June 17th to Saturday June the 22d. Fifty of the principal inhabitants of Ely regularly attended the Judges, as an escort, during their stay in the city; and, after the close of the trials, they accompanied them some distance on their return. Of 76 prisoners who were arraigned, 24 were capitally convicted, and five of them suffered the final execution of the law. Besides those who were reprieved, several were sentenced to different periods of transportation and imprisonment.

Later in the year, the inferior produce of the harvest, the consequent advance in the price of provisions, and the continued depression of trade and commerce, operated most severely upon the poorer classes throughout the kingdom. Numerous meetings were holden to consider of the means of alleviating the general distress: many noble subscriptions were raised, and many beneficial plans were adopted; but, at several of the assemblies ostensibly convened for the most benevolent purposes, persons of seditious principles came forward to inflame the minds of the people; to persuade them that their sufferings originated in the misconduct of their rulers; and that to obtain the abolition of places and pensions and a reform in Parliament, would prove a remedy for every evil. Of the meetings of this nature, those which were holden in Spa Fields are the most entitled to notice. On the 15th of November, agreeably to printed notices which had been profusedly circulated, many thousand artisans, manufacturers, and others, assembled, for the alledged purpose of presenting a petition to the Prince Regent and the Legislature, for relief under their distress. The hero of this meeting was a Mr. Hunt, who, after a long, violent, and inflammatory harangue, was drawn and accompanied by at least 3000 men, from the Spa Fields towards Fleet Street, and through the principal avenues at the west end of the town. Several regiments of cavalry from Hounslow and Romford had been stationed within a convenient distance from the place of meeting; and all the constables and peace officers, with the civil authorities, were in a state of readiness. In consequence of these precautions, no further ill consequences ensued than the demolition of some windows, the plunder of some bakers' shops, &c. Some of the rioters were apprehended and committed for trial; and one or two of them were afterwards capitally convicted at the Old Bailey.

---

the Albertine branch, to which the present king belongs. "The Protestant religion," says a learned writer of the present day, "has the greatest obligations to the Princes of the Ernestine line. Frederick, the eldest son of Ernest, was Luther's first patron and defender. John, the second son of Ernest, was the chief promoter of the protestation against the church of Rome, from which the Protestants have derived their appellation. "This John was surnamed "the Constant." He was the father of the above mentioned John "the Magnanimous," and grandfather of John Frederick, the founder of the house of Saxe Cobourg. Of this illustrious house the late head was the Duke of Saxe Cobourg, who commanded the allied armies at an early period of the French Revolution; and Prince Leopold, united to the Princess Charlotte, is the youngest son of that eminent commander.

* The year 1816 was unusually fruitful in marriages, amongst the royal families of Europe. The Emperor of Austria was married (the third time) to a Bavarian Princess; the King of Spain, to a daughter of the King of Portugal; the Prince Royal, son of the King of the Netherlands (who was to have married the Princess Charlotte of Wales) to a sister of the Emperor of Russia; and the Duc de Berri, nephew of the King of France, to a daughter of the late Queen of Sicily.

In the early part of the year, died the Queen of Portugal, who had long laboured under a melancholy mental derangement. She was born in 1746; and, dying, was succeeded by her son, John Maurice Joseph Lewis, Prince of Brazil, who had long governed the kingdom, as Regent. Her Majesty died at Brazil.

Frederick William Charles, the first King of Wirtemberg, died somewhat suddenly, on the 30th of October, of a disorder in the liver. This sovereign (born on the 7th of November, 1754) was a son of Duke Frederic Eugene, who, during the seven years war, distinguished himself in the Prussian service, while his brother, the reigning Duke Charles, led his troops, with great bitterness, against Frederick the Second. This son of Duke Eugene also, like others of his brothers, entered the Prussian service, which, however, he left in the life time of the Great Frederick, and went into that of Russia. He succeeded his father, who was only for a short time reigning Duke, on the 23d of December, 1797, as Duke of Wirtemberg, and his political relations became uncommonly difficult, in consequence of the war with France, and of the situation of his own territory. In 1803, he exchanged the ducal dignity for the electoral, and in 1805, (after the peace of Presburgh,) for the royal; and instead of the duchy, his paternal inheritance, of about two hundred square miles in extent, with five hundred and eighty-five thousand inhabitants, and a revenue of two millions of dollars, he left to his successor a kingdom, the smallest indeed in Europe, of 357 square miles in extent, a population of one million eight hundred thousand, and a revenue of eighteen millions of florins. By his first marriage with the Princess Augusta of Brunswick (sister of the Duke who fell last year) he left behind him three children; viz. the new king, William II. born in 1781, and married this year to the Grand Duchess Catherine, Duke Paul, and the wife of the Duke de Montfort (Jerome Buonaparte). His widow is the eldest sister of the Prince Regent of England.

It had been determined at the meeting, that Mr. Hunt, accompanied by Sir Francis Burdett, should present the petition to the Prince Regent, and that another meeting should be holden in the same place on Monday the 2d of December, to receive his Royal Highness's answer. Sir Francis Burdett not being in town, and not chusing to appear in the business, Mr. Hunt undertook the task of presenting the petition himself. On his application at Carlton House, he was informed, that he might either present the petition to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent at a levee, or place it in the hands of the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

In a correspondence which he held with Lord Sidmouth upon the subject, he was informed, that, except from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the corporation of the city of London, his Royal Highness never received petitions, otherwise than in conformity to one of the two modes already mentioned. In consequence of this assurance, Mr. Hunt deposited the petition with Lord Sidmouth (the Home Secretary;) and on the 2d of December, as had been agreed upon, met an immense assembly of people, in Spa Fields, where he stated the details and the result of his applications and correspondence. Previously, however, to his arrival on the scene of action, a young man mounted a coal waggon, in which were about 20 persons, chiefly in the dress of sailors. Several flags, two of which were tri-coloured, bearing inflammatory inscriptions, were displayed. The young man already mentioned concluded a brief, but seditious harangue, by exclaiming, "there are 5,000 men in this place able and willing to follow me into the city, where we can teach them to relieve us." He then sprang from the waggon, and, followed by a considerable mob, proceeded towards the city. Many of this deluded rabble were armed with bludgeons, others had their pockets full of stones, and some it is said, were in possession of concealed daggers. In the bottom of the waggon was afterwards found a stocking containing a number of musket balls. On reaching Skinner Street, Snow-hill, one of the rioters advancing before the rest, entered the shop of Mr. Beckwith, a gunsmith, calling out arms, arms. Mr. Platt, a gentleman who happened to be in the shop, affably attempting to remonstrate, said, "my friend you are mistaken, this is not the place for arms," the ruffian instantly drew forth a pistol, fired, and lodged its contents in Mr. Platt's groin. He was secured, but, from inattention in the confusion, which ensued, he was rescued by the mob, who plundered the house and shop of a considerable quantity of guns, pistols, &c. The ruffians, thus armed, pursued their course through Cheapside towards the Royal Exchange, where they were met by the Lord Mayor (Wood), Alderman Sir James Shaw, and a strong party of the police. As soon as the greatest part of the rioters had passed the north gate of the Exchange, orders were given to close all the gates; by which means, three men, with arms, having on them the name of Beckwith, were taken into custody. Some others were also apprehended. Hearing the capture of their comrades and their banners, the insurgents on the outside became furious, and raising each other upon their shoulders, they fired over the tops of the gates at the Lord Mayor and his party, whilst others fired under them. A fresh force, however, arriving to his Lordship's aid, the ruffians departed, taking the direction of the Minories, where they entered the shops of Mr. Brander, and Mr. Ray, gun-smiths. There they obtained a considerable number of guns and pistols, and two small field-pieces, and plundered the proprietors of a considerable quantity of plate. At length, by the active exertions of the civil and military power, the rioters were dispersed, and the city was restored to its accustomed quiet.*

During the progress of the riots in the city, the proceedings in Spa Fields continued, but no attempt at riot was there made. A petition to Parliament, to be presented by Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane, was agreed to; the thanks of the meeting were voted to Mr. Hunt; and it was further resolved, that another meeting should take place in Spa Fields on the second Monday after the meeting of Parliament. Hunt, who may fairly be considered as the primary author of all the mischief in the city, rode from Spa Fields to a tavern in the metropolis, with an air of triumph, accompanied by an immense multitude of people. A portion of the mob from Spa Fields, paraded through different parts of the town, committing petty depredations throughout the afternoon and evening of the day.

Lord Cochrane, having been convicted, at the Surrey assizes (Aug. 17th) of having broken out of the King's Bench prison, was brought up for judgment on the 21st of November; when, after a long speech, in the delivery of which his Lordship was repeatedly checked for the introduction of irrelevant matter, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 100*l.* and to be imprisoned till the fine was paid. Refusing to submit to the pecuniary mulct, his Lordship was consigned to the apartments, in the King's Bench prison, from which he had formerly made his escape. At a meeting of his Lordship's friends, a few days afterwards, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, it was somewhat ludicrously resolved, that a subscription, not exceeding one penny from each individual, should be entered into, towards paying the 100*l.* fine; that all the pence subscribed above 24,000 should be applied to the defraying of his Lordship's expences during the whole of the transactions; and that the fine of 100*l.* all in pence, should be carried to the proper officer appointed by government to receive the fine, surmounted by a bundle of sticks! His Lordship was liberated from prison on the 7th of December, his fine having been paid in the following manner:—85*l.* in bank-notes, 5*l.* in silver, and 10*l.* in copper.

In a political view, the year 1816 will be memorable, for the death of two of the most distinguished characters of the age—Mr. Sheridan,* and Earl Stanhope; the former

* It is important to mention, that, on the Monday night (the night of the meeting) one of the horse patrole on duty at highgate, perceiving three persons whom he suspected to belong to a gang of thieves, by which that neighbourhood had been some time infested, endeavoured to secure them. The patrole gave an alarm, and the watchmen on the spot attempted to secure the men; but one of them fired a pistol, another drew the trigger of a second pistol, which flashed in the pan, and the guardians of the night ran off in a panic! The patrole, however, succeeded in detaining one of the party, who proved to be a Mr. Watson, one of the orators of the former meeting in Spa Fields, and who had been many years known as a surgeon and apothecary, in reputable practice, in the neigbourhood of the Strand. He had also been at the meeting that morning. He had a horse pistol in his pocket, heavily loaded; in addition to which he was armed with a stick, containing a tuck, or dirk. With the latter he wounded two men, who volunteered their services in guarding him, whilst the patrole went in pursuit (though without effect) of his companions. Watson acknowledged the existence of a plot, and expressed his regret that the conspirators (at the head of whom was his son) had been too precipitate. Young Watson, it appears, was the man who harangued the mob from the coal waggon, then jumped down, and headed them in their depredations. Various circumstances also very forcibly concur to point him out as the person who shot Mr. Platt, in Mr. Beckwith's shop. The senior Watson had several papers about him, relating to the Spa Fields meeting. He was committed for trial, January 2, 1817, for cutting and maiming the two men who assisted in his apprehension. Preston, the secretary of the society, apparently a political enthusiast, with several of the other rioters, was admitted to bail, for a misdemeanour. Two of them were committed for trial, under the charge of felony, in breaking and plundering the house of Mr. Beckwith.

* The Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who died in his 65th, or according to some, in his 68th year, was the last of that great constellation of talents, by which this country was adorned in the period between 1770 and 1810, a period unexampled in British history for senatorial eloquence. Mr. Sheridan was one of the most brilliant luminaries of that period, and, though he shone with great lustre in Parliament, his eloquence was surpassed by the brilliancy of his talents as a comic poet. From his Rivals, in 1775, to his Critic, no writer has ever approached his excellence. Mr. Sheridan has left the following works:—The Rivals, a Comedy; St. Patrick's Day, a Farce; The Duenna, a Comic Opera; The School for Scandal, a Comedy; A Trip to Scarborough, altered from Vaubrugh; The Tempest, altered 1777; The Critic, or a Tragedy rehearsed, 1781. The Camp is attributed to Mr. Sheridan's pen; but it is positively denied, by Mr. Tate Wilkinson, that Mr. S. was its author. The drama of Pizarro received considerable improvements from Mr. Sheridan's pen. The disease that terminated Mr. Sheridan's life, was in the stomach, and it had been gradually aggravating for some time back, until at length this essential organ became quite incapable of performing its functions. For four or five months before, he was confined to his bed, or at least very rarely sat up. When he was unable to take

former of whom departed on the 7th of July, the latter on the 15th of December.*

We have now arrived at that period of our history, that we have only one more transaction of leading importance to relate; and the affair to which we allude reflects so much honour on the moral character, and martial prowess of Britain, that we could not desire a more brilliant close of this eventful period. For a series of years, the pirates, on the coast of Barbary, had committed great depredations on almost every power in Europe. Their unchecked career of success rendered them so insolent, that they at last attacked the English flag. Sir Thomas Maitland, the Governor of Malta, proceeded to Tripoli, the government of which acceded to all that he proposed; and, at Tunis, every thing was amicably settled by negociation. Presents were interchanged, and no further hostilities were contemplated. These arrangements, however, proving ineffectual, Admiral Lord Exmouth, with a portion of the Mediterranean fleet, proceeded in the early part of the present year, first to Tunis, and then to Tripoli. At both these places, the Deys appeared fully disposed to accede to any terms that his Lordship should offer in the name of the Prince Regent. Lord Exmouth accordingly proposed, at each of the places mentioned, that a treaty should be signed, for ever prohibiting the making of Christian slaves; such prisoners as might be taken in war, only to be considered as prisoners of war. The Deys readily agreed, and treaties were signed. The fleet then returned to Algiers, for the purpose, as was understood, of obtaining a revision of the treaty which the Dey had made with America, respecting the sale of prizes in his ports. The Dey replied to this question, that the treaty he had recently made with that nation, was at an end; that if they chose not to abide by the old one, he would agree to no other. Lord Exmouth then proposed to the Dey, a treaty similar to that made at Tunis and Tripoli, for doing away with slavery altogether. The Dey made a firm and resolute stand at this proposal. He represented, that it was impossible to entirely abolish the system that had so long subsisted—that it was the commerce of the country, and that a change which would be so detrimental to the interests of every Turk and Moor, it would require considerable time to bring their minds to submit to. The divan, and the military, (Turks,) he was persuaded, would never renounce the trade. Lord Exmouth having urged his demands, with all his wonted energy and perseverance, in vain, departed from the interview with a determination to commence hostilities. The Dey, therefore, ordered the British Consul, Mr. M'Donald, to be confined, and all the English vessels at Oran, to be seized. The next day, the squadron was got under weigh, for the purpose of going into the Mole, to destroy the Algerine naval force; but a violent gale came on, which continued until four o'clock in the afternoon, and then it would have been too late to take a favourable position alongside the batteries. The ships anchored again. His Lordship then dispatched a letter to the Dey, demanding that the Consul should be released, and sent off to the fleet. The Dey refused to give him up, saying he owed him 500,000 dollars; when that sum was paid, he should depart. The Dey, when he parted from Lord Exmouth, said, though he should be prepared for hostilities, he would not fire the first shot. Upon the whole, as far as the question bore upon his feelings and interests, he appeared disposed to do away with slavery. The next day, the Dey sent off to Lord Exmouth, a proposal, that he was willing to conclude a perpetual peace with the kingdom of Hanover: but that part of the negociation which referred to the abolition of slavery, should stand over for six months, that he might be enabled to obtain the advice and sanction of the Grand Seignior upon the question. To this Lord Exmouth agreed, excepting that the time of suspension should be three, instead of six months. This being mutually decided, the Tagus frigate, Captain Deans Dundas, was appointed to take the Dey's ambassador to Constantinople. The use of that ship had, at the first visit, been granted to the Dey, to convey his presents to the Grand Seignior, as he had not sent any since he was chosen to the regency. Lord Exmouth then exchanged the usual civilities with the Dey, and departed with his fleet for England, leaving the Tagus for the service appointed.

Scarcely, however, had Lord Exmouth reached England, when intelligence arrived of a new and horrible outrage having been perpetrated by the barbarians. About the 27th of May, between 3 and 400 Corsican, Neapolitan, and Sicilian fishing boats, employed in the coral fishery, being on shore, near the town and castle in the vicinity of Tunis, their usual rendezvous, they were attacked by an Algerine frigate, which debarked a great number of men, and fired upon them. The fortress of Bona followed the example of the frigate, and fired upon them also. At the same time, a corps of cavalry, from Bona, came down upon them, charged them furiously, killed a great number of the people, and forced the rest to their boats by swimming. The slaughter amongst these poor defenceless creatures, was dreadful.

Finding it impracticable to bind the barbarians by friendly treaties, it was at length resolved to take severe vengeance for their cruelty and perfidy. Lord Exmouth was accordingly appointed to the command of a squadron destined to this important service. His Lordship accordingly sailed from Plymouth, on the 28th of July, in the Queen Charlotte, of 100 guns, with a commensurate force of ships of the line, frigates, sloops, bombs, &c. Having obtained a reinforcement at Gibraltar, Lord Exmouth (joined by a Dutch squadron,) sailed about the 14th of August, direct for Algiers.

The Algerines, it appears, had, ever since the 23d of

---

take any food, the sensorium became affected, and delirium was the consequence. This delirium, however, subsided for some days before his demise. Mr. Sheridan's strength was quite exhausted for some time previously to his decease, and he may be said to have slumbered into death, for not the least convulsive movement accompanied his dissolution. "To Mr. Sheridan," it has been observed, "belonged every kind of intellectual excellence, *omne genus tetigit—nullum tetigit quod non ornavit.* As a dramatic writer, 40 years have nearly elapsed, since The School for Scandal was brought out, and yet what writer has produced any comedy to be put into competition with it? Who has equalled the Critic? As a poet, who has surpassed the monody on the death of Garrick? As an orator, with the exception of Pitt and Burke, who excelled him? He had strength without coarseness—liveliness without frivolity—he was bold, but dexterous in his attacks—not easily repulsed, but when repelled, effecting his retreat in good order—often severe—much oftener witty, gay, and graceful—disentangling what was confused—enlivening what was dull—very clear in his arrangement—very comprehensive in his views,—flashing upon his hearers with a burst of brilliancy! When no other speaker was listened to, he could arrest, and chain down the members to their seats—all hanging upon him with the most eager attention—all fixed in wonder and delight;—he never tired—he could adapt himself, more than any other man, to all minds and to all capacities—'from grave to gay, from lively to severe.' Every quality of an orator was united in him—the mind—the eye—quick, sparkling, penetrating, matchless almost for brilliancy and expression—the gesture, the voice. Mr. Pitt had more dignity, more copiousness, more grasp, more sarcasm. But in richness of imagery he was inferior to Sheridan, who had no superior but Burke. He was less powerful and commanding in argument, than Mr. Fox; but this was the only advantage Mr. Fox had over him. As an orator, we should place him after Pitt and Burke."

* Lord Stanhope's whole life had been dedicated to the improvement of mathematical, legal, and political science. His plain, unaffected, and amiable manners, conciliated as much affection as his extensive knowledge, and unimpeachable integrity commanded respect from all who knew or observed him. His loss will, on many accounts, make a chasm in public life, which will not be easily supplied. The great and useful work for which he was peculiarly qualified, and to which he had, for a long time, applied the most earnest attention, will, it is feared, now fall to the ground; we allude to a digest of all the statutes, a work of such stupendous labour, as well as information, that few persons can be expected to set about it with vigour, unless like Lord Stanhope, they had acquired a sort of parental fondness for the subject, by brooding over it for years. His Lordship was born, August 3d, 1753; succeeded his father, Philip, the late Earl, March 7th, 1786; and married, in December, 1774, Hester Pitt, eldest daughter of William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, sister of the present Earl, and of the late Right Honourable William Pitt, by whom he had issue, Hester Lucy Griselda, married to John Tickell, Esq. of Hambledon, Hants; and Lucy Rachael, married to Thomas Taylor, Esq. of Seven Oaks, Kent; since dead. His Lordship married, secondly, in 1791, Louisa, only daughter of Henry Grenville, Esq. late Governor of Barbadoes, and uncle to George, first Marquis of Buckingham, by whom he had issue, Philip Henry, Viscount Mahon, now Earl of Stanhope, and two other sons.

May, been preparing for the expected attack of our fleet, by removing every article of value from the town. The town of Algiers was well defended by about 1000 pieces of ordnance, of every calibre, 300 of which were of brass. The town, rising abruptly from the water's edge, to a great height, was surrounded by a high wall, the southern side of which was adorned with mens' heads. The batteries were one above another, strongly constructed and fortified. Sweeping from the western extremity is a tongue of land, which defends the entrance into the inner part of the harbour, and also the approach to it. Along the whole of this tongue was a range of strong batteries, which our ships were obliged to pass, to take their station near the town, for the purpose of bombarding it. Lord Exmouth arrived on the 27th of August. "The Prometheus," observes his Lordship, "was dispatched to Algiers, some time before, to endeavour to get away the Consul; Captain Dashwood had, with difficulty, succeeded in bringing away, disguised in midshipman's uniform, his wife and daughter, leaving a boat to bring off their infant child. Coming down in a basket, with the surgeon, who thought he had composed it, it unhappily cried in the gateway, and, in consequence, the surgeon, and three midshipmen, in all 18 persons, were seized, and confined as slaves, in the usual dungeons. The child was sent off, next morning, by the Dey; and, as a solitary instance of his humanity, it ought to be recorded by me. The ships were all in port, and between 40 and 50 gun and mortar boats ready in forward repair." All proposals for conciliation having proved ineffectual, and every arrangement having been made for the attack, our fleet passed along the line of batteries already mentioned. The Impregnable, from getting closer, was exposed, not only to the fire of the batteries immediately opposite, but to other batteries rising behind and above them. At a distance behind the Impregnable, but parallel with the tongue of land, were our mortar and rocket boats, which were enabled to throw rockets not only against the batteries immediately in front, but over them to the batteries in the rear. As we ranged along the line, to take our station, the enemy did not fire; either not thinking that we should venture so near the city, or wishing to get us as close as possible to render their fire more destructive. The Queen Charlotte took her station off the extreme point of the tongue, by which she enfiladed the whole line of batteries along it. So near was she, that every part of the mole, and what was called the marine, was visible from our quarter-deck. Both were crowded with spectators, about 2 or 3000, who remained gazing at us, and seemed not at all to expect that we were about to fire. Lord Exmouth stood upon the poop, and waved his hat to them to retire, and signified that he was about to begin hostilities. They did not attend to his humane warning, and the consequence was, that our first broadside swept off from 500 to 1000 of them. The most advanced of the Algerine navy was a brig, to which the Queen Charlotte lashed herself; closer in with the shore, in the bosom of the harbour, were two Algerine frigates, and the rest of the Algerine navy behind them. The fury and tremendous nature of the bombardment will never be forgotten.* It continued, with little intermission, from

* Lord Exmouth, in his official dispatch, dated Algiers Bay, August 28, after stating the preliminary proceedings, writes as follows:

"As the ships were becalmed, I embraced this opportunity of dispatching a boat, under cover of the Severn, with a flag of truce, and the demands I had to make, in the name of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the Dey of Algiers, directing the officer to wait two or three hours for the Dey's answer, at which time, if no reply was sent, he was to return to the flag-ship; he was met near the mole, by the captain of the port, who on being told the answer was expected in one hour, replied, that it was impossible. The officer then said, he would wait two or three hours; he then observed two hours was quite sufficient. The fleet, at this time, by the springing up of the sea breeze, had reached the bay, and were preparing the boats and flotilla for service, until near two o'clock, when, observing that my officer was returning, with the signal flying, that no answer had been received, after a delay of upwards of three hours, I instantly made the signal to know if the ships were all ready, which being answered in the affirmative, the Queen Charlotte bore up, followed by the rest of the fleet, for their appointed stations; the flag, leading in the prescribed order, was anchored in the entrance of the Mole, at about 50 yards distance. At this moment, not a gun had been fired, and I began to suspect a full compliance with the terms which had been so many hours in their hands; at this period of profound silence, a shot was fired at us from the mole, and two of the ships to the northward then following; this was promptly returned by the Queen Charlotte, who was then lashing to the main-mast of a brig, fast to the shore, in the mouth of the Mole, and which we had steered for, as the guide to our position. Thus commenced a fire as animated and well supported, as I believe, was ever witnessed, from a quarter before three until nine, without intermission, and which did not cease altogether till half-past eleven. The ships immediately following me, were admirably and coolly taking their stations, with a precision even beyond my most sanguine hope, and never did the British flag receive, on any occasion, more zealous and honourable support. To look further on the line than immediately round me, was perfectly impossible..... I had about this time, the satisfaction of seeing Vice-Admiral Van Capellen's flag in the station I had assigned to him; and soon after, at intervals, the remainder of his frigates, keeping up a well-supported fire on the flanking batteries he had offered to cover us from, as it had not been in my power for want of room, to bring him in the front of the Mole. About sunset, I received a message from Rear-Admiral Milne, conveying to me the severe loss the Impregnable was sustaining, having then 150 killed and wounded, and requesting I would send him a frigate to divert some of the fire he was under. I had, at this time, sent orders to the explosion vessel under the charge of Lieutenant Fleming and Mr. Parker, by Captain Reade, of the engineers, to bring her into the Mole; but the Rear-Admiral thinking she would do him an essential service if exploded under the battery in his front, I sent orders to this vessel to that effect, which were executed. I desired also the Rear-Admiral might be informed, that many of the ships being now in flames, and certain of the destruction of the whole, I considered I had executed the most important part of my instructions, and should make every preparation for withdrawing the ships, and desired he would do so as soon as possible with his division.

"There were awful moments during the conflict, which I cannot now attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us, and I had long resisted the eager intreaties of several around me, to make the attempt upon the outer frigate, distant about 100 yards, which at length I gave into, and Major Gossett by my side, who had been eager to land his corps of miners, pressed me most anxiously for permission to accompany Lieutenant Richards, in this ship's barge. The frigate was instantly boarded, and in ten minutes in a perfect blaze. The enemy's batteries around my division, were about ten o'clock silenced, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation; and the fire was reserved as much as possible, to save powder, and reply to a few guns now and then bearing upon us, although a fort on the upper angle of the city, on which our guns could not be brought to bear, continued to annoy the ships by shot and shells during the whole time. Providence, at this interval, gave to my anxious wishes the usual land wind, common in this bay, and my expectations were completed.—We were all hands employed warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air, the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shells about two in the morning, after twelve hours incessant labour. The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket-boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared, to the full extent of their power, in the honours of this day, and performed good service; it was by their fire, all the ships in the port, with the exception of the outer frigate, were in flames, which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, store-houses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest, which no pen can describe. The sloops of war, which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, performed not only that duty well, but embraced every opportunity of firing through the intervals, and were constantly in motion. The shells from the bombs were admirably well thrown by the royal marine artillery, and though thrown directly across and over us, not an accident that I know of, occurred to any ship. The whole was conducted in perfect silence, and such a thing as a cheer I never heard in any part of the line, and that the guns were well worked and directed, will be seen for many years to come, and remembered by these barbarians for ever. Not an officer or man confined his exertions within the precise limits of his own duty; all were eager to attempt services which I found more difficult to restrain than excite. The Algerines' loss was between 6 and 7000 men.

"Abstract of the Killed and Wounded;

"Total, 15 officers, 88 seamen, 19 marine, 1 marine artillery, 1 rocket-troop, 4 boys, killed; 59 officers, 459 seamen, 106 marines, 5 marine artillery, 14 sappers and miners, 4 rocket-troop, 31 boys, 12 supernumaries, wounded. Total British killed and wounded, 128 killed, 690 wounded. Dutch squadron, 13 killed, 53 wounded.—Grand total, 883.

Memorandum of the destruction in the Mole of Algiers, in the attack of the 27th of August, 1816.

"Four large frigates of 44 guns; 5 large corvettes, from 24 to 30; all the gun and mortar-boats, except 7; 30 destroyed; several merchant brigs and schooners; a great number of small vessels of various descriptions; all the pontoons, lighters, &c, store-houses and arsenal, with all the timber, and various marine articles, destroyed in part, a great many gun-carriages, mortar beds, casks, and ships stores of all descriptions.

"EXMOUTH."

near

nearly three till nearly eleven; the Algerines fighting all the time with the utmost fury and desperation; but yet with great skill and effect. About ten, it was deemed advisable to take a larger offing during the night. It was extremely dark indeed; but the darkness was illuminated by a violent storm of lightning, with thunder, which came on suddenly, and by the incessant fire of the batteries. During the action, Lord Exmouth received two wounds, one in the cheek, and another in the thigh, but happily neither of them of a severe nature. The result of this splendid achievement was, that the Dey submitted to the final abolition of Christian slavery; to deliver up all the slaves in his dominions, to whatever nation they might belong; to return all the money that he had received, for the redemption of slaves, from the commencement of the year 1816; and to make reparation, and a public apology, to the British Consul, for the wrongs and indignities to which he had been subjected.*

Our gallant squadron returned from Algiers, with the proud consciousness, that every man had done his duty. For his services on this occasion, Lord Exmouth was raised from the dignity of Baron, to that of Viscount; and a considerable promotion took place amongst the officers who had so nobly participated in the chastisement of an unprincipled tyrant.

* The Dey, in presence of his divan, apologised to the British Consul, for the personal restraint which had been imposed upon him, during the late transaction; and, he also paid to the Consul, a sum of 3000 dollars, as a remuneration for depredations committed on his residence after his imprisonment. After the treaties had been negociated, and the Dey had refunded 382,500 dollars, which he had lately received from the governments of Naples and Sardinia, and had released 1083 Christian slaves who were at Algiers, it came to the knowledge of Lord Exmouth, that two Spaniards, the one a merchant, and the other the Vice-Consul of that nation, had not been released, but were still held by the Dey, in very severe custody, on pretence that they were prisoners for debt. His Lordship had determined to insist on the unconditional release of the two Spaniards. He therefore desired an answer, yes or no; and, in the event of the latter, stated, that he would immediately recommence hostilities, and his Lordship commenced preparations for that purpose. These measures had the desired effect; and the two persons were released from a long and severe captivity, so that no Christian prisoner remained at Algiers!

ADDENDA.

TO preserve, unbroken, the interest excited by the momentous affairs of Europe, during the latter years of a war, the most extraordinary in its origin, its progress, and its close, it was found desirable to pass more rapidly over the events of the opposite hemisphere. At any other period, a contest between Britain and America, would have formed a primary object of attraction to the historical reader: now, therefore, having traced the great European conflict to a long-wished-for and honourable termination, it becomes our task to exhibit, somewhat more in detail, the leading scenes of the transatlantic drama.

In the year 1812, when America ventured to declare war against the most powerful maritime state in the world, her own navy, if navy it could be called, did not include a single line of battle ship, and the utter annihilation of her frigates, and smaller vessels, was, in this country, most confidently predicted. The military force of the United States, though numerically formidable, was principally of an irregular kind, without discipline, unaccustomed to the hardships of war, and destitute of that patient endurance, and subordinate spirit, without which armies, however strong, are always liable to become the mutinous depositories of panic.*

A war so differently affecting the different parts of the Union, could not fail to call forth those violent political contentions for which that republic is so much distinguished. At Boston, the declaration of war was made the signal of a general mourning; all the ships in the harbour displayed flags half-mast high; and in that, as in other cities of the northern states, public meetings of the inhabitants were held, at which a number of resolutions were passed, stigmatising the approaching contest as unnecessary and ruinous, and as tending to a connection with France, destructive to American liberty, and independence. Immediately after the declaration of war, a party was formed, called the "peace party," which combined nearly the whole of the federalists throughout the United States, and by whom a steady, systematic, and energetic opposition, principally directed against the national finances, was maintained to the latest period of the war. With the democratic party, and in the southern states in particular, where swarms of privateers were preparing to reap a rich harvest among the West India islands, the popular sentiment was decidedly in favour of war; and, of all the cities of America, in this interest, Baltimore perhaps stood in the first rank in zeal and in violence.

Early in the year, a body of militia, amounting to 2500 men, had been placed under the command of General Hull; and, on the 12th of July, the American army crossed the river Detroit, and erected the standard of the United States, in Upper Canada. The General of the invading army, on his arrival at Sandwich issued a proclamation to the British colonists, inviting the militia to return to their homes, and promising to the peaceable inhabitants the "blessing of peace, liberty, and security." This proclamation, which expressed the utmost confidence of success, threatened a war of extermination, in case of the employment of the Indian tribes, which appear to have been the objects of General Hull's peculiar dread and apprehension. The Indians were, however, already engaged in hostilities with the subjects of the United States; and, on the 17th of July, intelligence was received of the capture of fort Michilimachinack, the most northern military post in the United States, by a combined operation of the British, the Canadians, and the savages. After passing the line of demarkation, by which the British settlements, in North America, are separated from the territory of the United States, General Hull advanced against fort Amhersburg, or

* On the 11th of January, 1812, an act was passed for raising ten regiments of infantry, two regiments of artillery, and one regiment of light dragoons, to be enlisted for five years; the infantry to amount to 20,000; the artillery, to 4000; and the cavalry, to 1000 men. On the 6th of the month, an act, authorising the President of the United States, to accept the service of certain volunteer corps, not exceeding 50,000, passed into a law; and, by an act of congress, passed the 10th of April, detachments from the militia, to the amount of 100,000, were voted in regular proportions. The regular army of the United States, upon the declaration of war, consisting of eleven regiments of the old peace establishment, estimated at 500 men each.

Malden, the garrison of which consisted of about 600 men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. George. Here the American General received his first check, and was three times repulsed in his attempt to cross the Canard river. General Sir George Prevost, the British Governor-in-Chief, had made all the arrangements in his power, for the defence of Upper Canada, and the command of the force destined for this purpose, consisting of 30 royal artillery men, 250 regular troops, of the 41st regiment, 400 Canadian militia, and 600 Indians, was conferred on Major-General Brock. It might have been supposed, that such a force would prove totally inadequate to meet the American army; but the defective composition of the enemy's troops, and the want of energy and skill in their commander, soon displayed themselves in a manner that portended their final overthrow. Ignorant of the situation and movements of the British force which was coming to relieve the fort to which he had laid siege, and continually harassed and bewildered with various and contradictory reports concerning the different tribes of the hostile Indians, indecision and distrust began to prevail in the camp, the plan of attacking Amhersburg was abandoned, and on the 8th of August, the Americans retreated to Detroit, the capital of the Michigan territory, without even the appearance of an enemy to pursue them. On the arrival of Major-General Brock at Amhersburg, on the 13th, he found that Lieut.-Col. Proctor had begun to erect batteries opposite fort Detroit; and, although opposed by a well-directed fire from seven twenty-four pounders, the works were continued without intermission. The force at the disposal of the British General, being all collected in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, they passed the river in the course of the 15th, without molestation, and advanced on the following morning to Spring Well, an advantageous position, three miles west of Detroit. The Indians, who had, in the meantime, effected their landing two miles below, moved forwards, and occupied the woods, about a mile and a half to the west of the British position. Having learned, that General Hull had dispatched Colonel M'Arthur, one of his best officers, with a detachment of 500 men, to escort a supply of provisions from the river Raisin, General Brock decided on an immediate attack, and advanced with a resolution to carry Detroit on the land side, while the Indians penetrated the camp. When the head of the British column had arrived within about 500 yards of the American lines, orders were given by General Hull, for the whole of his troops to retreat to the fort, and for the artillery not to open on the assailants. A white flag, hung from the walls, indicated the wish of the American General to capitulate, and the terms were soon agreed upon. By this capitulation, so glorious to the arms of Britain, and so disgraceful to the American army, 2500 men became prisoners of war, and 33 pieces of brass and iron ordnance, fell into their hands..

General Hull, when his conduct came to be investigated before a court-martial, was found guilty of neglect of duty, unofficer-like conduct, and adjudged to be shot; but, in consideration of "his revolutionary services, and his advanced age," the court recommended him to mercy; and the President, while he expressed his approbation of the sentence, thought proper to remit its execution.

The season was far advanced before the Americans could collect a sufficient force upon the Niagara frontier, to attempt offensive operations; but, in October, General Van Ranssellaer, of the New York militia, fixed his head-quarters at Lewestown, between the Lakes Ontario and Erie, with a force under his command, amounting to about 4000 men, of which 1500 were regular troops, and the remainder the militia contingents of the neighbouring states. Early on the morning of the 13th, a division of the enemy's troops, under General Wadsworth, embarked near the falls of Niagara, and made an attack upon the British position of Queenstown. Although the day had not yet dawned, this post was defended with great gallantry, by the two flank companies of the 49th regiment, animated by the presence of their gallant chief, Major-General Brock, whose valuable life was, on this occasion, devoted to his country's service. The British position fell, with their lamented General; but, reinforcements of regular troops, militia, and Indians, having been sent up from Fort George, under the direction of Major-General Sheaffe, who now assumed the command of the army, a movement was made on the enemy's left, while a body of artillery, under the able direction of Captain Holcroft, supported by a body of infantry, engaged him in front. This operation was further aided by the judicious position which Norton, the Indian chief, had taken on the woody high ground, above Queenstown. A communication being thus opened with Chippaway, a junction was formed with farther succours which had been ordered from that station. The crisis of the battle was now approaching, and a powerful reinforcement dispatched to the aid of General Wadsworth, from the American side of the river, might have secured the victory; but, to the utter astonishment of the Commander-in-Chief, he found that the ardour of the "unengaged troops" had entirely subsided; and, all his solicitations, though seconded by the efforts of Lieutenant-Colonel Bloom, and Mr. Justice Peck, could not prevail upon his insubordinate levies to embark to the assistance of their companions in arms. At three o'clock, in the afternoon, a vigorous attack was made upon the enemy's lines; and, after a short, but animated conflict, victory again ranged herself under the British banners. The surrender of General Wadsworth, with a force of 900 men, to an army inferior in numbers, is the best eulogium that can be pronounced upon the plan of attack adopted by Major-General Sheaffe, and upon the zeal and undaunted gallantry that animated every officer and soldier in his army. The loss of the British army, did not exceed 100 men, in killed, wounded, and missing; while the loss of the Americans, including deserters, was estimated at 2000.

The British and American seamen, at length, had an opportunity of displaying their skill and bravery. The ships which met on the 19th of August, off the coast of Labrador, were the Guerriere, Captain Dacres; and the Constitution, Captain Hull; the former rated at 38 guns, but mounted 49; and the latter rated at 44 guns, but mounted 56. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the Constitution bore down upon the Guerriere; and, at five, the frigates came to close action. After an exchange of broadsides, the Constitution placed herself within pistol-shot of her antagonist, when Captain Hull ordered a brisk fire to commence from all her guns, which were double-shotted, and so well directed, that in fifteen minutes, the mizen-mast of the Guerriere went by the board. The enemy then placed herself in a situation to rake the British frigate, and his grape-shot and riflemen swept the deck. Captain Dacres, perceiving his perilous situation, endeavoured to clear himself of his opponent; and, with this view, the marines and boarders were ordered from the main-deck: but, no sooner were these orders given, than the Captain received a violent contusion in his back, and Mr. Grant, who commanded the forecastle, was carried below, severely wounded. The battle had now raged nearly two hours, and the fore and main-masts of the Guerriere, were shot away, and the vessel, thus dismantled, was reduced to an unmanageable hulk. The wreck was no sooner cleared, than the sprit-sail gave way; and the ship rolled so deep in the sea, that her main-deck guns were under water. It now became obvious, that all further resistance must prove unavailing; and Captain Dacres, after a short consultation with his few remaining officers, determined to spare the lives of his valuable crew, by hauling down his colours, which necessity had obliged him to lash to the stump of the mizen-mast. The hull of the Guerriere was so much shattered, that a few more broadsides would have sent her to the bottom. Fifteen of her crew were killed, and 63 wounded; among the former of whom, was Lieutenant Read; and, among the latter,

ter, all the principal officers in the ship. The loss of the Constitution amounted only to seven killed, and seven wounded. It was soon discovered, that the Guerriere was so much injured, that all attempts to tow her into port would be unavailing; and Captain Hull, having previously ordered all the prisoners to be brought on board his own ship, consigned his prize to the flames. The Captain and the crew of the Constitution, when they landed at Boston, were received by their fellow-citizens with every mark of honour and distinction; a splendid entertainment was given to Captain Hull, and his officers; and in all the principal towns through which he passed, after his return, the war became more popular, and the spirit of marine enterprise more animated and enthusiastic. In England, the capture of the Guerriere created astonishment, not unmixed with dismay. The Constitution, however, was the superior of the Guerriere, in every respect; she was a larger vessel; better prepared both for sailing and for action; her guns were more numerous, in the proportion of 56 to 49; her weight of metal gave her a still further advantage; and, while her number of men amounted to 476, the Guerriere, on coming into action, could only muster at quarters 244 men and 19 boys.*

In the interval between the breaking out of the war, and the close of the year 1812, the elections took place, and the federalist party, in common with the English people, cherished the expectation that the power and influence of Mr. Madison, and the war party in America, were nearly at an end. The disasters in Canada, however, instead of rendering the war more generally and decidedly unpopular, changed the dislike which had been entertained for it in the northern states, into a determination to prosecute the contest with increased vigour. The democratic interest was consequently strengthened; and, on the 2d of December, the re-election of Mr. Madison was secured. Soon after the American government had declared war against Great Britain, overtures of a pacific nature were made by both parties; but, although much diplomatic discussion took place, on both sides of the water, the negociation proved unsuccessful. In each of the hostile countries, the original cause of the war, and the responsibility of its continuance, were imputed to the enemy. When the angry passions, however, in which

* Success continued to preponderate on the side of the Americans, and the fate of the Guerriere proved, unfortunately, not a solitary case. Besides the numerous captures made by their privateers, actions took place between ships of war, which tended to augment the confidence already inspired by the success of their maritime tactics. On the 18th of October, his Majesty's armed brig, the Frolic, Captain Whinyates, convoying six valuable merchant ships from Honduras to England, while in the act of repairing damages to her masts and sails, received in a violent gale on the preceding night, descried an American brig, which gave chase to the convoy. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, this vessel, which proved to be the Wasp, Captain Jacob Jones, bore down upon the Frolic, and the two brigs came to close action off the island of Bermuda. The superior fire of the British guns gave every reason to suppose that the contest would speedily terminate in their favour. This expectation was favoured by the main-top-mast of the Wasp being shot away in a few minutes after the battle commenced, and falling with the main-top-sail-yard across the fore-top-sail braces, her head became unmanageable during the rest of the action. To counteract the effects of this disaster, the Americans shot a-head of the Frolic, raked her, and then resumed their position on the larboard bow. The fire of the Wasp was now evidently attended with great success, and the braces of the Frolic being shot away, she became unmanageable. After lying some time exposed to a most destructive fire, which she was unable to return, the enemy boarded, and hauled down the British ensign in 43 minutes after the discharge of the first shot. On passing from the bowsprit to the forecastle, the Americans were surprised to see not a single man alive on the deck of the Frolic, except the seaman at the wheel, and three officers; and, of the whole crew, consisting, originally, of 110 men, all, except 20, were numbered among the killed, or the wounded. The Frolic mounted sixteen thirty-two pounders, four twelve-pounders on the main deck, and two twelve-pound carronades; while the Wasp mounted only sixteen thirty-two pounders, and two twelve-pound carronades; the superiority in number of cannon, was, therefore, on the side of the British, and the number of men was nearly equal; but the violent storm of the preceding day had crippled the Frolic, and to this cause was attributed the disastrous result. On the afternoon of the same day, his Majesty's ship, Poictiers, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain Sir John Beresford, hove in sight, and after re-capturing the Frolic, and making a prize of the Wasp, carried both the rival brigs into Bermuda. On the return of Captain Jones to the United States, he was every where received with demonstrations of gratitude and admiration. Early in the morning of the 25th of October, the Macedonian frigate, Captain Carden, in latitude 29 N. 29° 30' W. descried a ship, which proved to be a frigate of the first class, under American colours, commanded by Captain Decatur. At nine o'clock, the vessels were brought into action, and the Macedonian being to windward, had the advantage of engaging at her own distance. After the battle had raged about half an hour, Captain Carden came to close quarters. In this situation, it was soon discovered, that the superior force of the enemy was, if possible, more advantageous to him than it had been before, and the only hopes of the British commander rested upon some fortunate occurrence, which might turn the engagement in his favour, or at least afford him an opportunity of escape. With this hope, the battle was continued for upwards of two hours, and until the British frigate was a perfect wreck—an unmanageable log. The mizen-mast was shot away by the board, the top-mast carried off by the caps, the main-yard shivered in pieces, and the rigging completely destroyed; all the guns upon the quarter-deck and forecastle were disabled, and filled with wreck, except two; several shot had struck the vessel between wind and water; a large proportion of the crew were killed or wounded; and the enemy, who was comparatively in good order, was preparing to place herself in a raking position. In this disastrous situation, Captain Carden was reduced to the painful extremity of surrendering his Majesty's ship. Every effort that gallantry and skill could effect, had been put forth, and no other alternative remained. To have continued the action longer, would have been a wanton sacrifice of the lives of his brave crew; the Macedonian could no longer fight, and had become a mere target to receive the enemy's fire. Her first Lieutenant, Hope, was severely wounded in the head, towards the close of the action, and carried below, but no persuasion of his fellow-sufferers, nor any representation of the dangerous nature of the wound, could keep him from his post; after a slight dressing had been applied to his wound, he again rushed upon deck, and displayed that greatness of mind, and those persevering exertions, which may be equalled, but never can be excelled. The loss of the British was very severe; 36 men were killed, and the same number severely wounded, many of them without hopes of recovery: in addition to which, 32 were slightly wounded, constituting an aggregate number, exceeding one-third part of the whole crew. The masts, hull, and rigging of the American frigate had suffered considerably, but not at all in comparison with the Macedonian, and her loss, in killed and wounded, amounted only to five of the former, and seven of the latter. The congress of the United States, and other public bodies, emulated each other in awarding manifestations of public esteem to Captain Decatur and his crew. On the 29th of December, the Java frigate, Captain Lambert, off the coast of Brasil, on her passage to the East Indies, perceived a strange sail, which was soon found to be the American frigate the Constitution, under the command of Commodore William Bainbridge. The two frigates came into action about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the fire of the Americans was directed with so much skill and precision, against the masts and rigging of the Java, as to carry away the bowsprit and the jib-boom, and to disable her from preserving the weather-gage. The contest having raged for upwards of an hour, much to the disadvantage of the British, Captain Lambert endeavoured to extricate himself from the raking fire of the enemy, by ordering his ship to be laid on board; but, at this critical moment, when the disasters of the day might have been retrieved, his fore-mast was shot away, and the main-top-mast went overboard, leaving the ship totally unmanageable, and the principal part of her starboard guns rendered useless by the wreck under which they were buried. To aggravate the misfortunes of the Java, her gallant Captain received a dangerous wound in his breast, and was obliged to quit his station. The command devolved on Lieutenant Chads, who discharged his arduous duty in a manner worthy of his commander. It was clear, however, that all the efforts made to prevent the British frigate from falling into the hands of the Americans, would be unavailing. Her guns were so much covered that not more than two or three of them could be fired; while the enemy, comparatively little disabled either for manœuvring or fighting, and fully sensible of the crippled state of the Java, continued to pour into her hull, a destructive and well-directed fire. At five minutes past four o'clock, the Java's fire being completely silenced, and her colours no longer visible, Commodore Bainbridge, concluding that she had struck, shot a-head to repair his rigging; but, while engaged in this service, it was discovered that the British colours still waved from the stump of the mizen-mast. This discovery was no sooner made than the Constitution bore down again upon her, and having got close under her bows, was preparing to rake her with a broadside, when Lieutenant Chads, feeling that he could not be justified in squandering the blood of his crew in a resistance now become so utterly hopeless, surrendered his frigate with extreme reluctance into the hands of the enemy. It was soon perceived that the crew of the Java had fought their ship with so much gallantry, that she was not in a condition to be preserved as a trophy of American victory; and Commodore Bainbridge, having removed her crew and stores with all the expedition that his slender means would afford, ordered her to be destroyed. The loss, on both sides, was very great, but that of the Java, from the circumstances of the engagement, was the most severe. Captain Lambert survived the loss of his ship only six days, and by the returns made to the Admiralty, it appeared that 22 of his crew were killed, and 102 wounded. On the same authority, it is stated, that the Constitution had ten men killed, and 46 wounded; but the American accounts reduce their own loss to nine killed, and 25 wounded, among the latter of whom was the Commodore himself. The disparity of force between the Java and the Constitution, was nearly the same as between the Constitution and the Guerriere.

this

contest was engendered, shall have subsided, an impartial posterity will probably adjudge—that admitting the existence of the British orders in council, and the impressment of American seamen, to have justified the United States in declaring war against Britain, in the first instance; yet, when the former of these evils was removed, and when an offer to suspend hostilities by sea and land, was made through the medium of the British authorities in America, in order to adjust the still existing differences, it was the duty of the American government to accept the pacific overture. Since the revocation of the orders in council, there was in reality no principle at issue, between the two countries. The limits of the right of blockade stand fixed by the law of nations upon grounds that admit of no serious dispute. With regard to the impressment of seamen, America did not deny, that Great Britain had a right to reclaim her own subjects; and the English government did not pretend to have any right to impress any who were really and truly American citizens. The whole quarrel then was about the means of asserting these rights, and had the ministers of both countries sought for peace in the spirit of peace, that inestimable blessing must have been speedily obtained.

At the opening of the campaign of 1813, the American army of the west, was placed at the foot of Lake Erie, under General Harrison; the army of the centre, under Generals Wilkinson and Dearborn, in the vicinity of the falls of Niagara, between Lakes Erie and Ontario; and the army of the north, under General Hampton, on the banks of Lake Champlain. The object of these forces was to invade the two Canadas; and the duty which devolved upon Sir George Prevost, the Governor-General, or British Viceroy, was to resist their incursions, and to preserve the integrity of his Majesty's North American dominions. For this purpose, the defence of the Detroit frontier was confided to Colonels Proctor and Vincent; while General Sheaffe, acting under the more immediate direction of the Governor-General, was charged with the defence of Lower Canada. After the surrender of General Hull, no operation of importance took place on the Detroit frontier, till the month of January, 1813, when the American General Winchester, commanding the right wing of General Harrison's army, marched to the attack of Detroit, and concentrated his troops at the village of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin. On the 22d, the Americans, amounting to about 1000 men, were attacked by a combined British and Indian force, consisting of about 500 regulars and militia, and 600 Indians, under the command of Colonel Proctor. The attack commenced early in the morning, on the right wing of the American army, and was made with so much vigour and effect, that after a contest of about a quarter of an hour, they were driven across the river, where their retreat was cut off by a large body of Indians, stationed in their rear. The left wing, being fortified behind a picket-fence, sustained three separate charges; but, finding themselves at length exposed to a concentric fire, their General, who had been taken prisoner by a Wyandot Chief, early in the day, agreed to capitulate, and his whole corps was surrendered prisoners of war. In this short, but sanguinary engagement, the number of killed and wounded, on the part of the Americans, amounted to about 500, and their loss, in prisoners, to an equal number. Of the British troops, only 24 were killed, and 158 wounded. The slaughter made by the Indians, on the retreating division of the enemy, was terrible; scarcely one of them survived the battle. After the defeat of General Winchester, General Harrison retreated to Fort Meigs, and occupied himself in strengthening that position; while the brigade under General Cooks, was actively employed during the remainder of the winter, in fortifying Upper Sandusky. The frequent predatory incursions of the Americans, on the Canadian border, near the river St. Lawrence, induced Sir George Prevost, who arrived at Prescot, on the 21st of February, to direct an attack to be made upon the enemy's position at Ogdenburgh. On the 22d, Major Macdonnel, of the Glengarry light infantry fencibles, at the head of about 500 regulars and militia, crossed the river upon the ice, about seven o'clock in the morning.—The right, commanded by Captain Jenkins, of the Glengarry regiment, was directed to hold the enemy's left in check, and to interrupt his retreat, while Major Macdonnel moved on with the left column towards his position in the town, where he had posted his heavy field artillery. The depth of snow, in some degree, retarded the advance of both columns, and exposed them, particularly the right, to a heavy cross fire from the batteries of the enemy; but, pushing on rapidly, the left column soon gained the right bank of the river, and after encountering a few discharges of artillery, obliged the enemy's infantry to seek refuge in the houses or in the woods. During these transactions, Captain Jenkins gallantly led on his column, exposed to the heavy fire of seven guns, which he bravely attempted to take by the bayonet, though covered by 200 of the enemy's best troops. On advancing to the charge, his left arm was broken by a grape-shot; still undauntedly running on with his men, he almost immediately afterwards was deprived of the use of his right arm by a discharge of case-shot; disregarding all personal considerations, he continued nobly to advance, cheering his men, to the assault, till, exhausted by pain and loss of blood, he became unable to move; his company, however, continued to advance, under Lieutenant M'Auley; but the reserve of militia not being able to keep up with the regulars, they were compelled to give way, nearly about the time that Major Macdonnel gained the height. The enemy hesitating to surrender at the summons of the Major, his eastern battery was carried, and a detachment, under Captain Eustace, gallantly rushed into the fort, while the Americans, retreating to the opposite entrance, abandoned their works, and made their escape into the woods.

The gallantry and self-devotion of Captain Jenkins were the theme of universal admiration, and Sir George Prevost, in transmitting the report of this brilliant achievement to his government, earnestly recommended the mutilated hero to the favour and protection of his Prince. In the battle of Ogdenburgh, which lasted little more than an hour, the enemy lost eleven pieces of cannon, all his ordnance, marine, commissariat, and Quarter-Master-General's stores; 4 officers, and 70 privates, were taken prisoners; and two schooners, and two gun-boats, together with the barracks of Ogdenburgh, were consigned to the flames. The American army of the centre, at the commencement of the campaign, consisted of about 7000 men; 4000 of whom were stationed in the vicinity of Sackett's harbour, and the remaining 3000 at the head of the Niagara river, near Cape Buffalo. On the 22d of April, a corps of their best troops, amounting to 1600, under General Dearborn, embarked on board the flotilla, commanded by Commodore Chauncey, at Sackett's Harbour, and in the morning of the 27th, arrived off York, on the northern bank of Lake Ontario. The debarkation of the invaders was vigorously opposed by Major-General Sheaffe, at the head of 700 British, and 100 Indian troops; but, the superior numbers of the enemy enabled him to surmount every difficulty, and to make good his landing without any material loss. No sooner had the whole of their troops gained the banks of the lake, than they advanced through an intervening wood to the open ground, and after carrying one of the British batteries by assault, moved in columns towards the main works. At this moment, their progress was arrested by the accidental explosion of a large magazine; an immense quantity of stones flew in every direction; and General Pike, to whom the command of the advancing column was confided, became one of the numerous victims of this dreadful casualty. Nor were the British troops wholly exempt from its effects; 10 at least of their number, fell before a force which neither skill nor bravery could resist. General Sheaffe, finding all further resistance unavailing, withdrew from the city, with his regular troops towards Kingston, leaving the commanding officer of the militia to treat with General Dearborn, for the surrender of the capital

capital of Upper Canada. The loss of the American army, in the battle of York, amounted to 320, including 38 killed, and 222 wounded, by the explosion.—The British loss may be estimated at 400, of which number 300, at least, became prisoners. The next object of General Dearborn's expedition was the capture of Forts George and Erie, and on the 8th of May, the American troops evacuated the capital of Upper Canada, and proceeded to the Niagara frontier. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 27th, the American flotilla appeared off Fort George, and the debarkation of the light troops immediately commenced. The landing of the troops was vigorously resisted by Colonel Vincent, the British commander; but the numerical superiority of the assailants, combined with that coolness and intrepidity which experience imparts, and of which the Americans had already begun to shew several examples, overcame all opposition. It now became obvious, that the place would soon become untenable; and Colonel Vincent, having spiked his guns, and destroyed his magazines, abandoned Fort George to the enemy, but not till he had sustained a loss of upwards of 300 men. The capture of Fort Erie speedily succeeded the fall of Fort George; but these conquests were only transient, for before the end of the month of June, the superiority of the British fleet, under Sir James Yeo, became so decided, that the Americans, in their turn, were obliged to relinquish all the posts they had acquired on the left bank of the Niagara.

After the defeat and capture of General Winchester, the British troops, under Colonel, now General Proctor, advanced at the head of a force of 1000 regulars and militia, and 1200 Indians, to the river Miami, in expectation of reaching the army under General Harrison, which had taken post in Fort Meigs, near the foot of the Rapids. From the incessant and heavy rains, during which the British batteries were erected opposite the fort, it was not till the morning of the 1st of May, that the siege of Meigs could be commenced. The enemy, who occupied several acres of commanding ground, strongly defended by block-houses, well furnished with ordnance, had so completely intrenched himself as to render unavailing every effort to carry his position. On the morning of the 5th, while the fate of the fortress yet hung in suspense, an American officer arrived at Meigs, with a detachment of men from General Clay's division, bringing to the garrison, the welcome intelligence, that that General, with his whole force, amounting to 1300 men, was descending the river, and was at that moment but a few miles distant. Conceiving that the British army was now in his power, General Harrison dispatched orders to land one half of the advancing force on the side of the river opposite to the fort, and to co-operate with him in an attempt to force the British batteries, and to spike their cannon. Colonel Dudley, the officer charged with the execution of this movement, advanced with so much vigour, that in a few minutes he was in possession of the batteries of the besiegers, and had taken some prisoners; but his troops, elevated unduly with their success, continued the pursuit till they were finally drawn into an ambush; and their whole number, with very few exceptions, was either killed or taken. Colonel Dudley, who was among the slain, displayed the most heroic firmness, and killed one of the Indian warriors after he had received his mortal wound. The officers and men of the 41st regiment, who, led on by Captain Muir, charged and routed the enemy after they had seized the batteries, maintained the long established reputation of the corps; and the courage and activity displayed throughout the whole scene of action by the Indian chiefs and warriors, contributed essentially to the successful issue of the engagement. The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was estimated at between 1000 and 1200 men, a principal part of whom were not volunteers, but consisted of the Kentucky quota. However, before the ordnance could be withdrawn from the batteries, General Proctor found his 1200 Indian auxiliaries reduced to less than 20, and his army so much weakened, that on the morning of the 9th, he was obliged to raise the siege, and to retreat to his former station at Sandwich. On the 20th of July, he again advanced towards the head of Lake Erie; and, on the 2d of August, made an attack on Fort Stephenson, near the mouth of the river Sandusky, where the Americans had collected a small force, under Major-General Croghan. Finding the enemy determined to defend the fort, General Proctor resolved to carry the place by assault; the Indians, however, disliking this species of warfare, withdrew themselves out of the reach of the enemy's fire; and, although his Majesty's troops displayed the greatest bravery, they were repulsed after a short, but animated struggle, with the loss of about 100 men, and obliged once more to return to Sandwich. The failure of the British troops at Fort Stephenson, and the indications of disaffection exhibited by the Indians, on that occasion, had encouraged an attempt on the part of the Americans, to detach, from the British army, their native allies; and, with this view, a deputation of chiefs in the interest of the enemy, were dispatched to hold a "*talk*" with their brethren; but the contempt with which their proposal was received, and the determination expressed by the Indians in the British interest, to adhere to the cause of their great father in England, extinguished these hopes, and put an end to the negociation.

Whatever might be the numerical superiority of the Americans on land, it seemed reasonable to expect, that Britain would retain the naval ascendancy; and, that her ample resources would enable her at all times to contend successfully with the enemy on the frontier lakes of Canada. The importance of this preponderance had become so manifest to the Governor-General, that he had made repeated applications for reinforcements; but, it was not till the month of October, that shipping suitable for this service, arrived at Montreal. In the meantime the British, or rather the Canadian fleet, commanded by Captain Barclay; and the American fleet, under the command of Captain Perry; met near the head of Lake Erie. In the morning of the 10th of September, the American squadron, while lying at anchor in Put-in-Bay, discovered the British fleet, and immediately got under way to give them battle. At ten o'clock in the forenoon both fleets formed in line, and cleared for action. The lightness of the wind occasioned them to approach slowly, and prolonged the awful interval of suspense till mid-day. On the approach of Captain Perry's ship, the Lawrence, a heavy fire was opened upon her from the Detroit, which, from the shortness of her guns, she was at first unable to return. The American Captain, without waiting for his lighter vessels, kept steadily on his course, and approached so near that it seemed to be his intention to board. For some time the battle was decidedly in favour of the British; their shot pierced the side of the Lawrence in all directions, and her decks were strewed with the dead, while the wounded, in considerable numbers, were carried below. Perceiving the hazard of his situation, the American Commodore advanced still further, and ordered the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the British fleet. For two hours the contest was continued with unabated vigour; and Captain Perry at length, finding the Lawrence incapable of further service, determined to transfer his flag to the Niagara, which was at that moment warmly engaged. Soon after the Commodore's flag began to wave on the Niagara, the Lawrence, being rendered totally incapable of further defence, struck her flag. No sooner had Captain Perry taken his station on board the Niagara than a signal was made for close action; and passing a-head of the British ships, in order to break their line, he gave them a raking fire with his starboard guns, and laid his ship along-side of the Detroit. The smaller American vessels having, in the meantime, advanced within grape and cannister shot distance, and kept up a well directed fire, the Queen Charlotte struck, and all the other British vessels were obliged to submit to the same fate. The engagement, which

which was gallantly contested, lasted three hours, and the victory on the part of the enemy was decisive. The loss on both sides was severe; and of the crew of the Lawrence, scarcely any individual, except the Captain, escaped the shower of shot with which she was for upwards of two hours assailed. The return made by Captain Perry of the killed and wounded on board his fleet, amounted to 123; the British loss, was 41 killed, and 94 wounded, among the former of whom was Captain Finnis, of the Queen Charlotte, and his first Lieutenant; and among the latter Captain Barclay himself. This capture of the British squadron was the precursor, and in some degree, the cause, of the relinquishment of the Michigan territory, and the abandonment of all the posts in Upper Canada, beyond the Great River.

Early in September, General Harrison began to concentrate his force, near the mouth of the Miami, and once more to prepare for a descent on Canada. On the 17th of that month, Governor Shelby, with a reinforcement of four thousand volunteers, arrived at the American head quarters; and on the 20th, General M'Arthur's brigade joined the main army. Colonel Johnson's regiment of cavalry remained at Fort Meigs, but had orders to approach Detroit by land, and to advance, "pari passu," with the commander-in-chief, who was to move in boats to Malden. Commodore Perry was actively engaged in transporting the troops and baggage to their destination; and on the 27th General Harrison's army debarked three miles from Malden. On advancing to that place, instead of the regimentals of the British, and the war whoop of the Indians, a group of well dressed females presented themselves, and on behalf of themselves and the inhabitants implored mercy and protection. It was now discovered that Malden had been abandoned by General Proctor, who had determined to fall back for the purpose of taking a station on the river Thames. Sandwich and Detroit, thus abandoned to their fate, fell successively into the hands of the invaders; but before General Proctor quitted these places he had taken the precaution to dismantle the ports, and to destroy the public buildings and stores of every description. On the 2d of October General Harrison had completed his arrangements for advancing in pursuit of the retreating British troops, and on the morning of the 5th the hostile armies came in contact at the Moravian village, situated on the right bank of the Thames, about forty miles from its entrance into Lake Clair. The British force, which was advantageously drawn up in line of battle, on the banks of the river, was estimated at 500 men, supported by about 1200 Indians. The numerical strength of the American army was nearly double this amount, including 1000 irregular cavalry. The right division of the American army, consisting principally of horse, advanced to the charge with great impetuosity, and in an instant the British lines were broken, and the enemy formed into their rear. This sudden and unexpected manœuvre was decisive of the fate of the day. On the left of the enemy's position the contest was more serious, but not less successful. Colonel Johnson, who commanded the Americans on that flank, encountered a steady resistance on the part of the Indians, who, by their gallant conduct, rescued themselves from the disgrace at Fort Stephenson. Tecumseh, one of the most distinguished of their chiefs, and the brother of the prophet, was personally opposed to Colonel Johnson, and was advancing upon him with an uplifted tomahawk, when the Colonel, observing his approach, drew a pistol from his holster, and laid his brave adversary dead at his feet.* At the moment of the fall of Tecumseh, the Indians, who till now had maintained their ground with great bravery, gave way; and General Proctor, perceiving that all was lost, ordered his troops to disperse, and sought his own safety in flight. Among the trophies taken by the Americans in the battle of the Thames, were six brass field pieces, which had been surrendered by General Hull, and on two of which were inscribed, "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga." The American army, having effected the object of their expedition, returned to Detroit, but before their departure they destroyed Moravian village, attempting to palliate this enormity, on the ground that the Indian inhabitants had been among the foremost in massacring the Americans at the river Raisin; and on the further plea, that the town, if spared, would have afforded a convenient shelter for their British allies during the winter.

General Proctor, after his retreat from Moravian village, repaired to Ancaster, on the Grand River, where he collected the shattered remains of his army, amounting to about 200 men, and from thence marched to Burlington Heights, General Vincent's head quarters.

On the 31st of July, the Ontario fleet, under Commodore Chauncey, consisting at that period of twelve sail, and carrying a military force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, made its appearance off York; but, after throwing open the public jail, and destroying the store houses of some of the private inhabitants, they again evacuated the town, and took to their vessels. The attention of the enemy was soon drawn from these predatory excursions to the defence of their own settlements; and a number of naval officers and seamen were dispatched from Quebec, on board a flotilla of gunboats, for the purpose of co-operating with a small, but chosen body of troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, in various demonstrations on Lake Champlain. On the 29th of July the objects of this service were fully accomplished by the total destruction of all the enemy's arsenals, block-houses, and stores of every description, at Plattsburgh, Swanton, and Champlain Town; and the conflagration of the extensive barracks at Saranac, capable of containing four thousand troops. This important service was performed with a degree of promptitude and regularity highly honourable to the officers directing the expedition, and without the loss of a single man.

It was now publicly announced, that the two armies under Generals Wilkinson and Hampton, consisting of from 8 to 10,000 men each, would take up their winter quarters at Montreal. The attack on Lower Canada was to be made by a combined operation of the armies of the north and of the centre, and while the former, under General Hampton, marched on Montreal from Lake Champlain, taking the route of the Chateaugay; the latter, under General Wilkinson, was directed to sail down the St. Lawrence for the same destination. On the morning of the 21st of October, General Hampton crossed the line of separation between the British dominions and the United States, and commenced his movements along the banks of the river. After some days spent in completing his arrangements and bringing up his stores and artillery, he advanced on the 25th in front of the British position, which he found supported by a wood of some miles in extent, formed into an entire abattis, and filled by a succession of breastworks, well supplied with ordnance. Early in the forenoon of the 20th the American light troops and cavalry were discovered advancing on both banks of the Chateaugay. Lieutenant-Colonel De Salaberry, who had the command of the advanced picquets of the British army, composed of the light infantry company of the Canadian fencibles, and two companies of voltigeurs, stationed on the north side of the river, made so excellent a disposition of his little band, as to check the advance of the enemy's principal column, led by General Hampton in person, and accompanied by Bri-

* This far-famed Indian warrior fell in the forty-fourth year of his age. He was of the Shawannoe tribe. In stature, he was above the middle size; extremely active; and capable of sustaining fatigue in a very extraordinary degree. His carriage was erect and lofty—his motions quick—his eye penetrating—his visage stern, with an air of hauteur in his countenance, arising from an elevated pride of soul. His rule of war was neither to give nor to accept quarter. He had been in almost every battle with the Americans, since the breaking out of the war; had received several wounds, and always sought the hottest of the fire. His ruling passion was glory—wealth was beneath his ambition, and although his plunderings and s[illegible] must have amounted to a large sum, he died poor. The Amer[illegible] kind of ferocious pleasure in contemplating the [illegible] which was majestic even in death; but some of the Ken[illegible] graced themselves by committing indignities on his de[illegible]

gad...

gadier-General Izard: while the American light brigade, under Colonel M'Carty, was in like manner arrested in its progress on the south side of the river, by the spirited advance of the right flank company of the third battalion of the embodied militia, under Captain Daly, supported by Captain Bruyer's company of Chateaugay chasseurs. In the course of the day the enemy rallied repeatedly, and returned to the attack, but all their efforts proved unavailing: and on the approach of evening they were obliged finally to retire, being foiled on all points by a handful of men, who, by their determined bravery, maintained their position in the face of an enemy twenty times their number. The Governor-General, having arrived on the scene of action shortly after the appearance of the enemy, witnessed the gallant conduct of the troops on this glorious occasion, and had the satisfaction to award, on the spot, that praise which had become so justly their due. From the report of prisoners taken from the enemy in the affair of Chateaugay, it appeared that the American force consisted of 7000 infantry, and 200 cavalry, with ten field pieces; while the British advanced force, actually engaged, did not exceed 300. The entire loss of both armies, in killed, wounded, and missing, according to the official dispatches transmitted to their governments by the hostile Generals, was estimated at 75 men, of which the British lost only 25; and the Americans not more than double that number. After this memorable repulse the American commander called a council of war, at which it was determined, that under existing circumstances, it was not prudent to renew the attack; but that, on the contrary, the army should immediately return, by orderly marches, to such a position as would secure their communication with the United States, either to retire into winter quarters, or to be ready to strike below. The American troops engaged in the expedition under General Wilkinson, were not more fortunate in the enterprise upon which they had now entered than their compatriots of the northern army. Early in the month of October, General Wilkinson, at the head of an army of 10,000 men, embarked at Fort George, on board the Ontario flotilla, consisting of upwards of 300 vessels, and having entered the St. Lawrence on the 2d of November, arrived on the 6th within a few miles of the port of Prescot. The powder and stores were here landed on the Canadian side of the river, to be transported by land, under cover of the night, beyond the British batteries; and all the troops were debarked to march at the same hour to a bay two miles below Prescot. The vigilance of the British troops, was not to be surprised; and in this attempt to pass the fortress of Prescot, the American armada was doomed to sustain a heavy and destructive cannonade; while the army on shore, under the command of Brigadier-General Boyd, was briskly assailed by the garrison with shot and shells. The advance of the enemy, subsequent to the passage of Prescot, was retarded by the menacing position of the British army, which hung upon his rear, and by the difficulties of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, which exposed his flotilla to continually increasing dangers. Having anticipated the probability of the American government sending its whole force from Lake Ontario towards Montreal, the British Governor-General had ordered a corps of observation, consisting of the remains of the 49th regiment, the second battalion of the 89th, and three companies of voltigeurs, with a division of gun-boats, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, of the 89th regiment, to advance from Kingston, and to follow the movements of General Wilkinson's army. On the 11th, this corps of observation was attacked at Williamsberg by a part of the American force, under General Boyd, consisting of two brigades of infantry, and a regiment of cavalry. About half past two the action became general, when the enemy endeavoured, by moving forward a brigade from the right, to turn the British left, but was repulsed by the 89th forming in potence with the 49th, and both corps moving forward, occasionally firing by platoons. Finding himself unsuccessful on the left, the next efforts of the enemy were directed against the right, but he was received in so gallant a manner by the companies of the 89th, under Captain Barnes, and by a well directed fire from the artillery, that he quickly retreated, leaving one of his guns in the hands of the British. Colonel Morrison, in his turn, now became the assailant, and the enemy concentrated his force to prevent his advance; but such was the steady countenance and well directed fire of the troops, and the artillery, that about half past four the Americans gave way on all sides, and abandoned their strong position. By a judicious movement made at this moment by Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson, their light infantry, which had been left to cover their retreat, was dislodged, and the British detachment for the night occupied the ground from which the enemy had suffered themselves to be driven. The army of the victors did not exceed 800 men, while that of the vanquished amounted to from three to 4000. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded amounted to 339, including upwards of 100 prisoners. On the side of the British, the loss, in relation to the number engaged, was heavy, and amounted to 180, including twelve missing.

The American army, depressed by their disasters, re-embarked the whole of their forces on the 13th, and crossed the St. Lawrence to St. Regis and Salmon River, on their own shores, not leaving a man on the Canadian territory, except such as were prisoners.*

The attention of the British army, under Major-General Vincent, and Lieutenant General Drummond, was now directed to the Niagara frontier; and on the 10th of December, Colonel Murray was ordered to advance, for the purpose of checking a system of plunder organized by the enemy against the loyal inhabitants of that district. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the British force arrived in the neighbourhood of Fort George in time to compel the enemy, under General M'Clure, to abandon the whole of the British side of the Niagara frontier; but not till that General had stained the character of his country by the wanton conflagration of the town of Newark, which, under the pretence of securing the American frontier, but in violation of the laws of nations, he reduced to a heap of ashes.

The enemy, no longer secure within his own dominions, abandoned Lewistown on the advance of Major-General Riall, leaving in the place a considerable supply of small arms and ammunition, with about 200 barrels of flour. Early in the morning of the 19th of December, Colonel Murray, at the head of a detachment of the 100th regiment, the grenadier company of the royals, and the flank companies of the 41st regiment, advanced to Fort Niagara, where, having surprised the sentries on the glacis of the fortress, the watchword was obtained, and the place carried in a few minutes, with the trifling loss of six men killed, and five wounded. The loss of the garrison was much more considerable, 65 of their number were killed, 14 wounded, and 344 made prisoners. By this gallant achievement, 27 pieces of cannon, 3000 stand of arms, a number of rifles, and the store houses, well stocked with clothing, and camp equipage of every description, fell into the hands of the victors.

On the same day that the fortress of Niagara was carried by Colonel Murray, Lewistown surrendered without resistance to the forces under Major-General Riall. During the night of the 30th that General crossed the Niagara, for the purpose of attacking the enemy at Black Rock and Buffalo, at the head of a detachment,

* On the preceding day, General Wilkinson, who had been confined to his bed during the principal part of the voyage down the St. Lawrence, received a dispatch from General Hampton, in which that officer declined to join his troops to the army of the centre, on account of the limited supply of provisions, intimating, however, that he should retire to Plattsburg, with the intention of opening a communication between the two armies lower down the river. This letter General Wilkinson considered as a refusal on the part of General Hampton to co-operate; and at a council of war, consisting of the principal officers of his army, it was determined, "that the attack on Montreal should be abandoned for the present season," and that the army should go into winter quarters.

consisting of four companies of the King's regiment, the light company of the 89th, two hundred and fifty of the 41st regiment, and the grenadiers of the 100 regiment; with a small body of militia volunteers, and a number of Indian warriors. At day break on the following morning, the King's regiment, and light company of the 89th, moved forward; the grenadiers of the 41st and 100th regiment being in reserve. On the approach of the British troops, the enemy opened a very heavy fire of cannon and musquetry on the royal Scots, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, who was directed to land above Black Rock, for the purpose of turning his position, but who, owing to the boats in which the troops were embarked having grounded, was not able to land in sufficient time to accomplish that object. The King's and the 89th, having, in the mean time, gained the town, commenced a spirited attack upon the Americans under General Hall. The position, which was strong, was for some time supported with much bravery; but such was the gallant and determined advance of the British troops, that he was at length driven from his batteries, and pursued to the town of Buffalo, about two miles distant. General Hall, finding his force now swelled to upwards of 2000 men, again attempted to arrest the progress of the advancing columns; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, his troops fled in disorder, and betook themselves to the woods. Eight pieces of ordnance, and 130 prisoners, fell into the hands of the British, and the enemy's loss in killed and wounded was estimated at from three to 400. General Riall now proceeded to execute the ulterior objects of the expedition; and Colonel Robinson was detached to destroy a sloop and two schooners, part of the Ontario flotilla, which lay a little below the town. The town itself, the inhabitants having previously abandoned it, and the whole of the public stores, consisting of a considerable quantity of clothing, spirits, and flour, which the British army had not the means of conveying away, were then set on fire, and totally consumed. A similar fate awaited Black Rock; and on the evening of the same day that village was consigned to the flames. These terrible inflictions were not deemed sufficient to retaliate the destruction of the town of Newark; and in obedience to the further instructions of General Drummond, Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, with a detachment of the 19th and 89th regiments, moved down the river to Fort Niagara, and destroyed the remaining cover of the enemy upon this frontier. A dreadful scene of desolation now presented itself; all the towns and villages on the American side of the communicating river between Lakes Erie and Ontario were destroyed, and the concluding scenes of the campaign of the present year, assumed the character of a war of extermination.*

Ever since the month of February, Captain Broke, of the Shannon, had been cruising in the Bay of Boston, in company with the Tenedos, in hopes that the Chesapeake (Captain Lawrence) would come out of the harbour; but the enemy not choosing to encounter two British frigates, Captain Broke directed the Tenedos to cruise at a distance from the coast, and not to rejoin him till after the expiration of a month. In order that Captain Lawrence might be informed of the separation of the vessels, and be induced in consequence to put to sea, the Shannon stood close into Boston light-house, and hoisted the British colours. The challenge, conveyed by this posture of defiance, Captain Lawrence was not slow to accept; and at mid-day, on the 1st of June, the Chesapeake weighed anchor, and stood out of the harbour, to decide, as it were, by single combat, the contest between the two nations in maritime prowess. About twenty-five minutes after five o'clock the two frigates were within musket shot of each other; and it is scarcely possible to conceive a more interesting and awful moment. The engagement, which was about to commence, had few features in common with the usual routine of sea fights; there was, on the contrary, something chivalrous in the situation of the combatants; each commander, as well as the respective crews, had offered themselves as the champions of their country's glory and honour; and by this feeling it may be supposed that the Americans were more particularly influenced, as the engagement was about to commence within sight of their own shores, which were lined by the inhabitants, who could observe with ease all the vicissitudes of a combat so interesting. The Chesapeake, on her advance, was manœuvred with so much skill as to call for the admiration of the British Captain; and three American ensigns waved from their masts, on one of which was inscribed, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." At half past five the enemy placed himself on the starboard side of the Shannon, and the battle began. After the exchange of two or three broadsides, the enemy's frigate fell on board the Shannon, and they became locked in each other's rigging. Captain Broke, observing that the enemy were flinching from their guns, determined to bring the battle to an immediate and glorious issue, and gave orders to prepare for boarding. Placing himself at the head of his gallant bands, appointed to that service, they instantly rushed upon the enemy's decks, impelling every thing before them with irresistible fury. The enemy made a desperate but disorderly resistance; and the firing was continued at all the gangways, and between the tops; but in two minutes they were driven sword in hand from every post; the American flag was hauled down, and "the proud old British union floated triumphantly over it." In another minute the enemy ceased firing from below, and called for quarter; and the whole service was achieved in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action.

The message of the American President at the opening of the Congress, on the 7th of November, 1813, announced, that Great Britain had declined an offer which had been made by the Emperor Alexander, to mediate the existing differences between that power and the United States; and under such circumstances, the President conceived, that a nation proud of its rights, and conscious of its strength, had no choice but in exertion of the one in support of the other. The door of negociation was not, however, finally closed, for while Great Britain was disinclined to commit the decision of the question at issue to the mediation of a power that, in common with America, might be disposed to circumscribe her maritime claims, she professed a readiness to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat directly with the plenipotentiaries of the American government, and expressed an earnest wish that their conferences might result in establishing between the two nations the blessings and reciprocal advantages of peace. This proposal, which was communicated by Lord Castlereagh to the American secretary of state on the 4th of November, was accepted by the government of the United States without hesitation, and Gottenburg, being neutral territory, was fixed upon as the place at which the plenipotentiaries should meet.

At the early part of the year 1814, the war with America was suffered to languish; but no sooner had Europe been restored to peace, by the dethronement

* On the 24th of March, the American brig Hornet, Captain Lawrence, and the English brig Peacock, Captain William Peake, met at sea, off Demarara, and at half past five o'clock in the afternoon they passed within range of each other's guns, and exchanged broadsides. Observing the British Captain in the act of wearing, Captain Lawrence bore up and received his starboard broadside, after which he approached close on the starboard quarter, and in that position kept up such a heavy and well directed fire, that in less than fifteen minutes, the Peacock, being rendered unmanageable, was obliged to strike her flag. With much difficulty, the Americans succeeded in bringing their prize to anchor; but before the prisoners could be removed she went down, carrying with her thirteen of her own crew, and three of the American sailors. Captain Peake, and four of his crew, were found dead on board the sinking vessel, and 33 others were wounded. The loss of the Americans was trifling in comparison, and in the return made by Captain Lawrence to the secretary of the navy, it is stated, that the number of killed and wounded did not exceed five men, of whom one only was killed. The Peacock is represented as one of the finest vessels of her class in the British navy, and in size, guns, and crew, the combatants were nearly equal. On the return of Captain Lawrence to America he was received with every possible mark of distinction; and as a testimony of the estimation in which his talents and bravery were held by his government, he was appointed to the command of the Chesapeake frigate, then lying in the port of Boston.

of

of Buonaparte, than the British government resolved to prosecute the contest with increased vigour. The peace of Paris was scarcely ratified before 14,000 of those troops, which had gained so much renown under the Duke of Wellington, were embarked at Bourdeaux for Canada; and about the same time a strong naval force, with an adequate number of troops, was collected, and dispatched for the purpose of invading different parts of the coast of North America.

On the 30th of March, the position of Odell-town, in Canada, under the command of Major Hancock, was attacked with considerable vigour; but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss, and obliged to retreat to Plattsburg. Before the reinforcements from Europe arrived, an expedition was undertaken, under the command of General Drummond and Commodore Sir James Yeo, against the fort of Oswego, on Lake Ontario. On the 6th of May preparations were made for commencing the attack, but it was soon discovered that the garrison had made their escape, and General Drummond took possession of the town and fort without opposition. After the barracks had been destroyed, and all the damage inflicted upon the works that was found practicable, the troops re-embarked, bringing away seven heavy guns, and a quantity of stores. Another attempt, on a small scale, made on Sandy Creek, by Captain Popham, of the navy, in concert with Captain Spilsbury, proved unfortunate, and was attended with a loss of 18 men killed, and 50 dangerously wounded. A large American force, under Major-General Brown, crossed the Niagara river on the 3d of July, and, advancing against Fort Erie, demanded the surrender of the garrison. Major Buck, to whom the command of the fort was confided, appears to have been very ill informed of the hostile movement by which he was assailed; and, instead of atoning for his want of vigilance by a gallant defence, he surrendered the fort at the first summons, himself, and 140 men, being made prisoners of war. After the fall of Fort Erie, General Brown advanced towards the British lines of Chippaway; but no sooner was Major-General Riall, who commanded the British troops in the neighbourhood, made acquainted with this movement, than he ordered the immediate advance of five companies of royal Scots, to enforce the garrison, while a detachment of the 100th regiment, with a body of militia, and a few Indians, moved forward for the purpose of reconnoitring the position, and ascertaining the number of the enemy. Early in the morning of the 5th several affairs of posts took place, and at four o'clock in the afternoon both armies were drawn up in battle array on a plain, about a mile to the west of Chippaway. After much severe fighting, a heavy discharge of cannister shot was poured on the British infantry, and General Riall, no longer able to sustain this accumulated fire, ordered the attack to be abandoned, and the troops to retire behind their works at Chippaway. In this engagement, which closed only with the day, Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, of the royal Scots, and Lieutenant-Colonel the Marquis of Tweedale, late aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, were both wounded, as were most of the officers belonging to their respective regiments. The loss was estimated at about 500 on each side.

General Riall now retreated to a position near Fort Niagara; and the American army took post at Chippaway. On the arrival of General Drummond at Niagara, on the morning of the 25th of July, he advanced at the head of a considerable force towards the Falls; and scarcely had he formed a junction with General Riall, when intelligence arrived that the American army, under General Brown, was again advancing. The British General immediately proceeded to meet the enemy, whom he found strongly posted on a rising ground at Bridgewater, near the Falls of Niagara, and within the sound of the thunders of that stupendous cataract. On the arrival of General Brown upon the field, he found that the first brigade had passed the wood, near the Falls, and that the 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments, with Townson's artillery, were engaged on the Queenstown road, directing their principal efforts against the left and centre of the British. The eminence occupied by the British artillery, supported by the 2d battalion of the 89th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, was conceived by General Brown to be the key of the whole position, and Colonel Miller was ordered to advance and carry the height at the point of the bayonet. The struggle at this point was arduous in the extreme; and the British troops, finding themselves severely pressed, formed round the colours of the 89th, and fought with invincible bravery. About the same time Major Jessup succeeded in turning the British left flank; and General Riall, having received a severe wound in his arm, was intercepted by Captain Ketchum's detachment as he was passing to the rear, and made prisoner. In the centre, the repeated and determined attacks of the Americans were met with the most perfect steadiness and intrepid gallantry, and they were constantly repulsed with very heavy loss. These attacks were directed against the guns of the British with so much vigour and determination, that the artillery men were bayoneted in the act of loading their cannon, and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of those by which they were opposed. The night, which had now closed in upon the combatants, failed to put an end to the battle, and, during this extraordinary conflict, the two armies, mistaking each other's guns, actually made an exchange, by which the enemy obtained one, and the British two pieces. The battle, having raged three hours, was suspended about nine o'clock by mutual consent; during which time the enemy was employed in bringing up his reserves. In a short time the action was renewed; and General Porter, at the head of his New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, made a gallant charge, which retrieved the character of the corps, and called forth the praises of the commander of the American army. About this period General Drummond received a reinforcement of troops, under Colonel Scott, consisting of the 103d regiment, the head quarter divisions of the royal Scots, and King's, and the flank companies of the 104th regiment. This seasonable supply of troops seems to have decided the fortune of the day; and at midnight, the enemy, finding all his efforts to obtain possession of the hill unavailing, gave up the contest, and retreated to his camp beyond Chippaway, carrying with him the wounded and the artillery. On the day following he abandoned his camp, throwing the greater part of his baggage, camp equipage, and provisions, into the rapids; and, having destroyed the bridge at Chippaway, continued his retreat towards Fort Erie. "The loss sustained by the enemy in this severe action, cannot," says General Drummond, "be estimated at less than 1500 men, including several hundred prisoners; his two commanding Generals, Brown and Scott, were both wounded; his whole force, which has never been rated at less than 5000, having been engaged. The number of troops under my command did not, for the first three hours, exceed sixteen hundred men; and the addition of the troops under Colonel Scott did not increase it to more than 2,800 of every description." The battle of Bridgewater was, without exception, the most sanguinary, and decidedly the best fought, action which had taken place on the American continent. The repeated charges, and the actual contest with the bayonet, are alone sufficient to render this engagement remarkable; and the charge made by Colonel Miller, on the crest of the British position, is said to have exhibited traits of heroism inferior only to those displayed at the storming of St. Sebastian. A resolution was now formed to attempt the re-capture of Fort Erie; and for this purpose General Drummond, who had advanced to that place, opened the fire of his batteries against it on the 13th of August. In one of the severe actions which ensued, the loss of the British amounted, in killed, wounded, and missing, to upwards of 900 men; and both Colonel Scott and Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond were numbered among the slain. The loss of the British army was greatly aggravated by a sortie made upon their works before Fort

Erie on the 17th of September, from the details of which, as stated in the American reports, it appears that a due degree of vigilance did not prevail in the camp. Early in the morning of that day, the infantry and riflemen, both of the regulars and militia, were ordered by General Brown, who had now resumed the command, to hold themselves in a state of readiness to march against the English batteries. At twelve o'clock General Porter was ordered to move, at the head of his detachment, by a passage previously opened through the woods, for the purpose of attacking the right of the besieging army. General Miller was, at the same time, directed to occupy the ravine between Fort Erie and the batteries; while General Ripley was posted with a corps of reserve between the two bastions of the fort. Soon after three o'clock in the afternoon, General Porter's column, which was destined to penetrate to the rear of the British batteries, and to turn their right, carried a strong block-house by storm; while General Miller, advancing from the ravine, pierced the intrenchments, and within half an hour from the time that the first gun was fired, two of the batteries out of the three were in possession of the enemy. The fate of the remaining battery was soon after decided, and the assailants, having spiked the British guns, and destroyed one of the magazines, withdrew within their own lines. Thus, in the short space of one hour, the fruits of fifty days' labour were destroyed, and the efficient force of the British army diminished at least 1000 men, of whom 385 were made prisoners. The aggregate loss of the Americans amounted to 511, of whom 45 were officers, and the remainder non-commissioned officers and privates. After the destruction of his works before Fort Erie, General Drummond broke up his camp, and returned on the night of the 21st to his intrenchments behind Chippaway.

On the advance of the British army to Plattsburgh, the southern part of which city is washed by the waters of the Saranac, at their junction with Cumberland Bay, the American General ordered the planks to be taken off the bridges, and piled up in the form of breast works, to cover the parties intended to dispute the passage of the river. From the 7th to the 11th Sir George Prevost was employed in bringing up his battering train; and Captain Downie, who had recently been appointed to command the British fleet on Lake Champlain, was urged to advance into the Bay of Plattsburgh, in order to co-operate with the land forces. The British army now only waited the arrival of the flotilla, and at seven o'clock in the morning of the 11th the vessels were seen over the isthmus which joins Cumberland Head with the main land, steering for the bay, with the determination to engage the American flotilla, under Commodore Macdonough. At the same instant the batteries were opened upon the enemy's position of the Saranac, and the brigades under Major-General Robinson and Major-General Power, were ordered to force the ford, and to escalade the enemy's works upon the heights. The action, however, having terminated unsuccessfully, on the part of the British, the batteries were dismantled on the evening of the same day; and, at two o'clock the next morning, the army retreated, leaving a large proportion of the sick, wounded, and stores, in the hands of the enemy. The estimate of the loss of every kind sustained by the British, as made by the Americans, is enormous; but the return, transmitted by Sir George Prevost, of the loss in action between the 6th and the 14th of September, does not amount to 250 men. The desertions however swelled this number to a large amount, and every idea of penetrating into the enemy's country from the side of Lower Canada was abandoned. In Canada the complaints were loud and general against Sir George Prevost; the flotilla, it was said, had been sacrificed by his precipitancy; and the officers of his army were of opinion, that even without naval co-operation Plattsburgh might have been carried, had not the peremptory orders of the Governor-General obliged them reluctantly to retreat within their own frontier.

Subsequently to the affair of Pig Point, on the 22d of August, which terminated advantageously to the British, the commanders, Admiral Cochrane and General Ross, determined to make an attack upon the city of Washington; which, having been abandoned by the Americans, upon their approach, was entered by General Ross, at eight o'clock in the evening of the 24th; when, judging it of consequence, to complete the destruction of the public buildings with the least possible delay, the capitol, including the senate house, and house of representation, was consigned to the flames, and the arsenal, the dock yard, the treasury, the war office, and the president's palace, with a rope walk, and the great bridge across the Potowmack, shared the same fate. In the dock yard, a frigate nearly ready to be launched, and a sloop of war, were consumed. The object of this expedition being thus accomplished, General Ross determined to withdraw the troops before any great force of the enemy could be assembled. On the evening of the 25th the army left Washington; and having reached Benedict on the 29th, the whole force, estimated at 5000 men, was embarked on the following day without molestation. The total loss of the British, in the battle of Bladenburg, amounted only to 64 killed, and 185 wounded; and the loss of the American army, as stated in their own accounts, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted only to 180. Two hundred and six pieces of canon, 540 barrels of gun-powder, and 100,000 ball-cartridges, swelled the trophies of the victorious army; and the repeated explosions which took place in the city of Washington and its neighbourhood during the night of the 24th, sufficiently proved that the injury suffered by the enemy was still more considerable.*

The battle of New Orleans which subsequently took place, was distinguished by several striking characteristics: the troops engaged on each side may be estimated at a moderate computation at 10,000; and, since the breaking out of the war, no engagement had perhaps been fought with so much bravery, and none certainly with so disastrous a result. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to 2040, including in that number the commander-in-chief, and two other general officers, one of whom, General Gibbs, survived his wounds only till the following day. The loss of the enemy, according to the official statement of their general, was incredibly small, and did not exceed six killed, and seven wounded, exclusively of the casualties, on the right bank of the river, by the addition of which the whole number was only swelled to 71. This heavy loss on the part of the British army extinguished all hopes of success, and General Lambert, after holding a consultation with Admiral Cochrane, came to the decision to re-embark the troops, and to abandon the enterprise. The concluding operation of the war in the Gulph of Mexico was the capture of Fort Bowyer on Mobile Point. On the 7th of February, the fort was invested by Captain Ricketts, of the Vengeur, and in the course of a few days the trenches were pushed within pistol shot of the works. Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, the American commander, finding it impossible much longer to resist the overwhelming force by which he was assailed, consented to capitulate, and on the 11th the garrison, consisting of 366 men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Before these events took place, the labours of the plenipotentiaries, assembled at Ghent, were, as before related, brought to a close; and the sanguinary operations on the shores of the Mexican Gulph, may be ranked among the posthumous offspring of an unnatural contest between two countries, whose true interest it is, at all times, to cherish the relations of peace, and to administer to each other's prosperity by a free interchange of commercial communication. In both countries the termination of the war was hailed with unfeigned satisfaction; but the force of this feeling was considerably diminished by the reflection, that all the blood and treasure expended in the prosecution of the contest had been lavished in vain, and that the questions in dispute remained without adjustment.

* The destruction of public property, at Washington (exclusive of the public library) was estimated at the sum of 969,171 dollars.

THE

THE LAST YEARS OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

A. D. 1817.] WE are now rapidly approaching towards the close of that reign, which we have already described as auspicious in its commencement; bright and dazzling in its progress; sublime and beautiful in its results. Such at least is the sentiment which is entertained by those who regard, as a blessing, the glorious and honourable termination of one of the most sanguinary wars that ever desolated the earth.

The parliament of the United Kingdom was opened on the 28th of January, 1817, by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in person. The chief topics of the royal speech were, the continued assurances of amity received from foreign powers; the splendid success of the bombardment of Algiers, and the consequent renunciation, by its government, of the practice of Christian slavery; and the termination, by treaty, of a victorious campaign against Nepaul, in India. Proceeding to affairs of finance, his Royal Highness apprized the House of Commons, that the annual estimates would shortly be laid before them; and that those estimates had been formed, under an anxious desire to make every reduction in the public establishments, which the safety of the empire and true policy would allow. His Royal Highness regretted to be obliged to inform them, that there had been a deficiency in the produce of the revenue in the preceding year; but he trusted that it was to be ascribed to temporary causes; and he had the consolation to believe, that they would find it practicable to provide for the service, without making any additions to the burdens of the people, and without adopting any means injurious to that system by which the public safety had been hitherto maintained. His Royal Highness thus concluded:—"In considering our internal situation, you will, I doubt not, feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence.—I am too well convinced of the loyalty and good sense of the great body of his Majesty's subjects, to believe them capable of being perverted by the arts which are employed to seduce them; but I am determined to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected. And I rely with the utmost confidence on your cordial support and co-operation, in upholding a system of law and government from which we have derived inestimable advantages; which has enabled us to conclude, with unexampled glory, a contest whereon depended the best interests of mankind, and which has been hitherto felt by ourselves, as it is acknowledged by other nations, to be the most perfect that has fallen to the lot of any people."

The Prince Regent having withdrawn, the House of Lords adjourned till five o'clock; at which time, on their re-assembling, Lord Sidmouth announced an important communication, during the delivery of which strangers were ordered to withdraw. From the statement of his lordship, and from various other sources of information, it appeared that the Prince Regent, on his return from the House, had been assailed by an infatuated mob, and that acts of violence, apparently directed against his person, had been committed on his carriage. At half-past one in the day, his Royal Highness left Carlton House in his private carriage for St. James's; whence, after transacting some public business, he proceeded, in the accustomed state, to the House of Peers, there to open the session of parliament. In consequence, however, of the recent *accouchement* of the Duchess of Cumberland, certain customary ceremonials were dispensed with: the band did not play at the commencement of the procession; the appearance of the Regent was not greeted with the sound of trumpet; nor was the entrance of his Royal Highness, into the House of Peers, announced by a discharge of cannon from the Lambeth shore. In his progress through the Park, the Prince was received by a mixture of applause and disapprobation. The assemblage of people was very numerous—more so it was thought than had been witnessed on any similar occasion, since the attack which was made upon the king, in the year 1795. On the return of the procession, the number of mal-contents appeared to have been greatly increased; language, of the foulest and most threatening nature, was vociferated from every quarter; and, from the tumultuous violence which ensued, there was much reason to fear, that there were individuals amongst the mob, who entertained the horrible project of assassination. From the evidence of Lord James Murray, who attended the Regent in his carriage, as one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, it appeared that, on the return of his Royal Highness, between Carlton House and St. James's Gardens, the glass of the Prince's carriage, on the left side of his Royal Highness, was fractured, by what Lord Murray confidently believed to have been two bullets, fired, as he conjectured, from an air-gun. About a minute afterwards, the glass, upon the same side, was struck by a large stone: other stones followed, and the glass was actually smashed and pulverised. The Prince sat on the middle of the seat, with the Duke of Montrose on his left hand, and Lord Murray on his right. Lord Murray was said to have received a violent blow over the right eye, from a splinter of the fractured glass. On alighting from the carriage at St. James's, the Prince Regent apprized Sir Nathaniel Conant, who was in attendance, of the outrageous proceedings which had occurred; and, in consequence of measures which were very promptly taken, the guards at the Palace, the Parks, the Bank, &c. were doubled. A message was immediately sent to the Lord Mayor, informing him of the outrage, and instructing him, should he find it necessary, towards the maintenance of the public peace, to call in the military power, to address himself to the commanding officer of the Tower for that purpose; and dispatches were sent by the mail coaches to every part of the kingdom, to put the magistrates in every place upon their guard. However, by five o'clock in the afternoon, the streets were perfectly clear, and no disposition to riot appeared in any part of the town.

In consequence of Lord Sidmouth's communication, the consideration of the usual address, in the House of Peers, was postponed till the following evening; and, in the Commons, the debate, which had commenced, upon the address, was adjourned. A conference between the two Houses was holden; the result of which was, a joint address to the Prince Regent, on the late atrocious attempt on his life, which was presented to his Royal Highness on the following morning, by 104 Peers, and between 60 and 70 Commoners. A most gracious answer from the Prince was given, and communicated to both Houses in the evening.

A proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 1000*l.* for the apprehension of those persons, and their abettors, by whom the passage of the Prince Regent to the House of Parliament had been notoriously interrupted, and his Royal person endangered. One man was apprehended on suspicion, but the actual offenders were never discovered.

On the ensuing evening (January 29) Earl Grey moved an amendment, on the address in answer to the Royal speech, chiefly for the purpose of expressing an opinion that his Royal Highness was under a delusion respecting the degree, and probable duration, of the pressure on the resources of the country, which was declared to

to be much more extensive in its operations, more severe in its effects, more deep and general in its causes, and more difficult to be removed, than that which had prevailed at the termination of any former war. To this declaration was added, a profession of regret that his Royal Highness should not sooner have been advised to adopt measures of the most rigid economy and retrenchment, particularly with respect to our military establishments; and a resolution that the House should go immediately into a committee on the state of the nation. The amendment, however, was negatived without a division.—A similar amendment, moved in the Commons on the preceding day, was negatived by 264 against 112.

On the 3d of February, a message from the Regent was communicated to both Houses, announcing that his Royal Highness had thought proper to order to be laid before parliament, papers containing an account of certain meetings and combinations held in different parts of the country, tending to the disturbance of the public tranquillity, the alienation of the affections of the people from his Majesty's person and government, and to the overthrow of the whole frame and system of the law and constitution; and his Royal Highness recommended those papers to immediate and serious consideration.

Another communication, of a different and highly gratifying nature, was made to the House of Commons, by Lord Castlereagh, on the 7th of the same month; previously to his moving for the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry respecting the income and expenditure of the state. His lordship stated, that he had it in command from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to announce, that, sympathising with the sufferings of a generous people, he had determined upon a cession of 50,000*l. per annum* of that part of his income which related to his personal expenses, during the continuation of the present difficulties. At the same time, his lordship announced the intention of his Majesty's ministers voluntarily to dispense with one-tenth of their official incomes, while the necessities of the state should require such a concession. Lord Camden, one of the tellers of the Exchequer, also relinquished, *pro tempore*, the whole of the enormous profits of that sinecure office, with the exception of 2,500*l.* the regulated income of the other tellers. This, it was expected, would effect a saving of 16 or 18,000*l.* a year.—On the reduced scale, the expenditure for the year was estimated at 18,373,000*l.*—less, by the sum of 6,500,000*l.* than the expenditure of the preceding year. A further saving of upwards of 1,000,000*l.* was calculated upon for the year 1818.

Notwithstanding the expectation of coercive measures to be adopted by government, a meeting of the populace, headed by Mr. Hunt and his friends, under the ostensible motive of petitioning for parliamentary reform, was held in Spa Fields, on the 10th of February; and a similar meeting, in Palace Yard, Westminster, on the 13th.

On the 18th of the month, the report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords was presented. This important document commenced by stating, that the Committee, having examined the papers referred to them, had found, from the evidence contained therein, that there was no doubt that treasonable conspiracies had been formed in the metropolis and elsewhere, which had for their object the total overthrow of the laws and government, and the indiscriminate plunder and division of property. As early as August last, different meetings had been held in the metropolis, with a view to promote their objects. Arms were purchased for that purpose, and other measures of the like kind resorted to. At subsequent consultations it was resolved, as the best mode of collecting together a great number of people, to call a public meeting in Spa Fields, which was fixed for the 15th of November. The report next adverted to the inflammatory handbills and advertisements which preceded that meeting, for the purpose of exciting the people to outrage and plunder. After adverting to the first meeting which took place in Spa-fields, it proceeded to detail a variety of circumstances tending to prove the atrocious intentions of the conspirators. Among other facts detailed, were those of their having prepared addresses, and circulated them in the gaols, informing the prisoners they would shortly be liberated, and urging them to hold themselves in readiness for that event, when they would be armed by the provisional government. In these addresses they were also desired to prepare themselves with tri-coloured cockades, emblematic of the approaching revolution. Plans were also formed for an attack upon the Tower—pikes were manufactured to arm the people—leaders were appointed to conduct the assaults in different districts, and fire arms were distributed amongst those who were considered most worthy of confidence. While these arrangements were formed, the leaders of the conspiracy were found, night after night, in public houses, working up the minds of the people whom they might meet there, so as to render them ready instruments to execute any project, however desperate. Exertions were also made to win over the soldiers to their cause. Tri-coloured flags were prepared, together with a banner, on which was inscribed the words, "the brave soldiers are our friends, treat them kindly;" and it appeared that, down to the 2d of December, they had the fullest confidence of success. It further appeared, that communications regularly took place between the conspirators in the metropolis, and persons actuated by feelings equally evil in other parts of the country; and that matters were so regulated as that their efforts should be devoted to the same purpose in different quarters at the same time. For which purpose, it was agreed that they should all hold meetings on the same day, and thereby effect a general rising at once; and this was to be done under the pretence that they were to petition the Prince Regent, the real object being to promote a spirit of insubordination—a contempt of all laws, whether religious or otherwise—an equal division of all property, and a restoration to what was termed natural rights. The next point upon which the report touched was the existence of societies in various parts of the kingdom, under the titles of Hampden clubs, Spencean philanthropists, &c. the object of which was, under the disguise of constitutional proceedings, to extend the plans of devastation and destruction already described. It disclaimed a general imputation of disloyalty against the members of these clubs; but at the same time remarked on the pernicious use which was made of such cloaks. A reference was then had to the administration of secret oaths, and to the extraordinary measures which were taken by the conspirators to prevent a discovery of their plots—plots which were found to have existence in all the great manufacturing towns throughout the country, Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, &c. The last topic alluded to was the publication of inflammatory and seditious works, at a cheap rate; the end and intention of which was to root out all feelings of religion and morality, and to excite hatred and contempt for the existing state of things. The Committee, in fine, attributed the late attack upon the Prince Regent to the effect produced by those publications, and expressed it as their decided opinion, that the civil power, as at present constituted, under all the circumstances stated, was insufficient for the preservation of the public peace. On the following evening, a report, similar in object and effect, was presented from the Secret Committee of the House of Commons.

In consequence of the circumstances discovered by the Secret Committees of parliament, four persons, of the names of Watson, Preston, Hooper, and Keene, were apprehended and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. A reward of 500*l.* was also offered for the apprehension of a man of the name of Thistlewood; and a further reward of 500*l.* for the apprehension of the junior Watson. The metropolis, indeed, as well as several other parts of the kingdom, was for some time in a state of great alarm.

The first parliamentary consequence of the reports of the Secret Committees was a motion by Lord Sidmouth, in the upper House, for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* Act, until the 1st of July then next ensuing. A bill to this effect was read the first time on the 21st of February; on the 24th it was read a second and third time, passed, and ordered to the Commons; where

where, on the 26th, it was read a first time, on the 27th a second time, on the 28th a third time; and, on the 4th of March, it received the royal assent. This measure was carried by a great majority in the Lords, but not without strong opposition from several eminent noblemen; eighteen of whom entered a formal protest against the Bill, on the ground that the report of the Secret Committee had not stated such a case of imminent and pressing danger as might not be provided against by the existing laws, of one which warranted the suspension of the most important security to the liberty of the country.

In addition to the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, Lord Castlereagh, in the House of Commons, gave notice of farther measures for the protection of the country against the machinations of the disaffected. These were, first, the extending of the Act of 1795, for the security of his Majesty's person, to that of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent; secondly, the embodying into one Act, the provisions of the Act of 1795 relative to tumultuous meetings and debating societies, and the provisions of the Act of the 39th of the King, which declared the illegality of all societies bound together by secret oaths, and of such as extended themselves by fraternized branches over the kingdom; and, lastly, the making of enactments to punish with the utmost rigour any attempt to gain over soldiers or sailors to act with any association or set of men, or to withdraw them from their allegiance. Numerous petitions against these proposed restrictions on public liberty, particularly against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, were presented to Parliament; and, in the respective Houses, they were opposed, in every stage of their rapid progress, by such members as usually stood forward to advocate the privileges of the people.

In the course of this session of parliament, several unsuccessful attempts were made, by the members of the opposition, to lessen the expences of government, by the abolition of unnecessary offices, and the reduction of enormous salaries. Mr. Grattan's annual motion, in favour of the Irish Catholics, was defeated by a majority of 24; and Lord Donoughmore's corresponding motion, in the Upper House, was negatived by 142 votes against 90.

At the latter end of May, the office of Speaker of the House of Commons was resigned, on account of illness, by Mr. Abbot, on whom the Prince Regent immediately conferred the title of Baron Colchester. The Right Hon. Charles Manners Sutton was elected to succeed him, as Speaker.

On the assembling of the Peers, after the Easter recess, it was ordered, on the motion of Earl Grey, that a copy of the circular letter, which had then recently been addressed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, to the lords-lieutenant of counties, relative to seditious or blasphemous publications, be laid before the House. In this document, Lord Sidmouth had stated, that, as it was of the greatest importance to prevent, if possible, the circulation of the blasphemous and seditious pamphlets and writings then distributed in great numbers through the country, he had thought it is duty to consult the law officers of the crown, whether a person found selling, or in any other way publishing, such writings, might be brought immediately before a justice of the peace, by warrant, to answer for his conduct; and that the law officers, after consideration, had notified to him their opinion, that a justice of the peace might issue his warrant for the apprehension of a person charged before him, on oath, with the publication of such libels, and compel him to give bail to answer the charge. Under these circumstances, his lordship desired to call the attention of the lords-lieutenant particularly to the subject, and requested that they would notify such opinion to the chairman at the quarter sessions, in order that magistrates might act upon it. Subsequently to the production of this circular, Lord Grey introduced the subject to the Peers, in a speech replete with legal information, in which he contended against the principle, that a Justice of the Peace might be called upon by any common informer to decide what was or was not a libel, and to commit or hold to bail, upon his sole judgment, the party accused. His lordship further held that such a specific intimation to Magistrates, as to the mode in which they were to construe the law, even supposing the law itself to be clear and undisputed, would have been a high offence against the constitution.—Earl Grey's motion, which was for the production of the case which had been submitted to the law officers of the crown, on whose opinion Lord Sidmouth's circular to the magistrates had been issued, was supported by the Lords Erskine and Holland, and opposed by the Lords Ellenborough and Eldon. On a division, it was negatived by 75 against 19.—The subject was introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Samuel Romilly, who strongly animadverted upon the tyranny and oppression to which this unwarranted interpretation of the law, as he conceived it to be, would open a door. He enlarged also upon the dangerous authority assumed in this instance by an officer of the crown. By the accustomed majority of the House, however, Sir Samuel's motion failed of its object.

The country continuing to be in an alarming state, messages from the Prince Regent were sent down to both Houses on the 3d of June; stating, that his Royal Highness had ordered to be laid before parliament papers containing information of practices, meetings, and combinations, carried on in different parts of the kingdom, tending to disturb the public peace and tranquillity, and to endanger the constitution of these realms; and recommending to parliament to take the same into its immediate consideration. The papers produced were accordingly referred, as in a former case, to Committees of Secresy. The report of the Lords' Committee, presented on the 12th of June, stated, in substance, that the Committee having taken into their consideration the subject of the papers communicated to them, and fully considered the testimonial statements on which the communications were founded, had resolved, as their opinion, that the spirit of tumult and insurrection which gave rise to the Bill now in operation, for suspending the Habeas Corpus, had by no means subsided; that the same spirit was still active; and that it was only by the vigilance of the magistrates, aided by the operation of the present Bill, and their communications with the government, that the spirit of tumult and rebellion was kept down; that active preparations were still going on in several parts of the country amongst the lowest orders, in manufacturing districts, with a view to subvert the constitution of this country, and that the revival of the said Bill for six months longer was absolutely necessary, to secure the public peace. The report from the Committee of the House of Commons was not presented till eight days afterwards. That document, which was of considerable length, traced the history of several plots from certain proceedings at Manchester, in the month of March, to others in Derbyshire, on the 9th of June; concluding in the following words:—"Confidently as they (the Committee) rely on the loyalty and good disposition of the great body of his Majesty's subjects (even in those parts of the country in which the spirit of disaffection has shown itself in the most formidable shape) they cannot but express their conviction, that it is not yet safe to rely entirely, for the preservation of the public tranquillity, upon the ordinary powers of the law." It was admitted, in the reports, that the evidence laid before the Committees had, in a great measure, been derived from the dispositions and communications of persons who were more or less implicated in the criminal transactions under consideration, or who had apparently engaged in them with a view of giving information to government. The evidence of both of these classes of persons, it was observed, must be regarded with a degree of suspicion; and that there was reason to apprehend, that the language and conduct of some of the latter might, in certain instances, have had the effect of encouraging designs which it was intended they should only be the instruments of detecting. Many warm, animated, and even acrimonious debates ensued; in the course of which, ministers defended, and most strenuously insisted upon, such an employment of spies as had

had been alluded to in the reports of the Secret Committees; and the consequence of the new alarm that had been excited was, that parliament voted a further suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, till the 1st of March, in the ensuing year.

To the honour of the legislature, it is recorded, that, on the 9th of July, Mr. Wilberforce's motion, for an address to the Prince Regent, most humbly submitting to his Royal Highness, in the most dutiful but urgent terms, the expression of our continued and unceasing solicitude for the universal and final abolition of the African slave trade amongst the European powers, was agreed to without a dissentient voice.

On the same evening that Mr. Wilberforce's motion was so happily disposed of, a discussion of considerable interest took place in the House of Commons, upon a series of resolutions on finance, which had been brought forward by Mr. Tierney. In opposing those resolutions, the Chancellor of the Exchequer contended, that, as Mr. Tierney's resolutions "were well founded, they only went to prove the propriety of the financial plan upon which he (Mr. Vansittart) was not allowed to proceed. If that system (the Income Tax) had been acted upon, it would have produced a considerable discharge of the national incumbrances, and he could not, therefore, upon the whole, help regretting that that system was not adopted. If the encouraging prospects now opening should unhappily fail, he was decidedly of opinion, that vigorous measures ought to be adopted for the improvement of our financial situation; but he hoped the state of the country would not require it. That, amidst all our difficulties, such an improvement as existed should have taken place in the funds, was considered extraordinary; but the present session of parliament had dispelled for ever the suggestions of a system of innovation and bad faith, which, for a time, united with other circumstances of the country, to lower public credit. He now trusted that public credit would still further rise, though at that moment the country was not actually paying more than 3 per cent. interest on the Exchequer Bills. Doubts had been expressed as to the expectations held out by the Bank; but nothing less than an extraordinary political or commercial shock would prevent the resumption of cash payments in July next. The national prospect was improved by the hope of an abundant harvest, not merely in this country but throughout the continent, and he thought we might reasonably look to a more extensive and productive commercial intercourse." After a debate of considerable length, the previous question was severally put and carried upon each of Mr. Tierney's resolutions; and the counter-resolutions of Mr. C. Grant were put and carried in their stead..

The last important debate of the session, was that which took place in the House of Commons on Mr. Brougham's motion for an enquiry into the state of the nation; a motion which appeared to be introduced, not with any expectation of its being carried, but for the sake of an opportunity of enabling the honourable mover, as the organ of opposition in the lower house, to enter a protest, in detail, against the whole of the acts and proceedings of ministers. Lord Castlereagh, in reply, entered into a defence of himself and of his colleagues; and, ultimately, the motion was negatived without a division.

The prorogation of parliament, by a speech from the throne, took place on the 12th of July. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in his speech upon this occasion, expressed deep regret for the continued indisposition of his Majesty; glanced at the respective subjects which had passed under the consideration of parliament; and noticed the prospect of an abundant harvest, not only in this country, but throughout a considerable part of the continent; from which, and other circumstances, he anticipated an improvement in the commercial relations of this and all other countries.

The early disturbances at Manchester, alluded to in the last mentioned report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, appear to have been of a very extraordinary description. At a public meeting, held near St. Peter's church, Manchester, on the 3d of March, by persons denominating themselves friends of parliamentary reform, notices were issued, that the espousers of their doctrines should assemble at the same place on the 10th of the month, and proceed thence to the metropolis, to present a petition to the Prince Regent, that they might be enabled to "undeceive him!" Aware of these intentions, and of the dangers, which an immense influx of strangers, irritated by the inflammatory appeals of their factious leaders (who, under the pretence of promoting parliamentary reform, had been for a length of time past agitating the minds of the labouring part of society) portended, the conservators of the public tranquillity took every precaution adequate to the occasion. Accordingly, at the time appointed, crowds of people flocked into the town, from all directions, as early as eight o'clock in the morning, and at about nine, the instigators appeared, on their temporary stage in a cart, and continued to harangue the multitude, till their vast increasing numbers suggested the expediency of putting into practice the well-formed arrangements of the civil and military powers. A party of the first regiment of dragoons, under Colonel Teesdale, accompanied by the magistrates of the district, then appeared amongst them, and, with an adroitness and decision almost electrical, surrounded the erection, and immediately conveyed the entire group upon it to the New Bailey prison. Their attention was next directed to the concourse of auditors, who were forthwith dispersed without the infliction of any severity.—Johnson and Ogden, two of the leaders upon former occasions, had been arrested on the previous morning, and were secured in the New Bailey. Others were seized by the soldiers on their way to deliver their charge in Salford. A considerable number of people set out on their mission to London, taking the route of Stockport, but above forty of them were reconducted to Manchester, and added to their other unfortunate companions; others were furnished with secure accommodations in Stockport. Most of them were provided with knapsacks, &c. containing blankets and other articles. Upon the examination of some of these travelling equipages, two unusually large knives were discovered. At one period there was an assemblage of at least 30,000 people at the meeting; and it was supposed that the arrivals at Manchester, in the course of the day, were not fewer than from 60 to 70,000 individuals. Not more, however, than 500 out of the many thousands assembled in the morning penetrated so far as Macclesfield, where a troop of the yeomanry had remained to provide against such a contingency; and no more than twenty persons proceeded from Macclesfield into Staffordshire, the adjoining county. Nothing could be more wretched and pitiable than the appearance of the few who reached Macclesfield; some actually fainting through weariness, and all of them without baggage or any apparent resource with which to proceed twenty miles further towards London. Thus ended, what has since been known under the quaint appellation of the Blanketeering Expedition.

In the month of June, the senior Watson was, with Thistlewood and some others, put upon his trial, on a charge of high treason, in the Court of King's Bench, but acquitted.* In the course of the summer, the turbulent

* The cause was entitled, *The King, v. Arthur Thistlewood, James Watson the Elder, Thomas Preston, and John Hooper:* it began in the Court of King's Bench, on Monday, June 9, and occupied the Court and Jury seven complete days. The only person put on his trial was James Watson the Elder, the others being in Court, but placed behind the accused. The indictment charged the crime of high treason, in four distinct charges:—1. That of compassing and imagining the death of the King. 2. That of conspiring to deprive him of his royal state and government. 3. The actual levying of war against the King. 4. Conspiring to oblige the King to change the measures and acts of his government by force.

The witnesses proved the facts laid in the indictment, as the assembling of the mob—the tri-coloured flag—the inscriptions on it—the arrival of the waggon—the infuriated speeches from the waggon—the violence of the younger Watson, who, after challenging the mob to follow him, jumped down from the waggon, and proceeded at the head of a considerable body down Coppice-row, into the city, intending to attack the Bank, and to summon or enter the Tower.

turbulent disposition of the manufacturing classes having exhibited itself in several of the northern and midland counties, particularly in those of Derby, Nottingham, York, and Lancaster, in many atrocious acts of tumult and outrage, it was found expedient to appoint a special commission to sit at Derby, for the trial of the offenders. The first four prisoners were found guilty; nineteen of the others were then allowed to withdraw their former plea of not guilty, and to plead guilty, on an understanding that mercy would be extended to them; and twelve were acquitted, the Attorney-General having declined to call evidence against them. Sentence of death was formally pronounced upon twenty-three of these deluded men; but only three of them—Brandreth, Ludlam, and Turner—suffered the full penalty of the law.

The latter part of the year 1817 was marked by an event of a most calamitous nature; an event that filled the whole land with mourning. The Princess Charlotte of Wales, whose nuptials had, in the preceding year, afforded so much satisfaction to the country, was in a situation likely to afford an eventual heir to the British throne. Seldom, perhaps, had the hopes and wishes of a whole people been so deeply interested on a similar occasion. At nine o'clock, however, on the night of the 5th of November, her Royal Highness was delivered of a still-born male child; and about half-past twelve, she was seized with great difficulty of breathing, restlessness, and exhaustion, which alarming symptoms increased till half-past two on the morning of the 6th, when her Royal Highness expired, to the inexpressible grief of the Prince Regent, of her illustrious consort the Prince Leopold, of the whole Royal family, and indeed of the nation at large. The succinct details of this misfortune are thus affectingly related, in a letter, which bears the stamp of authenticity, dated from Claremont, the scene of distress, at six o'clock on the morning of Thursday, November the 6th:—

"On Monday in the night, or about three on Tuesday morning, her Royal Highness was taken ill, and expresses were sent off to the great officers of state, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, desiring their immediate attendance. Earl Bathurst, Lord Sidmouth, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Vansittart, together with the Archbishop and Bishop, immediately attended. Dr. Baillie, and Dr. Croft were the medical attendants. During the whole of Monday, the labour advanced slowly, but without the least appearance of danger. The Princess Charlotte showed uncommon firmness, and the utmost resignation. Towards evening, as the labour still lingered, it was deemed advisable to send for Dr. Sims, who arrived in the middle of the night. Nothing could be going on better, though too slowly; and the excellent constitution of the Princess gave every assurance that she would not be too much exhausted by the delay. No language, no panegyric, can be too warm for the manner in which the Prince Leopold conducted himself. He was incessant in his attendance, and no countenance could more deeply express the anxiety he felt. Once or twice, he exclaimed, to the medical attendants, 'that the unrepining patient endurance of the Princess, whilst it gave him comfort, communicated also a deep affliction at her sufferings being so lengthened.'—About six o'clock yesterday, the labour advanced more rapidly, and no apprehensions were entertained of any fatal result; and the child was ascertained to be living. At nine o'clock, her Royal Highness was delivered of a male child, but still-born. Throughout the whole of this long and painful labour, her Royal Highness evinced the greatest firmness, and received the communication of the child being born dead with great resignation. Prince Leopold exclaimed to the medical attendants, as soon as the intelligence was communicated to him—'Thank God! thank heaven! the Princess is safe.' The child was perfect, and one of the finest infants ever brought into the world. The Princess was composed, after her delivery, and though of course much exhausted, every hope was entertained of her doing well. This pleasing intelligence being communicated to the great officers of state, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, they left Claremont about eleven o'clock, the medical attendants of course remaining. A little after twelve, a change was observed in her Royal Highness—her quiet left her—she became restless and uneasy—and the medical attendants felt alarmed. Expresses

---

The elder Watson followed, with another body of the mob. It is probable that the occurrences at Mr. Beckwith's shop deranged young Watson's intentions: as they certainly caused him to lose time. The mob, after plundering Mr. Beckwith's shop of arms, proceeded to the Royal Exchange, and to the Minories, where they plundered two other gunsmiths' shops. They had also among them some pikes. One of the flags was taken away from the mob by a police officer. Mr. Platt, who had been wounded at Beckwith's, was sufficiently recovered to give his evidence; which, however, did not affect Watson the elder. The principal evidence was Castles, an accomplice, a man of bad character, who described many actions, and preparations for other actions, to which he himself was a party.—He detailed many excursions to view the soldiers' barracks—to seduce soldiers—a visit to the Tower, for the same purpose—the making of pikes (which was corroborated by Isaac Bentley, the man employed to make them). It was also proved, that Watson promoted these doings; and changed his lodgings for the greater privacy, and convenience of carrying on the design.

The counsel for the prisoners, Mr. Wetherell, in a speech which occupied six hours in the delivery, commented on the evidence brought forward in support of the prosecution; especially on that of Castles, an indescribable villain, the portrait of whose mind no language could draw. The learned counsel contended, that if all the circumstances detailed in evidence were true, yet the offence of which the prisoner had been guilty, did not amount to high treason; it was at the utmost only rioting; and under the Riot Act, should the prisoners have been tried. In support of this opinion, the learned counsel cited the cases of the Birmingham rioters in 1795, and of the riots in London in 1780. In the first of which, houses had been burnt and destroyed; and in the riots of 1780, Lord G. Gordon, at the head of 40,000, had approached even to the threshold of the House of Commons; prisons were broken open; London was on fire in fourteen or fifteen different places at once: and, in fact, the metropolis was in the possession of rioters for more than a week. Several persons afterwards suffered as rioters, but not one was convicted of high treason.

Several witnesses were examined for the prisoner; among them was Mr. Hunt. Sergeant Copley addressed the Jury on the part of the defence; and commented on the various parts of the evidence.

The Solicitor-General replied, and contended that the breaking open the gunsmiths' shops—the ordering of pikes—the address to the soldiers in the tower—and various other acts, were treason. He called on the Jury to dismiss prejudice from their minds, and consider the evidence on both sides fairly; if in such a consideration they should be of opinion there had been no intention on the part of the prisoner to overturn the government, or to promote rebellious riot, then they would acquit him; if, on the contrary, they should be of opinion there was proof of such an intent; if they wished for the preservation of the administration of the laws; if they desired the security of property and individual security; if they attended to the obligation of their oath, and to the call of the public upon them, they were bound to find the prisoner guilty.

On the seventh day, Lord Ellenborough addressed the Jury, and fully explained the nature of the four charges in the indictment against the prisoner for high treason, and concluded this explanation by saying—"If it should appear, as was contended by the counsel for the prisoner, that the riot in which he was concerned was merely a disturbance, not directed in any way against the regal authority of the realm, I trust no person would ever seek to confound the limits of the two offences, and to mix up a mere riot with treason;—in order to make it treason, it must appear there was a design to overthrow the government of the country. The question, and the only question you have to try, is in reality this:—Whether the conspiracy in which the prisoner was engaged, were or were not a conspiracy to overthrow the government of the country." His lordship then commented upon the observation of the prisoner's counsel, that the counsel for the Crown should have called in the evidence of Harrison and Keards, and stated that this could not have been done by them, but might have been done by the prisoner's counsel. His lordship gave it as his opinion, that the evidence of Castles had been corroborated by several occurrences and by several witnesses; and with regard to the objection made to the evidence of an accomplice, that secret transactions, particularly those of this nature, could not, in many cases, be otherwise brought to light. His lordship concluded a long and eloquent address, in which he was occasionally assisted by Mr. Justice Bayley, by telling the Jury, that, "if they believed the facts stated on the part of the prosecution, it must appear manifest that an object was contemplated, which, if successful, would have involved the country in anarchy and confusion, have overset the existing laws, and shaken every security for the life and property of the subject."

The Jury then retired, and in about two hours brought in a verdict of—Not Guilty.

Thistlewood, Preston, and Hooper, were brought up the next day, and in consequence of the acquittal of Watson, their prosecution was abandoned.

During the trial of Watson, Mr. Stafford, Chief Clerk of the Public Office, Bow-street, brought into Court, a considerable number of papers, with the following inscriptions on them, which, he said, were circulated throughout the Hall:—"*Britons be free; a few Bellinghams is wanted.*"—"*Britons arise; no poverty in a free country.*"

were

were sent off to the officers of state, stating the change that had taken place. From half-past twelve, restlessness and convulsions increased, till nature and life were quite exhausted, and her Royal Highness expiredat half-past two this morning. Prince Leopold was with her Royal Highness at this agonizing moment."

The indications of grief were universal throughout the country, when the death of her Royal Highness was known; and measures were instantly adopted in the City for giving public and official solemnity to the internal feelings. The Lord Mayor summoned an especial meeting of the Court of Aldermen, which took place at Guildhall, when it was unanimously agreed, that the fitting up of Guildhall for the approaching Lord Mayor's day, should be immediately discontinued, and the preparations already made for the purpose removed. Public notice was also directed to be given for abolishing all show and rejoicings on that day. In the more immediate vicinage of Claremont, the symptoms of sorrow were still more strongly marked. The houses of Esher and Kingston, where preparations had been made, on the safe delivery of the Princess, were actually shut up, as if a death had happened, in almost every family there. The Lord Mayor ordered the great bell of St. Paul's to toll, as is customary when any of the Royal Family die. The tradespeople of the Royal Family, by a spontaneous movement, shut up the windows of their shops. Lord Sidmouth also sent to suspend performances at the different theatres, and orders for a general mourning were given. The funeral took place, at Windsor, on Wednesday the 19th of November. All public business was suspended on that day, and all the shops, and many of the private houses, completely closed, not only in London, but in almost every town throughout the united kingdom. Funeral sermons were preached in numerous churches and chapels, and the different congregations were the largest ever known. It was a day of universal mourning, and from the highest to the lowest, every one bore some symbol of grief.* The lamentable demise of her Royal Highness appears to have preyed, with unusual violence, upon the sensitive mind of Sir Richard Croft, the *accoucheur* by whom she had been attended; as, on the 12th of February following, that unfortunate man perished by his own hand.

A. D. 1818.] It appears to be an inherent principle of the human mind, when the first shock of calamity has been overcome, to endeavour to repair the misfortune, and, as far as may be practicable, to educe good from evil. By the death of the Princess Charlotte, fears were naturally entertained respecting the succession to the Crown.† Accordingly, negociations were in a short

* The Princess Charlotte was born on the 7th of January, 1796, at ten in the morning. To trace her Royal Highness's progress through her various stages of education, would be little more than to recapitulate, that her earliest years were spent under the domestic tuition of her royal mother; that, at a proper period, the Bishop of Exeter, a man of eminent piety, of profound learning, and of amiable manners and disposition, was appointed to the important office of her private tutor, by the parental choice of his Majesty, who, by the customary law of England, as well as by the feudal, is guardian of all infants, and of course more particularly of his grand-daughter, and the heiress presumptive of his crown—that, on being taken from the parental superintendence, Lady de Clifford was selected as her governess, and that this venerable lady, on the advance of her royal pupil to maturity, was superseded by the Duchess Dowager of Leeds. There was no part of her education to which a more exemplary attention was paid, than that of instructing her in the principles of the Christian religion, and instilling into her mind an ardent attachment to the ecclesiastical establishments of this country. Under the Bishop of Exeter, a Rev. Divine, Dr. Nott, acted as a sub-preceptor; and her Royal Highness's accomplishments were not confined to her own language, but extended to a considerable tincture of classical literature. Of this fact, indeed, no doubt can exist, since it was confirmed by the authority of the late Bishop of London; who, in a conversation, which he states to have taken place at her mother's house at Blackheath, reports her not only to have been of the most inquisitive, but of the most intelligent mind; he adds, that he found her extremely well versed in branches of English literature, suited to her age, and that her progress in moral and christian studies far exceeded his expectation. Whilst the more solid and serious pursuits of education were in the course of acquisition, the elegant and refined parts were not overlooked or neglected. Her Royal Highness was an excellent musician. She performed on the harp and piano-forte. Her voice was not powerful, but sweet, and scientifically modulated. She had a most excellent ear, and brilliant execution. Her chief delight, however, was in the poetry of the finest writers in our language. An admirable choice of prose writers was made for her Royal Highness by the Bishop of Exeter.—Her Royal Highness had very little of the vanity of exterior ornament and dress. She never indulged in it, either before or after her marriage. She aimed at little beyond neatness or plainness. There was no incumbering superfluity of jewels to be seen upon her person; in short, nothing which distinguished her from the common gentlewoman, in splendour of apparel.—Always elegant, modest, and refined, and peculiarly chaste and circumspect in her demeanour; she had nothing of high or fashionable life about her, but a lofty and generous sense of the duties which her elevated rank demanded.

Her Royal Highness's first introduction to the Prince of Cobourg was in the summer of 1814, when the Allied Sovereigns of Europe visited this country upon the occasion of the general peace. She was captivated with his address and manners; a familiar intercourse improved these first impressions into a warmer sentiment, and love succeeded to esteem. The Duke of York, who first observed this growing attachment, communicated it to the Prince Regent, and a formal proposal was soon made through his Royal Highness to the Prince Cobourg himself. The marriage took place on the 2d of May, 1816. His Royal Highness was requested to accept the rank or title of a British Dukedom: the extinct Dukedom of Kendal was to be revived for his acceptance. He is supposed to have refused it at the desire of the Princess Charlotte, wishing to derive no rank but by his marriage with her. Both concurred in their preference of a country life, and Claremont and its neighbourhood were daily adorned by their taste in landscape, and rural improvement.

Upon the marriage of her Royal Highness with the Prince of Cobourg, the provision voted for them by Parliament was suitable to the generosity of a great nation. An income of 50,000*l.* per annum was settled upon them jointly, and for the life of the survivor; the Prince, therefore, continues to enjoy this splendid annuity during his life. A separate income of 10,000*l.* per annum, independent of the controul of her husband, was settled on the Princess Charlotte. Sixty thousand pounds was voted to them as an outfit; and Claremont was purchased for their residence. This seat is, of course, now the property of her husband.

Her Royal Highness was about the middle size, inclining rather to the *en-bon-point*, but not so much so as to impair the symmetry of her form. Her complexion was beautifully fair, her arms delicately rounded, and her head finely placed. There was a mingled sweetness and dignity in her look, a full intelligent eye; and when she was engaged in conversation, particularly in familiar conversation, much liveliness in the expression of her countenance. One of her most pleasing occupations was to accompany her illustrious Consort in his study of the English language, in which he was so diligent as soon to be able to read our best writers upon history and jurisprudence. She was of religious habits, and a strict observer of the sabbath, as well as her husband, who always read to her, after the church service, one of our best English sermons. She was a most affectionate child; and, as a wife, was a model for her sex. She looked up to her husband with the most perfect affection and respect; and he deserved it all. His influence over her was unbounded, though the exercise of it was of the gentlest kind—the *lenis dominatio*.

† It is well known to every reader of English history, that, towards the end of the reign of William III., upon the impending extinction of the protestant posterity of Charles I., it became necessary to have recourse to the descendants of James I. the father of that prince. The throne, upon the accession of King William, being limited to Protestants, the Princess Sophia, Electress, and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, was fixed upon as the root of a royal stock. The Princess Sophia was the youngest daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, who was the daughter of James I. This Princess was the nearest of the ancient blood royal, who was not incapacitated by professing the Popish religion. On her, therefore, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants, the remainder of the Crown, expectant on the death of King William and Queen Anne, without issue, was settled by 12 and 13 William III. She is the common ancestor through whom alone the Crown of Great Britain can descend. This is the last limitation made by act of parliament. The Princess Sophia dying before Queen Anne, the inheritance thus descended on her son and heir, King George I. And having, on the death of Queen Anne, taken effect in his person, from George I. it descended to George II.; from George II. to his grandson and heir, his late Majesty George III; and from George III. to his son and heir, our present gracious Monarch, George IV.

At the death of the Princess Charlotte, the following was a list of all the descendants then living of the Electress Sophia, to whose issue, being Protestants, the succession is limited; they are arranged in the legal order of succession; annexed are their respective ages; and the relationship of each to the branch through which they derived their title, as marked by letters signifying son, grandson, great grandson, daughter, grand-daughter, &c.: as some individuals derive by more than one title, they are enumerated as often as their rights occur, a reference being made to their former place. A few alterations are since believed to have taken place, by death; and some others by the recent marriages of the Royal Dukes.

I. *Descendants of George III. eldest son of Frederick Prince of Wales, who was great grandson of the Electress Sophia:—*

		Ages.
1	George Prince Regent, S.	55
2	Frederick Duke of York, S.	54
3	William Henry Duke of Clarence, S.	52
4	Edward Duke of Kent, S. [He died 1820]	50
5	Ernest Duke of Cumberland, S.	46
6	Augustus Duke of Sussex, S.	44
7	Adolphus Duke of Cambridge, S.	43
8	Charlotte of England, Queen Dowager of Wurtemburg, D.	51
9	Augusta of England, D.	49

time

time entered into for the marriage of some of the younger sons of his Majesty. The parliament was opened by commission on Tuesday, the 27th of January. The royal speech was calculated to allay the apprehensions of tumult and conspiracy which had been long entertained, and to inspire confidence in the resources of the country. Its principal topics were—the continued indisposition of his Majesty; the lamented death of the Princess Charlotte; an intimation that the Prince Regent had not been unmindful of the effect which that sad event must have had on the interests and future prospects of the kingdom; an assurance of the continued friendly disposition of foreign powers; the improved state of industry and public credit; the restored tranquillity of the country; the treaties with Spain and Portugal on the abolition of the slave trade; a recommendation for increasing the number of places of public worship, &c. An address, with very little discussion, was agreed to, in each house, without a division. Sir Samuel Romilly, however, in opposing the address in answer to the royal speech, severely reprobated the conduct of ministers under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, remarking that, in the case of Brandreth, the chief of the Derby insurgents, they had not availed themselves of it to prevent the mischief which had been threatened, by apprehending and putting him in confinement, but had allowed him to go on to the perpetration of the capital crime for which his life was ultimately exacted as the forfeit. Sir Samuel observed, also, that a large portion of the evidence which had been produced before the secret committee, went to prove the existence of a conspiracy of the most atrocious kind in the town of Manchester, for which some persons were alledged to be in custody. The trials of those persons had been removed, by *certiorari*, to the Court of King's Bench, purposely, as he contended, to delay their being brought forward; and the whole of the prisoners had been dismissed for the want of the production of evidence against them. This, the learned gentleman insisted, was a very improper exercise of lenity, if it were true that those men had conspired to burn factories, to attack barracks, and to produce a revolution. Lord Castlereagh, in reply to the observations of Sir Samuel Romilly, Lord Folkestone, &c. observed that the doctrine which had been held respecting the trials at Derby, and the assertions that Oliver the spy was intimately connected with

		Ages.
10	Elizabeth of England, D.	47
11	Mary of England, Duchess of Gloucester, D.	41
12	Sophia of England, D.	40

II. *Descendants of William Henry Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Frederick Prince of Wales:—*

13	William Duke of Gloucester, S.	41
14	Sophia of Gloucester, D.	44

III. *Descendants of Augusta of England, Duchess of Brunswick, elder daughter of Frederick Prince of Wales.* [She died 1813]:—

15	Charles Duke of Brunswick, G. S.	18
16	William of Brunswick, G. S.	12
17	Augustus of Brunswick, S.	48
18	Frederick King of Wurtemberg, G. S.	36
19	Mary of Wurtemberg, G. G. D.	1
20	Paul of Wurtemberg, G. S.	32
21	Frederick Charles of Wurtemberg, G. G. S.	9
22	Frederick Augustus of Wurtemberg, G. G. S.	4
23	Frederick of Wurtemberg, G. G. D.	10
24	Paulin of Wurtemberg, G. G. D.	7
25	Frederica Catherine of Wurtemberg, wife of J. Buonaparte, G. D.	34
26	Jerome Napoleon, G. G. S.	3
27	Caroline of Brunswick, [Queen of England] D. [She died 1821.]	49

IV. *Descendants of Matilda of England, Queen of Denmark, younger daughter of Frederick Prince of Wales.* [She died 1775]:—

28	Frederick King of Denmark, S.	49
29	Caroline of Denmark, G. D.	24
30	Wilhelmina of Denmark, G. D.	9
31	Louisa of Denmark, Duchess of Holstein, D.	46
32	Christian Duke of Holstein, G. S.	19
33	Caroline of Holstein, G. D.	21

V. *Descendants of Anne of England, Princess of Orange, eldest daughter of George II.* [She died 1759]:—

34	William King of the Netherlands, G. S.	45
35	William Prince of Orange, G. G. S.	23
36	William of Orange, G. G. G. S.	1
37	Frederick of Orange, G. G. S.	20
38	Wilhelmina of Orange, G. G. D.	17
39	Frederica of Orange, Duchess Dowager of Brunswick, G. D.	47
40	No. 15, G. G. S. } her sons.	
41	No. 16, G. G. S. }	
42	Frederick William, Count Nassau Weilbourg, G. S.	49
43	George William of Nassau Weilbourg, G. G. S.	25

VI. *Descendants of Mary of England, Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel, next daughter of George II.* [She died 1772]:—

44	George William, Elector of Hesse Cassel, S.	74
45	William Prince of Hesse, G. S.	40
46	Frederick of Hesse, G. G. S.	15
47	Caroline of Hesse, G. G. D.	18
48	Mary Louisa of Hesse, G. G. D.	16
49	Charles of Hesse, S.	73
50	Frederick of Hesse, G. S.	46
51	Christian of Hesse, G. S.	43
52	Mary of Hesse, Queen of Denmark, G. D.	50
53	No. 29, G. G. D. } her children.	
54	No. 30, G. G. D. }	
55	Julia of Hesse, G. D.	41
56	Louisa of Hesse, G. D.	28
57	Frederick of Hesse, G. S.	70
58	William of Hesse, G. S.	30
59	Frederick of Hesse, G. S.	27
60	George of Hesse, G. S.	21
61	Louisa of Hesse, G. D.	23
62	Mary of Hesse, G. D.	21
63	Augusta of Hesse, G. D.	20

VII. *Descendants of Louisa of England, Queen of Denmark, next daughter of George II.* [She died 1751]:—

64	No. 28, G. S.	
65	No. 53, No. 29, G. G. D.	
66	No. 54, No. 30, G. G. D.	
67	No. 31, G. D.	
68	Sophia of Denmark, Queen of Sweden, D.	71
69	Gustavus King of Sweden, G. S.	39
70	Gustavus of Sweden, G. G. S.	18
71	Sophia of Sweden, G. G. D.	16
72	Amelia of Sweden, G. G. D.	12
73	Wilhelmina of Denmark, Electress of Hesse Cassel, D.	70
74	No. 45, }	
75	No. 46, } her children.	
76	No. 47, }	
77	No. 47, }	
78	Louisa of Denmark, wife of Charles of Hesse Cassel, [No. 48] D.	
79	No. 50, G. S. }	
80	No. 51, G. S. }	
81	No. 52, G. D. } her descendants.	
82	No. 65, No. 53, No. 29, G. G. D. }	
83	No. 66, No. 54, No. 30, G. G. D. }	

VIII. *Descendants of Sophia of England, Queen of Prussia, only daughter of George I.* [She died 1757]:—

84	Frederick William III. King of Prussia, G. G. S.	46
85	Frederick William Prince of Prussia, G. G. G. S.	22
86	Frederick Lewis of Prussia, G. G. G. S.	20
87	Frederick Charles of Prussia, G. G. G. S.	16
88	Frederick Henry of Prussia, G. G. G. S.	31
89	Wilhelmina of Prussia, G. G. G. D.	14
90	Louisa of Prussia, G. G. G. D.	9
91	William Frederick of Prussia, G. G. G. S.	23
92	Frederica of Prussia, G. G. G. D.	21
93	Frederick Charles Henry of Prussia, G. G. S.	36
94	Frederick William Charles, G. G. S.	34
95	Henry of Prussia, G. G. G. S.	6
96	Mary of Prussia, G. G. G. D.	2
97	Frederica of Prussia, Duchess of York, G. G. D. [She died 1820]	50
98	Wilhelmina of Prussia, Queen of the Netherlands, G. G. D.	43
99	No. 35, G. G. G. S. }	
100	No. 36, G. G. G. S. } her children.	
101	No. 37, G. G. G. S. }	
102	No. 38, G. G. G. D. }	
103	Christina of Prussia, Princess of Hesse Cassel, G. G. D.	
104	No. 46, G. G. G. S. }	
105	No. 47, G. G. G. S. } her children.	
106	No. 48, G. G. G. D. }	
107	Frederica of Prussia, Princess Dowager of Orange, G. D.	
108	No. 34, G. G. S.	
109	No. 99, No. 35, G. G. G. S. }	
110	No. 100, No. 36, G. G. G. S. }	
111	No. 101, No. 37, G. G. G. S. } her descendants.	
112	No. 102, No. 38, G. G. G. D. }	
113	No. 39, G. G. D. }	
114	No. 40, No. 14, G. G. G. S. }	
115	No. 41, No. 15, G. G. G. S. }	
116	Frederick William of Prussia, G. S.	37
117	Frederica Dorothea of Prussia, Princess of Radzivil, G. D.	47
118	No. 69, G. G. S.	
119	No. 70, G. G. G. S.	
120	No. 71, G. G. G. D.	
121	No. 72, G. G. G. D.	
122	Charles XIII. King of Sweden, G. S.	69
123	Sophia of Sweden, Abbess of Quedlenberg, G. D.	64

those transactions, were pregnant with evil, and did not rest on any foundation. There was not a scintilla of evidence apparent on the trial, that Oliver was ever connected, in any way, with those transactions. The noble lord then entered into a defence of the conduct of his majesty's ministers, and said he should in all probability be authorised, at a very early day, to make a communication to the house on the subject of the state of the country, and to lay before parliament such evidence as would prove government not unworthy of the confidence of the public; and, further, that the present tranquil state of the country was entirely owing to the measures which parliament had adopted during the last session.

In the Upper House, the motion of Lord Sidmouth, for the repeal of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, also called forth some strong remarks from Lord Holland, respecting the partial and suspicious nature of the evidence on which that important right had been suspended, and the pernicious precedent thus established, in a time of profound peace, when nothing whatever had appeared in the state of the country to justify such a proceeding. The Bill for the immediate repeal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was introduced in the House of Peers on the 28th of January, the day after the opening of parliament, and passed through all its stages: the same bill was passed through the House of Commons on the 29th; returned to the Lords, without amendment; and, on the 31st, it received the royal assent.

On the 4th of February, Lord Castlereagh, by the command of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, brought down to the House of Commons a bag of papers, respecting the internal state of the country, for the examination of which his lordship proposed that a select committee should be appointed. As this was understood to be a step, preliminary to a general Bill of Indemnity for all acts performed under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, by which the persons then imprisoned, and since liberated without trial, would be deprived of all legal remedy for such imprisonment, however unmerited, the appointment of a secret or select committee was strenuously resisted by the members of opposition, who contended, that a very different sort of enquiry was called for by the conduct of ministers. The green bag and its contents formed the subject of much keen sarcasm by the opponents of ministry; notwithstanding which, the appointment of a select committee was agreed to. For the same purpose, a select committee was also appointed in the Upper House. At this period, and for some time afterwards, numerous petitions were presented to parliament, by persons who had been imprisoned under the late Suspension of the Habeas Corpus law, praying for redress, and that no act of indemnity might be passed in favour of ministers. On the 23d of February, however, the report of the secret committee of the House of Lords was presented; and, on the 25th, a Bill of Indemnity, founded on that report, was brought in by the Duke of Montrose. On the motion of its second reading, on the 27th, the Marquis of Lansdowne proposed, as an amendment, that the second reading should be postponed for a fortnight, in order to give time for all the petitions from persons recently imprisoned, under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, to be brought up. This amendment was lost, on a division, by 100 against 83. Its third reading, on the 5th of March, was carried by 93 against 27, on a proposed amendment, the object of which was to get rid of the Bill. When introduced to the House of Commons, by the Attorney-General, on the 9th of March, it called forth the powers of several able speakers, by whom it was opposed in all its stages. Sir Samuel Romilly observed, that it was improperly called a Bill of Indemnity: the object of indemnity was only to protect individuals against public prosecution, without interfering with the rights of private men; but the object of this was to annihilate such rights,—to take away all legal remedies from those who had suffered an illegal and arbitrary exercise of authority, and to punish those who presumed to have recourse to such remedies, by subjecting them to the payment of double costs. He strongly pointed out the ill effects of the protection which it was meant to extend towards magistrates, in any acts of oppression which they might suppose agreeable to ministers, and to the profligate persons who had been employed as spies and informers. Mr. Lambton's motion, that the Bill be read a third time that day six months, was negatived, on a division, by 190 against 64. The second reading was carried the next day, on a division, by 89 against 24. On the 13th of the month, the Bill passed; and, on the 17th, it received the royal assent.

Previously to the adjournment, the treaty between Spain and Great Britain, respecting the African slave trade, received the sanction of parliament, by which Spain, in consideration of a subsidy of 400,000*l.* consented to the abolition of that inhuman traffic on all the coasts to the north of the line, retaining for herself, however, a right of continuing it indefinitely to the south of that limit. On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a resolution was passed for the grant of 1,000,000*l.* in exchequer bills, to be applied to the building of new churches and chapels in places where the increase of inhabitants had rendered such farther accommodation requisite.

On Monday, the 13th of April, subsequently to the Easter recess, messages from the Prince Regent to both houses of parliament, announced the approaching marriages of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence to the Princess of Saxe Meiningen, and of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge to the Princess of Hesse. From the discussion which ensued in the Commons, it appeared that the plan which ministers had in contemplation to propose, had previously been submitted to their parliamentary friends, at a meeting holden for that purpose, at the Earl of Liverpool's. The proposition was said to have received a very cold reception, and several gentlemen who had been at the meeting, now declared that they could not accede to its terms. Mr. Brougham proposed an amendment to the address, which amendment was sustained by what was termed "the alarming minority" of 93 against 144. The address, of course, was carried, and the message was ordered to be taken into consideration on the following evening. On the following evening, however, contrary to all precedent on such occasions, the proceedings were postponed till Wednesday! In a very warm conversation which took place on the subject, Mr. Tierney stated it to be the intention of ministers to propose an annual addition of 19,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* to the income of the Duke of Clarence, and of 12,000*l.* respectively to the Dukes of Kent, Cumberland, and Cambridge; with an outfit to each to the amount of the additional income.—On Wednesday, the 15th, Lord Castlereagh, admitting Mr. Tierney's statement to have been substantially correct, informed the house that the intended proposition had been modified; but that nothing less, in addition to the Duke of Clarence's income, than 10,000*l.* could possibly enable him to support the dignity of his rank in the married state. His lordship accordingly moved a resolution, for a grant to that amount. An amendment, however, was moved, making the additional sum 6,000*l.* instead of 10,000*l*; and the amendment was carried, on a division, by 193 against 184—giving a majority of nine against the ministers! On the Tuesday evening following, having announced that the Duke of Clarence could not accept of the 6,000*l.* as it was inadequate to enable him to support the dignity of his rank, in a marriage state, Lord Castlereagh moved a resolution for a grant of an additional income of 6,000*l.* a year to the Duke of Cambridge. This motion was strongly opposed by Mr. Brougham, but ultimately carried.

A few days previously to these discussions, her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth had been united to the Prince of Hesse Homberg; but, as she was in the enjoyment of 9,000*l.* a year, settled on her by the state, no proposal whatever was made for a marriage dowry. For a time, the Duke of Clarence, in consequence of the pecuniary disappointment to which he had been subjected by parliament, relinquished, or professed to have relinquished his intended marriage. At a subsequent period,

period, however, the union took place. In the ensuing month (May 14) an announcement of the intended marriage of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent with the Dowager Princess of Leiningen, sister of Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg, produced a grant to the royal pair to the same amount as in the cases of the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge.

The supplies of this year were estimated at the sum of 20,952,400*l.*; to meet which, in addition to the produce of ways and means, a 3½ per cent. stock was created to the amount of 14,000,000*l.* By this expedient, no new taxes were levied, nor were any additions made to the old ones.

After a comparatively unimportant session, parliament was dissolved by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in person, on Wednesday, the 10th of June. His Royal Highness entered the House of Lords about two o'clock, in the uniform of a field marshal, attended by the great officers of his household. On his entrance, the curiosity of the ladies seemed to acknowledge no restraint. They actually, as if with one consent, clambered on the benches, where they stood during the entire ceremony. The House of Commons having been summoned to attend his Royal Highness, the speaker, accompanied by several members, entered, and with the usual forms, approached the bar. The right honourable gentleman held in his hand a Bill of Supply, and, addressing the Prince Regent, said, that the House of Commons had attended his Royal Highness in pursuance of his commands, in the hope that their exertions in promoting the good order and happiness of the country, would meet his approbation. They had, during the session, the satisfaction to observe, that the measures they had pursued under his Royal Highness's direction, had effectually maintained the general tranquillity; that the difficulties under which the country had laboured were vanishing, and that the revenue, in its most important branches, was most progressively improving. They had particularly directed their attention, under the recommendation contained in his Royal Highness's speech from the throne, to the necessity of increasing the places for public worship of the established church, and for this purpose their grants were large and liberal. They had also manifested the utmost readiness to enable his Royal Highness to carry into effect the arrangements which had been concluded with the Courts of Spain and Portugal, for the more complete suppression of the slave trade.

The following is the concluding passage of his Royal Highness's speech:—"On closing this session, I think it proper to inform you, that it is my intention forthwith to dissolve the present, and to give directions for calling a new, parliament. In making this communication, I cannot refrain from adverting to the important change which has occurred in the situation of this country, and of all Europe, since I first met you in this place. At that period, the dominion of the common enemy had been so widely extended over the continent, that resistance to his power was by many deemed to be hopeless; and, in the extremities of Europe alone, was such resistance effectually maintained. By the unexampled exertions which you enabled me to make, in aid of countries nobly contending for independence, and by the spirit which was kindled in so many nations, the continent was at length delivered from the most galling and oppressive tyranny under which it had ever laboured; and I had the happiness, by the blessing of Divine Providence, to terminate, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, the most eventful and sanguinary contest in which Europe had for centuries been engaged, with unparalleled success and glory. The prosecution of such a contest for so many years, and more particularly the efforts which marked the close of it, have been followed within our own country, as well as throughout the rest of Europe, by considerable internal difficulties and distress. But deeply as I felt for the immediate pressure upon his majesty's people, nevertheless I looked forward without dismay, having always the fullest confidence in the solidity of the resources of the British empire, and in the relief which might be expected from a continuance of peace, and from the patience, public spirit, and energy of the nation. These expectations have not been disappointed. The improvement in the internal circumstances of the country is happily manifest, and promises to be steadily progressive; and I feel a perfect assurance, that the continued loyalty and exertions of all classes of his majesty's subjects, will confirm these growing indications of national prosperity, by promoting obedience to the laws, and attachment to the constitution, from which all our blessings have been derived."

On the 4th of November, in this year, the following important notification was addressed to the Duke of Richelieu, the prime minister of France, by the plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia:—"That their august masters, being called upon by the 20th Article of the Treaty of Paris, to examine, in concert with the King of France, whether the military occupation of a part of the French territory, stipulated by that treaty, ought to cease at the termination of the third year, or be prolonged to that of the fifth, had recognised with satisfaction, that the order of things established by the restoration of the legitimate and constitutional monarchy of that country, gave assurance of the consolidation of that state of tranquillity in France necessary for the repose of Europe; and that in consequence, they had commanded the immediate discontinuance of such military occupation:—a measure which they regarded as the completion of the general peace." This information was received with extacy and delight by the French people; and, although some slight ebullitions of seditious feeling have since occasionally presented themselves, the event has happily proved, that the presence of foreign troops was no longer necessary to the safety of the Bourbon dynasty.

Throughout the summer, the cotton-spinners and other labouring classes of manufacturers at Manchester, and in the neighbouring parts of the country, remained in a state of organized opposition to their masters on the subject of wages. From this cause several partial disturbances arose; one in particular at Burnley, and another at Stockport. Fortunately, through the prompt exertions of the Manchester yeomanry, these irruptions were put down, without bloodshed or actual violence. It is too probable, however, that much hostility and bitterness of feeling were thus mutually excited between the lower classes and the yeomanry, the effects of which burst forth with calamitous fury at a subsequent period.

In consequence of the Queen's declining health, two amendments had been made in the Regency Bill, during the last session of parliament. The first of these amendments empowered her majesty to add six new members, resident at Windsor, to her council in the event of her absence from that residence; and the second repealed the clause which rendered necessary the immediate assembling of a new parliament in the event of the Queen's death. These amendments were very opportunely made; as, after a lingering decline, attended by much suffering, which was sustained with great fortitude and resignation, her Majesty Queen Charlotte expired at Kew Palace, on the 17th of November, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. Her Majesty had been blest by nature with a sound and vigorous frame: until within two years of her decease, she enjoyed an almost uninterrupted state of health; and, as is sometimes the case with those whose habits are regular, and whose various bodily powers are consequently exposed to a tolerably equal pressure, the first very serious attack of disease was that which indicated a general breaking up of her constitution. Water accumulated in her limbs, and on her chest, until, notwithstanding the relief which medical aid from time to time procured for her, it became an unequivocal symptom of the deadly stage at which her Majesty's sufferings had arrived. For some weeks previously to her death, that event had been almost hourly expected. In the afternoon of Saturday, November the 14th, the royal sufferer experienced a temporary relief, by a small rupture of the skin, on one of her ancles, from which a considerable quantity of water effused. This, however, in the opinion of the faculty, was not a favourable symptom. Almost immediately afterwards, a small speck—the alarming precursor of mortification—appeared upon

upon the heel of the foot from which the water had issued. The symptoms did not immediately vary; but the bulletin, issued on the following Tuesday morning, announced, that her Majesty's state, during the night, had been one of "great and imminent danger," and that she continued very ill. The first alarming change in the state of the Queen was on Monday afternoon; and it was of such a nature, as to induce Sir Henry Halford to write to the Prince Regent, to hasten his departure from London. His Royal Highness immediately sent for the Duke of York to accompany him to Kew Palace. Her Majesty, having somewhat recovered in the afternoon, they left her for the night. About ten the next morning, a serious change for the worse took place, and Sir H. Halford sent off an express, which arrived soon after eleven at Carlton House, and the Prince sent instantly for the Duke of York to accompany him to Kew. Their Royal Highnesses arrived at Kew Palace before half-past twelve, and repaired to the chamber of their expiring parent, who was perfectly sensible of their presence. The scene was truly distressing, and the Prince Regent had the trying task of supporting his mother in her last breathings—a fit though melancholy close of his incessant attendance, during her long and afflicting illness of six months. His Royal Highness was assisted by the Duke of York, and their royal sisters, the Duchess of Gloucester, and the Princess Augusta. After the event, the brothers and sisters retired to a private room, where the Regent remained several hours. At three o'clock, a public notification of the event was made; and in the evening a special Gazette, supplementary to the regular one, was published, for the express and sole purpose of announcing her Majesty's decease, in the following words:—

"*Whitehall, Nov.* 17.—This day, at one o'clock, the Queen departed this life, to the inexpressible grief of the royal family; after a tedious illness, which her Majesty bore with the most pious fortitude and resignation. The many great and exemplary virtues which so eminently distinguished her Majesty throughout her long life; were the object of universal esteem and admiration amongst all classes of her Majesty's subjects, and render the death of this illustrious and most excellent Princess an unspeakable loss to the whole nation."

Two days after her Majesty's death, the royal remains were deposited in an interior coffin; and, upon the outer, or state coffin, was placed the following inscription:—

Depositum
Serenissimæ Principessæ Charlotte Dei gratia
Reginæ Consortis Augustissimi et Potentissimi
Monarchi
Georgii Tertii Dei gratia Britanniarum Regis
Fidei Defensoris, Regis Hanoveriæ ac Brunsvici
et Lunenbergi Ducis,
Obiit XVII. die Novembris,
Anno Domini MDCCCXVIII.
Ætatis suæ LXXV.

Translation:—

Herein are the remains
Of the most Serene Princess Charlotte, by the Grace
of God, Queen Consort of the most August
and Powerful Monarch,
George the Third, by the Grace of God,
King of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the
Faith, King of Hanover,
And Duke of Brunswick and Lunenberg,
Died on the Seventeenth of November, in the Year
Of our Lord 1818
And of her Age the 75th.

Wednesday, the 2d of December, the day appointed for the funeral, was observed throughout the metropolis and its vicinity with every mark of respect for the memory of the Queen. The Bank, the Exchange, and all other public places of business were shut. The shops were all wholly or half closed, and nothing was done in the way of trade, but what the necessities of the day required. Mourning was nearly universal, and scarcely a private or hackney carriage was to be seen that was not proceeding westward to the funeral at Windsor. The churches were mostly opened for divine service, the pulpits covered with black, and sermons appropriated to the melancholy occasion were delivered. The numbers that left town at an early hour to witness the procession were immense. Coaches, stages, and carriages of every description, were filled, and it was computed that upwards of 5000 were employed on the occasion. The pedestrians were numberless, and many of them had set out on their journey to Kew long before day-break. The morning was dark, cold, wet, and altogether uncomfortable. It rained very heavily at five o'clock, and fears were entertained that the day would be most unfavourable. Towards seven o'clock, however, the sky cleared up. The state coffin had arrived at Kew Palace on the preceding Monday night: and the corpse of her Majesty having been brought down stairs, the screwing down of the coffin occupied only about two minutes. The dining-hall and ante (or coffee) room had been previously hung with black cloth. Behind, or at the head of the coffin, was affixed a silk hatchment, with the late Queen's arms. An elegant new pall was placed over the coffin, except a small portion of the foot, which remained uncovered for the public view. On each side of the coffin were placed four silk escutcheons, with the royal arms on them. Near the head of the coffin, on the top, was placed a crown on a cushion. The coffin was enclosed within a large square space, for the royal attendants to be stationed, and not to be interrupted by the public. On each side of the coffin were placed three round pillars, covered with black, of the height of the coffin when on the tressels; on each of these were placed remarkably large wax candles. Round the sides of the room were forty-four wax candles, in white branches. The ante-room was fitted up in a similar manner. Mr. Mash, of the Lord Chamberlain's office, was in attendance at an early hour in the Palace, on Tuesday morning, to direct the opening of the rooms, for the reception of those who were favoured with tickets to see the royal remains lying in state, so that not the least impediment occurred, but every thing passed off with the most perfect decorum the whole of the day. The Dowager Countess of Harcourt appeared as chief mourner, relieved by the Countess of Ilchester, another of the ladies of the late queen's bedchamber. They were assisted by gentlemen ushers to the late queen: and by two maids of honour, and two bedchamber women. The ladies wore black crape veils, and the gentlemen were in full court dresses. The honorary guard, which had been stationed at Kew Palace, turned out about half-past seven. They wore white gaiters. Their officers appeared with crape scarfs and sashes—crape was also placed round their caps, and round the hilts of their swords. At half-past eight, the hearse arrived at the Palace, accompanied by fifty undertaker's assistants, on horseback, in deep mourning, with silk scarfs, hatbands, &c. and escorted by a body of lancers. At a quarter after nine, an additional number of lancers scoured the roads, and prevented the approach of carriages, except those belonging to persons who were to take a part in the solemn ceremony. Soon after, a large body of lancers formed on each side of the road, obliging the spectators to fall back pretty close to the Thames. The remainder of this body were subdivided into two parties—one to precede, and one to follow the hearse. Almost precisely at ten o'clock, the procession moved from the Palace; and having crossed Kew bridge, proceeded towards Windsor, by the way of Brentford and Hounslow, halting one hour at Longford, a village between Hounslow and Colnbrook, for refreshment. At Frogmore, the procession was joined by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, as chief mourner, who accompanied the remains of his royal parent to their last abode. From St. George's Chapel to the extremity of Windsor, the road was lined with foot-guards; from thence to Frogmore lines of cavalry kept the road; and, instead of every sixth man bearing a torch, there was one in almost every hand. Soon after seven o'clock, the advance of a party of horse showed that the funeral was coming. First marched a squadron of Life Guards, then came

seven

seven carriages of the Queen, with the blinds up, drawn by six horses covered with black saddle cloths: but the great object of attention was the hearse, which next followed. A large body of Life Guards immediately preceded and followed it. After the hearse came the carriage of the Chief Mourner, the Prince Regent; and his Royal Highness was distinctly seen, notwithstanding the cloud of cavalry which hovered round his coach. The Duke of York rode in the same carriage with his Royal brother: his carriage and six moved next in the procession, after which followed the carriages of the Dukes of Sussex and Gloucester, and Prince Leopold, all full. The funeral pomp concluded with about a dozen coaches, belonging to the nobility and gentry connected with the household; and the rear consisted of a large body of Life Guards intermixed with Lancers. The grandest effect in the procession was the appearance of the military when the torches were lighted: the illumination extended nearly a mile, and the rich glow of their scarlet uniforms, together with their splendid helmets and caparisoned horses, gleaming along the lines, formed a picture that would have at once excited the transport and baffled the skill of the finest artists. The number of persons admitted as visitors within the walls of St. George's Chapel, on this occasion, and not forming part of the preparation itself, was limited to fifty-four, who were allowed, by means of tickets, to pass the eastern door of the chapel adjoining to the deanery, and to take their station in the organ loft, whence a tolerable view, both of the entrance of the procession and the solemn concluding ceremony, could be obtained. At eight o'clock, the notes of the organ were heard, and the choir entered, each singer bearing a torch in his hand, and singing Croft's anthem from the burial service, which produced an effect truly solemn and impressive. The procession then entered by the south door of the chapel. The Pall which covered the Royal body was supported by the Dukes of Northumberland, Dorset, and St. Alban's, on one side; of Newcastle, Montrose, and Beaufort on the other. The Royal Body was followed by the Chief Mourner, supported by the Marquisses of Buckingham and Winchester, and attended by the Marquisses of Bath, Salisbury, Headfort, and Cornwallis, as train bearers; next followed, as assistants to the Chief Mourner, Earl Delawarr, Viscounts Lake and Bulkeley, Lords Boston, Amherst, Arden, Graves, Longford, Beresford, Rivers, Grenville, St. Helen's, Henley, and Hill. The van of the procession moved forward into the choir, the Windsor Knights, &c. ranging themselves round, and on the steps of, the altar. The members of the Royal Family, and those noblemen on whom the Order of the Garter had been conferred, stationed themselves in their respective stalls: the great dignitaries of the Church, of whom were present the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, with the Bishops of London and Salisbury, occupied their respective places within the choir. The Royal Body having been carried to the steps of the altar, was placed on the platform prepared to receive it, the pall was removed, and the crown and cushion placed on the coffin. The Prince Regent, as chief mourner, being seated in a chair at the head of the corpse, surrounded by his supporters and train-bearers standing, the funeral service commenced in the usual manner, as performed at Cathedrals. The service was read by the Dean of Windsor. At the end of the first part, the celebrated anthem, by Kent, "Hear my Prayer," was introduced. The body of her Majesty was then let down into the vault prepared for it, and the solemnity was closed by Sir Isaac Heard, who pronounced, in a distinct voice, the style and titles of her late Majesty. As the mourners and attendants began slowly to separate, and to quit the chapel, the notes of the organ again filled the edifice, and produced at once the richest and most soothing effect. The numerous company separated without the least disorder or inconvenience, and in a few minutes after the obsequies of her late Majesty had closed, no vestige remained of the solemn pageantry which had just passed before the eyes of the spectators. Of his Majesty's Ministers the following were present:—Lords Liverpool, Sidmouth, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord President, the Honourable C. Bathurst, George Canning, and W. W. Pole. *

A. D.

* Her Majesty, the Princess Sophia Charlotte Caroline, of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, the youngest daughter of Charles Lewis, brother to Adolphus Frederick, third Duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, by Albertine Elizabeth, daughter of Ernest Frederick, Duke of Saxe-Hilbourghausen, was born on the 6th of May, 1744. Having been fixed upon as the Consort of George III. as soon as the preliminary arrangements for demanding this Princess in marriage had been made, his Majesty, on the 28th of July, 1761, (having just then turned the three and twentieth year of his age), caused his Privy Council to be speedily summoned. The Council was attended by all the great officers of state; and to them his Majesty declared his intention in the following words:—

"Having nothing so much at heart as to procure the welfare and happiness of my people, and to render the same stable, and permanent to posterity, I have, ever since my accession to the throne, turned my thoughts towards the choice of a Princess for my Consort; and I now, with great satisfaction, acquaint you, that, after the fullest information, and mature deliberation, I am come to a resolution to demand in marriage the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Strelitz—a Princess distinguished by every eminent virtue, and amiable endowment, whose illustrious line has constantly shown the firmest zeal for the Protestant religion, and a particular attachment to my family. I have judged proper to communicate to you these my intentions, in order that you may be fully apprized of a matter so highly important to me, and to my kingdoms; and which, I persuade myself, will be most acceptable to all my loving subjects." This declaration was immediately made public, and was received with great pleasure by all ranks of people. The Earl of Harcourt soon after left England, as his Majesty's plenipotentiary to the court of Mecklenburgh, and arrived at Strelitz on the 14th of August. He was accompanied by the Duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, the two finest women of the British Court, and Lord Anson was appointed to command the fleet of convoy on this important occasion.

On the 15th of August, the Earl of Harcourt performed the ceremony of asking, in form, her Serene Highness the Princess Sophia Charlotte in marriage for the King, his master. The contract of marriage was immediately signed, and the Princess was afterwards complimented by the states of the country, and the deputies of the towns. On the 17th, the Princess, accompanied by the reigning Duke, her brother, set out for Stade, where she arrived on the 22nd, and embarked on board his Majesty's yacht, accompanied by the Duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, the Earl of Harcourt, and Lord Anson. Falling down the Elbe, she proceeded to Cuxhaven, whence she sailed for England, on the 28th. After a voyage of ten days, during which the fleet endured three violent storms, the Princess arrived in the port of Harwich, on Sunday, the 5th of September. She landed on Monday, at Harwich, and was received by the mayor and aldermen in their usual formalities. Proceeding on her journey to London, about five o'clock she came to Colchester, where she stopped and took refreshments at the house of a Mr. Enew. While she remained here, Mr. Great, of Colchester, being introduced by the Earl of Harcourt, presented her with a box of candied Eringo root, a product of Colchester, which the Royal Family always receive when they travel that way. Continuing her journey, she arrived at the Marquis of Abercorn's soon after seven o'clock, where a sumptuous entertainment was provided for the Princess and her suite. She remained that night at the Marquis of Abercorn's—and at noon, on the following day, came to Rumford, where the King's coach and servants met her. Having refreshed herself at the house of Mr. Dutton, wine merchant, she entered the royal coach and proceeded to London. On her arrival at the garden gate of the Palace, the Princess was handed out of the coach by the Duke of Devonshire, as Lord Chamberlain, to the gate, where she was received by the Duke of York. As she alighted from the coach, his Majesty descended the steps from the Palace into the garden, and they met each other half way. As the Princess was going to pay her obeisance, the King took hold of her hand, raised her up, saluted it, and then led her up stairs. At nine o'clock in the evening, the marriage ceremony was performed at the Chapel Royal, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of all the Royal Family; the Duke of Cumberland giving the Princess's hand to the King.

On the 22nd of September, their Majesties' coronation was performed with great splendour, in Westminster Hall, which was laid open and fitted up for the occasion. The usual but singular ceremony of the Champion's challenge to any person who should dispute the succession, was regularly gone through. Mr. Dymoche, Lord of the manor of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire, the King's Champion, entered the Hall in white armour, on a white horse, richly caparisoned (belonging to the deceased King George II. and rode by him at the battle of Dettingen), attended by two esquires, and the herald at arms, who read the words of the challenge three times; when the champion threw down the gauntlet, which, after remaining some time, was picked up and returned. His Majesty then pledged the Champion in a gilt bowl of wine, which he sent by the cup-bearer, and the Champion drank to the King, and retired with the gilt bowl as his perquisite. The coronation sermon was preached by the Bishop of Sarum, who took for his text, 1 Kings, x. 9—"Because the Lord loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee King to do judgment and justice." From these words he deduced two important truths—1. That when great and good Kings reign, they are the means by which God blesses a people. It is not said because the Lord loved Solomon, but because he loved Israel, therefore made he Solomon King. 2. That the duty and the end of royalty are to do judgment and justice. The rejoicings throughout the country on this occasion almost exceeded any former precedent. Addresses of congratulation poured in from all quarters, the union of their Majesties seemed to be viewed,

A. D. 1819.] The new parliament met on Thursday the 14th of January; when, in the Upper House, the Chief Baron Richards took his seat on the woolsack, by patent, *pro tempore*, in the place of the Lord Chancellor, whose indisposition, which had been of some standing, deprived, for a time, the country of his public services.

In addressing the parliament, which was assembled on the 6th of November, his Majesty thus alluded to his recent union:—"My Lords and Gentlemen; at the opening of the first parliament summoned and elected under my authority, I with pleasure take notice of an event, which has made me completely happy, and given universal joy to my loving subjects. My marriage with a Princess, eminently distinguished by every virtue and amiable endowment, whilst it affords me all possible domestic comfort, cannot but highly contribute to the happiness of my kingdom, which has been, and always shall be, my first object in every action of my life. I dare say, your affectionate regard for me and the Queen, make you go before me in what I am next to mention—the making an adequate and honourable provision for her support, in case she should survive me. This is what not only her royal dignity, but her own merit calls for—and I earnestly recommend it to your consideration." Parliament attended liberally to this recommendation, and provided for the support of her Majesty, agreeably to the Sovereign's wishes, a jointure of 100,000*l.* per annum, which was settled upon her by an act of the legislature, together with the Palace of Richmond and Somerset House. At the conclusion of the session, on the 2nd of June, 1762, his Majesty thanked his faithful Commons in these words:—"I return you my sincere thanks for the proof which you have given of your regard to me, and to my family, in the ample provision you have made to the Queen; whose virtues and affection to this country will, I am confident, be found to deserve it." In the following year the nation exulted in the birth of an heir to the throne. The hope of continuing the Protestant succession in his Majesty's family was now changed to a kind of certainty, and the birth of an heir was of itself sufficient to have established the popularity of a Queen of England, even had she wanted those many virtues which her Majesty was so well known to possess.

The following are the issue of the Royal pair:—1. George, Prince of Wales, born August 12, 1762, K. G.; appointed Regent, February 6, 1811, married, April 8, 1795, to the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, born May 17, 1768, by whom he had issue Charlotte Augusta, born January 7, 1796, married May 2, 1816, to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; died November 5, 1817. 2. Frederick, Duke of York, born August 16, 1763; elected Bishop of Osnaburgh, February 27, 1764, K. G.; married September 29, 1791, to the Princess Frederica Charlotte Ulrica, Princess Royal of Prussia, born May 7, 1767, died 1820. 3. William Henry, Duke of Clarence, born August 21, 1765; K. G. and K. T. 4. Charlotte Augusta Matilda, Princess Royal of England, Lady of the Imperial Russian Order of St. Catherine, born September 29, 1766, married May 18, 1797, to the Duke late King of Wirtemberg. 5. Edward Duke of Kent, K. G. born November 2, 1767, died January 23, 1820. 6. Princess Augusta Sophia, born November 8, 1768. 7. Princess Elizabeth, born May 22, 1770. 8. Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, K. G.; born June 5, 1771; married May 29, 1815, to Frederica Sophia Caroline, daughter of the late Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, born March 2, 1728. 9. Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex; born January 27, 1773. 10. Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, K. C.; born February 24, 1774. 11. Princess Mary, born April 25, 1776. 12. Princess Sophia, born November 3, 1777. 13. Octavius, born February 23, 1779, died May 3, 1783. 14. Alfred, born September 22, 1780, died August 20, 1782. 15. Amelia, born August 7, 1783, died November 2, 1810.

Decorum and correctness were the leading characteristics of the court of George III.; and the duties demanded by such a court were performed by the Queen with the greatest success. Her Majesty's figure was pleasing, but her countenance, though not without attraction, when she smiled, could not boast any claim to beauty. It is a well known fact, however, that the King declared himself satisfied with his connubial fortune. She was by no means deficient in those external and elegant accomplishments which add so much grace and dignity to those who hold a pre-eminence in rank and station, and although her manners were somewhat tinctured with the distance and reserve of superiority, yet they were blended with a sincerity and benignity that compensated for any imposed restraint. A knowledge of most of the European languages she could hardly fail to acquire. She was a great proficient in music, and composed many pleasing pieces. She was also extremely skilful in the embroidery of flowers. It was in her Majesty's private and domestic character, as already stated, that she was most admired. As a wife and a mother, she was a pattern and ornament to her sex. Her Majesty performed all the tender and maternal offices of a nurse to her Royal offspring, an example which, although but too seldom followed, reflected the highest honour upon her exalted station. She behaved from the first with a gentleness and conciliation which formed the basis of that conjugal felicity which subsisted between her and the King for so many years. With the exception of the calamity that befel her Royal Consort, and latterly some unhappy events in her own family, perhaps no Queen ever had fewer sources of uneasiness. And what every honest man would wish to see his daughter become in the relations of domestic life, every unprejudiced man might behold in the character of her late Majesty. During the long period in which her Majesty may be said to have presided over the English Court, it was remarkable for the steady countenance uniformly extended to virtue, and as uniformly withdrawn from its opposite. Having married at an early period of life, it required a more than ordinary effort of intellect to resist the false glare of a court and all its fascinations. When her Majesty was united to our late revered Sovereign, there was hardly a Court in Europe that was not marked by its licentiousness. The vices of the French Court notoriously led to the revolution, which deluged that fine country with blood; and it is equally true, that the same cause occasioned, in a great measure, the horrors with which Spain and Naples were subsequently visited. During that time, England presented from the throne the example of those virtues that form the great and binding links of the social chain; and to it we may in part ascribe our happiness in having withstood the storm which visited the rest of Europe with all the horrors of invasion or anarchy. This example was the more salutary, as every thing in our situation tended to an excessive dissoluteness of manners. Our sudden and rapid prosperity was calculated to produce the greatest moral relaxation: and it is undeniable, that the influence of the domestic life led by their Majesties, powerfully contributed to check the torrent of corruption, which, from a vast accumulation of wealth, threatened to overflow the face of the country. In public her Majesty never tolerated any person in her presence, however high their rank, who had been guilty of any gross breach of those laws which refinement has introduced among men, for the preservation of society; of which, the following anecdote is a striking instance:—the Countess of C——, a woman of high birth, ancient family, and great connections, applied to a lady who was much about her Majesty's person, to beg her interference with the Queen, that her sister, who had committed a *faux pas*, and was, divorced, might be allowed to go to the drawing-room, she having been married to the man against whom her former husband had obtained damages. This was a very delicate task, and required great address, even to bring the subject before her in any shape. The lady, however, succeeded so far as to prefer the request. Her Majesty for that time turned the conversation, and it there ended; but on the repeated solicitations of the Countess, this lady, who was high in her Majesty's favour, again ventured to urge it; and on receiving no reply, demanded of the Queen what it was her gracious pleasure she should say to the Countess. "Tell her," said the Queen with indignation, "you had not the impudence to ask it." In private life, her Majesty had ever been noted for her strict attendance on divine worship; and, unless prevented by illness, the family regularly attended service in the Royal private chapel at Windsor, or in the private apartments at the palace. Piety and devotion waited on her steps, and heightened the pleasures of her conjugal and maternal endearments. She was popular when Lord Bute's administration had rendered the King very much the reverse. She gave beautiful children to the country. She interested the people of England as a fruitful mother; and was considered with general regard as a domestic woman: so much so, that Colonel Barré then a violent opposition speaker, delivered a very splendid eulogium on her "mild, tender, and unassuming virtues." Her Majesty continued to enjoy uninterrupted felicity with her royal husband until the year 1788, when the King first betrayed symptoms of insanity. She then watched over him with increasing tenderness. In appointing a Regency, the ministry proposed restrictions on the Regent, which raised a strong spirit of opposition. At this critical and delicate juncture, her Majesty's affections were divided between her consort and her son, and, we believe, on this occasion alone, did she depart from her determination to keep aloof from politics. The part which she took, however, was equally honourable to her as a sovereign and a wife. In the former capacity, she adhered to the constitution; in the latter she asserted the rights of her husband, when disease had incapacitated him from defending himself. With the exception of this observation, we do not know of any intermixture on her part with the politics of the day. Even Junius, who attacked the court with so much rancour, and who was not likely to have spared any branch of the Royal Family, is wholly silent as to her Majesty, except where he severely rebukes the late Duke of Grafton, the Prime Minister at that time, for having led his mistress through the Opera House, in the presence of the Queen. This rebuke is an additional proof of the high sense which that popular writer entertained of the purity of her Majesty's character, and of the decorum which ought to have been observed in her presence. The King recovered from his illness in three months; and the country, from one end to the other, gave the greatest demonstrations of joy, loyalty, and attachment to his person and family. On this occasion, the Queen observed, that "A sovereign's greatest glory consisted of his people's affections."

It has been said that her Majesty was rather of a penurious, if not of an avaricious disposition. It is very true that her Majesty was not found among the lists of those ostentatious charities which frequently appear before the public; but she was by no means deficient in those feelings of commiseration for the sufferings of her fellow creatures, which is so bright an ornament to our nature. To her pecuniary affairs she was certainly very attentive, and it is not a little creditable to her that she was scrupulously attentive to the payment of her own tradesmen. There is every reason to believe, that her Majesty was at all times disposed to assist distress, and to patronize merit. One of the first acts of her Majesty's benevolence was the forming of an establishment for the daughters of decayed gentlemen, or orphans. A house and grounds were purchased in Bedfordshire, and a lady of high talents placed therein, at a salary of 500*l.* to instruct the pupils in embroidery, &c. They were taken in at fifteen years of age. The produce of their labour was converted into ornaments for window curtains, chairs, sofas, and bed furniture, for Windsor Park, and the Palace in St. James's Park. In the neighbourhood of Windsor she performed many acts of charity; and established a school for the children of poor parents, who were educated and clothed at her expence, and supplied with situations after they had gone through their course. On the recovery of his Majesty from his first illness, too, she founded another school on the same principle as the former. On that occasion her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia presented each

viewed, not alone as a measure of political importance, by which the regular succession to the crown was likely to be preserved, but as a species of national blessing, from which the best moral consequences were likely to proceed.

In the House of Commons Mr. Manners Sutton was unanimously elected speaker. From the 14th till the 21st of the month, both Houses were occupied in swearing in their respective members. On the latter day the session was regularly opened by commission. The Lord Chancellor was sufficiently recovered to take his seat on the woolsack upon the occasion, Of the Royal Speech, the main topics were, the King's health—the demise of the Queen—the evacuation of France by the allied troops—the probability of a durable peace—the favourable state of the revenue—the improved aspect of trade, manufactures, and commerce—the favourable result of the war in India—and the conclusion of a treaty with the United States of America, for extending, to a further term of years, the existing Commercial Convention. In the Upper House, the address was moved by the Earl of Warwick, and seconded by Lord Saltoun. Some comments, by the Marquis of Lansdowne, on the omission of certain subjects, which, he contended, ought to have been mentioned in the Speech, were replied to by the Earl of Liverpool; after which, Lord Lauderdale intimated his intention to move for an enquiry respecting the metallic currency of the country, and the Address was agreed to *nem. con.* The Earl of Liverpool gave notice of a motion respecting the Windsor Establishment; and he also stated, that satisfactory measures were likely to be adopted for preventing the forgery of Bank Notes. In the Commons, Mr. Brownlow, one of the members for Armagh was the mover, and Mr. Peel, brother of the late Secretary for Ireland, the seconder of the Address; which, after the conduct of Ministers had been animadverted upon, with some severity, by Mr. M' Donald, and defended by Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Clive, and Mr. Canning, was agreed to, without a dissentient voice.

In conformity with the intimation in the Royal Speech, at the opening of the session, that the death of the Queen would render necessary an Act for the appointment of a new guardian of the King's person, the Earl of Liverpool, on the 25th of January, introduced a motion for the purpose of nominating to that office his Royal Highness the Duke of York. To this proposal no objection was made; and after some discussion as to the patronage to be enjoyed by his Royal Highness, the Bill was passed. Several interesting discussions subsequently arose respecting the Royal Establishment at Windsor; the main point of which—that of granting 10,000*l.* a year to the Duke of York, as *custos* of the royal person, from the *public* instead of from the *privy* purse, was carried by the committee only by 281 against 186. In another division on the subject, the numbers in favour of the measure were 247 against 137; and, on a third division, the *Ayes* were 156 and the *Noes* 97. The subject also excited much freedom of remark, both in and out of Parliament.

Another topic, of a nature most deeply interesting to the best friends of humanity, occupied the attention of parliament at an early part of the session. This was the state of the Criminal Code. The astonishing variety and appalling multitude of offences, more than 200 in number, against which capital punishment was denounced by the Statute Book, had long been reprobated by philanthropists, both foreign and native, as a national disgrace, and stigmatized by philosophical lawyers as a fruitful source of mischief, crime, and infamy. By the opponents of the existing system, it had been remarked, that it was the certainty rather than the severity of punishment which tended to deter offenders; and it was obvious, that penalties, which the general feeling of society condemned as incommensurate with offences, were of all others the most uncertain of being carried into effect. Principles such as these had repeatedly been brought before the House of Commons by Sir Samuel Romilly, who had proposed several bills founded upon them, one of which had become part of the law of the country. The melancholy loss of that distinguished and estimable individual had now thrown the cause into other but not less active hands.* A petition from the city of London, in its corporate capacity, complaining of the increase of crimes, and pointing out the commutation of capital punishment, having been favourably received by the two Houses of Parliament, his Majesty's Ministers proposed to refer the subject to a committee, to be appointed for the examination of the discipline and police of the different prisons throughout the country. Accordingly, on the 1st of March, on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, the proposed committee was formed. It was the opinion, however, of those who were well in-

each of the children with a medal, containing on one side an inscription of gratitude to the Almighty for the restoration of the King; and on the other, "When we forget him, may God forget us." It is an undoubted fact too, that her Majesty distributed large sums of money in the exercise of private charity: but her charity was really private, not ostentatiously performed, that the world might applaud the giver. It was an express injunction, which accompanied every act of benevolence on her part, that it should be kept secret. To each nurse of her children she gave a pension of 200*l.* a year; as well as to several of her sons. Among the many instances of her charity we select the following. Her Majesty took charge of, and educated the orphan child of an officer who died in the West Indies; the child was brought to England by the sergeant of the regiment; the Queen's notice was attracted by an advertisement in the public papers from the sergeant. Her Majesty not only educated this child, but caused it to be amply provided for. It is a fact equally known, that the Queen took under her protection the widow of an officer killed at Bunkers-hill, and educated the son. These two facts are mentioned, not as solitary instances of her Majesty's humane, charitable, and honourable feelings and disposition, but to shew the nature of the application of the large sums of money supposed to have been in her possession. Many a retired and solitary sufferer has been cheered by her royal beneficence, without knowing the hand from which the succour proceeded.

In addition to the numerous charities to which her late Majesty subscribed, none was more conspicuous (though not generally known) than the institution formed at Bailbrook Lodge contiguous to Bath. The Queen was the immediate patroness of this establishment, and not only contributed towards its support, but displayed great anxiety concerning its future welfare. The institution at Bailbrook House is formed after the German *Chapitres*, and other Protestant establishments on the Continent. It offers a desirable residence to ladies of respectable character, whose birth places them in the rank of gentlewomen: and the plan is so arranged as to suit the circumstances of those whose income is very moderate; at the same time it affords accommodation to others, who, by residing in the establishment, contribute largely towards its support; but this circumstance occasions no apparent inequality among the inmates, for all are, in fact, equally independent of pecuniary obligations, either to the public or each other. The society live together as one family; but none are admitted who are averse to a retired life, or who are unwilling to lend their aid in promoting works of charity and benevolence. It is principally intended for the reception of the widows and daughters of clergymen, and of officers in the army and navy. It is entirely under the auspices of ladies of the highest rank, and a fund of several thousands has been secured and placed out at interest. Her Majesty, when last at Bath, paid great attention to the above institution, minutely inspected every part of Bailbrook House, and expressed regret that there were not more establishments formed of the same kind in England.

* To the deep regret of the country at large, Sir Samuel Romilly perished by his own hand, in the paroxysm of a fever brought on by the irreparable calamity of the loss of a most beloved wife. Sir Samuel commenced his career at the bar, a young man liberally educated, with those high principles of honour, and that susceptibility of amiable and generous sentiment, which distinguished his life, but without paternal fortune, and, still more, with both his parents dependent upon his professional success. In this situation, he became acquainted with a young lady, the charms of whose mind and person won his affections. His conduct was worthy of his head and his heart. He declared his sentiments to the object of his affections; but added, that he must "acquire two fortunes" before they could be married: the first, for those to whom he owed his first duty—his parents; the second, for her. The lady knew how to appreciate his merit and his motives, and their vows were mutually pledged to each other. He entered upon his career of profit and honour, with that assiduous energy which forms a chief feature of genuine talent. In a comparatively short period he realized a considerable sum, and with it purchased an annuity for his parents. Having put them in possession of this provision for their lives, he formally declared to them, that his obligations to them were now fulfilled, and that he was about to enter into other relations, which must exclusively govern him in their turn. He began a second time with fresh spirit—acquired "a second fortune"—all within a very few years—settled it upon her on whom he had bestowed his heart, and married her. The maiden name of the late Lady Romilly was Garbett. She was the eldest daughter of Francis Garbett, Esq. of Knill Court, in the county of Hereford; and she was married to Sir Samuel at that place, on the 3d of January, 1798. Sir Samuel Romilly was for several years remarkably subject to nervous irritation (doubtlessly excited by his almost incessant mental exertions), which very frequently appeared in his barristerial avocations. One thus so easily affected must be proportionately susceptible of serious or fatal disorder in the brain, the seat of thought, and origin of the greater part of the nervous system, which, goaded by this irreparable domestic calamity, was pushed to that state of chaotic desperation as to induce the dire castrophe. It is a singular circumstance, that in the parish church of St. Bride, Fleet street, there is a simple undecorated tablet, placed against the wall, on which is an inscription to the memory of an ancestor of Sir Samuel Romilly, who *died of a broken heart*, seven days after the decease of a beloved wife.

formed,

formed, and deeply interested in the business, that, for the due consideration of so extensive as well as important a subject—a subject which embraced such an immensity of details—as the penal code, that a select committee should be appointed; and to that effect Sir James Mackintosh made a motion on the following day. That honourable and learned gentlemen, after adducing a variety of excellent observations, and a number of striking facts, illustrating the system of subterfuge which the dreadful severity of the law in many cases had produced amongst prosecutors, witnesses, and jurors, and the consequent impunity and increase of crime, proceeded to explain his particular views of melioration. He observed, that it was by no means his wish or intention to form a new criminal code: to abolish a system, admirable in its principles, interwoven with the habits of the people, and under which they had long and happily lived, was indeed a proposition very remote from his ideas of legislation. He did not even propose to abolish capital punishment: on the contrary, he held it to be a part of that right of self defence with which societies were endowed: he considered it, like all other punishments, as an evil, when unnecessary, but capable, like them, of producing, when sparingly and judiciously inflicted, a preponderance of good. He aimed not at the establishment of any universal principle: his sole object was, that the execution of the law should constitute the majority, and the remission the minority, of cases. Sir James Mackintosh subsequently divided capital felonies into the three following classes:—those on which the punishment of death was *always*—those on which it was *frequently*—and those on which it was *never* put in force. He proposed to leave, for the present, the first and second divisions untouched: the third, consisting of no fewer than 150 different crimes, ought, he conceived, to be entirely expunged from the list, as so many relics of barbarous times, disgraceful to the character of a free, a thinking, and an enlightened nation. Lord Castlereagh paid many compliments to the candid and moderate spirit in which Sir James Mackintosh had brought forward his motion; notwithstanding which, he persisted in opposing, as unnecessary, the appointment of a separate committee. Other members, however, warmly supported the proposal; and, it was ultimately carried, on a division, by 147 voices against 128. Previously to the close of the session, Sir James Mackintosh had the satisfaction of reporting progress as chairman of the committee.

On the 5th of April, in the House of Commons, Mr. Peel brought up a Report from the Secret Committee on the affairs of the Bank, announcing that the state of the Bank, in 1816, and 1818, had induced the Directors to pay in specie all notes issued prior to 1817; that this payment had occasioned a drain upon the Bank to the amount of upwards of 5,000,000*l.* sterling, most of which had found its way to the continent, and been there recoined into foreign money; and that, to prevent a continuance of this drain, and to enable the Bank to accumulate a greater quantity of bullion, with a view to the final resumption of cash payment, it was expedient to restrain the further payment of the notes alluded to in specie. The Honourable member moved, in conformity with this statement, that a Bill should immediately be brought into the House, and passed *forthwith*. A Bill was accordingly brought in; and, the standing orders of the House having been suspended, it was passed through all its stages the same evening; Mr. Manning, the Bank Director, in the course of the discussion, attributing the drain upon the Bank, and the passage of our specie to the continent, to the French loan, and a deficient harvest; corn having been imported into this country to the amount of 10,000,000*l.* In the Upper House, on the same evening, Lord Harrowby presented a similiar Report to that of the Commons' Committee; giving notice, that, on the succeeding day, he should move the suspension of the standing orders, that the Bill might be passed through all its stages at one sitting. Earl Grey, and others, opposed the measure at considerable length; contending, that, if necessary, it would have been better for ministers to issue an Order of Council for suspending the Bank payments, on their own responsibility. However, on the 6th, the Bill was brought up from the Commons; and, after it had been read a first, second and third time, and passed, it received the royal assent. A similiar Bill originated in the Commons, on the 6th, for the protection of the Bank of Ireland, and, on the 7th and 8th, that also passed through the Lords, and received the royal assent. At a subsequent period the resolutions of the Committee of Secresy were brought up to a Committee of the whole House; and, after a laborious and apparently impartial examination of the subject, in all its bearings, instructions were given for the preparation of a Bill, or Bills, to provide agreeably to the following clauses, for the gradual return of cash payments, and a general metallic currency:—

"1. That it is expedient to continue the restriction on payments in cash by the Bank of England, beyond the time to which it is at present limited by law.

"2. That it is expedient that a definite period should be fixed for the termination of the restriction on cash payments; and that preparatory measures should be taken with a view to facilitate and insure, on the arrival of that period, the payment of the promissory notes of the Bank of England in the legal coin of the realm.

"3. That in order to give the Bank a greater controul over the issues of their notes than they at present possess, provision ought to be made for the gradual repayment to the Bank of the sum of 10,000,000*l.*; being part of the sum due to the Bank on account of advances made by them for the public service, and on account of the purchase of exchequer bills under the authority of acts of the legislature.

"4. That it is expedient to provide, by law, that from the first of February, 1820, the Bank shall be liable to deliver, on demand, gold of standard fineness, having been essayed and stamped at his Majesty's mint, a quantity of not less than sixty ounces being required, in exchange for such an amount of notes as shall be equal to the value of the gold so required, at the rate of 4*l.* 1*s.* per ounce.

"5. That from the first of October, 1820, the Bank shall be liable to deliver, on demand, gold of standard fineness, essayed and stamped as before mentioned, a quantity of not less than sixty ounces being required, in exchange for such an amount of notes as shall be equal in value to the gold so required, at the rate of 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* per ounce.

"6. That from the 1st of May, 1821, the Bank shall be liable to deliver on demand, gold of standard fineness, essayed and stamped as before mentioned, a quantity of not less than sixty ounces being required, in exchange for such an amount of notes as shall be equal in value to the gold so required, at the rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce.

"7. That the Bank may, at any period between the 1st of February 1820, and the 1st of October 1820, undertake to deliver gold of standard fineness, essayed and stamped as before mentioned, at any rate between the sums of 4*l.* 1*s.* per ounce and 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* per ounce; and at any period between the 1st of October 1820 and the 1st of May 1821, at any rate between the sums of 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* and 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce; but that such intermediate rate having been once fixed by the Bank, that rate shall not be subsequently increased.

"8. That from the 1st of May, 1823, the Bank shall pay its notes, on demand, in the legal coin of the realm.

"9. That it is expedient to repeal the laws prohibiting the melting and the exportation of the coin of the realm."

Numerous petitions having been presented to parliament, both for and against the Catholic claims, Mr. Grattan re-agitated this great question of internal policy in the House of Commons, on the 3rd of May. The causes of disqualification, he observed, were of three kinds: 1. The combination of the Catholics. 2. The danger of a pretender. 3. The power of the Pope. He insisted, that not only all these causes had ceased, but the consequences annexed to them were no more; even

even the oppositions founded upon them were destroyed and annihilated. After expatiating at large upon the various points of the subject, the Right Honourable gentleman concluded his speech by submitting the following motion:—"That this House do revolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the state of the laws by which the oaths or declarations are required to be taken or made as qualifications for the enjoyment of offices and the exercise of civil functions, so far as the same affect his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects; and whether it would be expedient, in any or what manner, to alter or modify the same, and subject to what provisions and regulations." The motion, seconded by Mr. Croker, and supported by Lord Normanby, Mr. Becher, and Sir Robert Wilson, was opposed by Mr. Leslie Foster, and Mr. Brownlow; and, on a division, it was lost by 243 against 241. The opponents of the measure contended, with what degree of accuracy it is impossible to say, that, in consequence of an expectation which prevailed on the Anti-Catholic side of the House that the debate would be adjourned, several members had retired; and that, had it not been so, the majority against the motion, instead of two, would have been about twenty-five. The number of members in town, on the day of the motion, was 574; of whom only 484 voted.

On the 17th of May, a corresponding motion was submitted to the Upper House, by the Earl of Donoughmore. Insisting that his Majesty's Catholic subjects were entitled to their full share of the privileges of the Constitution, and ought to be admitted to them, his lordship, in his prefatory remarks, contended that the position of the Catholic question had been greatly changed. All anti-christian principles, and uncharitable surmises, were disallowed by its opponents; and the great objection was limited to an arguable supremacy, which was supposed inherent in a foreign state. If he were allowed to go into the committee, he would, after getting rid of the declaration, next dispose of the oath of supremacy, when there would remain no vestige of such tests, except the oath of abjuration, now of no practical use, as it aimed at a non-existent family. The Bishop of Worcester opposed the motion, on the ground of danger to the church and state. That danger, it was argued by the Bishop of Norwich, did not exist; and we ought to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us. The Bishop of Peterborough said that, if the present question were one merely of religion, it should have his support; but it was evident that the grand object of the Catholics was political power. In this opinion, the Bishop of Peterborough was very warmly supported by the Earl of Liverpool; who also argued, that the concession would not operate to allay animosities in Ireland, and that the interests of the great mass of the people would not be affected by it in the smallest degree. The Lord Chancellor also most strenuously opposed the motion, chiefly on the ground that the Catholics could give no security by oath, which could reconcile the King's supremacy, in things temporal, with the Pope's supremacy, in things ecclesiastical. Various other noble Lords took part in the debate, after which, on a division, the motion was negatived, by 147 against 106. Another effort in behalf of the Catholics was made in the Upper House by Earl Grey, who introduced a Bill "for abrogating so much of the acts of the 25th and 30th of Charles II. as prescribes to all officers, civil and military, and to members of both Houses of Parliament, a declaration against the doctrines of transubstantiation and the invocation of saints." The Bill was allowed to proceed to the motion for its second reading, when it was thrown out, by 141 against 82.

No measure, introduced by ministers, had, for a long time, excited so warm and so persevering an opposition as that which was made to a Bill that was brought in by the Attorney-General on the 13th of May, for the purpose of prohibiting the enlistment of British subjects into foreign service, and the equipment of vessels of war without licence. The learned gentleman observed, that the first of these objects had been in some measure provided for by the statutes of George II. by which it was an offence amounting to felony to enter the service of any foreign state. He contended, however, that, if neutrality were to be observed, it was important that the penalty should be extended to the act of serving unacknowledged powers as well as acknowledged ones; and part of his intention therefore was to amend those statutes, by introducing after the words "King, Prince, State, Potentate," the words "Colony or District, who do assume the powers of a government." It was his wish, he said, merely to give to this country the right which every legitimate country ought to have, to prevent its subjects from breaking the neutrality towards acknowledged states, and those assuming the power of states. Upon a similar principle, it was his desire to prevent the fitting out of armed vessels, and also the fitting out or supplying other vessels with warlike stores, in any of his Majesty's ports. Upon the motion for leave to introduce this Bill, Sir James Mackintosh immediately arose, and warned the House, that in whatever manner the motion might be worded, and its real object concealed, the Bill ought to be entitled—"A Bill for preventing British subjects from lending their assistance to the South American cause, or enlisting in the South American service." Sir James Mackintosh stated also statutes of George II. adduced as authority on this occasion, not to have been as represented by his Majesty's Attorney-General, laws of a general nature, applying to all times and circumstances, but, on the contrary, they were intended merely for the temporary purpose of preventing the formation of Jacobite armies organized in France and Spain, against the peace and tranquillity of England. The honourable gentleman concluded his speech, by reprobating a measure which was virtually an enactment to repress the liberty of the South Americans, and to enable Spain to reimpose that yoke of tyranny which they were unable to bear, which they had nobly shaken off, and from which he trusted in God they would finally, and for ever be enabled to extricate themselves, whatever attempts might be made by the ministers of this or any other country, to countenance or assist their oppressors. Lord Castlereagh, deprecating the introduction of the political topics with which Sir James Mackintosh had nearly filled his speech, contended that the proposed Bill was necessary in order to prevent our giving offence to Spain, whom that House, he observed, was too just and too generous to oppress, because she was weak and her fortunes had declined. Was not, he enquired, the proclamation which had been issued about eighteen months before, approved both in England and America, as perfectly just in the principles of neutrality which it declared? Was it not, he also asked, a breach of that proclamation, when not only individuals, whom, perhaps, it might have been impossible to restrain, not only officers in small numbers, went out to join the insurrectionary *corps*, but when there was a regular organization of troops, when regiments regularly formed left England, when ships of war were fitted out in the English ports, and transports were chartered to carry out arms and ammunition? His lordship observed, that he felt some apology to be due to the House for not sooner bringing forward such a measure; but as long as any hope remained, of a mediation between Spain and her colonies, he had been unwilling to speak of the policy of the existing laws; and it was but lately that such hopes had been entirely dispelled. In the subsequent stages of the Bill, ministers candidly avowed that the measure had been suggested by the stipulations of a treaty with Spain, in the year 1814, and by the representations which the ministers of Ferdinand VII. had considered themselves as entitled by such stipulations to address to the British government. This admission excited some severe comments on the character of Ferdinard VII. and on what the opposition termed the baseness of this country's legislating on his suggestion, and to serve his purposes of tyranny and oppression. * The debate afterwards diverged into many

* Charles IV. of Spain, the father of the reigning sovereign, died at Naples on the 20th of January, 1819, in the seventy-first year

many important questions of policy and rational law; and, as parallels or illustrations, historical facts were profusely brought forward. At length, the Bill was carried, in the Lower House, by 190 against 129; and, in the Peers, by 100 against 49.

Mr. Tierney's motion, brought forward on the 18th of May, for the appointment of a committee to consider the state of the nation, was negatived, by 357 against 178, ministers having contended, that the motion had been brought forward only for the purpose of embarrassing the real question before the House, which would be discussed in a few days, when the resolutions should be moved on the report of the committee on the affairs of the Bank. The Bank question was at length disposed of, by passing the Bills before alluded to.

On the 3rd of June, in a Committee on a Report of the Revenue and Expenditure Committee, the Chancellor of the Exchequer submitted a series of financial resolutions, which stated that, by the removal of the Property Tax, the Malt Duties, and other Taxes, the revenue of Great Britain was reduced by 18,000,000*l.*; that the interest and charge of the funded and unfunded debt of Ireland, exceeded the whole revenue of that country by 1,800,000*l.*; that the supplies of the present year might be stated at 20,500,000*l.*, to meet which the available revenue of the country amounted only to 7,000,000*l.*; that it was necessary to provide, by a loan, or other means, for the service of the present year, the sum of 13,000,000*l.*, which, deducted from the sinking fund of 15,000,000*l.*, left an actual sinking fund of only 2,000,000*l.*; that it was absolutely necessary to create an increase of revenue for the purpose of raising this sinking fund to 5,000,000*l.*; and, finally, that it was necessary to impose new Taxes to the amount of 3,000,000*l.* annually.

Agreeably to the recommendation of the Report of the Committee, Parliament ultimately agreed to raise 3,000,000*l.* of new Taxes, by a considerable duty on foreign wool, and by smaller duties on various other articles, such as tobacco, tea, coffee, and cacao nuts. Two loans of 12,000,000*l.* each were also made; one of them supplied by the money market, the other derived from the sinking fund. Out of these sums there was to be a surplus, of which 5,000,000*l.* were to go towards the repayment to the Bank recommended by parliament, previously to the resumption of cash payments, and 5,597,000*l.* to the reduction of the unfunded debt. "In adopting this course," observed the Speaker of the House of Commons, in his address to the Prince Regent, at the close of the session, "his Majesty's faithful Commons did not conceal from themselves that they were calling upon the nation for a great exertion; but well knowing that honour, and character, and independence, have at all times been the first and dearest objects of the hearts of Englishmen, we felt assured that there was no difficulty that the country would not encounter, and no pressure to which she would not cheerfully submit, to enable her to maintain, pure and unimpaired, that which has never yet been shaken or sullied—her public credit, and her national good faith."

The session, which had been of a nature more than usually busy, was closed by the Prince Regent, in person, on the 13th of July. The Royal speech expressed a confident expectation that the measures which had been adopted for the resumption of cash payments would be productive of the most beneficial consequences; regretted the necessity of additional taxation; anticipated important permanent advantages from the efforts which had been made to meet our financial difficulties; and, in adverting to the seditious spirit which was abroad in the manufacturing districts, avowed a firm determination to employ the powers provided by law for its suppression.

From the commencement of the year, and for some time previously, a party, which about this time, received the distinguishing appellation of Radical Reformers, had obtained much notice by their active endeavours at proselytism amongst the lower orders, chiefly of the manufacturing classes. One of their first steps was an application to the magistratial government of Manchester, to convoke a meeting for the alledged purpose of petitioning against the Corn Bill. This application was refused; and, in consequence, the meeting was summoned by an anonymous advertisement. Mr. Hunt, who had been selected as the hero of the day, was conducted to the place of meeting, by an immense multitude, in a sort of triumphal procession, preceded by music, and flags with appropriate mottos. A strong remonstrance to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent was adopted at this meeting, and many violent sentiments were uttered: the assemblage, however, dispersed without any actual tumult. This meeting was followed by many other meetings, of a similar nature, at Glasgow, Leeds, Stockport, Ashton-under-Line, and other manufacturing neighbourhoods. The strong measures of precaution that were taken by the respective local authorities, which the public orators of the multitude affected to support, had in most instances the effect of preserving order and tranquillity at these extraordinary assemblages. There was, however, a marked contrast between the peaceable demeanour of the auditors, and the inflammatory character of the language in which they were addressed. In the speeches delivered on these occasions, after the feelings of the audience had been excited, by highly wrought descriptions of the sufferings of the poor, the presumed causes of those sufferings were discussed: generally, these were stated to be pensions, places, exorbitant taxation, the usurpations of the higher orders upon the lower, &c. The want of a true representation of the people, unlike the present system, which was treated as a mere mockery, was pronounced to be the grand source of these evils; for which, Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Election by Ballot, were pointed out as the only cure. At one of these meetings there was a discussion, whether the people had a right to destroy the Bank of England; and some suggestions were thrown out as to the expediency of a division of landed property, and a recurrence to physical force. By some, however, it was contended that these suggestions, which, happily, produced no practical results, were made by spies. Indeed it is not altogether improbable, that the agents of government, whose duty could not legitimately extend beyond the office of observing and faithfully reporting the proceedings which took place at these meetings, might occasionally have exceeded their instructions. One feature of the system, which was equally novel and disgusting, was the formation in Lancashire, of Female Reform Societies. These bodies entered into violent

---

year of his age, having survived his Queen only about a fortnight. Charles IV. was born at Naples, November 11, 1748. He was son of Charles III. and of Maria Amelia of Saxony. He became Prince of Asturias in 1759, when his father succeeded to the throne of Spain, on the death of his (the father's) brother, Ferdinand VI. He married at the age of seventeen, September 4, 1765, Maria Louisa, of Parma, whose sway over him never ceased during their long union. He ascended the throne, December 14, 1788, and reigned till March 19, 1808, the day of his abdication in favour of his son; an abdication which had nothing in it of a voluntary character. When the melancholy journey to Bayonne took place, King Ferdinand withdrew his claims to the throne, which Charles IV. constrained by superior force, surrendered immediately into the hands of Buonaparte. It was therefore March 19, 1808, that terminated the reign of Charles IV. He had, during six years, a pension of 2,000,000 francs; but it was not regularly paid. He resided a short time at Fontainbleau, and at Compeigne; he then established himself with the Queen and the Prince of the Peace at Marseilles; whence he went to Rome, in 1811. After the fall of Buonaparte, Charles IV. again solemnly renounced his crown, in a treaty concluded with his son, the present King of Spain, who settled on him a pension of 3,000,000 francs, and agreed to pay his debts. At the breaking out of the French Revolution, this monarch made the most strenuous efforts to save the life of his ally and relative, Louis XVI. He charged his ambassador to deliver a letter to the National Convention, appealing to their mercy; it was presented to that assembly on the evening previous to the immolation of Louis; but they refused to open it, dreading that its contents might inspire humanity in the less violent minds of some among them. When he received the unhappy news of the King's death, Charles declared war against the French Republic, with which, however, he was forced to make an inglorious peace; and afterwards to unite his arm with France against England. This cost him immense losses, of which the battle of Trafalgar is one instance: nor could he maintain his usual intercourse with his colonies; the consequences of which are notorious.

resolutions, and called upon the wives and daughters of manufacturers, in different branches, to form sister societies, for the purpose of co-operating with the men, and of instilling into their children, what they were pleased to term, *a deep rooted hatred of our tyrannical rulers.*

At Birmingham, where the extensive and almost general distress of the working classes had given greater currency to the new doctrines, the Radical Reformers hazarded a bolder experiment than any they had before displayed. This was the election of a Member, or as it was denominated at the time, a "Legislatorial Attorney," to represent that great and populous town in the House of Commons. At a meeting, holden for this purpose, on the 12th of July, the managers of the design (amongst whom were Mr. Edmonds and Mr. Lewis, two schoolmasters; Mr. Wooler, the conducter of some periodical works devoted to the cause of the Reformers in London; and Major Cartwright) stated, that the issue of a writ being compulsory, they had not thought it necessary to wait for a mandate on this occasion; but that, in the exercise of their constitutional rights, and of the duty of good subjects, they should proceed to advise their sovereign by their representative. Sir Charles Wolsley, who had previously declared his resolution to claim his seat, should he be elected, was put in nomination, and instantly chosen by a show of hands; not fewer than 15,000 persons being present, and apparently concurring in this unprecedented act.*

A few days after this mock election had taken place, a meeting was holden in the great unrepresented town of Leeds, at which it was resolved that a similar election should take place there, as soon as an eligible member should be found. The government, at length, deemed it expedient to interfere. Sir Charles Wolsley was taken into custody, on account of seditious expressions used at a meeting at Stockport, in Cheshire; and an itinerant preacher, of the name of Harrison, for a similar offence, at the same place, was soon afterwards arrested, while he was attending a Reform Meeting in London. On these charges, Sir Charles Wolsley and Harrison were next year tried at the assizes, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment.

The Smithfield Meeting, at which Harrison was arrested, took place agreeably to previous announcement on the 21st of July. Some degree of alarm was naturally felt by the inhabitants of the metropolis on this occasion; and, for the purpose of preventing riot or disorder, very extensive and judicious precautions were taken, not only by the government, but by the Chief Magistrate of the city, and the Police in general. Besides calling out the Volunteer Cavalry, and the Artillery Company, and the enrolment of many thousands of citizens as special constables, the Horse and Foot Guards, as well as other regular troops, were under arms during the whole of the day. The guards at the Tower, the Bank, and the public offices, were doubled; a strong force, civil and military, was stationed at St. Sepulchre's, Newgate, the Compter, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and Christ's Church, all being in the immediate vicinity of the place of meeting. The City Police received notice to be on the alert at an early hour, to keep themselves sober, and by no means to imitate the multitude, but to be active and prompt in the execution of their duty. The Special Constables also received instructions as to their conduct. The orders given to the Police, and other branches of the Civil Power, were peremptory and distinct; that, if the meeting conducted themselves peaceably, not the slightest attempt should be made to interfere with their proceedings: but that the first symptoms of seditious incitement, or of actual preparation for breaking the peace, should be firmly and promptly resisted. The officers at the different Police Offices were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move in any direction where their presence might be required. As early as eight o'clock, the city officers, and the firemen of the different companies, began to assemble in Smithfield, and were stationed in such places as would enable them to act with the most effectual co-operation. Many of the inhabitants of the immediate vicinity of the market, apprehensive of violence, removed the female part of their families and children. Most of the shops remained unopened; and, as the hour for the meeting approached, those that had been opened were shut. About eleven o'clock, thousands of persons hastened to the scene of action. The place at which the committee took up their temporary abode was kept a secret. City and Special Constables were placed as it were in ambush, in yards and other places, where they could be secluded from public view, at each of which was an out-post in the person of a superior officer. Not a soldier was to be seen. Newgate, and St. Sepulchre's Church, were partially occupied by a detachment of the East London Militia, principally composed of the Staff of the Regiment. The Sheriffs of London were at the head of a detachment of constables in the Charter House; the Lord Mayor presided in the Committee Room at Giltspur Street Compter, in readiness to issue directions; and patrols and orderly men, belonging to the City Light Horse, were in waiting. About twelve o'clock, the assemblage of people was increasing in prodigious numbers; and the waggon, whence the orators were to speak, arrived, accompanied by a posse of Reformers, carrying staves. The balconies and windows of the different Inns, Taverns, and private houses, in Smithfield were filled with spectators. At five minutes past twelve, the Reform Committee left the Flying Horse, in Charter House Lane, and proceeded to that part of the market opposite Cloth Fair, where the waggon, from which the harangues were to be delivered, was placed; and the unfurled banners, and two white boards, on which were painted the words "Order! Order!" were displayed. The committee took possession of the waggon; and soon afterwards Preston, a cobler who had distinguished himself amongst the Reformers, and Thistlewood, who was beheaded in the ensuing year for high treason, arrived. Next came Mr. Hunt, on horseback, accompanied by Mr. Watson, and preceded by a red flag, which he had used at the Westminster election, when a candidate as a representative of that city. After the preliminary business had been disposed of, and Mr. Hunt elected to the chair, that personage addressed the multitude in a florid speech, in the course of which he stated that he had received letters, threatening that if he appeared there that day, he should be shot. After some further proceedings, a person stood forward and moved a series of resolutions, eighteen in number. From these resolutions the following are selected, as curious matter of historical record, and as exhibiting, in a striking light, the character and objects of these meetings:—

"1. Resolved, that every person born in Great Britain and Ireland is, by inherent right—FREE.

"2. That, for the protection of the life, the liberty, and the property of every member in a free state, it is expedient and essential that a code of laws should be established, and executive administration thereof provided.

"3. That, as life, liberty and property, are equally dear to every man, whatever may be his rank, condition, or attainment, it follows of necessity, that every man, in a free state, is equally entitled to a voice in the enactment of such laws, and their provisional administration.

"4. That, to support the just expences attendant upon a due administration of the law, fair proportioned contribution, from every member of the community, ought to be equitably levied.

"5. That, the rights of all being equal, no freeman in Great Britain or Ireland ought to be taxed without his previous admission to a participation of universal right.

"6. That this universal right may be exercised in

* The managers of this affair were subsequently indicted for a conspiracy unlawfully to elect a representative in parliament for the town of Birmingham. For this they were tried and convicted at the Warwick summer Assizes in the year 1820. In consequence, however, of some alledged informalities in the mode of empannelling the jury, &c. they, on the 23d of November following, moved for and obtained a rule to show cause, in the Court of King's Bench, why a new trial should not be granted.

the

the choice of representatives, to be fairly and freely nominated or chosen by the voices or votes of the largest proportion of the whole members of the state.

"7. That, the persons who at present compose the British House of Commons have not been fairly and freely nominated or chosen by the voices or votes of the largest proportion of the members of the state.

[The resolutions then go on to declare, that, "from and after January, 1820, the meeting could not consider themselves bound in equity by any future enactments," &c.]

"10. That, with a view to accelerate the choice of legal and just representatives of the whole people, we will cause books to be forthwith opened in the different parishes of this metropolis, for the enrolment of the names and residences of every man of mature age and sound mind resident therein, so as to enable him to give his vote when legally required so to do.

"11. That an humble address be presented to the Prince Regent, requesting he will be graciously pleased to issue his writs to the Sheriffs and other returning officers of the different counties and cities of this Empire, to cause representatives to be chosen agreeably to the foregoing resolution, and to assemble in parliament in January next.

"12. That it is the right of every individual to retain and express his religious opinions, without being answerable to any human tribunal; and that it is wicked, intolerant, and unjust, to impose civil disabilities on account of any difference in religious profession.

"13. That this meeting unequivocally disclaim any share or participation in the acts of the boroughmongers, in placing Napoleon a prisoner to perish in a desert island, shut out from human society, and torn from his only son, &c."

Joseph Harrison, the itinerant preacher, seconded these resolutions, which were put and carried unanimously. Soon afterwards, a considerable bustle took place, which was occasioned by the arrival of Brown and Wontner, the city marshals, accompanied by Birch, from Stockport, and a posse of thirty constables, to arrest Mr. Harrison. On their getting into the waggon, Mr. Hunt turned to Brown, and said, "If you want me, I'll go with you." Brown said, "No, no; I don't want you, but Mr. Harrison." Mr. Harrison was then taken away by the constables, without any resistance on his part, or that of the multitude. Mr. Hunt, then, turning to his audience, explained to them the object of the constables. A few voices murmured, "They shan't take him;" on which Hunt requested them to let him go quietly. "If they apprehend me," said he, "I am ready with bail, and will try the question with them. Let me subpœna all of you here, and then, though they may get three villains to swear away my life, I shall not be afraid when I have 50,000 witnesses to contradict them. If only thirty of you should come day by day, the trial will last for three years!"

The next proceeding was to read the remonstrance to the Prince Regent, which had been agreed to at a meeting in Palace Yard, Westminster, on the 8th of September, 1818. This remonstrance was again unanimously agreed to. Numerous speeches followed, distinguished equally by their folly and absurdity, as by their inflammatory tendency. Amongst the disclosures of the day was one not a little curious, by Mr. Hunt, that the penny subscriptions, which had been calculated to create, in a year, a fund of 256,000*l.*, to promote the cause of Reform, amounted, at the expiration of ten months, to only 4*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* Some of the inscriptions on the flags which were displayed on the occasion were as follow:—"Peace and Good Will;"—"England, Ireland and Scotland;"—"Liberty or Death." Mr. Hunt at length took leave of the meeting, mounted his horse, and rode off amidst the acclamations of the crowd, which then dispersed in a peaceable manner.

On the third night following, an atrocious attempt was made at Stockport, to assassinate Birch the deputy constable for that township, an officer by whose active exertions both Sir Charles Wolsley and Mr. Harrison had been apprehended.* Vigorous measures were immediately adopted by government, for the discovery of the offenders; and, on the 30th of July, a proclamation against seditious meetings was issued.

The Manchester Reformers, who had posted up notices of a meeting, to be holden on the 9th of August, for the purpose of proceeding to the election of a representative, as at Birmingham, were informed, by the magistrates, that as the object of the proposed assemblage was unquestionably illegal, it would not be suffered to take place. In consequence of this determination, the design was relinquished; and, soon afterwards, notices were issued by the Reformers, of a meeting at Manchester for the avowedly legal object of petitioning for a reform in parliament, on the 16th of August. An open space in the town, called St. Peter's Field, was selected as the place of assembly; and never upon any former occasion, of a similar nature, was so great a number of persons known to be present. Some hours before the proceedings were to commence, large bodies of the Radical Reformers began to march in, from the neighbouring towns and villages, formed five deep, many of them armed with stout staves, and preserving a military regularity of step. Each body had its own banner, bearing a motto: "No Corn laws;"—"Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage;"—"Union is Strength;"—"Vote by Ballot;"—"Unite and be Free;"—"Taxation without Representation is Unjust and Tyrannical—Equal Representation or Death;"—"Let us die like Men, and not be sold like Slaves;"—"Liberty or Death." Some of the flags and banners were red, some green, and some black. Under a white silk flag, two clubs of Female Reformers appeared. The band of Reformers from Rochdale and Middleton marched to the sound of the bugle, and in very regular time, closing and expanding their ranks, and marching in ordinary or double quick time, according as it pleased the fancy of their leaders to direct them. They had two green banners, between which they had hoisted on a red pole a cap of liberty, crowned with leaves of laurel, and bearing the inscription "Hunt and Liberty." Another band bore a banner, in which Britannia was represented with her trident, leaning on a shield, upon which was inscribed the motto borne by Sir William Wallace, "God armeth the Patriot." Most of the flags were planted on a waggon, from which the orators were to deliver their harangues, in the centre of the field; others, remained dispersed amongst the crowd. A band of special constables took its station on the field without molestation. The numbers collected were variously estimated at from forty to eighty thousand. The arrival of Mr. Hunt was at length announced, by rapturous plaudits. He accepted the general invitation to preside, and, mounting a platform, raised on the waggon, commenced an harangue in his usual style. "Soon after twelve, on Monday," observes a writer on the spot, "the magistrates, and a body of constables, repaired to the ground to which the brigaded reformers had marched, and in consequence of depositions made before several of his Majesty's Justices of the peace, by many of the most respectable inhabitants of the towns of Manchester and Salford, in which they stated their apprehensions of riot and tumult as the probable consequence of such an assemblage of persons from different townships, marching thither under banners so explicit of rebellious intentions, the Riot Act was read, but it did not appear to be much attended to by the infatuated crowd, who continued to laugh and scowl at the constables, &c. in attendance. We understand the travelling orator had begun to address the Reformers, when, an hour having expired after the reading of the Riot Act, the warrants of the Magistrates were carried into effect."

* Birch, in whose heart a pistol ball had been lodged, and whose life was for some time despaired of, at length recovered, and a pension of 100*l.* a year was settled upon him by government. Two men, of the names of M'Ginnis and Bruce, were afterwards apprehended, tried for the attempt to assassinate, and were convicted. M'Ginnis was executed: but the sentence upon Bruce, in whose case some favourable circumstances appeared, was commuted for transportation.

Much

Much difference of opinion has ever since prevailed on this subject; and, perhaps, the Manchester Meeting is one of those events, upon which, in all its variety of details, historians will never be found to agree. Whether the Riot Act were actually read, is still a moot point: the Reformers, and their friends, insist that it was not; the Magistrates and their adherents, contend as pertinaciously that it was. Probability seems to favour the latter opinion; and certainly the affirmative of a proposition is more easily established than its negative. It seems to be agreed, however, that before Mr. Hunt had made much progress in his speech, a panic was raised at the extremity of the throng, by the appearance of the Manchester Yeomanry advancing in a rapid trot, towards the centre of the meeting. Mr. Hunt called out to the people not to be alarmed, but to stand firm, and receive the military with three cheers. This was done. The Yeomanry, however, after a momentary pause, to breathe their horses, and resume their ranks, drew their swords (according to some accounts, whilst others state that, in this first onset, they retained them in their scabbards) dashed into the crowd, and forced their way up to the hustings. The commanding officer then called out to Mr. Hunt, that he was his prisoner. Hunt, after exhorting the people to tranquillity, said that he would give himself up readily to any civil officer, who should produce his warrant. Nadin, the chief police officer, produced his warrant, and immediately took him in charge. Some of the other speakers, and a few of the auditors, were also seized, but two or three persons, against whom warrants had been issued, escaped amidst the confusion. After several individuals had been taken, a cry was heard among the Yeomanry, of "Have at their flags!" and they began dashing down, not only those in the waggon, but the others which were stationed in different parts of the field, striking, without scruple, to right and left, to get at them. "The whole of this grand manœuvre," observes a writer, who was an eye witness of the proceedings, "would have taken place without bloodshed, had not the mob assailed the military and civil authorities, with every resistance in their power, and particularly with missiles; consequently, the cavalry charged in their own defence; not without being first witnesses of a pistol shot from the multitude against one of the Yeomanry, who afterwards died of the wound. Ashworth, a special constable, was also killed upon the spot; and several other constables were hurt in the conflict. The soldiers forbore, with great humanity, from firing; but several of the infatuated populace felt their sabres, and some of them were taken into the Infirmary seriously wounded. Great difficulty afterwards occurred in clearing the streets and avenues from the lingering mob." According to other statements, the people fled in all directions, offering no resistance, beyond that of throwing a few brickbats;—the military gave a loose to their fury, and a scene of the most terrific nature commenced;—the crowd fell over each other in heaps;—some were forced into a cellar, and others through the doors of buildings;—numbers were trampled under foot, by men and horses;—many of both sexes were cut down by sabre strokes;—three or four persons were killed upon the spot;—and the wounded and hurt amounted to no fewer than 400. All this appears to have taken place within ten minutes, by which time, the field was entirely cleared of its recent occupiers, and filled with different corps of infantry and cavalry. Hunt and his colleagues, were after a short examination before the magistrates, conducted to solitary cells, on a charge of high treason. On the following day, notices were issued by the magistrates, by which the practice of military training, alleged to have been carried on in secret, by large bodies of men, for treasonable purposes, was declared to be illegal. Public thanks were by the same authority returned to the officers and men of the respective corps engaged in the attack of the 16th, in which particular gratification was expressed at the extreme forbearance that had been manifested by the yeomanry, when insulted and defied by the rioters. Nor was this the only testimony which was borne to the good conduct of the troops on that distressing occasion.

Upon the arrival at London of a dispatch from the magistrates to the secretary of the Home Department, giving an account of the melancholy affair, a cabinet council was held; the result of which was the return of official letters of thanks, in the name of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to the magistrates, for their prompt, decisive, and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and to all the military engaged, for the support and assistance afforded by them to the civil power.

For some days, the town of Manchester and its neighbourhood, were in a state of constrained quietness, although some further disturbances, in which one or two lives were lost, had taken place. On the 21st of August, five days after the Manchester affair, a meeting, convened by public advertisement, was held at the Crown and Anchor, in the Strand, for the alleged purpose of expressing the public feeling on that deplored event. Mr. Wooler proposed a string of resolutions, strongly censuring the conduct of the magistrates and military, and returning thanks to Hunt and his colleagues. These were unanimously carried; as was also a resolution to raise a subscription for defraying the expenses of counsel, &c. in defence of the prisoners. In the same spirit, a meeting was, three or four days afterwards, holden in Smithfield. Sir Francis Burdett also addressed a violent letter to the electors of Westminster upon the occasion, for the writing of which letter, as a libel, he was afterwards tried and convicted.

In pursuance of Sir Francis Burdett's letter, an immense multitude assembled in Palace Yard, Westminster, on the 2d of September, for the purpose of declaring an opinion on the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry of Manchester. After violent inflammatory speeches; occupying three hours in their delivery, by Sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Hobhouse, his colleague in the representation of Westminster, the following resolutions were adopted, and an address to the Prince Regent founded thereon, was unanimously agreed to:—

"1. That by law and custom the people of this country have a right publicly to assemble, to petition the King and either House of Parliament; or to discuss any public matter, to complain of any grievance, and to propose such lawful remedies as to them may seem necessary.

"2. That the late meeting of the people at Manchester, called 'To consider the propriety of adopting the most legal and effectual means of attaining a reform in the Commons House of Parliament,' was a lawful meeting!

"3. That it appears to us, that when the people were thus lawfully assembled, and peaceably performing a public duty, they were wantonly, wickedly, and cruelly attacked by yeoman calvalry, under the direction of local magistrates, and that some of these were killed, others mutilated, and a still larger number miserably wounded and trampled upon.

"4. That the atrocious outrage on the defenceless and peaceable people, against all law, and in defiance of justice, is an attempt to destroy by the sword, all the yet remaining liberties of Englishmen.

"5. That this new mode (the only one of late resorted to) of answering the well grounded complaints and petitions of the people, is one of the many lamentable consequences of the House of Commons being every thing but what it ought to be—a real representation of the people.

"6. That the liberties we still possess can only be preserved—those we have lost restored—the peace, the comfort, the happiness of the people be promoted, and their property protected, by making the elective franchise so equal, so extensive, and so secure, that it shall be impossible to corrupt the electors; and the duration of Parliament so short, that it shall be the interest of the representative to act faithfully towards his constituents.

"7. That an address to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, founded on the foregoing resolutions, now be read."

The circumstances of the Manchester case turned

out to be such, that government, by the advice of the law officers of the crown, found it expedient to abandon the threatened prosecution of Mr. Hunt and his colleagues, for high treason. Those persons were accordingly brought up from prison, before the magistrates, and informed, that they would be proceeded against for a conspiracy; for which, being only a misdemeanor, they might have bail. Mr. Hunt refused to give bail, even, as he said, to the amount of a single farthing; and he was in consequence conducted to Lancaster Castle. Scarcely, however, had he arrived there, when bail was offered by some of his friends, and he was liberated. On his return from Lancaster to Manchester, Hunt was drawn about two miles by women, and about ten by men. In fact, his return, was one long triumphal procession, waited upon by thousands, on horse, on foot, and in carriages, who hailed, with continued shouts of applause, him, whom they affected to regard as a champion and martyr in the holy cause of liberty.

At the assizes for the county of Lancaster, which commenced a day or two after, the Grand Jury found true bills against Hunt, Johnson, and Moorhouse, and the others who were committed with them on the charge of conspiracy. Declining to take their trials then, the prisoners availed themselves of the privilege of traversing till the spring assizes of 1820. Instead of Lancaster, however, the trial took place at York. It closed on the 10th of April 1820, the tenth day of the trial, when the Jury returned a verdict as follows:—"Moorhouse, Jones, Wild, Swift and Saxton—*Not Guilty*. Henry Hunt, Joseph Johnson, John Knight, Joseph Healy, and Samuel Bamford—*Guilty* of assembling with unlawful banners an assembly, for the purpose of moving and inciting the liege subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King into contempt and hatred of the government and constitution of the realm, as by law established, and attending at the same." The defendants entered into their own recognizances to keep the peace and good behaviour for six months, Hunt, in the sum of 2000*l*., Johnson 1000*l*., and Bamford and Healy 500*l*. each. In the ensuing term, (May 15,) Hunt, and his associates, received sentence; Hunt to be imprisoned in the gaol of Ilchester two years and six months, and at the termination of that period to find securities, himself in 1000*l*. and two in 500*l*. each, to be of good behaviour for five years; and Johnson, Bamford and Healy, to be imprisoned each one year in Lincoln Castle, each respectively to find securities in 100*l*. to keep the peace for five years.

Having pursued this extraordinary affair to its close, we return to the proceedings of the reformers; who, notwithstanding the tragical results of the Manchester meeting, still ventured to assemble as before, at Leeds, at Glasgow, and at other towns. At those meetings, the conduct of the Manchester magistrates and yeomanry became the subject of much vituperative eloquence. At those meetings, also, ensigns of mourning were exhibited; horrible details were given of the barbarous acts, alleged to have been committed by the yeomanry; and the sufferers of the 16th of August were eulogised as martyrs, and their memory classed with that of Russell, Hampden, Sidney, and other illustrious names of ancient times. On few however, if any, of these occasions, where the local authorities refrained from interposing, did any breach of the peace ensue; but at Paisley, &c. where the flags of the radicals were seized by the magistrates on their return from the meeting, some riots occurred; which, fortunately, were quelled without bloodshed. *

The regular opposition, or whig party, throughout the kingdom,

* The conduct and designs of the reformers, as displayed at these assemblages, are further illustrated by the following serio-ludicrous report of the proceedings at a meeting held at Carlisle, on the 8th of November, abridged from the Carlisle Patriot.—It was an adjourned meeting. Along with a multitude of banners, with mottos and devices, there appeared a board, to which were appended a tea kettle, a coffee pot, a snuff box, a tobacco box, a broken wine glass, two short old black pipes, a quart and a pint pot, and a broken ale glass. These were all empty, and turned up-side down, as indicative of uselessness, now that the radicals are determined to abstain from taxed commodities. The procession reached the ground about twenty minutes past one, and the leading men and lady radicals immediately ascended the hustings, where flags waved over their heads in proud triumph! The former chairman, Mr. John Bell, again took the chair; and having seated himself, Mr. Murdock stepped forward, with a cap of liberty in his hand, and said, "Fellow countrymen, this is a cap of liberty, which all of you know the meaning of, and by which you will stand as long as you have life. With your permission, I will place it upon the head of our worthy chairman."—*(Cheers)*—Mr. Murdock then planted the cap upon the chairman's head, and exclaimed, "There, Sir, there is a cap of liberty, and long may you live to wear it, to the dismay of all Tyrants." The chairman immediately presented himself, thus "gloriously crowned," and was loudly cheered. When the warmth of the applause had somewhat abated he stated that this meeting was held agreeably to a resolution passed at the meeting on the 11th of October, and its object was to induce all friends of radical reform to abstain from using certain exciseable articles, until the people had obtained the desired radical reform in the British House of Commons.—*(Cheering.)* Mr. Weemather stepped forward. He believed the meeting would agree with him, that taxation without representation was contrary to the constitution, and manifestly unjust. The people had long been cajoled by a set of men calling themselves whigs. These men constantly professed unbounded attachment to the cause of the people, and loudly preached about reform, retrenchment, and such like. They had made great and long speeches, pretendedly in favour of the people. But what did it all amount to? What did the whigs perform for the people, when Fox came into power? What blessings did the nation derive therefrom? Why the people soon found that the finger of a whig was heavier than the thigh of a tory.—*(Repeated Cheers.)* He would beg to make a few observations on certain men, who were invaribly conspicious in opposition to the rights of the people—upon men who had the impudence and audacity to call themselves the messengers of God upon earth—the clergy—who from their pulpits, denounced the advocates of reform as the enemies of God and their country, and pronounced upon them a sentence of eternal perdition, if they seek after rights. Oh! the wretches! the villains! they call themselves the ministers of the Gospel! they have ever exhibited an attachment to corruption, and have branded with impiety all those who seek to expose and pluck it down. And for why? because they are a part of the plunderers of the people—they eat that portion of the public burdens called tithes.—*(Bravo.)* Why are these reverend gentlemen so alarmed? The reason is, that a radical reform would be likely to bring about an inquiry into the origin of tithes; and it would be found out, very likely, that they were not intended for the support of the big-bellied Doctors of Divinity, but for the poor. This would turn out a most unfortunate discovery for them, but not so for the poor. Ten shillings a week were plenty for preaching two sermons on a Sunday.—*(Cheering.)* Let all present abstain from the use of exciseable articles, in order to keep the revenue down, for no pay no soldier, therefore the people must withold the means, and thus pull down the present abominable system. The resolutions were then read by Mr. Liddell, bootmaker. The following curious calculation formed the fourth:—"That the exciseable articles particularly referred to, are tea, which pays a duty of cent. per cent. or just one half, consequently, every five ounces of tea consumed by any family, pays a soldier a day's wages to prevent the people obtaining their rights and liberties; tobacco and snuff pay three pence an ounce, so that five ounces of these articles pay a soldier a day's wages; spirituous liquors pay eleven shillings per gallon, or better than fourpence per noggin, consequently every four noggins that a man drinks he not only abuses his own constitution, impairs his finances, benumbs his understanding, and paralyzes all the noble faculties of his soul, but pays a hireling soldier to keep him in subjection to a cruel and merciless taskmaster. Ale, which pays duties equal to spirits, may be viewed in the same light, as being equally destructive to the morals, the finances, and tends to the support of tyranny." Mr. Murdock then came forward and exhibited the flags, one after the other, to the meeting, explaining the mottos, and making observations on each as he proceeded. The inscription of "Liberty or Death," was received with very loud applause. He next exhibited the board with the tea kettle, snuff box, &c. before described. Taking the snuff box between the finger and thumb of one hand, he put his other hand to his proboscis, and exclaimed, in a loud voice, "*Oh! my nose, my nose, my nose!*" to the great amusement of his auditors. He next held up a rotten cabbage, much eaten by caterpillars, which he said was an emblem of the constitution, preyed upon by the boroughmongers. Several persons then went round with hats among the crowd, and upon the hustings, the result was—silver, 1*l*. 16*s*. 6*d*.; copper, 2*l*. 9*s*. 6d. total 4*l*. 6*s*. After the dispersal of the meeting, the lady radicals proceeded in a body, to the house of one of the sisterhood, in Shaddengate, where they enjoyed a comfortable cup of either *mint tea* or *acorn coffee*. Their male brethren were more for the *substantials*; for, at the Union Room, a party of about thirty partook of roast beef and giblet pie. Dinner over, the following purely radical sentiments were given, as were the healths of the leaders in this neighbourhood, and drank in the primitive liquor of man:—

1. May the English rose never blow,
   Nor the Scottish thistle ever grow,
   Nor the Irish harp ever play,
   Till radical reformers gain the day.
2. May the sons of corruption languish and pine,
   Whilst the sons of reform triumph and shine.
3. The immortal memory of Thomas Paine, and eternal destruction to all sorts of tyranny.
4. May the sun never shine on the palace of a tyrant, nor set on the cottage of a slave.
5. May radicals never cease to claim their dignity and station,
   Whilst boroughmongers do remain the curse of all the nation.
6. May that day soon come when all slaves shall cast their chains in the faces of their tyrants.

7. May

kingdom, seized, with avidity, upon the solemn approval which had been given, so hastily, as they said, by government, to what they designated an illegal act of power, attended by circumstances of great violence and cruelty.

In consequence, numerous requisitions for town, county, and other local meetings, were signed on the occasion. In many instances, the sheriffs, or other constituted authorities, refused to comply with these requisitions; in which case, the meetings were frequently held under private auspices: most of them were numerously, and some of them very respectably, attended. A large meeting of the county of York was sanctioned by the presence of Earl Fitzwilliam, the lord lieutenant of the west-riding, and by that of many other noblemen and gentlemen of high consideration, who delivered their sentiments on the subject, in very strong and animated language. The resolutions, which were passed at this meeting, called loudly for an inquiry, which the Prince Regent was petitioned to institute, into the transactions at Manchester. The result of this proceeding was, that Earl Fitzwilliam was dismissed from the lord lieutenancy of the west-riding; an incident, upon which, the radicals, as well as the whigs, animadverted with great warmth and severity. An address of the Corporation of London, expressing deep indignation at the Manchester proceedings, and earnestly calling for inquiry, received from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent the following rebukeful answer:—

"I receive with feelings of deep regret this address and petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

"At a time when ill designing and turbulent men are actively engaged in inflaming the minds of their fellow subjects, and endeavouring by means the most daring and insidious to alienate them from their allegiance to his Majesty and the established constitution of the realm, it is on the vigilance and conduct of the magistrates that the preservation of the public tranquillity must in a great degree depend; and a firm, faithful, and active discharge of their duty cannot but give them the strongest claim to the support and approbation of their sovereign and their country.

"With the circumstances which preceded the late meeting at Manchester, you must be unacquainted, and of those which attended it, you appear to have been incorrectly informed. If, however, the laws were really violated on that occasion, by those to whom it immediately belonged to assist in the execution of them, the tribunals of this country are open to afford redress; but to institute an extra judicial inquiry, under such circumstances as the present, would be manifestly inconsistent with the clearest principles of justice."

To counteract the opposition meetings, and to neutralize their effects, loyal addresses, and offers for the raising of yeomanry *corps*, were zealously promoted by the friends of Government. A veteran battalion of between 10 and 11,000 men was also formed from the Chelsea pensioners.

At Lancaster, the Grand Jury threw out all the bills which had been preferred against individuals by the sufferers of the 16th of August. At Oldham, eight miles from Manchester, the Coroner's inquest sat for many days on the body of John Lees, one of the unfortunate men alleged to have lost his life in consequence of injuries received on that memorably fatal day. Great tumult was excited on this occasion; the inquest was, in consequence, adjourned to Manchester, there it occupied some weeks, in the course of which immense numbers of witnesses were examined; and, ultimately, the whole proceedings were set aside, on the ground of informality, in the Court of King's Bench.

Amidst the general ferment which had been produced by these circumstances, the meeting of Parliament was impatiently awaited by all parties. It assembled on the 23d of November. "I regret to have been under the necessity," observed his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in his speech at the opening of the session, "to have been under the necessity of calling you together at this period of the year; but the seditious practices so long prevalent in some of the manufacturing districts of the country have been continued with increased activity since you were last assembled in Parliament. They have led to proceedings incompatible with the public tranquillity, and with the peaceful habits of the industrious classes of the community; and a spirit is now fully manifested, utterly hostile to the constitution of this kingdom, and aiming not only at the change of those political institutions which have hitherto constituted the pride and security of this country, but at the subversion of the rights of property and of all order in society. I have given directions that the necessary information on this subject shall be laid before you; and I feel it to be my indispensable duty to press on your immediate attention the consideration of such measures as may be requisite for the counteraction and suppression of a system, which, if not effectually checked, must bring confusion and ruin on the nation." The close of his Royal Highness's speech was as follows:—"Upon the loyalty of the great body of the people I have the most confident reliance; but it will require your utmost vigilance and exertion, collectively, and individually, to check the dissemination of the doctrines of treason and impiety, and to impress upon the minds of all his Majesty's subjects, that it is from the cultivation of the principles of religion, and from a just subordination to lawful authority, that we can alone expect the continuance of that divine favour and protection which have hitherto been so signally experienced in this kingdom."

In the Upper House, an amendment to the address, was moved by Earl Grey, in which, whilst the necessity of checking any practices dangerous to the laws and constitution was fully admitted, his lordship expressed a strong opinion as to the expediency and necessity of conciliation, and of inquiry into the transactions of Manchester, for the purpose of allaying the feelings to which they have given birth, and of satisfying the people that the lives of his Majesty's subjects could not be sacrificed with impunity. Lord Sidmouth said, the transactions at Manchester had had more exaggeration, misrepresentation, and falsehood, applied to them than to any other public transaction in his knowledge. The magistrates, many of them independent gentlemen, of the highest character, had every ground for suspicion against the persons who marched in military array with banners, and pikes bloody at the heads, to the places of meeting. There was yet stronger grounds of presumption in favour of the magistrates: to that day no prosecution had been instituted against them. He denied that the yeomanry had acted with violence or intemperance; they had merely done their duty in aid of the civil power. It was the opinion of the greatest authorities, that the meeting of the 16th was not only illegal, but treasonable. The members of the privy council, with the law officers of the crown, were of that opinion; also that the conduct of

---

7. May arms be taken from those who abuse them,
And given to those who have courage to use them.
8. Liberty or Death.
9. May the majesty of the people strike terror to the core of Corruption.
10. Mr. Cobbett, the Hercules of reform.
11. Earl Fitzwilliam, and may he resent his injury.
12. What radical reformers contend for—the rights of man.
13. May the green bag soon be taken for a fiddle *poke*.
14. May the persecuted Carlile rise triumphant over all his enemies.
15. May the "swinish multitude" make a hog stye of St. James's, and turn out the old boar.
16. Mr. Hunt, and may he prove himself worthy of the confidence of the people.
17. Confusion to all spies and informers.
18. May tax-eating tyrants be hung as high as the steeple,
Who rob and usurp the rights of the people.
19. Death to religious intolerance.
20. Cobler Jem,* who is a noble example to all reformers
21. May we never prove ourselves unworthy of the cause we have espoused.

* This said Cobler Jem is a well known character in Carlisle, and was in the habit of consuming eighteen pence or two shillings' worth of snuff weekly. This quantum he has taken for 50 years (we are within the mark) which at 1s. 6d. per week, to say nothing of interest, amounts to 195*l*. Add to this, that his wife has snuffed nearly the same quantity! Yet, wonderful to tell! but what cannot the principles of radical reform effect? Cobler Jem and his lady have thrown away their snuff boxes!!!

the

the magistrates was perfectly justifiable; and then the letter was written, applauding the conduct of the magistrates. He would not enter into the grounds for dispensing with the services of Earl Fitzwilliam, but the manner in which that nobleman had taken a part in the state of his country, rendered it impossible that any confidence, could subsist between the government and his lordship. After an animated discussion, in which the necessity of inquiry was strenuously maintained by the opposition peers, and as strenuously resisted by the supporters of administration, the House divided—for the original address, Contents 159—Non-contents 34—Majority 125.

In the Lower House, an amendment to the address, similiar in spirit to that which was proposed by Earl Grey, in the Peers, was moved by Mr. Tierney; who in an able and animated speech, drew a melancholy picture of the state of the country, which, he affirmed, the glaring misconduct of ministers had brought to the very verge of despair. The cause of parliamentary reform had been working its way for years, and the great mass of the people felt, with discontent and indignation, that the present state of the representation was not favourable to their interest. The diffusion of education, he added, which had been sanctioned by the legislature itself, had exposed Parliament to all the criticisms on its proceedings, which men deemed themselves justified by facts, and by their own knowledge, in making. If government thought, that by passing new laws, by raising additional regiments, or by the promulgation of loyal addresses, they could put down the awakened and excited spirit of the country, they would find themselves deplorably in error. The honourable gentleman then adverted to the transactions at Manchester; forcibly urged the necessity of inquiry; and made some severe remarks on the dismissal of Earl Fitzwilliam. Lord Castlereagh said, he felt it unnecessary to follow the honourable mover of the amendment, through his extended remarks on the state of the nation, because the only definite or tangible proposition which he had offered to the consideration of Parliament, was one for inquiry into the Manchester business; and further, because it was his intention, on the ensuing day, to lay before the House, in a printed form, the mass of information on which government intended to proceed, and also to explain the measures which it had in contemplation to propose. His lordship justified the means which had been taken for the dispersion of the assemblage at Manchester, and contended, as what he solemnly believed to be the fact, though conflicting evidence was, he admitted, to be expected, that previously to the interference of the military power, three attempts had been made to read the Riot Act. His lordship concluded by supporting the original address. The number of speakers on this important subject was very considerable; and, after some contest, the opposition succeeded in procuring an adjournment of the debate. On the succeeding day, the promised documents, respecting the state of popular feeling, were brought down and laid upon the table of the House. These papers consisted, in part, of the correspondence of official persons with the secretary of the Home Department, and in part, of communications to such persons, made by individuals whose names were, from prudential motives, withheld. Such of the letters of the Manchester magistrates as had been written previously to the 16th of August, expressed apprehensions that a formidable insurrection was in contemplation; at the same time they bore testimony to the deep distresses of the manufacturing classes, of which advantage was taken, by the disaffected, to instil their pernicious doctrines; and they assigned hunger as the natural cause of the willingness of the poor to listen to any wild or mischievous proposal that might be made for the melioration of their sufferings. The Manchester magistrates particularly dwelt upon the popular meetings and daily increasing licentiousness of the press, as the leading causes of their alarm. Some letters from the Earl of Derby, Lord Lieutenant for the county of Lancaster, referred to the failure of the attempts to raise a corps of yeomanry. It was stated, in numerous affidavits and depositions, that the practice of secret military training prevailed to a very great extent among the reformers; but, in some cases it was made to appear that nothing more had been intended by these men, than to enable themselves to march, in the semblance of military array, to their meetings; and further it was shown that sticks were the only weapons which had been employed in the exercise of drilling. A statement from Lord Fitzwilliam, on the state of the West Riding of the county of York, represented that the last reform meeting, on Hunslet Moor, had been less numerously attended than the former ones. This document was calculated to produce the impression that the rage for holding such meetings might safely be left to die away of itself. Sir John Byng, the military commander of the district, stated, that no doubt was entertained, that simultaneous meetings were to have been held at many neighbouring towns, which he named, but that the plan had been frustrated by disunion amongst the leaders. The distress and discontent of the people of the West Riding of the county of York, where pistols, pikes, and other offensive weapons, were reported to be manufacturing in considerable quantities, formed the subject of some of these communications; and similar representations, from the south west of Scotland, where employment and wages had fallen off in a still more deplorable degree, were afforded by others. The Grand Jury of the county of Cheshire, also expressed the alarm which was felt for their lives and properties by the loyal part of the King's subjects, where active measures of terror and intimidation had for some time prevailed.

On the 29th of November the Lord Chancellor introduced a bill, which, he observed, did not arise out of the circumstances of the times, but had been contemplated by him long ago. It had been the practice of the courts to allow defendants, in cases of information, or indictments, to imparle, or traverse. As great inconvenience had arisen from this practice, as trials were sometimes delayed till a very remote period, and as the ends of justice might thus be defeated, the bill would take away from a defendant the right of traversing; allowing the Court, however, to postpone his trial upon his showing ground for the delay. Earl Grey at once entered his protest against the whole of the measures, which, as it appeared, were in preparation, as calculated to bring the greatest misery, if not ruin, upon the country. The Lord Chancellor's bill was, upon the second reading, opposed by Earl Grosvenor, who contended that, whilst the Attorney General was allowed to hold informations over the heads of defendants for an indefinite length of time, it was greatly enhancing the grievance, by abolishing the right of traverse, for thus, the power of the crown was increased, and the security of the subject was diminished. Lord Erskine also objected to the measure, as depriving the people of an ancient and important privilege. His lordship remarked too upon the strange coincidence of this bill being brought forward, at a time, when the table of the House was covered with other bills, the tendency of which was, to curtail the rights of the people. On the other hand, it was contended by the Earl of Liverpool, that if their lordships did not pass this bill, they had better at once declare that, in future, every description of sedition and blasphemy should be invested with full toleration. In most instances, persons, charged with the higher crimes, were brought to immediate trial; whilst, in offences of minor note, a delay, sometimes extending to a twelvemonth, might be claimed. Thus in cases of libel, his lordship observed, the offence might be repeated day after day, and hour after hour, before the party could be brought to trial. The measure, he agreed, was an innovation; the House was bound to require evidence of strong necessity for that innovation; a necessity which existed, as he contended, in the state of the country, and the practices which so notoriously prevailed. By Lord Holland, it was urged, that, in fairness, the measure ought to be so ordered as to legislate on both sides, by preventing the delays which occurred by prosecutions on *ex-officio* informations, as well as by those of indictment. Agreeably to this suggestion, the Lord Chancellor, on the

the third reading, proposed the insertion of an additional clause, the object of which was to compel the Attorney General to bring a defendant to trial within a year, or to enter a *noli prosequi*. The bill, thus amended, was agreed to, without further opposition, by both Houses.

The other bills, alluded to by Lord Erskine, were introduced on the same evening (November 29); by Lord Sidmouth, in the Upper, and by Lord Castlereagh, in the Lower House. They were to the following effect:—An act to render the publication of a blasphemous or seditious libel punishable, on a second conviction, at the discretion of the court, by fine, imprisonment, banishment, or transportation, and to give power, in cases of a second conviction, to seize the copies of the libel in possession of the publisher.—A stamp duty, equal to that paid by newspapers, on all publications of less than a given number of sheets, with an obligation on all publishers of such pieces to enter into recognizances for the payment of such penalties as might in future be inflicted on them. The press being thus restrained, seditious meetings were to be controlled by the following provisions:—That a requisition for the holding of any meeting, other than those regularly called by a sheriff, boroughreeve, or other magistrate, should be signed by seven householders, and that it should be illegal for any persons, not inhabitants of the place in which such meeting was held, to attend it. Also, that magistrates should be empowered, within certain limitations, to appoint the time and place of meeting. To repel danger from the mustering of an illegal force, it was proposed to prohibit military training, except under the authority of a magistrate or lieutenant of a county; and, in the disturbed districts, to give to magistrates the power of seizing arms believed to be collected for unlawful purposes, and also to apprehend and detain persons so carrying arms. The only one of these bills which passed without opposition, from a generally acknowledged sense of its expediency, under the existing circumstances of the country, was that for the prevention of secret military training. The bill for the seizure of arms, which, under certain circumstances, and in particular districts, authorized search to be made in private houses, by day or night, was strenuously resisted in both Houses; and, upon an amendment for omitting the words "or night," the House of Commons divided—Ayes 46, Noes 158. A clause of the blasphemous and seditious libel bill, by which offenders were, upon a second conviction, subjected to the punishment of transportation, passed the House of Lords, but ministers found it expedient to withdraw it in the Commons. The penalty of banishment, however, which had been previously unknown to the English law, was allowed to be enacted. In its progress, the seditious meeting bill was subjected to a modification, by which all meetings, held in any room or building, were exempted from its operation. Several limitations of the bill, for subjecting small publications to the newspaper stamp duty, were also introduced.

On the 30th of November, the evening after the restriction bills had been brought forward in both Houses, the Marquis of Lansdowne rose to move for a select committee, to inquire into the state of the nation, and more especially of those which were called disturbed districts. The principle called radicalism, his lordship said, existed in exactly the same proportion as that of distress, in the respective districts. He had a right to infer this, from the agricultural part of the country being yet untainted; and, from the spirit of radicalism having reached its height in the cotton manufacturing districts of both England and Scotland. The distress arose from the long war, which gave us the whole carrying trade of the world, which created a fixed capital that still existed, and filled the markets without the possibility of finding a vent for them. The distress was also increased by the poor laws, the paper currency, and the spirit of excessive speculation. Adverting to the expedients which had been proposed, for the alleviation of distress, by the advancement of temporary loans, to encourage labour, and to furnish labour to those who could not obtain it, he said there were two other points of a more extended nature: one was to take off duties on articles which had considerably decreased in various districts—such as tea, which had been greatly reduced in consumption, and was subject to much smuggling, from America and other parts; the other point was the establishment of favourable commercial treaties, which the Prince Regent's government had not yet succeeded in accomplishing. He alluded, in particular, to the timber trade with Norway, which, he said, had been neglected, to encourage the growth of an inferior article in Canada, which prevented Norway taking in return many of our articles of commerce. He mentioned these things with a view to their being tried, and to show to our starving population, that Parliament left nothing untried to afford them relief. The Marquis Wellesley deprecated the seditious designs and views of the reformers, and thought the discussion of the restriction bills ought to be proceeded with in preference to any inquiry. Lord Erskine contended, that the country was by no means in so alarming a state as at the time of the state trials in 1794. The existing laws were sufficient to remove the evils complained of, and to punish the guilty. He ridiculed the evidence which appeared in the papers lately laid before Parliament, with a view to prove a treasonable or seditious meeting at Manchester; and contended that there was nothing illegal in marching to a place of public meeting. Lord Grenville could not consider the designs as originating in the distress, which, he hoped, was only temporary. Such distress gave facilities to factious men, which they otherwise would not possess; but the root of the evil lay much deeper. To make alterations in the revenue of a country like this, as had been suggested by the noble marquis, was extremely difficult and dangerous. Their duty was to guard the constitution, and the peaceable part of the population, from the designs of wicked men. The promoters of the new system here, taking the French Revolution as their model, had deluged the country with blasphemous publications. He saw no grounds for inquiry on the Manchester occasion. He considered the conduct of the magistrates to have been not only free from blame, but highly meritorious. The Earl of Liverpool, in opposing the motion, quoted the following lines, with much effect:—

> "How few of all the ills that men endure,
> Are those which kings or laws can cause or cure."

All the evils complained of, his lordship observed, would have the fullest consideration of Parliament, but they formed no good grounds for immediate inquiry. The motion was negatived, after considerable discussion, by 148 against 47.

Much business, of the first importance to the country, having been dispatched in the course of a very few weeks, Parliament adjourned for the Christmas recess, on the 30th of December; the Commons till the 15th, and the Lords till the 17th of February. By the deplored event, however, which speedily followed, this Parliament, the last of a long and eminently distinguished reign, was dissolved.

A. D. 1820.] The protracted existence and sufferings of his Majesty King George III. were now rapidly drawing towards a final close.

The year may be said to have opened inauspiciously. His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, who had been seized with an inflammation on the lungs, sunk beneath the violence of the disease, and expired at Sidmouth, in Devonshire, on the 21st of January.* Eight days afterwards,

* His Royal Highness was the fourth son and fifth child of his Majesty; he was born on the 2d of November, 1767, and was consequently in the 53d year of his age. He was educated in part under the present Bishop of Salisbury; but, in the 18th year of his age, he went to Germany for the completion of his studies, and resided successively at Lunenburgh and Hanover, till October, 1787, when he removed, by his Majesty's commands, to Geneva, and there remained until he completed his 22d year. In January, 1790, his Royal Highness revisited England, but for a few days only, proceeding immediately, in a military character, to Gibraltar. With the rank of Colonel, he commanded the 7th Fusileers, which formed part of the garrison of Gibraltar, under General O'Hara, in 1790 and 1791. In that subordinate military station, his Royal Highness soon became remarkable for the diligent discharge of his own duties, and for exacting

afterwards, Saturday, January 29th, the venerable and royal father of his people died. This distressing event was officially made known to the public on Sunday, by a very brief *Gazette Extraordinary*, containing a letter from the Duke of York to Lord Sidmouth, announcing the departure of his Majesty, accompanied by a certificate, to the same effect, from the five physicians, Halford, Baillie, Heberden, Willis and Dundas. In consequence of the royal demise, both Houses of Parliament assembled, *pro forma*, on Sunday, notwithstanding the adjournment; and they met every day after until Wednesday, when they adjourned to the 17th, though without transacting any other business than that of administering to the respective Members the oath of allegiance, &c. to the new Sovereign. Another *Extraordinary Gazette*, published on the Monday, more specifically announced the decease of his Majesty, in its initial paragraph, as follows:—

"On Saturday afternoon, at thirty-five minutes past eight o'clock, our late Most Gracious Sovereign King George the Third, whose strength had gradually declined for some weeks, expired without the least apparent suffering, at his Castle of Windsor, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth of his reign. No sovereign ever possessed in a higher degree the veneration and affection of his subjects, and their grief for his loss is only abated by the unhappy malady, which has precluded his Majesty from directing the measures of his government during the nine latter years of his glorious reign."

The first signs of decay in the excellent constitution which had been enjoyed by his Majesty, appeared about two months before his death, when, after suffering much from a severe cold, he was attacked by a slight diarrhœa, which, however, after some days, yielded to anodyne and astringent medicines, and all apprehensions with respect to the consequences ceased. It was not till several days had elapsed from the publication of the usual monthly bulletin, that his Majesty's symptoms became a cause of peculiar anxiety and solicitude to his medical attendants. At that period, his disorder returned with greater violence, and, in despite of the utmost skill of his physicians, several of whom remained in constant attendance, continued from day to day to make visible inroads on the health and strength of the Royal Patient. Amongst the inhabitants of Windsor, who had opportunities of observing the increased vigilance that pervaded the movements about the Castle, the suspicion soon infused itself, that an unfavourable change had taken place in the health of his Majesty. The Lords in waiting were noticed to remain longer at their post, and to quit their charge for shorter periods than usual. His Majesty, in the early access of his second attack, refused animal food. The most nourishing diet, in every form that could be devised to tempt his appetite, was prepared for him, but it seemed to fail in its purpose of sustaining or recruiting exhausted nature. A few days before his death, he became reduced almost to a skeleton. The general decay to which his constitution was now subjected showed itself in the usual symptoms. It was evident that his blood was becoming torpid and chilly; for though artificial means were used to raise the temperature of his apartments, yet he continued to manifest increasing suffering from cold. Among other distressing proofs of his debility, and approaching dissolution, he lost his remaining teeth: he also lost his appetite, which had previously been so hearty, that it had been usual to medicate his food in order to procure digestion, and prevent any injury from the tendency to excessive indulgence. It was not, however, till within two days of his decease, that he kept his bed entirely, though for several days past he had not risen at his accustomed early hour. On the night of Friday, the symptoms became so alarming that Sir Henry Halford went express to London very early on Saturday morning, and had an immediate audience of the Duke of York. The consequence was, that his Royal Highness's carriage was immediately ordered, and without a moment's delay he set forward with post horses for Windsor Castle. His Royal Highness appeared agitated as he

---

exacting a similar punctuality from every man and officer under him. His attention to the appearance and discipline of his regiment was altogether exemplary and unremitting; but, as he could not inspire all the military world with an equal sense of the solid value of those dry, homely, and uninteresting duties which employ so large a portion of military life, the Colonel of the 7th Fusileers was for some time an unpopular commander. He frequently issued orders on points which were of inferior moment, and enforced them rigorously, because he had issued them. By this system, by a conscientious fulfilment of his own duties, a firm requisition of the like conduct from others, and an anxious interposition on behalf of every individual who had wrongs to be redressed or claims to be recommended, he at length carried the discipline of his regiment to the highest pitch, and established for himself the most respectable military reputation. From Gibraltar his Royal Highness was removed to Canada in 1791. From this station he proceeded, in December, 1793, through the United States to the West Indies, to join the army under the late Lord Grey, and was present at the reduction of St. Lucia, on the 4th of April following. On the expedition the impetuous bravery of his Royal Highness was manifested at St. Lucia, with too little consideration for his own safety, and too much disregard to the enemy's position. The troops were repulsed; but the Duke of Kent's high personal courage obtained him the applauses of his soldiers, and a flattering rebuke from the Commander-in-Chief. At the close of the campaign of 1794, the Duke of Kent, pursuant to his Majesty's commands, returned to British North America, and served at Halifax as Major General till 1796, and as Lieutenant General till 1798, when, in consequence of a severe fall from his horse, he was obliged to return to England. In April, 1799, his Royal Highness was created a Peer by the titles of Duke of Kent and Strathern, and Earl of Dublin, and obtained a Parliamentary establishment adequate to the support of his new dignities. The following month he was promoted to the rank of General in the army, and appointed Commander-in-Chief in North America, to which he proceeded in July; but ill health again obliged him to return, and he arrived in England in the Autumn of 1800. In March, 1802, his Royal Highness was appointed Governor-in-Chief of the important fortress of Gibraltar, which office he held till the time of his decease. In May, 1802, he went to preside there in person, and exerted himself very laudably to suppress the licentiousness and dissipation of the wine-houses. The honourable attempt was made, but with doubtful success. The wine licences were withdrawn; and, for a time, the peaceable inhabitants of Gibraltar could carry on their business, and walk the streets, and repose within their dwellings, at less risk of insult, or outrage, than before; drunkenness disappeared among the regiments; cleanliness and discipline were restored, while military punishments were reduced in frequency, the hospitals emptied of their numerous inmates, and the sexton disappointed of his daily work. The liquor merchants, however, were forced to discontinue their enormous profit; and they instigated the unreflecting soldiery to vengeance for the loss of those indulgences which devoured their pay and destroyed their health. Insubordination broke out on all sides, the Governor was not supported by the local authorities, and, after receiving the grateful and unanimous acknowledgments of the civil population of Gibraltar, he returned from a post in which his efforts for public good were more zealous than fortunate. His Royal Highness thought it advisable to return to England in May, 1803, where he continued to reside till 1816, when economical views led him to the Continent. Here he continued, residing principally at Brussels, till May, 1818, on the 29th of which month he was married, at Cobourg, according to the Lutheran rites, to her Serene Highness Victoria Maria Louisa, youngest daughter to the late reigning Duke of Saxe Cobourg; widow of his late Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen; and sister of his Royal Highness the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, the chosen husband of our much lamented Princess Charlotte. The Royal Pair, shortly after the solemnity, arrived in England, and were remarried, according to the rites of the English Church, at Kew Palace, on the 11th of July, 1818. Persevering in the economical plan which he had laid before his marriage, the Duke, a few weeks after his second ceremony, returned with his Royal Bride to Amorbach, the residence of the Duke of Leiningen, which the Duchess, who was left by the will of her late husband guardian of her son, a minor, and Regent of the principality during his minority, had occupied as her residence. It was during their Royal Highness's retirement at this spot, that the Duchess proved to be pregnant; and as her Royal Highness fully concurred in the sentiments entertained by her illustrious consort, as an Englishman, that her child ought to draw its first breath on English ground, they both revisited this country, where the Duchess gave birth to a daughter, named Alexandrina Victoria, who was born at Kensington Palace, on the 24th of May, 1819. His Royal Highness, a few weeks previous to his death, took his Duchess and their lovely offspring into Devonshire, to give them the benefit of its purer air and milder climate; but unhappily fell himself a victim to a sudden attack of a pulmonary inflammation, produced by accidental cold. At the time of his death, besides the offices and dignities which have been already enumerated, his Royal Highness was invested with those of a Knight of the Garter, Thistle, and St. Patrick, a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, Keeper and Paler of Hampton Court Park, Colonel of the Royal Scots' Regiment of Foot, and from the year 1805, a Field Marshal in the army. His Royal Highness was tall in stature, of a manly and noble presence. His manners were affable, condescending, dignified and engaging; his conversation animated; his information varied and copious; his memory exact and retentive; his intellectual power quick, strong, and masculine; he resembled the King, in many of his tastes and propensities; he was an early riser, a close economist of his time; temperate in eating; and heedless of slight indisposition, from confidence in the general strength of his constitution; a kind master, a punctual and courteous correspondent, a steady friend, and an affectionate brother. The remains of his Royal Highness were privately interred in the royal chapel of St. George, at Windsor, on the evening of the 12th of February.

got

got into the coach; and there was an air of mystery and hurry in the whole affair, which gave but too much reason to anticipate the distressing nature of Sir Henry Halford's communication. At ten o'clock on Saturday morning, the medical attendants, and the Lords in waiting, felt assured that the last hour of the venerable sufferer was approaching, and that the day must terminate his mortal career. As the evening advanced, his Majesty became weaker and weaker, but apparently without the slightest pain, till nature became quite exhausted; and, as already stated, he breathed his last, without suffering even a struggle. The decay, though rapid, was unaccompanied with any violent or sudden changes, so that none of that physical excitement had occurred which sometimes, in cases of mental derangement, restores to sufferers in their last moments a transient use of their understanding, and imbitters the parting hour with a consciousness of their late dreadful situation. Our venerable Sovereign was spared this last pang: there was no returning visit of his reason, which could only have served to torture him with a sense of what he had lost, as well as what he was about to lose. It is true that from this insensibility, he could not have the melancholy satisfaction of witnessing, by his death bed, the affectionate duty of the Duke of York; but then he was saved from the anguish of missing the aged partner of his throne, his beloved grandchild, and that estimable prince whose manly virtues so nearly resembled his own. At the moment of his dissolution, there were present, besides the usual attendants, his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Lord Henley, Lord Winchilsea, all the physicians, and General Taylor. In the palace were the Duchess of Gloucester, the Princesses Augusta, Sophia, &c. Immediately after the decease, the Duke of York retired, and dispatched General Cartwright with the mournful intelligence to the Prince Regent. His Royal Highness did not himself leave the Castle till Sunday morning.

Over the last nine years of his Majesty's life, an awful veil had been drawn. In the periods of the deepest national solicitude, his mind had felt no interest; in the hour of the most acute domestic feeling, his eye had been tearless; almost the last time that this venerable sovereign appeared in public, was on the day when his people, with one accord, devoted themselves to rejoicing in honour of his completion of a period of his reign far beyond the common term of dominion. He was blind; but, as he rode through the assembled thousands of his subjects, his countenance was dilated by the goodness and rapture of his heart; he was indeed the object of every one's veneration and love. In a few weeks, one of the most afflicting domestic calamities that he had ever experienced—the death of his beloved daughter, the Princess Amelia—bowed him to the dust. The anguish of the father was too great for a wounded spirit to bear—in his mental suffering his reason forsook him—and it never returned. The strength of the King's recollection remained unimpaired almost to the last, but the alteration of his reason was never, in any considerable degree, diminished.

It was on Wednesday, the 16th of February, that a long, a last farewell was taken of one of the best and most amiable princes that ever swayed the sceptre of Britain. On the evening of that day, his honoured remains were consigned to their native dust.* A nation's tears bedewed his grave: the people felt that his mortal part

---

* The following is a copy of the ceremonial which was officially issued from the Herald's College, and which was adhered to as closely as possible:—"For the interment of his late most Sacred Majesty King George the Third, of blessed memory, in the Royal Chapel of St. George at Windsor, on Wednesday evening, the 16th of February, 1820:—The remains of his late most Sacred Majesty, of blessed memory, will lie in state in the royal apartments in Windsor Castle, from Tuesday morning, the 15th instant, at nine o'clock, until the time of interment on Wednesday evening. The public will be admitted from ten o'clock till four on Tuesday, and from ten till three o'clock on the following day.

"At seven o'clock in the evening of Wednesday, the 16th instant, the several persons who are to assist at the solemnity will assemble in St. George's Hall, and at nine o'clock (the procession having been previously formed under the direction of Sir George Nayler, York Herald, executing this duty on behalf of Garter Principal King of Arms) the remains of his late most Sacred Majesty will be removed from the royal apartments to St. George's Chapel, in the following order:—

Knight Marshal's men, two and two, with black staves.
Trumpets and Kettle Drums, and Drums and Fifes of the Foot Guards.
Poor Knights of Windsor.
Pages of his late Majesty.

Apothecaries to his Majesty. — Surgeons to his Majesty.
Apothecaries to his late Majesty. — Surgeons to his late Majesty.

The Curate and Rector of Windsor.
Gentlemen Ushers, Quarterly Waiters to his Majesty.
Pages of Honour to his Majesty.
Grooms of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty.
Sergeant Surgeons to his Majesty.
Physicians to his Majesty.
Physicians to his late Majesty.
Household Chaplain to his late Majesty.
Clerks of the Closet to his Majesty.
Equerries to the Royal Family.
Equerries to his Majesty.
Clerk Marshal and First Equerry.
Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty.
Grooms of the Bedchamber to his Majesty.
Master of the Robes to his Majesty.

Solicitor General. — Attorney General.

Barons of the Exchequer and Justices of both Benches.
The Lord Chief Baron.
The Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

The Vice Chancellor. — The Master of the Rolls.

The Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

Comptroller of the King's Household. — Treasurer of the King's Household.

Privy Councillors (not Peers.)
Pursuivant.
Eldest sons of Barons.
Eldest sons of Viscounts.
Pursuivant.
Barons.
Pursuivant.
Bishops.
Herald.
Eldest sons of Earls.
Viscounts.
Herald.
Deputy Earl Marshal.
Eldest sons of Marquisses.
Herald.
Earls.
Eldest sons of Dukes.
Herald.
Marquisses.
Herald.
Dukes.
Herald.
The Lord Privy Seal.
The Lord President of the Council.
The Archbishop of York.
The Lord Chancellor.
The Archbishop of Canterbury.
Norroy King at Arms.
Lords of his Majesty's Bedchamber.

Groom of the Stole to his Majesty. — Master of the Horse to his Majesty.

THE ROYAL CROWN

Supporter: A Gentleman Usher. — of Hanover, borne on a purple velvet cushion by Blanc Coursier King of Arms. — Supporter: A Gentleman Usher.

Supporter: 3d Gentleman Usher, Daily Waiter to his Majesty. — THE IMPERIAL CROWN of the United Kingdom, borne on a purple velvet cushion, by Clarenceux King of Arms. — Supporter: 2d Gentleman Usher, Daily Waiter to his Majesty.

The Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household.
The Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household.

Five Gentleman Pensioners with battle axes reversed. Supporters of the Canopy, Five Peers. Supporters of the Pall, Three Dukes.

THE BODY,
Covered with a fine Holland Sheet, and a Purple Velvet Pall, adorned with ten Escutcheons of the Imperial Arms, carried by ten Yeomen of the Guard, under a Canopy of Purple Velvet.

Supporters of the Pall, Three Dukes. Supporters of the Canopy, Five Peers. Five Gentleman Pensioners with battle axes reversed.

1st Gentleman Usher, Daily Waiter to his Majesty. — Garter Principal King of Arms. — Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.

Supporter: A Peer. — THE CHIEF MOURNER, in a long Black Cloak, his Train borne by two Peers, assisted by the Vice Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household. — Supporter: A Peer.

Sixteen Peers, Assistants to the Chief Mourner.

PRINCES

part was no longer with them; but they felt also that the memory of his many virtues would be enshrined for ever in their hearts. The solemnity and reverence with which the day was observed in the metropolis, and even in the remotest parts of the kingdom, has never been equalled by any public expression of sorrow within the memory of living man. More acutely painful grief was probably felt upon the untimely death of the Princess Charlotte; but the awful and sacred homage which was offered from every heart, on the day of the King's interment, seemed intimately associated with a sense of the majesty and sanctity of character by which George III. was distinguished amongst princes.

Soon after ten o'clock on the Tuesday morning, the preparations were completed for the mournful ceremonial of his Majesty's remains lying in state; and the gates of Windsor Castle were then thrown open for admission of the public, many hundreds of whom had been anxiously waiting there for some hours. A strong party of the Bow Street Police were in attendance, to prevent the intrusion of improper persons, and they were assisted by the labourers and inferior domestics of the Castle, in long black coats and state caps of the same colour. The public were, in the first place, admitted by the grand entrance to the Upper Ward, or Square of the Black Horse. The entrance was parted by a strong railing, diverging within the Ward to the right and left, so that the stream of company, which incessantly poured in, was by this means directed at once to the North-eastern Tower of the quadrangle, commonly called Egerton's Tower. At the door, four Marshals' men were stationed, with their silver-tipped staves, and wearing, in addition to their state uniforms, ample scarfs of black silk, with crape hatbands, sword knots, &c. Ascending the winding stairs of the tower, the visitor, after passing through an ante-chamber, filled with Marshals' men and Yeomen of the Guard, entered at once into St. George's Hall, where the departed Sovereign had been accustomed to hold the Chapter of the Knights of the Garter. The throne and its canopy were covered with black cloth, and at the foot of the steps was a slight railing, also covered with black. Over the Hall, diagonally to the door of the Guard Chamber, matting was laid down, with a black cord on each side, to confine the company to the space it occupied; and, without this cord, were stationed privates of the Life Guards, with their arms reversed. This apartment had a very impressive effect. The spectator, surrounded by the heroes of Waterloo in mournful and motionless attitudes, walls in pictured pomp arrayed, and a whole people in the weeds of mourning, found himself in that far famed Hall, where the Monarch, whose mouldering remains he was approaching,

"Once shone the leader of the garter'd line."

This led at once to the King's Guard-Chamber and state apartments, where the Knights of the Garter, in the absence of the Sovereign, dine at an installation. The lofty walls of this apartment are entirely covered with the armour of past ages; bills and partizans, coats of mail, helmets, cuirasses, and glaives; bucklers and shields; matchlocks, broad swords, pistols, daggers, muskets, and the armour of Edward the Black Prince. The visitors were, in this chamber also, separated from the great body of the apartment by a cord covered with black; and, in the open space, Yeomen of the Guard were assembled, in groupes, who, not being immediately upon duty, waited here to relieve their comrades. Their costume was the same, in form, as their ordinary one; but it was entirely of black cloth, with crape round the cap, and the arms of England embroidered in gold, silver, and colours. Their partizans had also a covering of black cloth. From this the spectator passed through an ante-chamber; the floor, ceiling, and walls, entirely covered with sable drapery, and lighted at intervals by silver sconces, each bearing two small wax lights; just sufficient to show a long line of Yeomen of the Guard, leaning on their crape-clothed partizans as motionless as statues. He then entered the Presence Chamber, in which reposed "all that could die" of our beloved monarch. The whole of this noble apartment was entirely clothed with fine purple cloth, and illuminated by a profusion of silver sconces. On a raised platform, at the opposite extremity, appeared the coffin * supported upon tressels, and covered with a pall of rich purple velvet, lined with white satin, and ornamented at each side by three escutcheons, and on the top were deposited the Kingly Crown of England, and the electoral one of Hanover, on two purple velvet cushions, superbly fringed and tasseled with gold. On each side of the coffin were three stupendous wax lights, in massive silver candlesticks, and over it a radiated canopy of purple cloth; the cornice was also adorned with escutcheons. At the head of the coffin were seated the Earl of Delawarr and Lord Graves, the Lords in waiting; and Colonel Whatley, Colonel King, Sir George Campbell, and Sir Cavendish Bradshaw, the Grooms in waiting. At the feet stood the Pursuivants, in official costume, but uncovered, and about the apartment were a number of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, in their state dresses, with crape scarfs, &c. The scene was solemn and impressive beyond all expression. Thence the company passed through the King's drawing-room and its ante-chambers, and descended by the staircase in the western tower, where King John resided during the time of his contest with his barons; and thence out through the quadrangle, by the grand southern entrance. At four o'clock, the hour announced for closing the public ceremony of the day, the gates were shut; but the Lords in waiting, the Earl of Delawarr and Lord Graves, continued to watch by the Royal corpse throughout the night,

---

PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ROYAL,
in long black cloaks, the train of each borne by two
Gentlemen of the Households of their
respective Royal Highnesses.
The Council of his Royal Highness the Duke of York,
as Custos Personæ of his late Majesty.

Master of the Household to his late Majesty on the Windsor Establishment.	Groom of the Stole to his late Majesty on the Windsor Establishment.	Vice Chamberlain to his late Majesty on the Windsor Establishment.

Lords of his late Majesty's Bedchamber.
Grooms of his late Majesty's Bedchamber.
His late Majesty's Trustees.
Equerries to his late Majesty.
Gentlemen Pensioners with their axes reversed.
Yeomen of the Guard with their partizans reversed.

"Upon the arrival of the procession at St. George's Chapel, the Knight Marshals' men, the trumpets and drums, will file off without the door.

"At the entrance of the chapel, the Royal Body will be received by the Dean and Prebendaries, attended by the choir, who will fall in immediately before Blanc Coursier King of Arms, bearing the Crown of Hanover; and the procession will move into the choir, where the Royal Body will be placed on a platform, and the Crowns and Cushions laid thereon.

"The Chief Mourner will sit on a chair at the head of the corpse, and the supporters on either side.

"The Princes of the Blood Royal will be seated near the Chief Mourner.

"The Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household will take his place at the feet of the corpse; and the supporters of the pall and of the canopy will arrange themselves on each side of the Royal Body.

"The part of the service before the interment, and the anthem, being performed, the Royal Body will be deposited in the vault; and, the service concluded, Sir Isaac Heard, Garter, will pronounce, near the grave, the styles of his late most Sacred Majesty, of blessed memory.

"N. B. The Knights of the several Orders, who walk in the procession, will wear their respective collars.

"The procession from the entrance to the choir, within the chapel, will be flanked by the Grenadiers of the Foot Guards, every fourth man bearing a flambeau."

* The exterior coffin was composed of Spanish mahogany, and covered with rich Genoa velvet of royal blue, a few shades deeper than garter blue. The top or gutter was divided into three compartments by double rows of silver gilt studs. In the compartment of the head, over a rich star of the order of the Garter, was placed the Royal Arms of England, beautifully executed in dead gold. In the centre compartment was the plate, with the inscription, of silver richly gilt, and exquisitely burnished. In the lower compartments at the feet, was the British lion, *rampant regardant*, supporting a shield with the letters G. R. surrounded with the Garter and motto of the same order, also in dead gold. All the angles of the whole of these compartments were filled up with highly burnished silver gilt plates, engraved G. R. III. and surmounted by the Royal Crown. The sides and ends of this superb coffin were also divided with silver gilt studs, in the same manner as the cover, so as to leave three spaces in each side, and one at each end for the handles. The handles were of silver, richly gilt, of a massive modern pattern, and the most exquisitive workmanship; and each handle was surrounded by a frame work in the same taste, chiefly in dead gold, but delicately relieved by burnishing.

night, relieving each other every two hours, and attended by the pages of the bedchamber. In the course of the afternoon, two battalions of Foot Guards, eight troops of the Royal Horse Guards Blue, and a brigade of artillery, with twelve field pieces, for the purpose of firing minute guns on the day of the funeral, arrived in the town. At break of day on Wednesday, the solemn toll of the great bell in the belfry of the Castle, was heard in the solemn silence of the grey and chilly morning, and the royal standard was seen through the hazy atmosphere, hanging mournfully half-staff down, on the round tower of the Keep. At sun-rise the thunder of cannon was heard in the Park. From that period till sun-set, the artillery, without intermission, continued firing five-minute guns throughout the day; and from sun-set, they fired minute guns till the conclusion of the funeral ceremony. A little before ten o'clock, the wax lights in the silver sconces having been replenished, and the Lords and Grooms in waiting, the pages of the bedchamber, the Heralds, the Pursuivants, the Gentlemen pensioners, and the other state attendants, having taken their station around the royal coffin, his Royal Highness the Duke of York proceeded up the grand staircase and through the King's drawing-room. His Royal Highness appeared agitated and distressed, and having stood for a moment at the door of the Presence Chamber, in mute contemplation of the coffin, and the lurid splendours by which it was surrounded, he retired, leaning on the arm of Colonel Stephenson. The grand entrance to the upper court of the castle was then thrown open to the impatient public, who rushed forward in all directions; and, in despite of the utmost exertions of the police and military, the pressure continued more or less throughout the morning. At four o'clock the ceremony of the royal remains lying in state was at an end, and the gates were closed against thousands of persons, who, up to that moment, had been pressing forward for admission. Throughout the whole of the preceding night, preparations had been busily making in St. George's Chapel. Three additional chandeliers were suspended from the roof along the centre of the choir, and a double sconce affixed to each of the stalls. Superb communion services of plate, from the different chapels royal, were arranged upon the communion table, the steps of which were covered with fine purple cloth. A raised platform covered with black cloth was erected down the south aisle, and up the nave of the choir, with a railing on each side to prevent interruption to the procession from the spectators. In the north aisle seats were erected, tier above tier, for the accommodation of those persons who might be able to obtain tickets from the Lord High Steward; and the organ loft, which is not capable of affording accommodation to more than ninety persons, was fitted up for the nobility. Before the communion table, and over the opening of the subterraneous passages leading to the mausoleum of the Royal Family, a superb canopy of royal blue velvet was placed, supported by four slight pillars, wreathed with velvet and gold. The canopy was in the shape of a parallelogram, with the roof of the sweeping Chinese contour, and surrounded with a gothic fretwork cornice in dead gold. From this cornice descended a festooned drapery of the royal blue velvet, richly fringed and tasselled, of the same colour, and each festoon was further adorned with a royal escutcheon. To the right and left of the altar, diagonally, seats were placed in tiers for the Foreign Ambassadors, and the whole floor of the choir was covered with black cloth. As the evening advanced, the Eton scholars, assembled under their respective masters, to the number of more than five hundred, clothed in deep mourning, walked two and two to the gate of the hundred steps, where, by the previous order of his Majesty, they were admitted through the cloisters to the interior of the Royal Chapel, and took up their station in the north aisle.

After the conclusion of the public ceremony of lying in state, and when the visitors were all excluded from the Castle, the Lords in waiting and the other state attendants still remained with the royal corpse till seven o'clock, when his Royal Highness the Duke of York, as Chief Mourner, took his seat at the head of the coffin, under the canopy, in lieu of the Lords in waiting, and he continued sitting there during the lapse of two hours. In the interim, the persons who were to take part in the procession were assembled in St. George's Hall, and there marshalled by Sir George Nayler, the Windsor Herald. At nine o'clock the Duke of York left the presence chamber, and the Yeomen of the Guard, under the superintendence of the *Exon*, Captain Cipriani, removed the coffin of their royal master down the grand staircase to the vestibule, where it was placed upon the car; and, in a few minutes afterwards, the procession set forward in the order described in a preceding note, along the raised and covered platform, erected from the grand entrance of the state apartments, athwart the Lower Court of the Castle to the great porch of the royal chapel. The covered way was flanked on each side by a double rank of the Foot Guards, with their arms reversed, and a single rank of mounted Life Guards, every fourth man having a lighted flambeau. As the procession issued from the palace, the silver trumpets of the household commenced the performance of the "Dead march in Saul," in which they were joined by the bands of the several regiments on duty as they advanced. The progress of the procession was extremely slow; the discharge of the minute guns adding greatly to the effect of the grand and impressive scene. The procession having reached the porch of the chapel, the Knight Marshal's men, with trumpets and drums, filed off without the doors. At the entrance, the royal corpse was received by the Very Reverend the Dean, attended by the choirs, who fell in immediately before *Blanc Coursier*, King at Arms, bearing the Crown of Hanover. The whole then proceeded down the south aisle, and up the nave to the choir. As they advanced, the organ performed Dr. Croft's funeral service, "I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord." This occupied the time till the Royal Dukes, their supporters, and the other members of the procession, had reached their respective seats. The Chief Mourner sat on a chair at the head of the corpse; and the other Princes of the Blood Royal were seated near him. The Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's household (the Marquis of Hertford) took his seat at the feet of the corpse, and the supporters of the Pall and Canopy arranged themselves on each side. The part of the service before the interment, was then read by the Dean; the choir chaunting the Psalms. Kent's Anthem, "Hear my prayer O Lord," was then performed, followed by "I heard a voice from heaven." The service then proceeded to the collect, immediately preceding which, the celebrated anthem, composed by Handel for the funeral of Queen Caroline, was performed with the most exquisite pathos by the whole choir. The royal corpse was lowered into the grave exactly at ten minutes after ten; and as the consecrated earth was sprinkled upon its cover, the Guards, who during the ceremony had stood with their arms reversed, instantly recovered and grounded them on the pavement of the north and south aisle. The iron-shod buts of the heavy muskets, as they fell on the pavement in rapid succession, sounded like a peal of thunder, as the echoes it occasioned died away through the long vaulted roof of the building. It had a chilling, and almost superhuman effect. At this awful moment, the venerable Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King at Arms, came forward in his superb embroidered mantle, and pronounced the style and titles of his late Majesty. At the conclusion of the mournful ceremony, the Royal Dukes slowly quitted the choir at the side door, followed by a long train of the great officers of state, the nobility, &c. and proceeded to the chapter house, whence they immediately went to their apartments in the Castle, and the nobility repaired to their carriages; but it was long after midnight before the different courts of the Castle were entirely cleared.

RETROSPECTIVE AND CONCLUDING REMARKS.

HAVING consigned, in peaceful repose, to "the house appointed for all living," the mouldering remains of the departed monarch, we proceed to close this eventful period of British history, with a few remarks, illustrative of the march of Science and the Arts, of Agriculture and Commerce, of Population and Finance, under the auspices of his Majesty George III. The universal voice of the people has, at all times, paid a tribute of respect to the personal virtues of that sovereign; and, when it is considered that the personal character of a King extends to the character of his Court, and that the influence of example, set by the great, is powerful and extensive, it will be seen that, for much of our private, as well as of our public virtue, the nation is indebted to his late Majesty.—George III. on coming to the Crown, laid his commands upon the Duke of York to discontinue card-playing on a Sunday, and openly to acknowledge his obedience to the royal will in this respect. The injunction was understood, and obeyed in the politest circles. The King also did his utmost to suppress those pernicious assemblies, masquerades—a species of amusement which, should it ever be nationalized in England, would prove a source of infinite misery and ruin to domestic affection. The King, however, was neither an anchorite nor a recluse: he was fond of the theatre; and to his taste and good judgment, the amateurs of the histrionic art are indebted for most of those improvements which constitute the boast of modern days. The costume of the stage underwent a thorough reform; the licentiousness of dramatic writers was effectually curbed; and many of the scenes, which Dryden and Congreve did not blush to avow, would not, for a moment, be tolerated by an audience of the present time.

The Graphic Arts may be said to have received a character and establishment in the reign of his late Majesty; who, first of all, under the date of January, 1765, gave a charter of incorporation to a society of artists, whose exhibitions had been commenced five years before. The royal bounty presented them with an annual donation of 100*l*. The Royal Academy was instituted some years afterwards. Previously to that period, there was no such thing as an English School of Art: now, the connoisseur may distinguish, in our public exhibitions, portraits which compete with the best works of Vandyke, and historical pieces that are not unworthy of the noblest times of Italy.

The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, and Commerce, in the Adelphi, originated in the year 1753, before his Majesty came to the crown. That society had proposed premiums, and had conferred bounties on pictures of merit; had brought into notice many rising artists, in various branches; and had, moreover, taken steps towards encouraging the art of engraving. The establishment of engraving, however, in its more elevated classes, as a national art, and as an important branch of commerce, must be placed in the reign of George III.; for, not till then, had the landscapes of Wilson, immortalized by the graver of Woollet, or the prints from British history after West, obtained circulation throughout the world. Wilson, and West, and Woollet, were British artists, as were Strange and Hall, M'Ardell and Earlom. Engraving also received great encouragement, by the patronage which was bestowed by the King, and by the public, on Bartolozzi, an Italian. The tide of popular favour seemed indeed to be divided between that meritorious artist, an engraver, and his countryman and fellow student, Cipriani, a painter.

George III. was a competent judge of architecture; he amused his leisure hours with the composition of architectural designs; and the embellishments of various kinds which were executed under his patronage, at Windsor, will long be regarded as monuments of his munificence and taste.

Every branch of our domestic and commercial arts has rapidly approached towards the summit of excellence. Who can endure the gross shapes, and still grosser embossings, of the China wares which passed for respectable in the early part of the last century, when compared with the elegant patterns that now adorn our tables? The furniture and fitting up of our houses partake of the same refinement. Formerly, the originals of our cabinet works, even to the tables and chairs, were French; our mantle pieces, our mirrors, and our pictures, were Italian. The tide has turned: our manufactures of all sorts, no less for their taste in imagination than for their skill in execution, are now admired all over the continent.

Maritime discovery made astonishing progress in the reign of George III. When Jefferies was geographer to the King, that artist, however high in reputation for talent and knowledge, was obliged, by the necessity of the case, to inscribe "*parts unknown*" over a great portion of the earth's superficies: the discoveries of the immortal Cook, Carteret, King, Vancouver, and others, have reduced the *terræ incognitæ* within narrow limits, which become every day more and more contracted.* By those

* The great northern expeditions respectively under the command of Captain Ross and Lieutenant Parry, may be regarded as the last maritime glories of the reign of George III. The former of these, although very important and interesting, from the numerous nautical observations it made in Baffin's Bay, still did not satisfy the expectations of men of science and the public, in regard to the north-west passage. The lords of the Admiralty were, on the whole, somewhat dissatisfied with Captain Ross's investigation of Sir James Lancaster's Sound, and were of opinion, that if a passage existed in Baffin's Bay, it must be somewhere in that quarter. In order to determine this important geographical problem, an expedition was fitted out in the spring of 1819, consisting of two strong vessels, the Hecla and Griper, which were placed under the command of Lieutenant Parry. This gentleman, whose talents and feelings were worthy of the best and most glorious days of nautical enterprise and discovery, was accompanied by a chosen band of intrepid and experienced officers, and the vessels were manned by crews full of zeal and enthusiasm, and in the highest and most perfect state of discipline. Government provided every comfort and convenience for the crews embarked in this perilous undertaking; and it was universally acknowledged that no discovery ships ever left the shores of England in a higher state of equipment.

They left England on the 11th of May, 1819, and reached Cape Farewell, the most southern part of West Greenland, on the 14th of the succeeding June. On the 20th of June, the ships were in lat. 64, north: on the 26th of June, they were beset in the ice; and, after having endeavoured, but in vain, to urge their way, during a painful detention of four days, were, at last, glad to get back again. Having reached lat. 74, north, they determined to force a passage through the barrier of ice, which they found to be eighty miles broad. Having succeeded in this, they reached Possession Bay on the 31st of July; and, on the 1st of August, entered, in safety, Sir James Lancaster's Sound, where they found the same open sea which had been described in the accounts of the former expedition. They advanced to long. 89, west, meeting with but little obstruction from the ice, and in long. 90, west, discovered two considerable islands, named Prince Leopold's Isles. But, at this point, their progress westward was interrupted by a strong barrier of ice, extending quite across from these islands to the north coast of what Captain Parry named Barrow's Straits. Being thus arrested by the ice, and forced to alter their course, they now entered a great inlet, of 14 or 15 leagues in breadth, which they found extending to the southward. They sailed along its eastern coast, its middle part and western coast being blocked up with ice, as far as lat. 71, north, when their further progress southward also was found to be impossible, by reason of the ice. In proceeding down this inlet, the magnetic attraction increased so powerfully, that the existence of the magnetic pole may be conjectured to be somewhere in that neighbourhood, probably in the lat. 70, north, and long. 100, west.

On their return to Barrow's Straits, it was found that the barrier of ice, extending across from Prince Leopold's Isles to the north coast, had broken up, so that the ships were now enabled to pursue their course westwards. Having reached long. 92, they found the land on the north side of the Strait, which had been continuous, from the entrance

those geographical discoveries, our knowledge of natural history, of the vegetable as well as of the animal world, has been greatly augmented. Nor was the royal bounty confined to discoveries on the face of the globe; the penetrating telescope of Dr. Herschell owes its powers and its completion to the munificence of the King: and whatever we know of the *Georgium Sidus*, of the lesser satellites of Saturn, of the celestial nebulæ, and of other astronomical phenomena, must be attributed to the zeal for the advancement of science, that honoured, while it gratified, the monarch by whom it was entertained.

Agriculture, the basis of national prosperity, has experienced much royal attention, and many consequent benefits, since the year 1760. Numerous statutes have been passed for converting barren wastes into arable land—for draining marshes—for forming roads, constructing bridges, canals, ports, with other improvements; all contributing to facilitate the intercourse of the kingdom, and consequently favouring the transit of agricultural productions. His Majesty made a point of obtaining more than a theoretical acquaintance with a subject of such vital importance. He established an experimental farm; he procured from Spain the most valuable specimens of the superior races of Merino sheep; and he allowed the breed to be disposed of to noblemen and gentlemen who were inclined to engage in the speculation. The King is understood to have furnished several letters to Young's "Annals of Agriculture," under the signature of John Robinson.

Knowledge and general literature, as the means of mental gratification and amusement, his Majesty was ever ready to patronise. Since the commencement of his reign, the number of schools for elementary instruction has been greatly increased; the multitudes of children who receive gratuitous instruction are truly wonderful; and the King's wish, "that every poor child in his dominions might be able to read his Bible, and might have a Bible to read," seems to be in a fair way of being realized.

The population of the British Empire has experienced a rapid and wonderful increase. In the island of Britain alone, in the year 1760, it was not more than 8,000,000: in 1811, it was 12,353,000. To which must be added the population of Ireland, taken at above 4,000,000, with the absentees from Britain, in our various colonies and dependencies, making a total of 18,000,000; and forming, with the natives of those distant dependencies, a grand total of more than 60,000,000 of souls, who at this moment avow allegiance to the British Crown. The wonders of our population are strikingly shown by the following statement of the military force of Britain, as it stood in the year 1812;—

---

of Sir James Lancaster's Sound, now discontinuous, owing to a great inlet. Land, however, was still seen to the westward; so the expedition continued its course in that direction. In doing so, the ships passed a number of great islands, all of them apparently surrounded with ice; from which circumstance, partial detentions were unavoidable, and their course ran in a sort of zigzag style, from lat. 73, north, to lat. 75, north.

On the 4th of September they were in long. 110 deg. W., and here they discovered an island which appeared to be larger than any they had hitherto examined, and which was named Melville Island, in honour of the distinguished statesman, then at the head of the Admiralty. This island extends from long. 106, W. to 114, W. On the 8th of September the ships reached 110, W. and were enclosed several days in the ice. Winter was now fast approaching; the ice was rapidly increasing, and violent north-westerly gales kept it in a constant and dangerous state of agitation.

These circumstances, of course, rendered the navigation very difficult, and began to endanger the safety of the ships. Our gallant countrymen, however, continued to contend with all these difficulties till the 22d of September, when it, became evident, that further navigation was at an end for the season; and therefore prudence dictated their retreat to a secure haven for the polar winter. For this purpose they returned eastward, and found a harbour in Melville Island; but the ice had already formed from eight to ten inches thick, and therefore the crews were forced to cut a passage for three miles through the ice. The 26th of September, in short, had arrived before they were fixed in their winter quarters, in five fathoms water, and within about 200 yards from the shore. The latitude of this harbour named Winter Harbour, is 74, N. and long. 111, W. Hitherto they had never lost sight of a continuous barrier of ice to the southward, that is, from west long. 90, to the extreme of Melville Island. Every thing was soon made snug for the formidable winter of these regions. The officers and crews formed various plans for passing the dreary days, or rather nights, of the polar regions. Plays were performed by the officers for their own amusement and that of the crews; and a melo-drama was written, having for its object the probable success of the expedition, and their ultimate return to their friends through Behring's Straits, after having planted the British flag in countries which eluded the bold and fearless darings of a Davis and a Baffin.

The sun disappeared entirely on the 11th of November. The thermometer was below Zero of Fahrenheit's scale when the expedition entered Winter Harbour. In the month of November the spirit of wine thermometer was 55 deg. below Zero, and in February, the coldest month of these regions, the spirit of wine pointed to the tremendous cold of 54 and 55 degrees below Zero. During these intense colds, our adventurous countrymen felt but little inconvenience so long as they remained under the housing of their ships. A slight covering for the ears, and shawl around the neck, were considered as sufficient protection against the most intense degree of cold; but, when the atmosphere was agitated by gales of wind, then the cold became truly dreadful and insupportable, and every one was forced to seek shelter below. Nevertheless, scarcely any accident occured from exposure to cold; while the constant and regular exercise, which formed a necessary part of the duty of the crews, kept every one lively and active, and free from disease. One death only took place during the expedition, and that was in the case of an individual who had contracted the disease of which he died before he left England.

When the sun had its greatest southern declination, a twilight was perceptible at noon in the southern horizon, affording sufficient light to read a book with difficulty. The day was like the fine clear evening of winter in our climate. The stars shone with great brilliancy, and when the moon appeared in the firmament she shone with a beauty and splendour unknown in the more southern and temperate regions of the globe. The northern lights appeared frequently, generally of a yellow colour, sometimes green, but rarely red, and most commonly towards the south-west. It is remarked, that this brilliancy was seldom so great as in our country; no noise was ever heard to proceed from them, and the magnetic needle did not appear to be affected by their presence. The sun re-appeared on the 3d of February, after an absence of 83 days, and those only who had suffered the privation of "its glorious light" can feel and tell the rapture with which the crews hailed the first glimpse from the mast-head. They had calculated the exact period of its return, and were anxiously looking for it from the main-top.

In April some partial symptoms of thaw appeared. By the end of May, pools and streams of water made their appearance, and shortly after a regular thaw commenced. Nearly about this time, Captain Parry, with a party of his officers and men, crossed Melville Island, and reached the sea on the opposite side, in lat 75, N., where they discovered another island. They were fourteen days absent, and made many curious observations on the forms of the hills and mountains of this island, collected withal, very extensively, specimens of all its vegetable, animal, and mineral productions. The remains of an enormous whale were found far inland, and a few huts, intimating the presence of man, were discovered by some of the party. Vegetation had now become active, and sorrel was found in such quantities as to remove all those symptoms of scurvy which had begun to make their appearance among the crew. The ice in Winter Harbour was also beginning to dissolve rapidly, and by the end of July it had entirely disappeared. Yet the ships were still quite blocked up by the exterior ice. It was not till the 30th that the outside ice began to crack; on the 31st of July it moved off very gently, and released the crews from their winter prison, where they had been shut up 310 days.

On the 6th of August they reached the western extremity of Melville Island, situated in long. 114, W., where the ice was found to be very thick and impermeable. From this island new land was observed to the south-west, estimated to be 20 leagues distant; so that they may be said to have seen land as far west as long. 118. Many attempts were made to reach this interesting *terra incognita*, but in vain; and the commander and his admirable crew were, with feelings of the deepest regret, forced to return, owing to the vast barriers of ice.

Having failed in this attempt to reach the south-western land, and the winter again approaching, the vessels now sailed directly eastwards, through the polar sea and Barrow's Straits, into Sir James Lancaster's Sound, thence into Baffin's Bay, and by the usual track homewards.

In their progress among the islands, the officers shot a few rein-deer, ptarmigan, partridge, and hares; and the howls of the wolf were heard frequently in Melville Island. Several musk oxen were killed; and the crews considered it, after being properly macerated, to get rid of the musky flavour, as preferable eating to that of the rein-deer. One of the sailors, who had ventured beyond his companions in search of rein-deer, returned to the ship with all his fingers frost-bitten, from carrying his musket too long. When the fingers were plunged into cold water ice was formed on its surface, and this continued to be the case for half an hour afterwards, as often as the fingers were plunged into it. The sailor lost five of his fingers.

From Lancaster Sound to Melville Island the compass was found to be totally useless, a circumstance which left to the commanders no other guides than the heavenly bodies and the trend of the land, thus at once presenting the striking spectacle of modern navigators tracking the ocean without the compass, as was done by the mariners of old. We cannot, indeed, conceive a more striking scene than that of our discovery ships forcing their solitary course through unknown regions, surrounded with rugged, dreary and desolate wastes, in the most appalling dangers, and deprived of the use of the compass.

At the end of October the Hecla was forced into Leith roads by stress of weather; and, on the 4th of November, Lieutenant Parry, accompanied by Captain Sabine of the Royal Artillery, attached to the expedition, arrived at the Admiralty Office, London.

This enterprising navigator has since been most deservedly promoted to the rank of Post Captain.

British

British Army	301,000
Local Militia in Britain	196,446
Volunteers in Britain	88,000
Militia and Yeomanry in Ireland	80,000
——————— the Colonies	25,000
Foreign Corps in British service	30,741
	721,187
Naval Forces—Navy	147,252
Marine	32,668
	901,107
East Indies—British Forces	20,000
Native troops	140,000
Marine	913
	1,062,020

That the strength of the kingdom has been increased, this statement sufficiently proves; and that we have not degenerated from the valour of our ancestors, witness Egypt, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar—witness Vimiera, Vittoria, and Waterloo, with many other names of great and glorious sound.

The comparison between the Royal Navy at the commencement of the late reign, and as it stood towards the conclusion of hostilities, is equally to the advantage of the latter. The British Navy proved itself more than a match for the whole maritime force of Europe. It destroyed or blockaded the fleets of France, Holland, Denmark, and Spain; and when Russia for a while assumed the character of an enemy, it met the fleet of Russia, also, with alacrity and success. The average number of ships, during the war, was about equal to the following statement:—

At sea, ships of the line	99
Fifties, &c. not reckoned of the line	14
Frigates of various sizes	133
Sloops and lesser vessels	144
Bombs	6
Brigs, &c.	139
Cutters	33
Schooners, &c.	66

Thus there were at sea more than 600 vessels; which those in ordinary, building, repairing, &c. raised to a grand total of more than 1,100. To man this navy required a force of nearly 160,000 seamen and marines; whereas in the war which raged when his Majesty came to the throne, 70,000, or 75,000 were thought to be the utmost that the nation could furnish. That the mercantile navy of Britain has increased in a wonderful ratio, needs no other proof than the necessity felt by our merchants, for enlarging the principal ports of the kingdom, by means of extensive docks, and other accommodations—as at Hull, Liverpool, London, and elsewhere. These were found to be absolutely indispensable, as well by the West India trade as by the East India trade: and, in fact, they were indispensable for the reception of vessels from all parts of the globe. In 1670, the amount of British shipping was 471,241 tons; and in 1812, it is stated by Mr. Colquhoun at 2,163,094 tons; to which add the shipping of Ireland, about 250,000 tons: the whole is valued by that intelligent writer at no less than twenty millions sterling. Previously to the commencement of the American war, the exports to the thirteen colonies amounted to 3,000,000*l.*: since that period, they have amounted to more than thrice that sum.

In the year 1760, the net customs' duties paid into the Exchequer amounted to only 1,969,934*l.* In 1815, perhaps the most flourishing year of our commerce, the consolidated customs, with the annual duties and war taxes, amounted to 11,659,324*l.*; the consolidated excise, with the annual duties and war taxes, amounted to 25,145,011*l.*; and the stamps, post office, assessed taxes, property tax, land tax, &c. produced 29,225,046*l.*; making a total net revenue of 65,429,981*l.*! Mr. Pitt estimated the total income of the country at 100,000,000*l.*; but, according to subsequent calculations, more accurately made, it is considered to be almost, if not quite, 150,000,000*l.*

The national debt, which originated in the days of King William, we are perfectly aware has been greatly increased. At the accession of Queen Anne, it amounted to upwards of 16,000,000*l.* During the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, it was thought, by well informed persons, that it *might* be increased to 100,000,000*l.*; but a hundred millions was the *ne plus ultra* of the debt: there it *must* stop; and that was the point of national bankruptcy. By the war of the American Revolution, however, to the great joy of the foreign enemies and rivals of England, and to the great alarm of foreigners, who had property and dealings with England, and to the terror of the whole kingdom, it was augmented to the sum of 257,000,000*l.*! and, notwithstanding the operation of the sinking fund, the amount of nominal capital of the public debt is now understood to exceed the sum of *eleven hundred millions!!!*

That a great debt, whether public or private, is a great evil, must be admitted. It is at once consolatory and cheering, however, to observe that this "dead weight," as it is termed by many, of the national debt, has not produced those destructive effects in the kingdom, nor on the principal causes and branches of its prosperity, which were confidently and almost despairingly expected. From the difficulties which have been overcome—from the triumphs which have been enjoyed—we are warranted, amidst a season of temporary gloom, in looking forward to bright and golden times; and, ever bearing in mind, that the career of improvement is unlimited, the prayer of the genuine patriot will be—"That prosperity may await us;—that the hopes, the wishes, the expectations of the nation may be realized, under the mild auspices of the Prince on the throne—under the firm and dignified, the beneficent and paternal sway of GEORGE THE FOURTH!"

INDEX.

N. B. The numbers i. and ii. denote the first and second volumes; and the letter *n*, the notes at the bottom of the page.

A.

ABERCROMBIE, Sir Ralph, victory and death of, ii. 652.
Aboukir, battle of, ii. 651.
Acra, siege of, ii. 629.
Aix la Chapelle, treaty of, ii. 256. Peace of, ii. 441.
Albemarle, Lord, expedition of against the island of Cuba, ii. 474.
Alberoni, Cardinal, project of, for restoring the Pretender, ii. 408.
Alfred the Great, reign of, i. 73. Alfred conceals himself in Athelney, i. 75; emerges from his retreat and enters as a spy, into the Danish camp, ib.; defeats the Danes and forces them to leave England, i. 76; character and government of, i. 77; founds four schools at Oxford, i. 78; death of, i. 79.
Algiers, Lord Exmouth's expedition against, ii. 783.
Alicant, siege and surrender of, ii. 384.
Alien Bill, ii. 56.
Alliance, Quadruple, concluded, ii. 406.
Almeida, siege of, ii. 739.
Alresford, battle of, ii. 157.
Ambassador, Russian, arrest of, ii. 382; *n*, ordered to quit England; conduct of the Czar on the occasion, ii. 411.
Ambrosius, death of, i. 37.
Amelia, Princess, death of, ii. 742.
America, contentions in, between France and England, ii. 448; proposal to tax, ii. 477; opposition of, to the stamp act, ii. 480; insurrection of, ii. 492; et seq. conclusion of the war against, ii. 525; renewed contest with, ii. 785, et seq.
Amiens, peace of, ii. 655.
Anabaptists, account of, i. 698.
André, Major, execution of, ii. 513.
Angles, landing of the, in Britain, i. 38.
Anglo-Saxons, dissertation on the, i. 119; government of, i. 120; value of the money of, 127; customs of, i. 128; language, i. 128; antiquities, i. 129.
Anjou, Duke of, ascends the Spanish throne, ii. 359.
Anne, Princess of Denmark, ascends the throne of England, ii. 365; increases the maintenance of the poor clergy, ii. 370; bestows on Marlborough the honours of Woodstock, ii. 373; letter of, respecting the convocation, ii. 376; affection of, for the Pretender, ii. 381; situation of, with respect to the Whigs, ii. 383; dismisses her whig ministers, and establishes the Tories, ii. 385; slights the charge of heresy against Whiston, ii. 387; *n*. attack of, upon Marlborough, ii. 389; remarks of, respecting the Protestant succession, ii. 395; death of, ii. 397; character of ibid. *n*.
Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, death of, i. 155.
Anson, Commodore, voyage of, ii. 434.
Antoninus, wall of, i. 24; *n*.
Argyle, Earl of, insurrection of, ii. 299.
Armada, Spanish, preparations for the, i. 783, 784; sails from the Tagus, i. 785; defeated, ib.
Arthur, Prince, account of, i. 36; elected king, i. 37.
Arundel, Humphrey, heads the Devonshire insurrection, i. 699.
Ashburnham, conduct of, in the escape of Charles I. from Hampton Court, ii. 186.
Aske, Robert, insurrection of, i. 658.
Aspern, or Essling, battle of, ii. 726.
Athelstan, history of, i. 69; reign of, i. 81; orders the death of his brother Edwin, i. 83.
Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, banishment of, ii. 412.
Augustine, mission of, i. 59.
Austerlitz, battle of, ii. 686.
Austria, state of, at the death of Charles VI. ii. 434; *n*, peace of, with France, ii. 729.
Azincourt, battle of, i. 403.

B.

Babington, Anthony, conspiracy of, i. 776.
Bacon, Roger, account of, i. 279.
Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam, trial of, ii. 28.
Baden, Prince Louis of, death of, ii. 380.
Baliol, John, claims the crown of Scotland, i. 285; proclaimed king of Scotland, i. 291; summoned before Edward i. 292; defeated, i. 293.
Baliol, Edward, proclaimed king of Scotland, i. 326.
Bank of England, establishment of, ii. 343; stoppage of, ii. 600.
Barcelona, taken by the Earl of Peterborough, ii. 375; recapture of, ii. 395.
Barnet, battle of, i. 493.
Barton, Elizabeth, i. 645.
Barossa, action of, ii. 748.
Batavia, capture of, ii. 745.
Baxter, Richard, trial of, ii. 299.
Becket, Thomas, account of, i. 177; letter of, to Henry II. i. 181; assassination of, i. 184.
Beckford, the Lord Mayor, speech of, to George III. ii. 486.
Bedford, Duke of, appointed regent, i. 413; character of, i. 421; marries Jacquelina of Luxemburg, i. 445; death of, i. 447.
Bedloe, William, depositions of, ii. 276, 277; death of, ii. 283.
Belgrade, siege of, ii. 406; and 544. *n*.
Benbow, Admiral, death of, ii. 368.
Berlin, decree of, ii. 705.
Binckes, Dr. proceedings against, ii. 366.
Blake, Admiral, achievements of, ii. 216, 217, 219, 222, 223.
Blenheim, victory of, ii. 371.
Blood, attempt of, to steal the crown, ii. 261.
Boadicea, account of, i. 20.
Boleyn, Ann, married to Henry VIII. i. 639; excites the jealousy of the king, i. 653; trial and execution of, i. 654, 655.
Bolingbroke, Lord Viscount, sent to Versailles, ii. 392; brings in a bill to prevent the growth of schism, ii. 396; impeachment of, ii. 399; reversal of the act of attainder against, ii. 413.
Bonner, promotion of, to the see of Hereford, i. 664; cruelty of, i. 722, 723, 725.
Boscawen, Admiral, defeats the French fleet, ii. 458.
Bosworth, battle of, i. 522.
Bothwell, Earl of, accused of Darnley's death, i. 746; marries the queen of Scots, i. 747.
Bourbons, restoration of the, ii. 771.
Braddock, General, death of, ii. 449.
Breton, Andrew, i. 578.
Britain, derivation of the name of, i. 7; geographical description and population of, i. 7; ancient constitution of, i. 12; Roman conquerors of, i. 18; attacked by Picts, Scots, &c. i. 26; state of the church of, after the conversion, i. 31; inhabitants of, flee to Wales, i. 41.
Bruce, Robert, claims the crown of Scotland, i. 285, 290; defeats Edward II. i. 308; death of, i. 322.
Buckingham, character of the Duke of, i. 510; demands the earldom of Hereford, i. 515; plots against Richard III. i. 516; beheaded, i. 518; accused by Cardinal Wolsey, i. 603.
Broke, Lord, slain at Lichfield, ii. 134.
Bullion committee, report of, ii. 746.
Buonaparte, Napoleon, distinguishes himself at the siege of Toulon, ii. 574; successes of, in Italy, ii. 604; *n*, elected consul, ii. 639; elected Emperor of France, ii. 680; successes of, in Austria, ii. 685; campaign of, against Russia, ii. 753; marriage of, with Maria Louisa, of Austria, ii. 744; *n*, rejects the preliminary treaty of Chatillon, ii. 768; arrival of, at the isle of Elba, ii. 769—772; *n*, departure of, from Elba, and arrival at Cannes, ii. 775; abdication of, ii. 778; surrenders himself to the Bellerophon, ii. 778; *n*.
Burdett, Sir Francis, commitment of, ii. 740. *n*.
Burgoyne, General, defeat of, in America, ii. 504.
Burke, Edmund, presents a petition from the assembly of New York, ii. 496; bill of, for Parliamentary reform, ii. 510, 514; practical trope of, ii. 561; last debate in which he took any active part, ii. 579; death of, ii. 602. *n*.
Burnet, Dr. account of, ii. 307.
Buenos Ayres, capture and recapture of, ii. 700.
Bute, Earl, resignation of, ii. 475.
Byng, Sir George, defeats the Spanish fleet off Calabria, ii. 436; expedition of, ii. 452; execution of, ii. 454.

C.

Cabal, character of the, ii. 258.
Cabot, Sebastian, voyage of, i. 543. *n*.
Cade, Jack, rebellion of, i. 462.
Cadiz, surrender of the French fleet off, ii. 717. *n*.
Calais, taken by Edward the III. i. 336; capture of, by the French, i. 727.
Calcutta, Black Hole at, description of the, ii. 459. *n*.
Calendar, alteration of the, ii. 446.
Cameron, Dr. execution of, ii. 448.
Canada, invasion of, ii. 456.
Canales, Marquis de, memorial of, ii. 356.
Canute, lands in England, i. 101; declared king, i. 103; marries the widow of Etheldred, i. 103; visits Denmark, i. 104; conquers Norway, ib.
Cape of Good Hope, capture of the, ii. 593. *n*.
Carew, Sir Alexander, beheaded, ii. 144.
Carr, Robert, ii. 13; created Viscount Rochester, ii. 14; amour of, with the Countess of Essex, ii. 16; marries her, ii. 17; tried for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, ii. 20; receives a pardon, ib.
Carteret, Lord, succeeds Sir Robert Walpole, ii. 441.
Casse, M. du, defeat of, ii. 368.
Catherine II. of Russia, character of, ii. 415; *n*, conduct of, respecting Poland, ii. 559.
Caxton, William, account of, i. 570.
Cæsar, Julius, invasion of, i. 15.
Cecil, William, created Baron of Burleigh, i. 757; death of, i. 793.
Cerdic, coronation of, i. 39.
Charles I. created Prince of Wales, ii. 21; visits Spain, ii. 34; accession of, ii. 43; marries Henrietta of France, ii. 43; dissolves his first Parliament, ii. 44; declares war against France, ii. 50; assents to the Petition of Rights, ii. 56; dissolves the Parliament, ii. 59; makes peace with France, ii. 59; grants monopolies, ii. 60; appoints Wentworth president of the council in the north, ii, 62; visits Scotland, ii. 63; endeavours to extirpate Puritanism, ii. 64; alters the liturgy of the kirk of Scotland, ii. 71; disagreement of, with Scotland, ii. 73; preparations of, against Scotland, ii. 75; dissolves the Parliament, ii. 78; visits Scotland, and confirms the acts of the Scotch Parliament, ii. 91; signs the warrant for the execution of Lord Strafford, ii. 97; receives the remonstrance of the House of Commons, ii. 102; attends the House to arrest five members, ii. 112; refuses to grant the militia to Parliament, ii. 120; arrives at Hull, ii. 120; comes to an open rupture with his Parliament, ii. 123; erects his standard at Nottingham, ii. 126; retreats, after the battle of Edge-hill, to Oxford, ii. 130; receives assistance brought by the queen from Holland, ii. 136; proposals between him and the Parliament for peace, ii. 137; besieges Bristol, ii. 142; commissions the Marquis of Ormond to treat with the Irish rebels, ii. 147; Irish army of, defeated, ii. 148; calls a Parliament at Oxford, ii. 153; birth of his daughter, the princess Henrietta, ii. 158; reduces the army of the Earl of Essex, in Cornwall, ii. 160; confers with Whitelock, and Hollis, ii. 164; correspondence of, with the queen, ii. 165; *n*, defeat of, at the battle of Naseby, ii. 170; defeated on Routon Heath, ii. 172;

INDEX.

ii. 172; comes to the Scotch army, ii. 174; sold by the Scotch nation to the Parliament, ii. 175; carried from Holmby to Newmarket, ii. 179; deceived by the promises of Cromwell and Ireton, ii. 185; escapes from Hampton court, and retires to Carisbrook castle, ii. 186; revolt of the fleet in favour of, ii. 192; conveyed to Windsor and thence to St. James's, ii. 199; charged with high treason, ii. 199; trial and execution of, ii. 201; character of, ii. 202; account of the discovery of the body of, in 1813, ii. 212. *n.*

Charles II. birth of, ii. 60; assumes the title of King, at the Hague, ii. 207; lands in Scotland, ii. 211; crowned at Scone, ii. 213; defeated at Worcester, ii. 214; escape of, ii. 214, 215; *n*, retires to Cologne, ii. 220; restored and proclaimed at London, ii. 236; faults and good qualities of, ii. 238; marries Catherine, Infanta of Portugal, ii. 244; sells Dunkirk to the French, ii. 244; proclaims war against France, ii. 250; deprives Lord Clarendon of his office, ii. 253; enters into the triple alliance, ii. 255; devotes his time to the Duke of Buckingham, Rochester, and his mistresses, ii. 256; extraordinary conduct of, to Blood, ii. 261; declares war against Holland, ii. 262; makes peace with the Dutch, ii. 268; establishes a new council, ii. 279; recalls the Duke of York, ii. 283; contradicts the report of his being married to Mrs. Walters, ii. 283; summons Parliament to meet at Oxford, ii. 287; demolishes Tangier, ii. 293; death of, ii. 294; character, ii. 295; *n.*

Charles, son of the Pretender, expedition of, to England, ii. 439.

Charles XII. King of Sweden, successes of, ii. 379; defeat of, at Pultowa, ii. 384; death of, ii. 405.

Charlotte, marriage of the Princess, to the Prince of Cobourg, ii. 780.

Chatham, Lord, motions of, respecting Mr. Wilkes, ii. 486; death of, ii. 507.

Chatillon, assembly of plenipotentiaries at, ii. 767.

Chesapeake, capture of the, ii. 764.

Chesterfield, Earl of, repairs to the government of Ireland, ii. 444.

Church, history of the, from the conclusion of the Heptarchy to the end of the reign of Edward the Martyr, i. 92; from Etheldred to the Norman Conquest, i. 117; during the Norman Line, i. 169; during the reigns of Henry II. Richard I. John, and Henry III. i. 274; from Edward I. to Richard II. i. 369; in the 15th century, i. 562.

Churchill, Lord, joins the Prince of Orange, ii. 317.

Cider bill, opposition to the, ii. 475.

Clarence, George Plantagenet, Duke of, declares against Edward, i. 488; retires to France, i. 489; joins Edward, i. 493; character of, i. 501; death of, i. 502.

Clarendon, Lord, disgrace of, ii. 253; retires to France, ii. 254.

Clifford, death of Lord, i. 478.

Clive, Lord, account of, ii. 491.

Cochrane, Lord, explosion ship of, ii. 733; implication of, in the Stock Exchange Hoax, ii. 774; sentenced to a fine of 100*l.* ii. 782.

Codex Alexandrinus, account of the, ii. 89.

Coinage, copper, opposition to, in Ireland, ii. 414.

Colberg, siege of, ii. 465.

Colchester, siege of, ii. 192; capture of, ii. 194.

Commines, Philip de, account of, i. 570.

Commons, House of, opposition of, to the speeches being reported, ii. 488.

Commonwealth of England, commencement of, ii. 205; war commenced with the Dutch, ii. 216; Parliament dissolved by Cromwell, ii. 218.

Compton, Sir Spencer, created Earl of Wolmington, ii. 421.

Conrade, Emperor of Sicily, death of, i. 257.

Constantinople, revolution at, ii. 422; *n.*

Cornwallis, Lord, failure of, in America, ii. 501; defeats General Green, ii. 517; concludes a peace with Tippoo Saib, ii. 556.

Copenhagen, bombardment of, ii. 714.

Cordé, Charlotte, execution of, ii. 572.

Coronation, form of an ancient, i. 194; *n.*

Corsica, struggle of, ii. 482; *n.*

Corunna, battle of, ii. 722.

Counts, Earl, &c. account of the title of, i. 136.

Cranmer, introduction of, at court, i. 629; appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, i. 642; accusations against, i. 685; character of, i. 690; *n*, committed to the Tower, i. 715; pardoned, i. 716; martyrdom of, i. 724.

Cressy, battle of, i. 334.

Cromwell, Oliver, speech of, ii. 167; defeats a brigade of the King's, at Islip-bridge, ii. 169; account of the concealment of the principles of, ii. 177; intercepts a letter from Charles I. ii. 189; *n*, defeats the Duke of Hamilton's army, ii. 194; commands the army in Ireland, ii. 209; declared general of the Commonwealth, ii. 211; defeats the Scots at Dunbar, ii. 212; gains the battle of Worcester, ii. 214; dissolves the Parliament, ii. 218; declared Protector, ii. 219; attacks Spain, ii. 222; refuses to accept the crown, ii. 224; death of, ii. 225; character of, ii. 226; body of, taken up and hanged at Tyburn, ii. 246.

Cromwell, Richard, declared Protector, ii. 228; retires from Whitehall, ii. 230.

Cromwell, Thomas, defends Wolsey, i. 630; appointed Visitor-General, i. 651; created Earl of Essex, i. 668; committed to the Tower, i. 668; beheaded, i. 670.

Cropedy bridge, fight of, ii. 159.

Crusade, account of the first, i. 147; second, and third, i. 147, 166, 197.

Culloden, battle of, ii. 440.

Cumberland, Duke of, death of, ii. 479.

Cumming, scheme of, for the reduction of Fort Louis, ii. 457.

Cunersdorf, battle of, ii. 463.

Curfew bell, institution of the, i. 135.

D.

Dacres, Leonard, i. 755.

Danby, impeachment of the Earl of, ii. 278; commitment of, to the Tower, ii. 279.

Danes, origin of the, i. 67; descent of, into England, i. 67; ravage the eastern coast, i. 97; massacre of the, by order of Etheldred, i. 98; obtain possession of the eastern counties, i. 99.

Dangerfield, deposition of, ii. 282.

Danton, account of, ii. 585.

Darnley, Lord, visits Scotland, i. 742; marries Mary, Queen of Scotland, i. 743; assassination of, i. 746.

David, King of Scotland, makes an irruption into England, i. 160.

Davison, draws the warrant for the execution of the Queen of Scots, i. 781.

De Foe, Daniel, paper of, ii. 362.

Dennington, fight of, ii. 167.

Denys, St. battle of, ii. 274.

Derwentwater, Earl of, execution of, ii. 401; *n.*

Despard, Colonel, plot of, ii. 662.

Digby, Lord, called to the House of Lords, ii. 98.

Dooms-day book, account of the, i. 139.

Dominique, capture of, ii. 470.

Dorislaus, assassination of, ii. 208.

Drake, Francis, i. 768.

Drama, restriction of the, ii. 430.

Druids, account of the, i. 11.

Dunbar, battle of, ii. 212.

Duncan, Admiral, victory of, ii. 603.

Dudley, John, made High Admiral of England, i. 581; character of, i. 691; *n*, attaints the Duke of Somerset, i. 702; committed to the Tower, i. 713; executed, i. 714.

Dundee, Viscount, insurrection of, ii. 330.

Dugdale, Stephen, depositions of, ii. 278, 285.

Dunkirk, taken by the French and surrendered to the English, ii. 225; sale of, to the French, ii. 244.

Dunstan, banishment of, i. 86; elected Archbishop of Canterbury, i. 88.

E.

East-Anglia, history of the kingdom of, i. 51.

East India Company, charter of the, renewed, ii. 424, 766.

Eckmuhl, battle of, ii. 725.

Edgar, reign of, i. 87; speech of at the council assembled by Dunstan, i. 89; amours of, i. 90; the eldest sister of, marries Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, i. 134.

Edge-hill, battle of, ii. 129.

Edmund, King of East-Anglia, account of, i. 72.

Edmund I. reign of, i. 84; murdered by Leolf, i. 85.

Edmund Ironside, reign of, i. 101.

Edmund, brother to Edward I. death of, i. 295.

Edmund, uncle to Edward III. execution of, i. 322.

Edred, reign of, i. 85.

Education, Dr. Bell's and Mr. Lancaster's systems of, ii. 748.

Edward the Elder, reign of, i. 79.

Edward the Martyr, reign of, i. 91; anointed by Dunstan, i. 91; assassinated by order of Elfrida, i. 92.

Edward the Confessor, reign of, i. 107; assists Malcolm against Macbeth, i. 110.

Edward, son to Henry III. taken prisoner, i. 266; escapes, i. 268; departs for Palestine, i. 271.

Edward I. crowned, i. 280; declares war against the Welch, i. 281; does homage to Philip of France, i. 283; acknowledged sovereign Lord of Scotland, i. 286; proofs of the right of to the sovereignty of the crown of Scotland, i. 287; declares war against Philip of France, i. 295; defeats Robert Bruce, i. 302; death and character of, i. 302.

Edward II. birth of, i. 283; invested with the principality of Wales, i. 299; coronation of, i. 304; marriage of, to Isabella of France, i. 305; defeated by the Scotch, i. 308; flees from Isabella, who lands from France with an army, i. 316; taken at Neath, i. 316; character of, i. 317; murdered, i. 320.

Edward the Black Prince, birth of, i. 325; valour of, at the battle of Cressy, i. 334; takes King John prisoner, i. 339; restores Peter the Cruel to the crown of Castille, i. 343; death of, i. 343.

Edward III. coronation of, i. 319; married to Phillipa of Hainault, i. 321; claims the crown of France, i. 324; conquers Scotland, i. 326; declares war against France, i. 327; defeats the French fleet, i. 329; concludes a peace with France, i. 341; amour of, with Alice Pierce, i. 346; death of, i. 348; character of, i. 348.

Edward IV. proclaimed king, i. 475; defeats the Lancastrians, i. 478; marries Elizabeth Woodville, i. 483; birth of his daughter Elizabeth, i. 484; taken prisoner by the Earl of Warwick, i. 488; escapes, i. 489; dethroned, i. 490; lands in England, i. 492; obtains the crown again, i. 494; defeats Warwick, i. 494; declares war against France, i. 499; death and character of, i. 505.

Edward V. proclaimed King, i. 507; conducted to London by the Duke of Gloucester, i. 509; conveyed with his brother to the Tower, i. 510; murdered, i. 515.

Edward VI. birth of, i. 661; proclaimed King, i. 690; character of, i. 690; marriage proposed between him and Elizabeth of France, i. 700; *n*, character of, by Cardan, i. 707; assigns the crown to Lady Jane Grey, i. 708; death of, i. 708.

Edwin, death of, i. 137.

Edwy, reign of, i. 86.

Egbert, King of Wessex, account of, i. 57.

Egbert, first King of England, i. 68.

Egypt, expedition to, ii. 611.

Elfrida, account of, i. 90.

Elgiva, death of, i. 87; *n.*

Elizabeth, Queen, birth of, i. 643; resides at Hatfield, i. 722; rejects the offer of marriage with the King of Sweden, i. 727; proclaimed Queen, i. 730; refuses to marry Philip, i. 731; crowned, i. 732; receives a letter from the Pope, i. 738; discovers a conspiracy against her, i. 739; excessive vanity of, i. 742; *n*, visits the University of Cambridge, i. 741; negociates for a marriage with Charles, Archduke of Austria, i. 748; detains Mary, Queen of Scots, prisoner, i. 750; proposes marriage with the Duke of Anjou, i. 758; stands sponsor for the daughter of Charles IX. i. 763; conduct of, respecting the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, i. 781; death and character of, i. 798, 799.

Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, death of, ii. 466.

Elliot, Sir John, conduct of, ii. 59.

Ely, Isle of, riot in, ii. 781.

Emmett, plot of, ii. 663.

Escurial, description of the, ii. 36; *n.*

Essex, history of the kingdom of, i. 51.

Essex, Earl of, captures Cadiz, i. 791; affronts Elizabeth, i. 793; conspires against her, i. 795; taken prisoner, i. 796; executed, i. 797.

Essex, Earl of, appointed commander of the Parliament forces, ii. 126; refuses to desert the Parliament, ii. 151; surrenders his commission, ii. 168; found dead in the Tower, ii. 291.

Ethelbald, history of, i. 70.

Ethelbert, history of, i. 71.

Etheldred II. reign of, i. 96.

Etheldred pays the Danes, 30,000*l.* i. 97; retires to Normandy, i. 100; restoration of, i. 100.

Ethelward obtains the assistance of the Normans, i. 80.

Ethelwulph, history of the reign of, i. 68.

Eugene, Prince, defeats the Turkish army at Zenta, ii. 351.

Eugene, Prince, campaign of, in Italy, ii. 362; visits England, ii. 389; defeats the Turkish army at Peterwaradin, ii. 405.

Enghien, Duke d', execution of, ii. 679.

Eustatia, conquest of the island, ii. 516.

Exclusion bill, first reading of the, ii. 281.

Exmouth, Lord, expedition of, against Algiers, ii. 783.

Eylau, battle of, ii. 706.

F.

Fairfax, Sir Thomas, attacked at Tadcaster by the Earl of Newcastle, ii. 134; defeats the Earl of Newcastle at Hull, ii. 144; takes Exeter, ii. 171; on the death of his father, becomes Lord Fairfax, ii. 190.

Falkirk, battle of, i. 298.

Falkland, Lord, death of, ii. 142.

Falkland islands, seizure of, by the Spaniards, ii. 487.

Fayette, Marquis de la, life of, ii. 558; *n.*

Felton, John, account of, i. 57; *n*

Fenwick, Sir John, execution of, ii. 350.

Ferdinand VII. King of Spain, restoration of, ii. 772

Fielding, Colonel, surrenders Reading to the Parliament forces, ii. 140.

Fisher, Captain, deposition of, ii. 349.

Fitz-Harris, execution of, ii. 287.

Flodden Field, battle of, i. 588.

Fox, Charles James, appointed to the board of Treasury, ii. 489; introduces the India bill, ii. 529; proposal of, on the incapacity of the King, that the Prince of Wales should assume the government, ii. 541; refused by the high bailiff to be returned for Westminster, ii. 530; quarrel of, with Burke, ii. 552; death of, ii. 698.

France, state of, at the accession of Henry VI. i. 419.

Froissart, account of, i. 570.

Fund, sinking, introduced by Mr. Walpole, ii. 403.

INDEX.

G.

Galway, Earl of, defeated, ii. 380.
Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, returns from France, i. 663; committed to the Tower, i. 696; rigour of, against the Protestants, i. 722; death of, i. 724.
Garter, Order of the, i. 337.
Gaveston, Piers, banishment of, i. 301; recalled by Edward II. i. 304; execution of, i. 307.
George, Prince of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne, death of, ii. 382.
George I. accession of, ii. 398; popular opinion respecting, ii. 398; conduct of, towards the rebels, ii. 401; quarrels in his electoral capacity, with Charles XII. ii. 402; intimates to Parliament the dangerous designs of the Pretender, ii. 412; critical state of the electoral concerns of, ii. 414; letter of, to Catherine, ii. 417; death of, ii. 420; character of, ibid.; character of Sophia Dorothea, his consort, ii. 420; *n*.
George II. accession of, ii. 421; facilitates the treaty of Seville, ii. 423; misunderstanding between him and the Prince of Wales, ii. 430; character of the consort of, ii. 431; assumes the command of the army, and defeats the French, ii. 438; opinion of, respecting the conduct of Admiral Hawke, ii. 444; erases the name of Lord Sackville from the list of Privy counsellors, ii. 468; death of, ii. 468; character of, ib. *n*.
George III. accession of, ii. 469; speech of, ib. *n*, marriage of, ii. 470; answer of, to the address of the city of London, ii. 486; speech of, after the independence of America, ii. 526; declaration of, relative to the India bill, ii. 529; attempted assassination of, by Margaret Nicholson, ii. 536; mental derangement of, ii. 541; recovery of, ii. 543; attempt to assassinate, ii. 577; outrage committed upon, ii. 588; attempt at the murder of, by Hadfield, ii. 604; renewed mental derangement of, ii. 742.
George, Prince of Wales, birth of, ii. 474; affairs of, brought before Parliament, ii. 536; marriage of, ii. 587; appointed Regent, ii. 743.
Georgia, settlement of, ii. 426.
Germaine, Lord George, objection to his admission into the House of Peers, ii. 520.
Gibraltar, capture of, by Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesly Shovel, ii. 372; defended by General Elliot, ii. 525.
Glendour, insurrection of, i. 364.
Gloucester, murder of the good Duke of, i. 364.
Gloucester, Duke of, married to Jaquelina of Brabant, i. 427; death of, i. 458.
Godfrey, Sir Edmundsbury, murder of, ii. 275.
Godolphin, made Lord High Treasurer, ii. 365.
Godiva, Lady, frees the inhabitants of Coventry from a heavy tax, i. 111.
Godwin, Duke of Wessex, rebellion of, i. 109; death of, i. 110.
Gordon, Lord George, chosen president of the Protestant association, ii. 511.
Goring, Colonel, deposition of, ii. 93; taken prisoner by the Parliament, ii. 144.
Grattan, Mr. motion of, for a declaration of rights, ii. 521; bill of, for Catholic emancipation, ii. 766.
Grenville, George, succeeds Lord Bute as first commissioner of the Treasury, ii. 475.
Grey, Lady Jane, marriage of, with Lord Guilford Dudley, i. 708; the crown assigned to her by Edward VI. i. 708; proclaimed Queen, i. 711; character of, i. 711; committed to the Tower, i. 713; beheaded i. 718.
Gunpowder treason plot, account of the, ii. 7, 8, 9.
Gustavus, King of Sweden, assassination of, ii. 560.
Gypsies, account of, i. 688; *n*.

H.

Harley, Mr. created Lord High Treasurer, and Earl of Oxford, ii. 387.
Halifax, Lord, death of, ii. 400.
Halifax, founding of, ii. 446; *n*.
Hampden, John, refusal of, to pay ship money, ii. 67; death of, ii. 141.
Hamilton, Marquis of, appointed high commissioner of Scotland, ii. 73; created a Duke, ii. 145; confined in the castle of St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall, ii. 145; enters England with a Scotch army, ii. 193; defeated by Cromwell, ii. 194; execution of, ii. 206.
Hamilton, Duke of, duel between the, and Lord Mahon, ii. 393; *n*.
Hastings, battle of, i. 116.
Hastings, Lord, accused of treason, i. 512.
Hastings, Warren, charges against, ii. 523; impeachment of, ii. 535; commencement of the trial of, ii. 540; defence of, ii. 551; acquittal of, ii 580.
Hardicanute proclaimed King of Wessex, i. 106.
Harold I. reign of, i. 105.
Harold II. reign of, i. 113; defeats the Norwegians, i. 115; attacked by William of Normandy, i. 115; death of, i. 116.
Hawke, Sir Edward, engagement of, ii. 458.
Hengist, account of, i. 33; becomes King of Kent, i. 34.
Heptarchy, Saxon, i. 43.
Henry I. placed upon the throne, i. 151; marries Matilda, daughter to Malcolm, King of Scotland, i. 151; contest of, with Archbishop Anselm, i. 152; acquires possession of all Normandy, i. 154; obtains a victory over Lewis the Gross, i. 155; the son of, drowned, coming from Barfleur, i. 156; marries Adeliza, daughter of the Earl of Louvain, i. 156; death and character, i. 157.
Henry II. lands in England, i. 166; crowned i. 174; visits France, i. 175; punishes the Welsh for an incursion, i. 176; quarrels with Thomas a Becket, i. 178; is reconciled to him, i. 182; projects the conquest of Ireland, which he effects, i. 184, 185; does penance at Becket's tomb, i. 188; death of, i. 192; character of, i. 193.
Henry III. crowned, i. 232; the coronation of, repeated, i. 234; forces the renewal of charters, i. 236; declares war with France, i. 238; ruins Hubert de Burgh, i. 241; quarrels with the Earl of Pembroke, i. 242; marries Eleanor of Provence, i. 244; signs a dishonourable treaty with the King of France, i. 250; solicits the assistance of the Barons for his son, i. 260; obliged to banish his favourite foreigners, i. 263; quarrels with the Barons, i. 265; is taken prisoner by the Barons, i. 266; death and character of, i. 272.
Henry de Burgh, escape of, to Wales, i. 243.
Henry IV. proclaimed King, i. 368; coronation of, i. 366; conspiracy against, i. 379; enters Scotland, i. 381; conspiracy against, i. 382; marries Joanna of Navarre, i. 383; death and character of, i. 393.
Henry V. extravagances of, i. 392; coronation of, i. 395; claims the crown of France, i. 398; conspiracy against, i. 401; lands his troops in France, i. 401; pawns his crown, i. 407; marries Catherine of France, i. 412; death and character of, i. 415.
Henry VI. birth of, i. 414; proclaimed King of England and France, i. 418; crowned at Paris, i. 439; marries Margaret of Anjou, i. 457; marches against the Duke of York, i. 468; taken prisoner, i. 472; character of, i. 475; taken to the Tower, i. 482; restored to the throne, i. 491; murdered i. 497.
Henry VII. (then Earl of Richmond) brought to court, i. 491; lands from France, i. 521; defeats Richard III. i. 522; crowned, i. 527; marries Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. i. 530; defeats Simnel, i. 534; assists the Duke of Bretagne, i. 538; defeats an insurrection begun in Cornwall, i. 550; makes peace with Scotland, i. 551; defeats Warbeck, i. 552; death of, i. 559.
Henry VIII. character of, i. 571; coronation of, i. 571; marriage of, with Catherine, solemnized, i. 572; declares war against France, i. 583; arrives at Calais, i. 587; meets the King of France, i. 600; receives the title of Defender of the Faith, i. 604; divorces Catherine, i. 620; declared supreme head of the church, i. 636; marries Ann Boleyn, i. 639; abolishes the Papal authority. i. 646; begins the suppression of monasteries, i. 651; marries Jane Seymour, i. 655; marries Ann of Cleves, i. 667; divorces her, i. 669; marries Catherine Howard, i. 670; impeaches Catherine, i 673; proposes a marriage between Edward and Mary, Queen of Scots, i. 676; marries Catherine Parr, i. 678; death of, i. 688; character of, i. 688; *n*.
Hexham, battle of, i. 481.
Hoadly, Bishop, sermon of, ii. 407; *n*.
Holland, enterprise of the Earl of, ii. 193.
Holland, surrender of, to the French, ii. 582; expedition to, under the Duke of York, ii. 637.
Hooke, Colonel, sent over to Scotland from the court of St. Germains, ii. 377.
Holt, Lord Chief Justice, firmness of, ii. 373; *n*.
Hopton, Sir Ralph, defeats the Earl of Stamford, ii. 142.
Hosier, Admiral, expedition of, ii. 418.
Hoste, Captain, victory of, ii. 744.
Hotham, Sir John, refusal of to open the gates of Hull to Charles I. ii. 122; execution of, ii. 151.
Hotspur, Henry, death of, i. 385.
Howard, Thomas, appointed Lord Admiral, i. 586; Howard, Catherine, marriage of, with Henry VIII. i. 670; accused of criminality, i. 672; executed, i. 673.
Howe, Lord, victory of, ii. 582.
Huguonots, massacre of, i. 761.
Hyde, Anne, Duchess of York, death of, ii. 260.
Hyder, Ally, ravages the Carnatic, ii. 515; *n*.

I.

Icon Basilike, account of the, ii. 203.
Independents, account of the, ii. 166.
India, affairs of, at the accession of the house of Brunswick. ii. 458; transactions in, ii. 489; *n*. petitions from the Company, ii. 489; affairs of, ii. 616; *n*.
Ireland, account of the first inhabitants of, i. 9; *n*. rebellion of, in 1641, i. 100; statement of the outlaws of, ii. 357; *n*, address of the Parliament of, to Queen Anne, ii. 369; state of, in 1784, ii. 532; commercial intercourse with, proposed, ii. 533; rebellion of, ii. 614; union of, ii. 643.
Ireton, Colonel, wounded at the battle of Naseby, ii. 169.
Ivar, descent of into England, i. 78.

J.

James I. birth of, i. 744; proclaimed, ii. 3; character of, ii. 4; crowned, ii. 5; concludes a peace with Spain, ii. 7; interests himself for the union, ii. 11; negociates for a marriage between the Prince of Wales, and the King of Spain's eldest daughter, ii. 13; death of, ii. 40; character of, ii. 40, 41; account of literature in the reign of, ii. 41; *n*.
James II. marries the daughter of Chancellor Hyde, ii. 240; defeats the Dutch fleet, ii. 249; openly abjures the Protestant religion, ii. 260; engages the Dutch fleet off Solebay, ii. 263; marries the Princess of Modena, ii. 267; retires to Brussels, ii. 279; removes to Scotland, ii. 282; shipwrecked, ii. 289; accession of, to the crown, ii. 297; erects a new court for ecclesiastical affairs, ii. 305; sends an embassy to Innocent XI. ii. 306; publishes a declaration of the Queen's pregnancy, ii. 308; designs to repeal the test and penal laws, ii. 308; birth of the son of, ii. 310; refuses the aid offered by Louis XIV. ii. 313; retires to Feversham, ii. 320; returns to London, ii. 320: repairs to St. Germans, ii. 321; arrival of, in Ireland, ii. 330; death and character of, ii. 362; *n*.
Jefferies, made Lord Chief Justice, ii. 293; cruelties of, ii. 302; death of, ii. 319.
Jena, battle of, ii. 704.
Jenkins, Henry, account of, ii. 259; *n*.
Jenkins, Captain, deposition of, against the Spaniards, ii. 432.
Jesuits, order of, founded, i. 671.
Jews, account of the exchequer of, i. 273; *n*, banishment of, i. 284.
Joan of Arc, account of, i. 435; taken prisoner, i. 439; death of, i. 440.
John, King, receives six earldoms, i. 196; coronation of, i. 208; marries Isabella of Angouleme, i. 209; takes his nephew, Arthur, prisoner, i. 211; murders Arthur, i. 212; loses his possessions in France, i. 213; quarrels with the clergy, i. 214; the kingdom of, interdicted, i. 216; is reconciled to the Pope, i. 219; insurrection of the Barons of, i. 222; signs Magna Charta, i. 223; death of, i. 225; character of, i. 226.
Jones, Paul, captures the Serapis and Scarborough, ii. 509.
———, John Gale, imprisonment of, ii. 740. *n*.
Joyce, Cornet, carries off Charles I. to Newmarket, ii. 179.
Junius, Letters of, ii. 484.
Juxton, Bishop of London, appointed Lord Treasurer, ii. 66.

K.

Keene, Mr. memorial of, against the seizure of British vessels by the Spaniards, ii. 432.
Keith, Mareschal, death of, ii. 462.
———, Lord, engagement of, off Boulogne, ii. 675.
Kent, history of the kingdom of, i. 52.
Keppel, Admiral, engagement of, with the French fleet, ii. 508.
Ket, insurrection of, in Norfolk, i. 700.
King's evil first cured, i. 113.
Kirk, Colonel, conduct of, ii. 302.
Kleber, assassination of, ii. 645.
Kosciusko, defeat of, by Suwarrow, ii. 593.
Kydd, account of, ii. 356.

L.

Labedoyere, execution of, ii. 778; *n*.
Lambert, Colonel, conduct of, on the death of Cromwell, ii. 229—235.
Lancaster, Duke of, regent, i. 350; expedition of, to Spain, i. 358.
Lansdowne, battle of, ii. 143.
Latimer, Bishop, martyrdom of, i. 723.
Laud, Dr. promoted to the bishopric of London, ii. 57; consecrates St. Catherine Creed church, ii. 61; rigorous conduct of, ii. 72, *n*.; fined 20,000*l*. ii. 89; trial and execution of, ii. 163.
Leake, Sir John, takes Sardinia and Minorca, ii. 382.
Leicester, Earl of, quarrels with Gloucester, i. 263; governs in the name of Henry III. i. 268; death of, i. 268.
———————, returns to England, i. 713; declared Governor of Holland, i. 776.
Leipzic, battle of, ii. 760.
Lenox, Earl of, visits Scotland, i. 741.
Lestock, Admiral, trial of, ii. 443.
L'Estrange, Roger, induces Hales, a gentleman of Kent, to rise in favour of Charles I. ii. 191.
Lewes, battle of, i. 266.
Linois, Admiral, defeat of, ii. 675.
Lisbon, destruction of, by an earthquake, ii. 451.
Lisle, Sir George, death of, ii. 194.

INDEX.

Lisle, siege and capture of, ii. 382.
Literature, state of, during the reign of George I. ii. 420, *n.*
Llewellyn, Prince, summoned to do homage to Edward I., slain, i. 282.
Lodi, battle of, ii. 594.
London, account of the fire of, ii. 251.
Lovat, Lord, plot of, ii. 369.
Lovel, Lord, insurrection of, i. 531.
Louisburg, surrender of, ii. 445.
Louis XV. death of, ii. 499, *n.*
——— XVI. execution of, ii. 562.
——— XVIII. entrance of, into Paris, ii. 771, *n.*
Lucas, Sir Charles, activity of, in the royal cause, ii. 192; death of, ii. 194.
Lunsford, Colonel, appointed Lieutenant of the Tower, ii. 109.
Luther, i. 601.
Lutzen, battle of, ii. 758.

M.

Macartney, Lord, mission of, to China, ii. 585.
Macguire, Lord, execution of, ii. 163.
Macclesfield, impeachment of the Earl of, ii. 414.
Magna Charta, copy of, i. 227, *n.*
Maida, battle of, ii. 701.
Manilla, pillage of, ii. 474.
Manfred, Count, usurps the crown of Sicily, i. 258.
Mansfield, Lord, burning of the house of, ii. 512.
Malcolm, King of Scotland, invades England, i. 145; refuses to do homage to William Rufus, i. 146; is slain, i. 146.
Mar, Earl of, proclaims the Pretender, ii. 400.
Marat, assassination of, ii. 572.
Marche, Earl of, taken prisoner, i. 381.
Marlborough, appointed Captain-General, ii. 365; takes the command of the allied army, ii. 367; created Duke, ii. 368; successes of, in the Netherlands, ii. 369, et. seq.; gains the battle of Blenheim, ii. 371; excites the envy of the Prince of Baden, ii. 374; gains the battle of Ramillies, ii. 376; goes on an embassy to Charles XII. ii. 379; takes Mons, ii. 384; dismissal of, from his employments, ii. 389; political hypocrisy of, ii. 394, *n.*; restored to the command of the army, on the accession of George I. ii. 398.
Marr, murder of the family of, ii. 752, *n.*
Marsham, Mrs. influence of, over Queen Anne, ii. 378, *n.*
Marston-moor, battle of, ii. 156.
Marie Antoinette, execution of, ii. 575, *n.*
Mary, Queen of Scots, birth of, i. 675; arrives in Scotland, i. 739; intimacy of, with Rizzio, i. 742; marries Lord Darnley, i. 743; marries Bothwell, i. 747; taken prisoner by the confederate lords, i. 748; escapes, and comes to England, i. 750; proofs of the authenticity of the letters said to be written by her to Bothwell, i. 753, *n*; committed to the custody of Sir Drue Drury, i. 773; trial of, i. 778; execution, i. 781; character, i. 781, 782, *n.*
———, Queen of England, birth of, i. 594; refuses the liturgy, i. 704; claims the crown, i. 710; ascends the throne, i. 713; marries Philip, of Spain, i. 720; sends two ambassadors to the Pope, i. 722; miscarries, i. 723; loses Calais, i. 727; death and character of, i 728.
———, the Princess, marries the Prince of Orange, ii. 271; arrives in England, ii. 326; declared Queen, ii. 327; death of, ii. 345.
Matilda, daughter of Henry I. declared presumptive heir to the crown, i. 157; insurrection of the party of, i. 161; acknowledged sovereign, i. 164; retires to Normandy, i. 166.
Matthews, Admiral, engagement of, off Toulon, ii. 443.
M'Donald, of Glencoe, murder of, ii. 342.
Meal tub plot, account of, ii. 283.
Melvil, Sir James, i. 742.
Melville, Lord, charges against, ii. 682; trial of, ii. 696.
Morcar, death of, i. 137.
Mercia, history of the kingdom of, i. 48.
Methodists, account of the, ii. 429.
Minorca, capture of, by the French, ii. 452.
Monk, General, taken prisoner, and serves under the Parliament, ii. 148; arrives at London, ii. 233; restores Charles II. ii. 235.
Monmouth, Duke of, sent to Holland, ii. 282; receives his pardon from the King, ii, 293; insurrection of, ii. 300; execution of, ii. 302.
Mons, taking of, ii. 384.
Montague, Richard, ii. 43.
Monte Video, siege of, ii. 712.
Montmartre, battle of, ii. 770, *n.*
Montrose, Marquis of, execution of, ii. 211.
Moore, Sir John, expedition of, ii. 718; death of, ii. 722.
More, Sir Thomas, appointed chancellor, i. 649; executed, i. 650.
Moreau, death of, ii. 759.
Mortimer, March, beheaded, i. 325.
Moscow, destruction of, ii. 754.
Museum, British, establishment of the, ii. 447.
Murray, General, embarkation of, from Tarragona, ii. 763.
———, Earl of Mansfield, character of, ii. 445.

N.

Namur, siege of, ii. 346.
Naseby, battle of, ii. 169.
Navy, mutiny of the, ii. 600.
Neckar, M. financial schemes of, ii. 538.
Nelson, Lord, attack of, upon the isle of Teneriffe, ii. 604; victory of, at the Nile, ii. 612; engagement of, off Boulogne, ii. 654; action of, off Copenhagen, ii. 649; death of, ii. 693.
Newbury, fight of, ii. 142.
Newburn, battle of, ii. 79.
Newcastle, Marquis of, resigns the commission he held under Charles, i. 156.
Newport, treaty of, ii. 196.
New River Company, institution of, i. 18, *n.*
Ney, Marshal, treachery of, ii. 775.
Nicholson, Margaret, attempt of, to assassinate George III. 536.
Norfolk, Duke of, impeached, i. 688; proposes to marry Mary, Queen of Scots, i. 154; committed to the Tower, i. 755; execution of, i. 761.
Nootka Sound, establishment at, ii. 550.
Normans, the, account of, i. 105.
North Briton, publication of the, ii. 475.
———, Lord, administration of, ii. 485.
Northumberland, history of the kingdom of, i. 43; revolt of the Earl of, i. 384; defeat of, i. 385; death of, i. 389.

O.

Oates, Titus, depositions of, ii. 274, 277, 281, 285; trial of, for perjury, ii. 295.
Oath to the King, question whether it should be compulsive or voluntary, ii. 363.
Ocana, battle of, ii. 738, *n.*
Odo, Bishop of Bayeaux, seized, and his estates confiscated, i. 141; liberated by William I. 142.
Oldcastle, Sir John, persecution of, i. 395; death of, i. 409.
Orange, the Prince of, restoration of, ii. 762, *n.*
Orleans, Duchess of, poisoned, ii. 259.
———, siege of, i. 434.
Ormond, Duke of, succeeds Marlborough, ii. 389; situation of, ii. 391; impeachment of, ii. 399.
Overbury, Sir Thomas, committed to the Tower, ii. 16; poisoned, ii. 17.
Oxford, Lord, resigns his employments, ii. 355; impeachment of, ii. 399; acquittal of, ii. 404.

P.

Palm, M. de, remonstrance of, to the British court, ii. 418.
Paoli, General, account of, ii. 403, *n.*
Papists, bill against, ii. 356.
Paris, Matthew, account of, i. 279.
Parker, Admiral Hyde, engagement of, off the Dogger Bank, ii. 519.
———, Richard, execution of, ii. 602.
Parr, Thomas, account of, ii. 66.
Parry, William, execution of, i. 774.
Paul, Emperor of Russia, assassination of, ii. 650.
Peerage, bill for the limitation of, rejected, ii. 408.
Pelham, Mr. death of, ii. 447.
Peltier, trial of, for a libel upon Buonaparte, ii. 661.
Perceval, Mr. assassination of, ii. 752.
Peter, Czar of Muscovy, account of, ii. 349; visits England, ii. 353; *n.* death of, ii. 415, *n.*
Peterborough, Earl of, takes Barcelona, ii. 375; quits Portugal, in disgust, ii. 377.
Pichegru, General, plot of, ii. 677.
Pitt, Mr. (afterwards Lord Chatham,) account of, ii. 446.
———, resigns the seals on the accession of George III. ii. 472; created Earl of Chatham, ii. 481. (See Chatham.)
Pitt, William, second son of the Earl of Chatham, first display of the talents, of ii. 514, *n.*; plan of, for Parliamentary reform, ii. 533; death of, ii. 694.
Plantagenets, memorable accidents of the Princes of that house, i. 524.
Poictiers, battle of, i. 339.
Poland, dissentions in, ii. 559.
Pole, Cardinal, i. 657; consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, i. 725; arrives in England, as legate, i. 726; death of, i. 728.
Polignac, M. de, negociation of, ii. 390.
Popish plot, account of the, ii. 274.
Portugal, attempt to assassinate the King of, ii. 467, *n.*
Porteous, Captain, murder of, ii. 430.
Poyer, Colonel, refuses to deliver up Pembroke castle, ii. 191.
Pretender, birth of the, ii. 311; lands in Scotland, ii. 400.
Priestley, Dr. account of, ii. 554.
Prior, reply of, ii. 353, *n.*
Property tax, abolition of the, ii. 775.
Prussia, King of, enters Hungary, ii. 438; defeated at Cunersdorf, ii. 463.
Prynn, William, trial of, ii. 65; punishment, ii. 72.
Pultowa, battle of, ii. 384.
Pym, death of, ii. 152.

Q.

Quakerism, rise of, ii. 236.
Quakers, petition of the, ii. 412, *n.*

R.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, expedition of, to America, i. 791; confinement of, in the Tower, ii. 5; execution of, ii. 25.
Ramillies, battle of, ii. 376.
Reform, Lord Chatham's opinion of, ii. 522.
Regency bill passed, ii. 479.
Regents and counsellors to Edward VI. account of, i. 690.
Remonstrance of the House of Commons presented to Charles I. ii. 102, *n.*
Revolution, French, account of, ii. 545, et seq.
Richard, brother to Henry III. elected King of the Romans, i. 261.
Richard I. crowned, i. 194; sells the crown lands, and procures money for the crusade, i. 195; renews his alliance with the King of France, i. 196; arrives in Palestine, i. 199; is taken prisoner in returning to England, i. 202; is ransomed, i. 204; death of, i. 205; character of, i. 206.
——— II. coronation of, i. 350; marries Ann, of Luxemburgh, i. 355; quarrels with his Parliament. i. 359; banishes his favourites, i. 361; confiscates the estates of the Duke of Hereford, i. 365; expedition of to Ireland, i. 366; resigns the crown, i. 368; character of, i. 368; death of, i. 380.
——— III. then Duke of Gloucester, murders King Henry, i. 497; seizes the person of Edward V. i. 509; accuses Lord Hastings, i. 512; proclaimed King, i. 514; murders Edward V. and his brother, i. 515; poisons his Queen, i. 520; slain at the battle of Bosworth, i. 522; character of, i. 523—560.
Richemont, desertion of the Earl of, i. 429.
Richmond, the building of, i. 552.
Ridley, Bishop, preaches against Mary, i. 712; committed to the Tower, i. 713; martyrdom of, i. 723.
Rizzio, David, intimacy of, with Mary, Queen of Scotland, i. 742; murder of, i. 744.
Robert de Mowbray, conspiracy of, i. 147.
——— of Normandy, return of, from Palestine, i. 152; attacks Henry I. i. 152; taken prisoner, i. 154.
Robespierre, account of, ii. 586.
Rochelle, capture of, by the French, ii. 57.
Rochester, actions of the Earl of, ii. 222.
Rockingham, Lord, administration of, ii. 521.
Rodney, Sir George, relieves Gibraltar, ii. 513; defeats the French fleet, under De Grasse, ii. 524.
Roland, Madame, execution of, ii. 575, *n.*
Rolls, refusal of, to pay tonnage and poundage, ii. 58.
Rooke, Sir George, appointed commander against the Danish fleet, ii. 358; ineffectual attempt of, on the city of Cadiz, ii. 367; captures the Spanish flotilla, in the harbour of Vigo, ii. 368; takes Gibraltar, ii. 372; dismissed from his offices, ii. 373.
Rosamond, Fair, account of, i. 186.
Rosetta, siege of, ii. 712.
Ross, Bishop of, committed to the Tower, i. 739.
Rothiere, battle of, ii. 767, *n.*
Round-way-Down, battle of, ii. 143.
Rupert, Prince, obtains an advantage over Colonel Sandys, ii. 129; takes Birmingham, and fines the inhabitants, ii. 140; takes Bristol, ii. 141; defeated at Marston-moor, ii. 156; surrenders Bristol, and quits the kingdom, ii. 170; with the Duke of Albemarle, attacks the Dutch fleet, under Ruyter, De Wit, and Tromp, ii. 250.
Russel, Lord, trial of, ii. 291.
Russell, Admiral, defeats the French fleet, ii. 339.
Rye house plot, account of, ii. 290.

S.

Sacheverel, Dr. account of, ii. 384.
Sackville, Lord George, trial of, ii. 467.
Saladin takes Jerusalem, i. 191.
Salamanca, battle of, ii. 750.
Salique law, account of the, i. 327, *n.*
Saragossa, siege of, ii. 736.
Savoy, Duke of, relieved by Prince Eugene, ii. 377.
Saxons, account of the, i. 30.
Schomberg, General, commands the army in Ireland, ii. 331; death of, ii. 333.
Scotland, Britons send to, to solicit aid, i. 41; petitions of the candidates for the crown of, to Edward I. i. 287; throws itself under the protection of Boniface VIII. i. 299; state of the episcopacy of, from the beginning of the reformation, to Charles II. ii. 68.
Scots, defeated by Phillippa, the Queen of Edward III. i. 335; termination of the colonial project of the, ii. 355.
Scrope, Archbishop of York, insurrection of, i. 387.
Septennial bill, introduction of the, ii. 401.
Seymour, Jane, marriage of, with Henry VIII. i. 655; death of, i. 661.
———, Edward, Earl of Hertford, character of i. 691, *n.*

INDEX.

l. 691, *n.*; quarrels with his brother, i. 693; attainted, i. 702; pardoned, i. 703; attainted a second time, i. 703; executed, i. 706.
Seymour, Thomas, execution of, i. 699,
Severus, wall of, i. 25, *n.*
Shaftsbury, Earl of, character of, ii. 258; created Lord High Chancellor, ii. 264; confined in the Tower, ii. 270; retires to Holland, where he died, ii. 290.
harp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, murdered, ii. 281.
elburne, Lord, administration of, ii. 524.
epherd, James, account of, ii. 405, *n.*
erfield, Henry, ii. 62, *n.*
eridan, Richard Brinsley, charges of, against Hastings, ii. 537; death of, ii. 782.
Sp money, tax of, levied, ii. 67; abolished, ii. 6.
Sopen, Mr. opposition of to the standing army, 427.
She, Jane, account of, i. 507; does penance, i. 13.
Shrel, Sir Cloudesly, assists in the taking of Gibraltar, ii. 372; appointed successor to Sir George Rooke, ii. 373; shipwreck and death of, ii. 381.
Shrsbury, Duke of, accepts the place of Lord Chamberlain, ii. 355; appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ii. 394.
Sidmuth, Lord, opposition to the bill of, ii. 547.
Sidn, Algernon, trial and execution of, ii. 292.
Sigisund, the negociation of, i. 406.
Simn, Lambert, account of, i. 531.
Simode Montfort, the favourite of Henry III. i. 5; fortifies the isle of Axholme, i. 269.
Sinki fund, the first alienation of, ii. 427.
Slaverade taken into consideration, ii. 541; abolion of, ii. 710.
Somet Lord Chancellor, charges against, ii. 356; resig the great seal, ii. 357; impeachment of, and fence, ii. 360; has the chief share in framing t treaty for the union of Scotland and England, i. 376, *n.*
Somers examination of the Duke of, i. 463; deathf, i. 468.
South S bill, introduction of the, ii. 409.
Spa Fie, meeting in, ii. 781.
Spain, K of, makes a testamentary disposition of his dotions, ii. 353; forms a second testamentary angement, ii. 359; death of the, ii. 359.
———, oduct of Buonaparte in, ii. 716.
Spencer, ugh, becomes the favourite of Edward II. i. 3; banished, i. 311; recalled, i. 312; executed, i. 316.
Stafford, ecution of the Earl of, ii. 285.
Stamford, l of, defeated at Stratton, ii. 142.
Stanhope, eral, taken prisoner, ii. 386.
———, d, death of, ii. 782.
Stanley, character of Lord, i. 511.
Stephen, rns to England, on the death of Henry, i. 9; is crowned, i. 159; marries the sister of the King of France, i. 162; quarrels with the city, i. 162; is taken prisoner by the Earl of Gloester, i. 163; set at liberty by the Bishop of Winchester, i. 165; appoints Henry his successor, 167; death, and character of, i. 167.
Suffolk, indictment against the Earl of, i. 461.
Sunderland, L, disgraced by his participation in the South S Bill, ii. 410.
Surrey, Earl of, eated Duke of Norfolk, i. 589.
Sussex, history the kingdom of, i. 54.
Swuarrow, victo of, at the Trebia, ii. 633.
Sweden, confedcy against, ii. 358; condition of, at the death Charles XII. ii. 442, *n.*
Sweyn proclaime King, i. 100.

T.

Talavera, battle of, 736.
Tangier, destructio of, ii. 293.
Temple, Sir Willi, recalled from Holland, ii. 260.
Tewksbury, battle of, i. 496.
Theodorus convened national synod, i. 65.
Throckmorton, Fran, conspiracy of, i. 772.
Thurlow, Lord, pomous speech of, ii. 542.
Tollemache, General, death of, ii. 344.
Tooke, John Horne, al of, with Hardy, Thelwall, &c. ii. 577.
Torcy, M. de, unsuccessful negociation of, ii. 383.
Torrington, Lord, defeated by the French fleet, ii. 335.
Torture, abolition of, in Scotland, ii. 383.
Tory, origin of the appellation of, ii. 283.
Toulon, siege of, ii. 573.
Trafalgar, battle of, ii. 691.
Triennial bill, rejection of the, ii. 340.
Tromp, Admiral, killed in an engagement near the Texel, ii. 219.
Tudor, Owen, marriage of, with Queen Catherine, i. 449.
Turenne, Marshal, death of, ii. 269.
Tyler, Wat, insurrection of, i. 353.
Tyrconnel, Earl of, returns to Dublin, with the title of Lieutenant-General, ii. 304.

U.

Ulm, surrender of, ii. 686, *n.*
Union of Scotland and England, ii. 378.

V.

Vane, Sir Henry, execution of, ii. 245.
Vernon, Admiral, takes Portobello, ii. 433.
Vienna, treaty of, ii. 416.
Villiers, George, introduced to James I. ii. 19; created Duke of Buckingham, ii. 22; attends Charles I. to Spain, ii. 35; examination of the conduct of, ii. 46; conduct of, condemned by the Parliament, ii. 57; assassination of, by Felton, ii. 57.
Villiers, George, Duke of Buckingham, character of, ii. 267.
Vimiera, battle of, ii. 720.
Vincent, victory of Earl St. ii. 603.
Vittoria, battle of, ii. 762.
Vortigern, elected King, i. 29.

W.

Wake, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, character of ii. 431.
Wakeman, Sir George, trial of, ii. 282.
Wales, motto of the Prince of, i. 335.
———, the Princess of, charges against, ii. 764; residence of, in Italy, ii. 774, *n.*
Wallace, William, delivers Scotland, i. 297; defeated by Edward i. 298; execution of, i. 300.
Waller, Sir William, defeated at Round-way-Down, ii. 143.
———, Edmund, engaged in a conspiracy against the Parliament, ii. 148; fined and imprisoned, ii. 149.
Walcheren, enquiry into the expedition to, ii. 740.
Walpole, Mr. commitment of, ii. 389; opposition of, to the standing army, ii. 405; extract of the speech of, on the bill for limiting the peerage, ii. 408, *n.*
———, Horace, vindicates the treaty of Hanover, ii. 416.
———, Sir Robert, alteration of, in the system of taxation, ii. 425; charge against, ii. 435; created Earl of Orford, ii. 436.
Warbeck, Perkin, account of, i. 543; attempts to land in Kent, i. 547; received in Scotland, i. 548; taken prisoner, i. 552; executed i. 553.
Wardle, Colonel, charges of, against the Duke of York, ii. 730.
Warwick, Earl of, popularity of, i. 466; defeats the King, i. 472; sent ambassador to France, i. 482; enmity of, against Edward, i. 484; revolts from Edward, i. 487; takes the King prisoner, i. 488; restores Henry to the throne, i. 491; death of, i. 494.
Washington, General, resignation of his command, ii. 526.
———, capture of the city of, ii. 773, and in Addenda, ii. 785, et seq.
Waterloo, battle of, ii. 776.
Wellesley, Sir Arthur, expedition of, to Spain, ii. 718; elevated to the peerage, ii. 737, *n.*
Wellington, Lord, passes the Pyrennees, ii. 762; created Duke, ii. 773, *n.*; his account of the battle of Waterloo, ii. 777.
Welwood's, Dr. character of Charles I. ii. 213.
Wentworth, Sir Thomas, account of, ii. 62.
———, Earl of Strafford, appointed Lieutenant-General against the Scots, ii. 77.
———, trial of, ii. 92—95; execution of, ii. 97.
Wessex, history of the kingdom of, i. 54.
Wharton, Earl of, leaves Ireland, ii. 383.
Whig, origin of the appellation of, ii. 283.
Whiston, controversy of, ii. 411, *n.*
Whitbread, Mr. charges of, against Lord Melville, ii. 682; death of, ii. 779.
White, the returning officer for Aylesbury, case of, ii. 373, *n.*
Whitelock, conference of, with Charles I. ii. 164.
Whitelocke, General, conduct, and trial of, ii. 713.
Wickham, William, account of, i. 394.
Wickliff, diffusion of the principles of, i. 382.
Wilberforce, Mr. motion of, for the abolition of the slave trade, ii. 543; bill of, for ditto, ii. 551; motion of, for the entire abolition of the slave trade, ii. 773.
Wilkes, prosecution of, ii. 476, et seq. returned for Middlesex, ii. 483.
William I. of Normandy, invades England, i. 115; defeats Harold, i. 116; besieges Dover, i. 132; crowned, i. 132, visits Normandy, i. 133; revives the tax of Dane-gelt, i. 133; bestows the confiscated estates of the English upon the Normans, i. 134; punishes the Northumbrians, 136; besieges Ely, i. 137; makes peace with Philip of France, i. 138; defeats the rebellion of his son Robert, i. 139; death and character of, i. 142.
William II. ascends the throne, i. 144; defeats the conspiracy of Odo, i. 144; invades Normandy, i. 145; acquires possession of Normandy, i. 149; death and character of, i. 149.
William III. marries the Princess Mary, ii. 271; entreated by a number of the English to accept the crown, ii. 312; lands in England, ii. 316; arrives at London, ii. 320; proclaimed King, ii. 327; heads the allied army, ii. 336; besieges Namur, ii. 346; disowns the act for the establishment of a Scotch company, ii. 347; chagrin of, at the resignation of Lord Sunderland, ii. 352; letter of, to Lord Somers, ii. 353; purposes to resign the crown, ii. 354; attempts the union of Scotland and England, ii. 357; dissolves the Parliament, and gives the ascendancy to the Tories, ii. 359; anger of, at the expression of Mr. Howe, ii. 360; changes the administration, and establishes the Whig ascendancy, ii. 363; death and character of, ii. 364.
Winchester, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of, appointed governor of Henry VI. i. 422; quarrels with Gloucester, i. 430, 439, 443, 455.
Windham, Mr. plan of, for military arrangements, ii. 695; death of, ii. 742.
Witchcraft, repeal of the laws against, ii. 430.
Wirtemberg, death of the King of, ii. 781; *n.*
Wolfe, General, death of, ii. 457.
Wolsey, Thomas, rector of Lymington, i. 555; account of, i. 573; *n.* made Prime Minister, i. 586; receives the Bishopric of Lincoln, i. 589; created a Cardinal, i. 593; aspires to the papacy, i. 605; disgraced, i. 630; death of, i. 634.
Wolves destroyed in England, i. 88.
Wood's copper coinage, opposition to, ii. 414.
Woodville, Sir Richard, created Earl Rivers, i. 483; beheaded i. 488.
Woollen, act for burying in, passed, ii. 273.
Worcester, battle of, ii. 214.
Wright, Sir Nathan, appointed Lord Keeper, ii. 357.
Wriothesley, Lord Chancellor, character of, i. 690; *n.*
Wyat, Sir Thomas, insurrection of, i. 717; execution of, i. 719.
Wyndham, Sir William, opposition of, to Septennial Parliaments, ii. 488; *n.*

Y.

York, insurrection of the Duke of, i. 464; defeats the King, i. 468; claims the crown, i. 473; death of, i. 474.
York, Duke of, retreats from Tournay, ii. 581; restoration of, to the command-in-chief, ii. 747.

Z.

Zorndorf, battle of, ii. 462.

DIRECTIONS *to the* BINDER, *for placing the* PLATES.

VOL. I.

	Page.
Ratification of Magna Charta by King John, to face engraved Title-page, representing The Bill of Rights presented to King William, and Queen Mary.	7
A general Map of the World, to face	68
Portrait of Egbert, first monarch of all England	73
—— of Alfred the Great	103
—— of Canute	105
Canute reproving his Courtiers	130
Portrait of William I.	148
—— of William II.	150
—— of Henry I.	158
—— of Stephen	174
—— of Henry II.	207
—— of John	231
—— of Henry III.	280
—— of Edward I.	304
—— of Edward II.	319
—— of Edward III.	332
—— of Edward, the Black Prince	350
—— of Richard II.	365
—— of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster	365
Portrait of Henry IV.	66
Death of Richard II.	80
Portrait of Henry V.	294
Battle of Azincourt	401
Portrait of Henry VI.	418
—— of John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France	421
Coronation of Henry VI.	439
Portrait of Edward V.	507
—— of Richard III.	514
—— of Henry VII.	526
—— of Henry VIII.	571
Map of England and Wales	652
Portrait of Edward VI.	691
—— of Mary	710
—— of Elizabeth	730
—— of Mary, Queen of Scots	743
Death of Sir Philip Sydney*	776
Queen Elizabeth, addressing her troops, at Tilbury	784
Monuments of Queen Elizabeth, and Mary, Queen of Scots, in Westminster Abbey	793

VOL. II.

	Page.
Statue of George III. in the Council Chamber, Guildhall, London	to face title page.
Portrait of James I.	43
—— of Charles I.	218
Cromwell dissolving the long Parliament	220
Portrait of Oliver Cromwell	236
Landing of Charles II. at Dover	238
Portrait of Charles II.	297
—— of James II.	301
Capture of the Duke of Monmouth	327
Portrait of William III.	332
Battle of the Boyne	339
—— of La Hogue	365
Portrait of Anne	398
—— of George I.	398
Portrait of George II.	421
Death of General Wolfe	457
Death of Lord Robert Manners †	524
Destruction of the gun boats before Gibraltar	525
Siege of Valenciennes	569
Surrender of the Spanish Admiral, to Commodore Nson	603
George III. reviewing the volunteer corps in Hyde rk	641
Death of General Abercrombie	652
—— of Admiral Lord Nelson	692
Portrait of his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent	743
Battle of Vittoria	763
His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, delivering a speech in the House of Lords	764
Capture of the city of Washington‡	773
Battle of Waterloo	776

* The reader is also referred to page 783.—Sir Philip Sydney accompanied the Earl of Leicesr on his expedition to the Netherlands. It was at the affair before Zutphen, in September, 1586, that Sir hilip, who had displayed uncommon bravery, received a mortal wound in the thigh, as he was mounting his thd horse, having had two slain under him before. While he was in the arms of his attendants, who had procuredor him a bottle of wine to allay his thirst, a wounded soldier was carried past him, and cast a wistful eye on theottle, on which Sir Philip ordered it to be taken to him, saying, "Poor fellow, thy necessity is greater tha mine!" This honour of the English nation died of his wound twenty-five days afterwards. His body was bught home and buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

† Lord Robert Manners (only brother to the Duke of Rutland) who commanded H. M's.S. Resolution, in Lord Rodney's memorable action with the Count de Grasse, in the West Indies, on the 12th oApril, 1782, was mortally wounded during the engagement. He died of his wound, on his passage to Englan in the 25th year of his age. A monument was erected by government, in Westminster Abbey, to the memy of his Lordship, and that of the Captains Blair and Blayne, who also fell on this occasion.

‡ For the particulars of the capture of Washington, and the leading events of the secondAmerican war, see the Addenda, Vol. II. page 785, et seq.

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Rapin de Thoyras, Paul,

The history of england from the earliest periods

Bd.: 2

London [1820]
Res/2 Brit. 82 x-2
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10865778-7